Roadmap of Girls' Education

Girls' Education and Gender Equality: A Review

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Table of Contents

- I. Context: persisting challenges to girls education
- II. Situating education within the gender equality movement
- III. Girls' education: policy and programme initiatives
- IV. Recommendations for action: a review
- V. Conclusion

Case Studies (to be inserted as boxes)

Girls' Education and Gender Equality: A Review

The purpose of this review paper on girls' education in India is to focus on education in India within the gender equality discourse. This is because many of the constraints to girls' education are not to be found within the education sector. Consequently, studies that go beyond investigation in the education sector, and also look at factors in the surrounding social and economic milieu that have an impact on girls' access to and benefits from education are included. A discussion that encompasses all aspects of girls' education in India is practically impossible, given the socio economic and regional diversity and disparities in the country. Thus, the objective of this exercise is not to pronounce generalizations on the basis of the studies, micro and macro, we look at. Rather, it is to provide insight into the underlying issues most pertinent to our topic of study. Our aim here has been to develop a more textured understanding of factors surrounding girls' education in the country through a review of various nuanced micro studies. These offer insights that are very valuable to the formulation of macro interventions.

The paper is structured as follows. Section I summarizes the persisting challenges to girls' education, and how these are reflected in a data based situation analysis. Section II discusses the connections between gendered societal norms and educational outcomes for girls. Section III reviews contemporary policy approaches towards girls' education. Section IV summarises the recommendations to policy made by various analysts and programme implementers. Section V sums up the main threads of the paper.

Section I: Context- Persisting challenges to girls' education

Participation of girls in schooling: Explanatory factors

Analysis of data from the decennial Census and the NSS shows that though literacy levels of women are much below the average, they are directly correlated with average literacy. However, scrutiny at a more disaggregated level shows that disparities between males and females in literacy continue to persist even as average levels of literacy go up (Vaidyanathan and Nair 2001, pg 25). Moreover, any discussion on girls' literacy requires a consideration of the multiple vulnerabilities arising from caste, religion, location, income and migrant status, apart from gender. In an analysis carried out for West Bengal, the kind of residence (rural/urban), religion, caste, child labour force participation emerged as important determinants of schooling, as expected (Sengupta and Guha 2002, pg 1621). Girls from Scheduled Castes (SC), Scheduled Tribes (ST) and Muslim minorities particularly constitute the population of out of school and drop out children (Bandopadhyay and Subramaniam 2008, pg vii). And within these groups, indigenous girls, continue to be the most deprived stakeholders in terms of access to school education and drop outs (Joshi 2010, pg 545). In gender parity in education considerable inter state variations are also witnessed. Though the most educationally disadvantaged states, such as Bihar and Rajasthan, have achieved the greatest surges in female enrolment, these states still have a long

way to go to catch up with the better performing states of Kerala, Tamil Nadu and Himachal Pradesh (Bandopadhyay and Subramaniam 2008, pg vii).

Migrant status of the household is another factor that has a negative impact on the participation of its girl children in schooling. Issues around inequitable access to and quality of education for these girls are further complicated by the different types of migration patterns, such as permanent, temporary, seasonal etc; whether they migrate with the parent or are left behind; increased responsibility of girls for household chores and sibling care because of the loss of an adult family member and the loss of social capital often associated with migration; concentration of their housing in slums without proper sanitation and water facilities; no or poor crèche facilities which force parents to be accompanied by children to work, which is often hazardous (Rogaly et al 2001); augmented health and nutrition problems etc. Children of distress, particularly seasonal, migrant families are the most vulnerable. Poor families with no back up support in their villages are forced to take their children along. This is particularly true for girls because parents do not feel comfortable and safe leaving their grown up girl children behind alone in the village. At the work site children are invariably pulled into labour. They are full fledged labourers by the age of 11-12. Over and above this, migrant children do not have access to care and security, health and nutrition, learning and everything else that makes for a normal childhood. And for obvious reasons, girl children end up being the greater sufferers here and also have to do double the work at sites as well as at home. Moreover, governance, including the government school system in migration prone regions has been found to be much below the state average. For instance, in Maharashtra and Gujarat, migrant children, including girls, are deprived of education since the schooling system at place of original residence does not take into account their migration pattern and their temporary status in the destination area does not make them eligible for schooling there. These poor education facilities push children further into migration. Ironically, school rolls have the names of migrant children, even though they are actually falling into the vicious annual cycle year after year. Besides, the travel from the villages to the work sites is usually also hazardous. With all this also comes the danger and fear of being viewed as an outsider by the school and the community at large. These children are also difficult to track and are thus left out of standard systematic or even alternative interventions (Rogaly et al 2001, 2002). In the case of girls left behind, the migration of males is reported to lower chances of these girls of acquiring an education as they have to take on more domestic responsibilities. On the other hand, it has also been argued that people who migrate to urban areas have a heightened awareness of the value of education which translates into greater attention to ensuring that their children receive a better education (Srivastava and Sasikumar 2003). [Insert Case study 1]

Following is an illustration of the interplay of some of the determinants of education discussed above. After the 1980's, in Maharashtra, the education levels of Dalit girls were found to increase and be at par with those of the Dalit boys. However, the percentage of girls in general and Dalit girls in particular was seen to drop at the higher classes (Velaskar 2005, pg 466). A large variation in the enrolment between the districts was also witnessed. Surprisingly some economically backward districts in Vidarbha, Konkan and Marathwada have shown considerable

improvement in Dalit girls' education (Velaskar 2005, pg 469). Even among the Dalits there is an intra Dalit educational disparity. Communities such as Mahar, Neo Buddhists and Chambhars are educationally advanced compared to Mangs and many other groups (Velaskar 2005, pg 475).

About the gender difference in educational attainment, Kingdon and Pal argue that it is explained by men and women's differential characteristics and the conventional discrimination component, that cannot be justified so. Their analysis suggests that girls face significantly different treatment in the intra household allocation of education (Kingdon 2003, pg 1; Pal 2003, pg 1). Kaul's study in Karnataka reveals similar findings (Kaul 2001, pg 160).

Girls' enrolment and regularity of attendance are constricted by social norms and the differences in expectations regarding household responsibilities of girls and boys, as well as the norms around mobility that constrain the movement of girls and women. Moreover, since it is not safe to send a girl out of the village to study according to parents, daughters should study only as far as school facilities within the village permit (PROBE 1998, pg 10, 22, 28-31). Additionally at times of household crisis such as illness or death of parent/s, the education of all children is put at risk. And girls are the first to be withdrawn from school whenever there is such an economic, social or family crisis (Madan 2004, pg 153). It has also been seen that the higher the dependency ratio, the lower tends to be the schooling participation and attainment, and literacy rate among females (Dreze and Kingdon 1999, pg 17 and 21; Vaidyanathan and Nair 2001, pg 26 and 33-34). In Hisar district, Haryana, some of the well known factors that have been seen to impact girls' education negatively include early marriage of girls, preference for boys, dowry and purdah (Mahajan 2004, pg 276).

Another belief that hinders girls' education is that economic returns to education are high in the case of boys. Lucknow district in Uttar Pradesh reveals substantial misplaced family background bias in the estimates of rates of return to education (Kingdon 1998, pg 1). Moreover, girls, for their part, are expected to leave their natal homes after marriage (PROBE 1998, pg 21-22). Nonetheless, the common belief about lower economic returns of girls' education is not completely unfounded. Labour market discrimination does operate and the kinds of work opportunities available to women are limited. This has a negative impact on girls' school participation. (Wazir 2000, pg; Saihjee 2004, pg 229). Besides labour market discrimination, girls also reap lower labour market returns to education than boys (Kingdon 1998, pg 19). The results of another study in Uttar Pradesh revealed that an important reason for non enrolment and non retention of girls cited was the 'worthlessness' of education (Srivastav 2001, pg 293).

Despite these barriers, girls' enrolment and gross enrolment have increased in the last three decades. However, even these are still very low at the higher levels of schooling (Bandopadhyay and Subramaniam 2008 pg vii, Joshi 2010 pg 549). National Sample Survey (NSS) 1986-87 also shows that the gap in enrolment between boys and girls increases in successive stages of school education (Vaidyanathan and Nair 2001, pg 28). This is because increased female enrolment is compromised by persistently high rates of drop out and poor attendance of girls relative to boys (Bandopadhyay and Subramaniam 2008, pg 14). Similarly, the gender gap amongst the

indigenous children also increases at the higher levels of schooling (Joshi 2010, pg 551). Girl children drop out because of the immense pressure on them to do so once they attain puberty, that is, before completion of primary school or right after, especially those attending co education schools (Majumdar 2001 pg 354, PROBE Revisited 2010 pg 16). A significant factor that hinders greater participation of girls in secondary schooling is conservatism about gender roles (Kingdon 2007, pg 172). Work activities are cited as an important reason for dropping out of school by children, particularly girls in the 6-12 age group (PROBE Revisited 2010 pg 17).

The observations discussed in the above paragraph are also shared by the following studies in Chhattisgarh and Andhra Pradesh. In Chhattisgarh, admission of boys and girls was found to be more or less equal. But, when it comes to going to higher classes more boys than girls were seen to move up (Das 2004). In Andhra Pradesh, there is a bias favouring boys in terms of school enrolment as the children get older, captured by age categories 10–14 and 15–19. There is also a bias favouring boys in household education expenditure allocation, given positive expenditure, when children are between 10 and 14 years of age, driven mainly by extra tuition fees. Quite notably, once the households have decided to educate a child beyond the upper primary level (i.e., beyond grade 8), there is no gender based expenditure bias and an equal proportion of boys and girls are sent to private schools that are perceived to provide better quality education (Himaz 2009).

The most important factor affecting transition from primary to upper primary, particularly for girls, according to the micro studies in Ramachandran's collection, is the presence of an upper primary and high school in the village (Ramachandran 2004). Adolescent female enrolment in Tamil Nadu (Duraiswamy 2001, Majumdar 2001), Uttarakhand (Pande 2001) and Orissa (Debi 2001) has been found to be negatively influenced by the distance of the school from the village (Vaidyanathan and Nair 2001). In Warangal district in Andhra Pradesh, having a high school within the village has been seen to make a difference in access to secondary education, particularly among girls and children of poorer families (Jandhyala 2004).

School participation among girls can be increased by making the physical environment friendly and conducive for them. This process is also faster than bringing about change in the socio cultural environment (CABE Committee 2005 pg 18). Girls' participation in schools has been seen to improve with village development (Dreze and Kingdon 1999). Moreover, there is evidence from different states (Uttaranchal, Rajasthan, Orissa, Tamil Nadu) that school enrolment is lower where the time spent on survival tasks or non market productivity is higher. Other local factors that have been found to be influential are number of animals per family (Miller 2007), and distance to forest and drinking water sources. Thus, ecological regeneration and community management of resources will also encourage school participation (Vaidyanathan and Nair 2001, Sudarshan 2005). In the same way, programmes and policies tailored to location specific needs, infrastructure (Chaudhuri and Roy) and landscape, endowing local bodies with greater authority, and flexibility in the management of local schools are found to influence school enrollment and retention.

Development of village infrastructure seems to be one of the most important channels of narrowing the schooling gap in UP and Bihar (Chaudhuri and Roy 2009). In Madhya Pradesh, literacy, male and female, were also found to be an increasing function of infrastructure availability (Acharya 2001). In Rajasthan an increase in ownership of the number of livestock appears to constrain enrolment, especially that of girls. This inverse correlation is probably connected with difficult access to fodder in the area. In Uttaranchal a distinct relationship between the scarcity of natural resource base and educational status of younger children, especially girls, was seen. Thus, mere investment in school buildings and teaching and learning material in schools would not by itself solve the problem of non enrolment and school dropout. Investment for regeneration of ecologically fragile and sensitive agro climatic zones is required to reduce the drudgery in rural life and to release time for other activities, including formal schooling (Pande 2001). The link between the time available for children, particularly girls, to spend in schools and larger development issues of easy access to fuel, fodder and water must be recognized.

Another major reason for low school participation among girl children is the high poverty and opportunity cost of attending schools (PROBE 1998). These factors also hold true among indigenous children (Nambissan 2000, Joshi 2010). Inversely, wealth (Miller 2007) and composition of household income have been seen to have a positive association with education of the girl child (Unni 1998). These hypotheses are maintained by the findings of micro studies in West Bengal and in Hisar district in Haryana. The results of the study in West Bengal indicate that some of the strongest enabling factors with regard to girls' school participation and grade attainment were household resource factors such as father's occupation and family income (Sengupta and Guha 2002). The study in Haryana confirms that enrolment and retention rates for boys and girls rise and gender disparity in both respects falls as we move up the scale of the economic status of households (Mahajan 2004). So, integrated government supported development projects seeking to reduce widespread inequalities, alleviate poverty and provide adequate support programmes would in turn have a positive and long lasting impact on the literacy level (Kaul 2001). However, Vaid does not find any support for an additional class effect where the education of girls is concerned, thus also refusing the notion of a more egalitarian Indian middle class (Vaid 2004).

Above and beyond the general factors already discussed, every place displays its own particular factors for lower participation of girls in schools. For example, in Karnataka, denial of specific facilities in community mutt schools like free accommodation in a hostel was found to lower girls' enrolment and increase drop out among girl students (Kaul 2001). Sabar's recent study on schooling among Chuktia Bhunjia girls, a ST community in Orissa, also underlines the importance of community responsive and specific interventions (Sabar 2010).

The above discussion draws attention to the general or systemic factors constraining girls' participation in schooling. Recognising the systemic factors and the increasing gender gap at higher levels of schooling also leads to recognition that interventions need to address the whole of childhood and cannot be limited to the 6-14 age group in school. The definition of a child,

according to the report of the Central Advisory Board of Education (CABE) Committee in 2005, needs to be extended from 0-16 years to 18 years. This should help avoid discrepancies and encourage better coordination between and implementation of child laws, polices and programmes. Besides, India has been a signatory of the United Nations (UN) Convention of Child Rights which uses the definition of upto 18 years. Also, 18 years of age can be used to determine the normal exit point of high school education (CABE Committee, 2005 pg 9).

To summarise we can say that gender inequity in education intertwines with other forms of social inequality, notably caste, religion, location and income. Within gender, differential expectations concerning household responsibilities of girls, mobility and safety constraints and labour market discrimination negatively affect girls' participation in schooling. Moreover, the gender gap is seen to be greater at higher levels of schooling. Poverty reduction, village development, ecological regeneration and community management of resources are effective strategies to encourage school participation among girls.

Macro Economic Context

India's high growth rates have attracted the attention of the world, and have also created new impulses for the education system with attempts to introduce modular skill education along with universalizing schooling. There has always been a strong link between demand for schooling and the work and employment related expectations from schooling, as education has been the pathway to higher occupational and income status. And in the current environment of liberalization, globalization and a stronger growth of the private sector, parental aspirations appear to have encouraged the growth of the private sector in education.

A child's gender, caste, class and community tend to define the nature of the school he or she attends which, in turn, has implications for the processes of teaching and learning (Ramachandran 2004). Thus, current trends of a shift by the better off to private schooling and policies though enhancing universalisation, have gone hand in hand with segregation between the haves and the have nots, with poorer socially deprived groups, including girls, being clustered in government and alternative non formal schools. (Ramachandran 2004, Periodi 2004). Thus, private education has not done much in countering existing gender biases. Instead it has continued to perpetrate the old biases (Tooley 2007, Tilak and Sudarshan 2007 pg 291). Data on enrolment in government and private schools shows that private schooling tends to cater more to boys than girls, to the better off groups, and to urban rather than rural areas. DISE 2005-06 indicates a higher percentage of girls' enrolment in government managed schools than in private schools (Shukla and Joshi 2008). Educational access in Haryana, for instance, is also clearly divided between the private and government run public schools along caste, class and gender lines. It is the poor from disadvantaged socio economic backgrounds who primarily depend on the government for their children's education (Mahajan 2004). Likewise, female participation in private schools was found to be lower in rural Uttar Pradesh (Srivastava 2001). However, among the higher income groups the enrollment of girls in private schools in rural

India has been found to be higher than among lower income groups (Tilak and Sudarshan 2007).

The gender and urban bias in private schooling is partly a consequence of the fact that parents' motivation for boys' schooling tends to be higher than that for girls. Besides, private schools are market oriented and so tend to be concentrated in urban areas (Tilak and Sudarshan 2007). However, this responsiveness to market signals means that they are also more responsive and accountable to parents. Moreover, there are arguments against the popular belief that government schools alone can cater to regions and social groups that are otherwise marginalised (Shukla and Joshi 2008). Bandopadhyay and Subramaniam argue that micro studies that suggest concentration of girls in government schools and that of boys in private schools are not conclusive. And in the absence of large data sets on the profile of students in the private schools, it is hard to draw firm conclusions, particularly as the non state sector is also diversifying rapidly to include different kinds of fee structures. This dimension requires further research and investigation (Bandopadhyay and Subramaniam 2008).

Situation Analysis

Overall trends indicate higher school enrolment among girls, progress towards universalization, and reduction of gender gaps. The Gender Parity Index (GPI) shows improvement at the upper primary level from 0.91 in 2008/9 to 0.92 in 2009/10, while at the primary level it is 0.94. Gender parity among states remains uneven and the gender gap at primary and upper primary levels continues to be a concern in some states like Bihar, Gujarat, Haryana, Punjab, Maharashtra and Jammu & Kashmir. A recent survey commissioned by Education Consultants India Limited (EdCil) provides useful information on children out of school, and variations by state, sex, social class and religion. According to EdCil's National sample survey of households for estimation of out of school children, the percentage of out of school boys and girls in the age group 6-10 years was 5.51% and 6.87%, respectively. For the age group 11-13 years, the percentage of out of school children was comparatively higher among girls (10.03%) than boys (6.46%) So, girls still constitute a sizeable majority among out of school children, particularly when disaggregated by social groups (data provided to 12th JRM for the SSA, July 2010).

Table: Out of School (OoS) girls by state

(Data arranged in descending order by the number of OoS girls as a percentage of all OoS children)

State	Girls OoS as a % of total girls	Girls OoS as a % of total children OoS
Pondicherry	0.94	86.5
Manipur	4.33	62.6
Rajasthan	12.55	60.4
Nagaland	2.95	57.5
Assam	5.14	55.6

Bihar	8.08	53.6
Chattisgarh	2.63	52.7
Orissa	7.56	52.5
Uttarakhand	3.94	51.6
Haryana	3.20	51.1
All India	4.70	49.5
Madhya Pradesh	2.87	48.3
Uttar Pradesh	8.02	47.0
Meghalaya	3.08	46.7
West Bengal	4.98	46.4
Mizoram	4.94	46.2
Delhi	4.80	43.0
Maharastra	1.21	42.9
Andhra Pradesh	1.28	42.1
Arunachal Pradesh	10.17	41.3
Tripura	1.38	41.3
Gujarat	1.83	40.9
Karnataka	1.09	40.1
Tamil Nadu	0.55	40.0
Chandigarh	0.99	38.8
Jharkhand	1.50	28.1
Punjab	0.02	27.5
Himachal Pradesh	0.14	26.5
Kerala	0.18	23.9
Sikkim	0.33	23.8
Jammu & Kashmir	0.22	16.5

(Source: Unpublished data, EdCil)

In the above table we look at the percentage of girls in the age group of 6-14 years who are out of school as a percentage of the total population of girls in that age group. The data gives us an estimate of the girls out of school. Looking at the data we find that in the state of Rajasthan (12.5%) the percentage of girls out of school is high. The third column in the above table looks at the percentage of girls out of school as a percentage of the total children out of school. Women constitute about half the population in any state. So, as long as the percentage of girls out of school is about 50%, it is fine. But, if it is greater than 50% then there is a bias against girls. In the states of Rajasthan (60.4%) and Orissa (52.5%) girls constitute more than 50% of the children out of school. In the table, some of the states which indicate a higher percentage of girls out of school for the total population of girls do not necessarily have a large number of girls out of school as a proportion of the total children out of school. This is true in the case of Arunachal Pradesh (10.17 % for total girls, 41.3% for total children). Nagaland has a low percentage of girls out of school as a proportion of the total population girls (2.95%). But in the

total population of children out of school, the percentage of girls out of school is 57.5 %. The states in the north east such as Nagaland and Arunachal Pradesh have not been doing well on the above indicators.

Looking at aggregate data alone does not provide a comprehensive picture of the situation, as we do not get a precise understanding of the number of children out of school. Also, percentage though a good indicator, does not necessarily give us an accurate picture as it is dependent on the population. Thus, it becomes necessary to analyze the real values. In the following gender disaggregated table we have the real values of the number of boys and girls out of school for the states with the highest number of girl children out of school. To get a deeper insight into which children are not going to school we also look at the children out of school based on social groups. We look at the percentage of children out of school among Muslims, SC and ST's.

Table: Children OoS by sex, state and social group

States		Total	%Muslim	%ST	%SC	%OBC
All India	Male	4,112,026	7.59	5.25	5.40	2.34
	Female	4,038,592	7.77	6.03	6.65	3.07
Bihar	Male	624,683	11.72	0.91	10.25	3.59
	Female	721,014	9.79	6.57	15.81	4.26
Delhi	Male	70,663	10.08	0.00	6.70	3.15
	Female	53,359	10.31	0.00	6.65	2.50
Orissa	Male	206,721	0.78	14.96	4.86	3.08
	Female	228,840	1.10	19.93	3.98	2.54
Rajasthan	Male	403,547	5.47	14.94	6.02	3.62
	Female	614,779	8.55	20.68	12.88	11.21
Uttar Pradesh	Male	1,467,000	15.49	10.51	8.47	4.09
	Female	1,302,111	17.33	2.36	8.34	5.04
West Bengal	Male		8.45	5.55	6.71	2.83

	378,604				
Female	328,108	5.41	4.95	8.62	2.45

(Source: Unpublished data, EdCil)

Analysing the above table we find that the percentage of out of school children among STs is high in most states, and that it is specifically high among ST girls. It is only in the case of Uttar Pradesh that the percentage of ST boys out of School is greater than the percentage of ST girls out of school. Among Muslims the proportion of children out of school is high in the states of Rajasthan, Uttar Pradesh and Delhi. In Bihar the percentage of children out of school among SCs is high. In Rajasthan the percentage of girls out of school in all the social groups is very high.

The situation in states like Rajasthan and Haryana deserves special mention because the child sex ratio in these states is skewed towards boys. Furthermore, the study also reveals that the proportion of girls among OoSC in Muslims and ST (who are over represented in the total OoSC) is far higher than their share in the population. This underscores the need for context specific and focused strategies to ensure equitable access to elementary education to the most vulnerable and disadvantaged communities.

Section II: Situating education within the gender equality movement

Education in the gender equality movement

Gender discrimination in India, as in most South Asian countries, is situated within the deeply ingrained systems of patriarchy, which confine women to subordinate roles. Jain states that discrimination against South Asian women begins at, or even before, birth. This further manifests itself in discriminatory investment in nutrition, education and mobility, the three essential inputs in access to employment as an equal member of society. Redressal of this situation demands going to the roots of the problem, analysing the social construction of femininity and masculinity and bringing these issues to the forefront of national development and educational planning (Jain 2003).

The issue of female education was addressed by the early social reformers of the 1800s, a century before the post independence women's movement started. Women's education then was not visualized as an instrument of gender equality. Nonetheless, it did give birth to such thought. Traditional, regional and community education initiatives often imparted sectarian knowledge and skills. However, the concept of universal literacy and education for all classes, women and men, took root in the post independence era and continues to be a long standing goal of Indian Education. Thus, the role of the education system in reinforcing traditional and sexist ideologies, and in the perpetuation of gender inequality has been a vital concern for the women's movement. This was also noted by the Committee on the Status of Women in its Towards Equality Report in 1974 (Committee on the Status of Women in India- CSWI 1974 and Mazumdar and Pandey 1988 in Khullar 2005).

The work of the contemporary women's movement, by influencing state legislation and policy, and women's studies looks at issues of equality per se, more specifically equality in access to education, acquisition of literacy and girls' schooling.

Adolescent girls, ECCE and Schooling

The household and impact of social norms that create constraining conditions around women's mobility, lead to low age at marriage and limited exercise of individual choice, and greater commitment to boys' education. These issues are central to women's equality concerns.

Blindly accepted gendered constructions inevitably make women responsible for care work. When women are unable to cope with the triple burden of domestic, reproductive and paid employment, more often than not the onus of care work falls on the older girl children. This is a major factor in restricting girls' participation in schools (United Nations Children's Fund-Institute of Social Studies Trust- UNICEF-ISST 2009, PROBE 1998, PUBLIC Report on Basic Education in India- PROBE Revisited 2010). The above proposition is further supported by micro studies in Uttaranchal (Agarwal 1992), Tamil Nadu (Duraiswamy 2001), Karnataka (Kaul 2001), Andhra Pradesh (Jandhyala in 2004) and Bihar (Jabbi and Rajyalakshmi 2001). NCAER 1994

survey data also reveals that a majority of the 28 percent of children reported as neither working nor enrolled in school are girls working at home (Duraiswamy 2007).

However, a lot of the work done by girls is not considered child labour under the accepted parameters. The work can include taking care of younger siblings, collection of water, fuel etc. All these activities reduce the time that a girl child is able to spend on her education. In Sinha's view every child out of school comes under the definition of child labour. Consequently, full time formal school is accepted to achieve the interlinked goals of universalisation of elementary education and elimination of child labour. And this transition from work to education can be done through reorientation and a greater involvement of the community (Sinha 2000).

Universalizing primary education is difficult without a good system of Early Childhood Care and Education (ECCE) which both releases older girls from care work and prepares the child for school. However, given the context of poverty and the need to address problems of deprivation, there has been greater focus on the discourse around women's empowerment on livelihood and economic empowerment, and possibly less on creating conditions for education to be a pathway to change.

A universal framework for ECCE is provided by Integrated Child Development Services (ICDS), but it needs improved coordination with regular schools and better functioning. Kerala and Tamil Nadu have taken a positive step by setting school timings and those of ICDS centres as the same. However, the overall performance of anganwadis in the PROBE states (of Bihar, Madhya Pradesh, Rajasthan, Uttar Pradesh and Himachal Pradesh) is very poor (PROBE 1998). Under ICDS and the National Rural Employment Guarantee Act (NREGA), even in cases where provisions exist for child care centres and crèches, these have not been established (UNICEF-ISST 2009). The 6th Educational Survey showed that the proportion of villages without any ECCE facilities ranges from 25 % in Maharashtra and 29 % in Kerala to as much as 87 % in UP and 90% in Assam (Sudarshan 2000).

A provision for child care is outlined by the Sixth Pay Commission, however it fails to consider the role of fathers. Adarsh Sharma also argues that it will largely benefit the middle class and not the unorganized sector. Besides, it has already been seen in the NSS 1986-87 data that gender disparity in enrolment and retention rates falls as we move up the scale of economic status of households (Vaidyanathan and Nair 2001). The realization of the rights of women and children must be facilitated through support from both the state and society, with the role of the community being highlighted as key. Advocacy efforts should promote the expansion of relevant schemes to ensure wider reach, especially to the poorest of the poor (UNICEF-ISST 2009). The CABE Committee also argued for the need of an act to protect the right to live in a civil society with complete provision of health needs and early education care for children upto six years of age by the state (CABE Committee, 2005 pg 13).

In this context, the Committee on the Elimination of Discrimination against Women (CEDAW) and Convention on the Rights of the Child (CRC) must be used as guiding principles to ensure

the realization of rights for girls and women. Also, programmes need to emphasise on creating safe public spaces for girls, to increase their mobility and improve their access to school and other services. For better education outcomes forced family education programmes, education programmes about reproductive health and nutrition, as well as after school programmes for both boys and girls are also important. Priya Nanda argues that child centered and engendered planning must become a priority for the Planning Commission at the federal level, and filter down to the states, and the issue of care must be included in emerging policy frameworks in this context (UNICEF-ISST 2009).

Girls' education is important to raise the age of marriage and child birth, and paradoxically also faces barriers from early marriage of girls. With almost 50% of girls in India not having received secondary schooling and 45% of girls having experienced transit growth because of poor nutrition, early marriage remains common, though the Child Marriage Restraint Act was passed in 1929 (CABE Committee 2005). It is reported that in some districts in Rajasthan over 45% of girls between the age of 10-14 are married (Sudarshan 2000). Also, non enrolment and discontinuation have been found to be attributed to a perception that higher levels of education among girls pose problems to their marriage (Vaidyanathan and Nair 2001).

Even though most young married adolescent girls are not ready for the experience of sex or child bearing and rearing, there are barriers to continued schooling leading to young mothers. State level data points to exceedingly low levels of contraceptive use (7%) amongst married girls between the age of 16-18, with a 3 times higher risk of maternal death amongst girls between the age of 16-19 than women in their 20's (UNICEF-ISST 2009).

Since women tend to marry very young especially in rural areas, Mahila Samakhya, introduced in 1986, did not distinguish between 'adolescents' and 'adults'. Also, unmarried adolescent girls are usually responsible for a lot of household management. A few years after its introduction, MS was linked to education of girls as it emerged as a key area for women's empowerment. Functional literacy, residential camps, bridge courses and other programmes under Mahila Samakhya have helped women's self esteem, as well as brought back many drop out girls to formal schools and ensured that they fare better (CABE Committee 2005 pg 27, 28). [Insert Case Study 2]

Moreover, it has been shown previously that the education of parents (Tilak and Sudarshan 2007), particularly the mother, has a positive impact on the probability of enrolment of girls (Unni 1998, Dreze and Kingdon 1999, Vaidyanathan and Nair 2001, Debi 2001, Sengupta and Guha 2002, Duraiswamy 2007). Although parental aspirations for girls' education were found to have increased greatly between 1996 and 2006, and parents, particularly of girls, from marginalised social groups are extremely keen for their children to study further, their own lack of schooling means they cannot teach the child at home (PROBE Revisted 2010). In UP and Bihar, the education of the parents has been seen to be one of the most important channels of narrowing the schooling gap (Chaudhuri and Roy 2009).

The findings of studies conducted by Mahila Samakhya and District Primary Education Programme (DPEP) have also helped design better strategies to keep girls in schools (Karlekar 2005). Under DPEP, efforts were made in few states to shift ICDS centres close to schools and extend the working hours to match with the school's working hours. The objective here was to free older girls from sibling care to enable them to attend schools (CABE Committee 2005 pg 25). [Insert Case Study 3]

Whether a child goes to school or not is largely decided by the conditions at the household level. In this respect, poverty is undoubtedly a relevant factor. Thus, rapid improvements in the economic conditions of the poor are no doubt necessary for promoting education. But for a time when girls will not be discriminated against and left out of school we have to wait for a cultural transformation to take place. Mere provision of schools may not be sufficient to promote literacy (Krishnaji 2001). The Indian stance on women's education and gender sensitisation will be meaningful only when it is informed by a socio cultural and historical perspective on gender (Sadgopal 2003). Thus, gender and social equity should be an integrated element of quality of education.

In summary, ensuring good child care for pre school age children and attention to their nutrition, health and hygiene increases their capability to participate in schooling and also releases older siblings, especially girls from this responsibility. Adolescent girls tend to become 'invisible' through mobility constraints, early marriage and the burden of housework which prevents them from completing a school education or from more effectively supporting the schooling of younger girls. Lack of an orientation towards seeking paid work and a career for girls reduces motivation for schooling beyond primary level.

Gender within the education system: Gender sensitisation and quality of teachers' training

One must distinguish between gender parity and gender equality in a sharp fashion. Gender parity refers to equality in terms of gender participation and completion of rates at given levels. Gender equity, however, is a much broader concept. It refers to the absence of inequality in all forms including entitlements, opportunities, achievements, experiences and acceptance. While the law ensures equality in entitlements, access to provisions ensures justice in the distribution of opportunities and classroom processes including relationships determine the equality of experiences (CABE Committee 2005 pg 19).

Through rapid extension of primary schooling infrastructure, a lot has been done to increase girls' access to schooling. However, quality of schools and access to and participation in upper primary and secondary schooling remain to be effectively addressed. Gender sensitivity of school infrastructure, notably provision of toilets with water and better security, requires particular attention. (Bandopadhyay and Subrahmanian 2008 pg vii)

Equity issues within the classroom are yet to be resolved (Jandhyala 2004). Gender bias is a significant aspect of social discrimination in the classroom, though played out subtly in the

language used by teachers, the sexist content of the curriculum, or in the segregation of children by seating them separately within the classroom. Since, the general assumption is that girls are incapable of learning, they are constantly passed over by the teacher and not given much attention (Madan 2004, PROBE 1998).

Gender as an issue, in Egarim panchayat in Betul district Madhya Pradesh, though seen to be widely prevalent, has become synonymous with women. Getting girls to enroll and attend school is primarily what gender has been reduced to. The opening of a girls' only primary school has encouraged the Kurmi community to educate their daughters. Segregated schools have also allowed gender sensitivity and awareness to disappear from the boys' classrooms. There is no institutionalized interaction between the two schools, nor has any effort been made to converge activities where both boys and girls can participate (Saihjee 2004).

In Hisar district in Haryana, gender issues, especially inside the classroom, were observed to continue to be problematic. Teachers' attitudes towards girls, evident from classroom observations, reinforce stereotypes and traditional roles (Mahajan 2004). In Kolar district Karnataka, closer scrutiny revealed subtle but deep rooted discrimination operating in the school (Periodi 2004). Thus, if DPEP is to be truly successful, according to Madan, a process of sensitization has to occur among the teachers, community, administrators and researchers (Madan 2004).

Gender sensitisation as a constituent of teachers' training and other education personnel, and of curriculum development was a strategy adopted under DPEP. This however did not lead to any significant change in the classroom (CABE Committee 2005 pg 27, Bandopadhyay and Subramaniam 2008) due to a weak emphasis on social practices and secondary position of women in society. The textbook review exercises under DPEP mainly included a gender audit of content and illustrations. However, the initiative rarely went into deeper aspects and essentially remained a mechanical exercise. The New National Curriculum Framework (2005) recommends gender sensitivity with particular reference to awareness among boys regarding the problems faced by girls in society and schools. What are also required are interventions to reduce gender biases and gender stereotypes in classrooms and schools in the form of work division and teachers' comments. The approach to education should be such that it develops girls' capabilities to claim their rights and enables boys and girls to critique unequal gender relations and roles (CABE Committee 2005 pg 27).

Schools have a reformatory role to play. They need to create demand for more rewarding subjects than passively cater to demand. More teachers need to be recruited for non stereotyped courses in single sex girls' schools, to give girls a real, not only notional, choice of opting for 'non womanly' courses. Furthermore, courses like those in basics of parenting, reproductive health etc are as important for boys as they are for girls. Also, they would help break established notions like parenting is only the mother's responsibility (CABE Committee 2005 pg 23).

Summing up, the aim of schooling ought to be gender equality in terms of opportunities, experiences and attainment. To this end, gender equality within the classroom is essential and the experience of schooling must include a critical assessment of gender inequalities outside school as well. Thus, teachers' sensitization and training must take into account and cater to the factors of teachers' biases, stereotypes and work division among boys and girls based on these; their attitude, behavior and comments; curriculum; and the nature of gender biases prevalent in the community to which the school caters.

Section III: Policy and programme initiatives for girls' schooling

Provision of education to everyone became a constitutional commitment in 1951. The focus of the central government was on higher and technical education from 1950 to mid 1960s. It was assumed that the state governments would automatically achieve universal elementary education through their school networks. Since 1950 there have been a number of policy shifts in education. The Report of the Indian Education Commission was followed by the National Policy on Education in 1968 which emphasized on girls' education. The National Policy on Education 1986 argued for even higher priority to education of girls. Some programmes that emerged during this time sought the collaboration of NGOs as well. For example, Mahila Samakhya- Education for Women's Empowerment 1986. The National Policy on Education 1992 reaffirmed the focus on universal primary education and was accompanied by increased funding. DPEP 1994, which gives priority to the elimination of gender disparity, was a notable step taken during this phase (Ramachandran 1998 and Sudarshan 2000).

To address the constraints facing education of girls, one approach taken has been to emphasize the wider impact of girls' education. However it is now being increasingly proposed, including by the report of the CABE Committee in 2005, that caution needs to be given to the danger of girls' education being reduced to an instrument for fertility control, decreased infant mortality rates, decreased expenses on health care etc. Since, these are and need to be looked upon and understood as an equal responsibility of men. In the case of the instrumentalist approach the emphasis remains on literacy and non formal education. This has a bearing on the level and type of education offered to girls (CABE Committee, 2005 pg 7).

The CABE committee's report on Girls' Education and the Common School System submitted in 2005, examined existing schemes, incentives and special measures aimed at reducing gender disparity and increasing the participation and retention of girls, in all sectors of education. In 2007, the recommendations of the Eleventh Five Year Plan gave particular attention to the education of the girl child (Eleventh Five Year Plan 2007-2012). The Right to Education (RTE) Act was passed in 2009 and it provides the right to free and compulsory education to all children of the age of 6 to 14 years (RTE Act 2009).

One programme that officially acknowledges the need for manifold strategies to reach out to the unreached is DPEP. However, a review of DPEP interventions indicates that it is only in certain areas like planning and management, school community linkages and school infrastructure and facilities that a fairly consistent effort with respect to gender and social equity has been made across the DPEP states and districts, often with mixed consequences (Ramachandran 2004). In Cuddalore district in Tamil Nadu, due to DPEP's focus on girls' education very little resistance has remained to educating girls. Girls are expected to do well at all levels of education. However, expectations of gender roles have not changed in the domestic sphere (Rathnam 2004).

Initiatives that stand out from the rest because of their scope as well as documented impact on expanding access to primary schools, particularly among girls and other special focus groups, are Alternative Schooling and the Employment Guarantee Scheme (AS/EGS) (Ramachandran 2004). In Betul district Madhya Pradesh, there are attempts to actively address gender issues and focus on the gender division of labour in AS, EGS and the girls' Government Primary School (GPS) classrooms (Saihjee 2004).

In another study in Madhya Pradesh, the EGS scheme was found to be decentralized to the extent that it permits flexibility in the functioning of schools with regard to time and promotion policy. This has increased the access to education for many children, especially girls. Flexibility in timings has allowed girls to continue with formal schooling. The scheme has also built backward and forward linkages by linking schemes of adult literacy such as Padna Badna Andolan and integrated the local community in curriculum development through Aas Pas Ki Khoj. The integration of these schemes with the EGS has allowed for a holistic effort to ensure that girls are able to complete their basic education (Sharma 2004).

In many districts in Madhya Pradesh and Chhatisgarh, the increase in the literacy rates of girls has been through the combined efforts of various alternate school systems. Infact, the AS programme in Madhya Pradesh and Chhattisgarh evolved a wide range of need specific strategies that were tried out in various parts of the country. These include schools with specially designed curriculum for adolescent girls and efforts to reach out to Muslim girls through maktabs and madrasas (Ghosh 2004). In rural Rajasthan it was found that some children, especially girls, are likely to go to the maktab in larger number than to the formal school (Nambissan 2001). However, there exists a paradox of evolving a system of providing some access to those hitherto left out without following it up with creating a viable alternative stream. As such, it appears that the pressure towards uniformity of textbooks and pedagogy mitigates against the original analysis of why children have so far remained left out (Ghosh 2004). Thus, there is no alternative to regular schooling of good quality to all girls. Nonetheless, if such single sex schools widen the opportunity for a section of girls to attend schools, they need to be promoted as a short term strategy with a focus on empowerment issues within education so that the next generation does not demand separate schools for their girls. The CABE Committee recommends conversion of boys' schools into co education schools (CABE Committee 2005 pg 20, 28).

Another special intervention under the DPEP was the Meena campaign in Uttar Pradesh. It was initiated to enhance community commitment to girls' education. The objectives of Meena

Manch were to provide adolescent girls a platform to express themselves, discuss their queries and create awareness about child and women rights among them; and develop leadership, cooperation capacities and skills of creation, writing and painting. These Meena Manches are actively handling the school library, sports activities and management of early child care education centers in cluster schools of National programme for Education of Girls at Elementary Level (NPEGEL). They mobilize the community through role play; story telling; and discussion regarding issues of attendance, out of school children, early marriage, dowry, health and hygiene, gender discrimination, and education plans for the village.

At another level, other DPEP initiatives have ended up being a pastiche of extremely localised efforts that are either transient or restricted in outreach. Thus, it has been impossible to precisely measure their effectiveness in attaining gender and social equity. Moreover, the data available in DPEP does not allow a comprehensive assessment of gender and social equity issues. Another area of concern is the lack of independent research based information on the impact of DPEP in India (Ramachandran 2004).

Another initiative launched to improve girls' participation in schools are the Kasturba Gandhi Balika Vidyalayas (KGBVs). KGBV was started under the tenth plan (CABE Committee 2005 pg 25). Under KGBV, 2.03 lakh girls from SC, ST, OBC, Muslim minorities and economically backward groups are provided with residential school facilities. In Educationally Backward Blocks (EBB) different activities aimed at girls' empowerment are also carried out under NPEGEL schemes. The impact of these programs is significant in changing attitudes, increasing retention and providing varied learning experiences for girls. However, to revitalise their implementation and increase coverage further measures are needed. KGBV and NPEGEL should be rendered more flexible to be able to respond to the local context and needs, and to be integrated in a wider perspective of "Quality with Equity". In the light of SSA transformation to implement the RTE constant revision is needed to identify good practices from different states as well as strengths and weaknesses. A taskforce can be set up to help strengthening these schemes, conceptually and operationally, and to enhance the capacity to serve SC/ST girls and particularly Muslim girls whose coverage remains of concern. Ministry of Human Resource Development (MoHRD) should translate the outcomes of the various evaluations of these two programs into concrete actions to improve various dimensions of the interventions, including classroom processes, equity issues, gender approach and transition (12th JRM for the SSA, July 2010). [Insert Case Study 4]

A much needed opportunity to learn in a congenial environment characterised by child centred learning has been provided by the Accelerated Learning (AL) program. Young women and girls who participated in condensed programmes across the country share that the experience was valuable and it was their only window into the world of education. However, at the same time programmes are often unable to sustain their achievements through forging of effective multiple linkages with the formal education system to ensure continuous learning. Little is known about the impact of participation in these schools, not just on girls' learning and

empowerment, but also on question of these girls' completion of formal schooling (Ramachandran 2004, Bandopadhyay and Subramaniam 2008). At has also been criticized for providing a cheaper alternative to formal schooling as parents avoid sending their children to formal schools and instead send them to At. Since the demand for such interventions is increasing, the limitations as well as the potential of At as a strategy needs to be critically engaged with within our quest for achieving universal elementary education (Ramachandran 2004).

In Rajasthan children were sent to residential schools to bridge the gap in their schooling as part of attaining Minimum Levels of Learning. Female teachers were not keen on teaching in these as this would have required them to stay away from their families. Even the female teachers teaching were not part of the management. This had an effect on the enrolment of girls in these schools. The Adhyapika Manch (AP) was started as part of the Lok Jumbish programme in Rajasthan as a forum for female teachers. The manch was created with the purpose of providing female teachers a platform to express their needs and to help the teachers to work together to resolve issues. The AP provided a forum for women to come together and participate in management decisions thereby becoming positive role models for girls in schools. Eventually the forum was discontinued due to the lack of funds (Jain 2004).

SLC is an education programme started for girls with the aim of developing appreciation for different forms of equity, respect for diversity and democracy and capability to question, argue and negotiate in the context of real life experiences and social situations. The Udaan experience reflects upon the content and the process of developing the Social Learning Curriculum (SLC), training the teachers, the challenges faced and the impact on girls. The process of adaptation and the challenges faced are reflected upon by the Janshala experience (Jha and Gulati 2004). Some state specific interventions that have been seen to narrow the gender gap are- access to teaching materials and parental involvement and teacher assigning homework in Assam, head teacher acting as leader in Haryana and a stable teaching staff in Karnataka (World Bank 1997).

To sum up, to ensure higher levels of and better quality of education among girls the instrumentalist approach needs to be done away with. Majority of the education programs vary in their consistency and consequences across locations. Most of them, like the DPEP in Madhya Pradesh, have been successful in increasing enrolment of girls in schools. However, they have not been able to question the existing gender roles. Those initiatives, like the AS/EGS/GPS which do address the root of the problem and the gendered division of labour have been limited in outreach and temporary in nature. This does not allow for a comprehensive evaluation of their effectiveness. Then there are programmes, like the KGBV and NPEGEL, which do not respond sufficiently to local needs and the context. For their improvement their evaluation outcomes should be translated into interventions. The outcomes of these programs have also not been sustainable because they have failed to forge forward and backward linkages with formal education and other education programmes like those of adult literacy. Programs for alternative schooling for girls are important, particularly for girls from more disadvantaged groups like

Muslims. However, they must not be promoted as anything more than a short term strategy to empower girls in a manner that these alternative schools can be dissolved over time.

VOs: Organising adolescent girls

There is today increasing recognition of the need to mobilise and organise adolescent girls, and build up solidarity. There are community based organizations (CBOs) or voluntary organizations (VOs) that have been involved in organizing adolescent girls and boys for their overall development and sensitization towards education and health issues. A good example of the above is the Doosra Dashak Project in Rajasthan, which is about the education and development of persons in the age group of 11-20 years to make them a lever for larger social and economic development.

Education of Scheduled Tribes

As far as education of STs is concerned, present day initiatives of NGOs are limited in the form of ashram schools and Non Formal Education (NFE). A major initiative in education among STs was taken up by the Christian missionaries. Moreover, there is a lack of information on these tribal education and NGO initiatives, and a need for qualitative and focused research here. The NGO initiatives in education have been visualized as a partnership with the government (Nambissan 2000, pg 210). Some of the problems faced by tribals in accessing education are distance to schools, disconnect to the curriculum and medium of instruction. Schools in tribal areas tend to be single teacher schools, and chronic absenteeism of the teacher is a serious problem. What is also needed is the promotion of the use of tribal languages (reading material in local dialects) to encourage education among ST children, particularly girls (Nambissan 2000, pg 195). Nambissan is of the opinion that any change in the above will bring about a positive change in girls' education (Nambissan 2000). [Insert Case Study 5]

Emerging focus on Muslim girls

SC and ST Education have been receiving top priority within gender equality, since the National Policy on Education 1992. However, the attention to education of Muslim girls is only recent. NFHS 1992-3 reveals not only a higher rate of literacy among Hindus than Muslims in the age group of 13 to 49, but also that while 7.9 % Hindu girls had finished school, the same was true of only 4.5% of Muslim girls (Nisa 1998 in Khullar 2005). In rural Rajasthan it was seen that some children, especially girls, are likely to go to the maktab in larger number than to the formal school (Nambissan 2001). In Karnataka one important reason for drop out among Muslim girls was seen to be parents' preference for madarassas (Kaul 2001). Thus, the education of Muslim girls is increasingly receiving greater focus. One such initiative is training for Muslim girls' education being organized by DOE in partnership with Nirantar. In Madhya Pradesh and Chhattisgarh, the AS programme also evolved a wide range of need specific strategies to reach out to Muslim girls through maktabs and madrasas.

Initiatives for education of migrant girl children

Non government interventions for education of migrant, particularly seasonal migrant children are limited. Most of NGOs are found to be involved in work on livelihoods which does mitigate distress migration. There are some NGOs that address the question of migration and education directly. These include Janarth on sugarcane migration in Aurangabad, Maharashtra, Setu on saltpan, brick kilns, charcoal and roof tile migration in Ahmedabad, Gujarat, and Vikalpa and Lok Drishto on brick kiln migration from Western Orissa to Andhra Pradesh. Some of the interventions of these programmes include alternate schools for migrant children at work sites, with a specific focus on getting girls to school, after which they can seek readmission in their village schools based on the attendance and examination records which are sent back to their respective village schools; pre primary centres attached to alternate schools; suitable pedagogy to improve the learning outcomes; seasonal hostels in villages to retain children to go to school while their parents migrate; bridge courses in the village; strengthening the local schools and ensuring coverage of all children in the village; and advocacy with the employers in the host areas, the community and the government. Teacher recruitment for schools at work sites is difficult because of the remote nature of these sites and the seasonal nature of the schools here. One solution here has been recruitment of teachers from sending areas who can be absorbed in the village after migration (Rogaly et al 2001, 2002).

Section IV: Recommendations for action- A review

A wide range of strategies have been suggested for improving girls participation in schooling by the state and national level consultations organized by UNICEF, recommendations of the 12th Joint Review Mission (JRM) for the Sarva Shiksha Abhiyan (SSA), CABE Committee 2005, Working Group Report of the Development of Education of SC/ST/Minorities/Girls and Other Disadvantaged Groups under 11th Five Year Plan, the Working Group on Development on Children for education of girls under the 11th Five Year Plan, Global Campaign for Education 2003, and other policy researchers and analysts. Some of the key recommendations are summarized here under the broad heads of school level, community level, or macro level strategies; while this is not a comprehensive listing of all the suggestions made, it seeks to draw attention to the need to think holistically and within a broader framework than the classroom and school alone.

School level interventions

Girls and female teachers need to be provided specific facilities, notably toilets, water and better security (Bandopadhyay and Subramaniam 2008). The provision of girls' toilets in primary schools has improved from 44% in 2008/09 to 51% in 2009/10. Such provisions should also be viewed in the wider context of their impact and functionality. For example, in Andhra Pradesh, less than 30% of the girls' toilets were functional. More generally, the environment of a school

(including physical) must be child friendly. Thus, the school must have good infrastructure, including pucca buildings and furniture.

In addition, given that girls are often the main carers of younger siblings, ECCE Centers should be established in all habitations irrespective of the number of inhabitants and this should be gradually elevated by inclusion of other components like nutrition, health etc. These also need improved coordination with regular school timings and better functioning.

Presence of women teachers is also known to encourage girls' participation. As a result of recruiting more female teachers, the proportion of female teachers in the total teaching force is now 45% (DISE 2009-10, 12th JRM for the SSA, July 2010). The absence of female teachers in many schools reinforces the male dominated nature of the school environment (PROBE 1998). For instance, in Surguja district, Chhatisgarh there seems to be an inbuilt difference in the approach to boys and girls amongst the male teachers (Das 2004). However, the problem of women teachers for rural areas is difficult to solve without developing girls from the same areas to take up the job. The recommendation must also take into account the real problems faced by women teachers in the villages. It is also critical that the issues of teachers' accountability and responsibility are linked to those of status and rights of women teachers (Jha and Bhardwaj 2001). To this end, female teachers associations should be created and teachers unions receive gender sensitization training.

Another phenomenon that requires attention is that girls disappear off the formal education policy agenda past the age of 14, at a crucial age when aspirations can be channeled into opportunities. Thus, the state should focus on retention and transition to upper primary and secondary school. Here, the policy responses should include expansion of their availability, addressing socio-cultural constraints that exclude girls (both within society and within the school), keeping its costs low, and proscription through law of education non participation across the board (Majumdar 2001, Jha and Subramaniam 2004).

Residential schools such as the Kasturba Gandhi Balika Vidyalaya Scheme should be extended as well up to class XII. However, the scheme does need to start responding to local needs and the context. The outcomes of its evaluation should be translated into actions for its improvement and a better response to the local situation. It must also forge forward and backward linkages with formal education and other education programmes like those of adult literacy, for sustainable outcomes. More hostels especially for girls need to be opened closer to the secondary schools, which the girls attend. There should be a special scheme for construction of hostels, especially for girls.

Moreover, schools should play a transformative role ideally. They need to create demand for more rewarding subjects than passively cater to demand. More teachers need to be recruited for non stereotyped courses in single sex girls' schools, to give girls a real, not only notional, choice of opting for 'non womanly' courses. Furthermore, courses like those in basics of

parenting, reproductive health etc are as important for boys as they are for girls. Also, they would help break established notions like parenting is only the mother's responsibility.

Learning at school must be relevant to the lives of children, and for girls, life skills programmes are especially useful, in addition to other recommendations to make learning relevant such as extra-curricular activities in schools; Sports facilities; Peer learning forums; Peer mentors; Child to child learning systems. What can also be taken up is Information Communication Technology (ICT) based education for adolescent girls.

Community level

Gender sensitisation strategies will succeed only if genuine mobilisation based on participative involvement of teachers along with their effective interaction with the community and parents is patiently, but consistently, pursued over a long time. Community mobilisation was adopted as a major strategy for bringing girls to school under DPEP and other similar projects. However, the campaigns focused on creating a milieu just for sending girls to schools. And again the deeper issues concerning the prevalent gender disadvantage in the society were not really addressed.

Programmes need to emphasise on creating safe public spaces for girls, to increase their mobility and improve their access to school and other services. Further, there is need for sensitivity to community sentiments (Nambissan 2001). Primary schools and, particularly at the middle school stage (Nambissan 2001), single sex formal and alternative schools, need to be expanded within habitations. This would encourage girls to attend schools by ensuring better security too.

In addition, monitoring and accountability mechanisms of gender and social exclusion need to be set up at different levels, notably within School Management Committees (SMC) and local authorities (PRI- Panchayati Raj Institutions). Besides, social audits conducted should also involve the community and report on the practices of gender discrimination inside the schools and classrooms. Educational targets should be spelt out in terms of relative achievement and performance of girls, and not just enrolment. Dropout rates, too, are better indicators than GPI and enrollment rates of inequality in education.

Other suggestions for encouraging community involvement include gender discourse with village groups; Reach out to influential village leaders/ elders; Strengthen role of PRIs, NGOs, CBOs; Enhance role of male relatives in girls' education; Bottom up strategies that reflect community's needs to empower girls in and out of school; Independent monitoring body to report abuse, GBV, corporal punishment; Strengthened role and increased involvement of Parent Teacher Assocations (PTAs).

Macro/ system level recommendations

The recognition that gender equality in education has to be linked with the wider gender equality discourse needs to trickle across and to all levels of administration, from bureaucrats to schools. State functionaries need to be made more aware of the Child Labour legislation and child rights as well.

It is also emphasised that efforts to universalise schooling are doomed if attention is confined only to the education sector. Supportive policies in other areas are needed to ensure that children go to school (Sudarshan 2000, Bandopadhyay and Subramanian 2008). For example, a ban on child labour, better system of child care, development of local village infrastructure and better environmental management are necessary complements. Similarly, literacy campaigns cannot succeed on their own unless supported by general educational activities and educational resource groups at the grass root level (Sudarshan 2000).

There is a need for cooperation across different departments and ministries, like those of education, tribal, women and child development etc; NGOs; and across states. A systematic approach to pull out best practices from the states, to reflect and build on lessons learnt from practices, and to promote formal mechanisms of exchange of experiences related to gender and social inclusion, must be put in place. Better coordination and consultation among different government departments (eg. through quarterly meetings) and NGOs should help improve supervision, monitoring, capacity building, supplementary materials, ICT interaction and use of Right to Information (RTI). Similarly, we also need to learn from useful examples from other countries, particularly other South Asian countries where United Nations Girls' Education Initiative (UNGEI) has been more successful and East Asian countries which indicate better statistics on education of girls.

Strategies for improving the education system per se include the need to ensure well functioning and good quality schools, ensure learning, making education relevant to the lives of children, and creating backward and forward linkages. It is also suggested that an accelerated programme of inclusion of low literacy districts especially low female literacy areas should be initiated in all states.

As far as teachers' education is concerned, gender sensitization should be made a part of it. Moreover, it must place emphasis on social practices and secondary position of women in society. The review of curricula must also be done in a similar manner and delve into deeper aspects.

In the case of the Muslim minorities steps need to be taken towards standardization of madrasa syllabi for increased gender sensitivity in the curriculum. To encourage education among ST children, particularly girls, what is needed is the promotion of the use of tribal languages through availability of reading material in local dialects.

Besides, gender budgeting can be a useful tool to focus on gender dimensions of the budget at various levels, national, state, municipal etc. It involves examining the results of budgetary allocations from the gender perspective, i.e., how they affect men and women.

Research is also needed to study grass root/micro level strategies adopted by NGOs for individual communities at different locations and their effectiveness (Joshi 2010). The experience of working with out of school children and communities of non government initiatives needs to be integrated into the mainstream, such as those of Loreto Convent, Kolkata which has an innovative outreach programme and informal teachers' training in alternative methods.

Further, the impact of the growth in private schooling needs to be better understood and addressed.

One more crucial question that does not seem to have been given due emphasis by research and policy so far is the education of girl children from economically disadvantaged migrant families, particularly seasonal. For sustainable results, the village needs to be the ground for main interventions and the work sites for the supplementary ones. All the alternative interventions should lead the child back to school. Integrated interventions are needed (Rogaly et al 2001, 2002).

Another area which calls for focused and qualitative research is the education of girls in conflict zones or during emergencies. These girls face the problems of physical safety and psychological trauma, in addition to difficulties in access, the questionable quality of pedagogies, and discriminatory norms and practices. Flexibility, multi dimensional efforts and creativity is required to ensure physically, psychologically and socially appropriate education for them. Their teachers need awareness and specific training, including for living in difficult circumstances and counseling for trauma.

Similarly, more research to understand barriers to education within groups such as SC/ST, Muslims; Gender disaggregated data on boys and girls in school and out of school; Special attention to excluded areas and groups within the universalistic framework of quality education, Recognition of cross sector social exclusion, like tribal girls, linguistic minority girls, girls from poor families, religious minority girls etc.

Section V: Conclusion

This review paper begins with an explanation of gender inequality in schooling, and its interplay with other forms of social inequality, notably caste, religion, location, income and migrant status. This is followed by a brief discussion on the macro economic context of girls' schooling in India and the gender bias in private schooling. The analysis of the existing situation concerning girls' schooling uses overall trends and data on children out of school. The essay also highlights the work of the Indian Women's Movement for girls' education. It talks about the reasons for a

higher drop out rate among adolescent girls, and gender sensitization and quality of teachers' training as well. The paper concludes with a review of contemporary government and non government initiatives for girls' schooling, including those for ST, Muslim and migrant girls, and summarizes the main recommendations for policy action made by observers and analysts.

General trends indicate substantial reduction over time of gender gaps in schooling. However, recent data on children out of school reveals that at a disaggregated level (by social group, location) there are still persisting gender inequalities. These derive primarily from higher expectations from girls concerning household responsibilities, care of siblings, mobility and safety constraints, early marriage and the lack of an orientation towards seeking paid work. This inequality is seen to grow with reaching adolescence and higher levels of schooling. And here, girls from ST, SC and Muslim communities, poorer or migrant households, and those living in remote rural areas tend to form the most vulnerable groups. The expansion of private schooling seems to be furthering these gender differences, although a final verdict on this is not yet clear. A good ECCE system in coordination with high quality schooling and gender equality in the classroom is indispensable for improving girls' participation in schooling. Some other effective strategies to lower this gap in schooling include poverty reduction, village development, ecological regeneration and community management of resources, all of which would help to release girls from the gender specific additional demands on their time. To conclude, one can say that to ensure higher levels and better quality of education among girls, programmes and initiatives must be responsive to the local context and needs, and foster linkages with formal education and other development initiatives.

Case study 1: The SNEHA School- Education for Inclusion and Peace, Arunachal Pradesh

The Chakmas belong to a tribal group that has inhabited the Chittagong Hill Tracts (CHT) of Bangladesh for centuries. Despite the fact that most of the inhabitants of the CHT are either Buddhist or Hindu, the region became a part of Pakistan with the partition of India in 1947. In 1964, communal violence and the construction of the Kaptai hydro-electric dam displaced nearly 100,000 Chakmas, out of which a large number sought refuge in India.

Approximately 35,000 of these Chakmas were given valid migration certificates and settled in what was then the North East Frontier Agency, today the Arunachalese districts of Lohit, Changlang, and Papumpare. These migration certificates indicated legal entry into India and the willingness of the Government to accept the Chakmas as future citizens, much like the migrants from Pakistan following Partition. In the years since then, the Chakmas have built villages, developed the land granted to them, and established strong ties to the region. Today, they have become a part of the social fabric of the state of Arunachal Pradesh. However, they have also faced severe social discrimination.

In Arunachal's Lohit district, primary schools were closed and Chakma students were denied access to all of the area's secondary schools. At Chakma Basti, a school serving more than 350 students was abruptly closed and its teachers transferred to other districts in September 1994. Also, during this month, the Chakma students studying at the Chowkham Government Higher Secondary School and the Namasai Government Higher Secondary School were arbitrarily expelled from these institutions.

In the district of Changlang, more violent means were employed in order to deprive the Chakmas of their right to education. The Diyun Secondary School, a school constructed by the Chakmas on a self-help basis, was burned to the ground in November 1994. This was the only school serving a student population of more than 1200.

It was in such political and economic circumstances that SNEHA, the school at Avoipur at Diyun Circle was set up to address the educational needs of the Chakmas. SNEHA as an institutional organization was set up in 2002 by Susanta Chakma in association with some renowned social workers of India like Dr. Chhibbar, Prof. D.L Sheth, and Surendra Mohan, Shefali Agarwal an IIT-Delhi student and some Chakma associates of Susanta Chakma.

When the school started in 2003, it was a small thatched bamboo structure and the 109 students that came to the school were mainly Chakma and Hajong children. Now, the school structure remains the same though additional classes have been added, and a mosaic of multicultural and ethnic hues make up the background of the 438 students enrolled in the SNEHA school.

The school's greatest success perhaps lies in the fact that the school has been recognized as an educational institution that caters to all communities. There has been a gradual realization by

non Chakma and non Hajong communities that the school maintains a high standard of education. Asked what makes a Marwari small trader send his son to school, Manoj Bhushan simply says, "The school building may not be good, but I have heard from many people that what they teach and how they teach is what makes the difference." It is this recognition by people, which cuts across communities that has made parents contribute towards the upkeep of the school. This, despite being told by school authorities that transfer certificates issued by the school would not be treated as valid papers as the school is not yet registered. According to Arindam Dewan, Headmaster of SNEHA school, "Over the years, we have had the parents pool in financial resources towards buying materials for the upkeep of the school. Those who could not contribute financially, assisted us physically in roofing, erecting walls and fences for the school."

Source: National Foundation for India

Case Study 2: Mahila Samakhya Karnataka-facilitated KGBV and NPEGEL programmes: Using the technical expertise and organisational experience of a quasi-government organisation to promote gender equity in education

The Kasturba Gandhi Balika Vidyalaya (KGBV) scheme of the central government was set up in 2004 in to serve Educationally Backward Blocks (EBBs) in which the rural female literacy is below the national average, and the gender gap in literacy is above the national average. Under this scheme, residential schools are set up to cater to girl children belonging primarily to Dalit, tribal, OBC and minority communities in such areas or areas with scattered habitations. The National Programme for Education of Girls at the Primary Level (NPEGEL) is designed to provide additional elements of support for the elementary education of girls from disadvantaged backgrounds in EBBs, urban slums, etc. These schemes are implemented through a variety of agencies, including the Mahila Samakhya in states where this programme exists.

A small qualitative study was made of the NPEGEL and KGBV programmes implemented by Mahila Samakhya Karnataka (MSK) to understand the difference that a programme that is already committed to and has extensive experience of promoting gender equity and women's literacy can make to education programmes aimed at supporting disadvantaged girl students. Mahila Samakhya is a programme of the Department of School Education and Literacy, Ministry of Human Resource Development, Government of India. Conceived as a result of the New Education Policy of 1986, the programme attempts to play a "positive, interventionist role" for promoting women's equality. Karnataka was one of the first states, along with Gujarat and Uttar Pradesh, in which the programme was piloted. Built on the foundation of village-level collectives of women from marginalised or disadvantaged backgrounds, including Dalit and tribal women, and women in poverty, including wage labourers, Mahila Samakhya Karnataka (MSK) today works with 60,000 women in 12 districts of Karnataka, of which 9 are in the north Karnataka region which tends to fare rather poorly on many socio-economic indicators, and three are in south-west and south east Karnataka. In addition to education, MSK works in the areas of promoting women's participation in governance, women's health, legal literacy, economic self-reliance, and political empowerment through federating women's collectives.

MSK's approach to make its NPEGEL and KGBV programmes successful is multi-pronged, focusing not only on academic education and residential support (in the case of the latter scheme), but a number of additional inputs for the students, interventions with the family and the community, attention to administrative details and teacher support.

Expert facilitation encourages the communities to pay particular attention to the barriers that prevent girl children from attending school. Larger awareness campaigns, aimed at enlisting community support to put all children in school, called Shikshana Arivu Andolanas, are held. Information sessions on the facilities and benefits of the two schemes are held for children, parents, MSK sanghas (women's groups) and panchayats. In addition, a stringent and effective community monitoring system, consisting of "ōni gumpu" is set up. These groups are responsible for ensuring that all children from a cluster of 20 houses go to school, and for helping girl children negotiate the difficulties, including family opposition, that they

may face in going to school. If there are larger structural or systemic barriers, the leaders of these groups bring these to the attention of the local government, and advocate for solutions.

MSK's community organisers make repeated visits, even in the face of stiff opposition, and sometimes, threats of violence, to families whose children are out of school to persuade them to send their children to school and help resolve the reservations and difficulties that prevent them from doing so. They also enlist the services of the local sanghas and key members in the community to do this. Exposure visits are provided for parents to the NPEGEL and KGBV programmes.

Apart from regular academic classes, supervised study time, and tutoring for children who are struggling, the MSK -facilitated KGBV and NPEGEL programmes also include regular opportunities for play. Children are taught how to cycle, (as recommended in the guidelines of the NPEGEL), which improves their confidence and mobility. The girl children, most of whom were either never admitted to school, or were pulled out of school, to assist with domestic work, labour on family land, provide childcare of younger siblings, or work as agricultural labour, learn karate, which gives them an experience of physical culture which is different from the drudgery of hard labour, apart from being a useful skill for self-defence. The girls have taken to karate enthusiastically and it has given them opportunities for achievement and recognition: many of them have represented the school and won prizes at the district, state and national levels. Students also get a range of cultural experiences: apart from learning local folk music and dances, they learn classical music and Bharatnatyam, and receive an exposure to elements of what is termed "high culture". That old mainstay, tailoring, is a part of the repertoire of vocational skills that the students learn, but breaking the gender stereotypes, girls also learn cycle repair, radio and TV repair, etc. Girls also receive training in a range of hobbies like candle making, sari painting, jewellery making, etc. which they reported enjoying thoroughly. The staff plan regular exposure visits for the girls, to the local bank, post-office, police station, courts, gram panchayat office, etc., so that children at once learn about public amenities, and also overcome the anxiety and diffidence that being female and in poverty usually associates with going to 'official' spaces and interacting with officials. Children are also taken to the District Commissioner's office, where they interact with officials. Such experiences help to create a future orientation for the children, aspirations for the future when they see women working at these offices, and a sense of a larger context, beyond their homes and the work opportunities available in their immediate vicinities. Regular trainings on gender, child rights, and legal issues affecting women provide the students with a capacity to analyse the situations they see in their communities from human rights and socio-political perspectives. Regular picnics and excursions contribute to rest and recreation, and break the monotony of a residential programme. Apart from the major festivals of all religions, the KGBVs celebrate all the small local festivals and feasts, like hunnime oota or beladingala oota, with the special foods associated with each, so that children are not homesick at these special times. Over and above all of these, the children reported that they were really happy to have the time to study, which chores and family pressures did not allow before they joined the programme.

Teachers at the MSK-facilitated KGBVs and NPEGELs take part in the gender-related trainings that are an intrinsic feature of the MSK culture. A significant aspect of the administration of the MSK- facilitated KGBVs and NPEGELs is that there is hands-on involvement of the MSK leadership at all levels, whether of

the Block Coordinator, the District Coordinators, or the State Project Director. These KGBVs do not sub-contract arrangements for the board and other expenses of the students. They rely on a centralised procurement system set up by MSK, so that quality foodstuffs can be obtained in bulk at the most competitive prices.

The NPEGELs, as a much smaller programme, sometimes suffered a little from the fact that a single teacher was supported by MSK staff, but did not have a larger community of peers, or as much of an institutionalised framework, from within the programme as was the case with KGBV. To that extent, it meant that the programme was only as good as the person doing the actual implementation. In other words, the success of the NPEGELs depended more on the personal qualities and capacities of the individual teacher, in a way that was less the case for KGBVs.

Other concerns were more general, not specific to the MSK-facilitated KGBVs; related to separating children from their families, and placing them in institutional care settings. Without hesitation or exception, the students said that they would rather be at the KGBVs than at home. They said that the range of things that they got to learn about, the amount of rest and recreation that they got at the hostel, they could not get at home. Nor could they get the support to study. As one student at a KGBV hostel in Koppal said, "Before my parents pulled me out of the village school, if my grandmother ever saw me with my books, she would get very angry, scold me and my parents, and immediately find some chore for me to do. I am so happy that no one disturbs me here when I study."

Source: Abstracted from Meera Pillai/ Revisiting Education for All/ (also in) PROBE Revisited: A Report on Elementary Education in India

Case study 3: Empowering Girls in Excluded Communities in Bihar through Education

This Project is implemented by the *Bihar Mahila Samakhya Society* (BMSS), with the support of UNICEF and the UK National Committee for UNICEF. BMSS is a registered society of Government of Bihar, for empowerment and education of girls and women. BMSS is also responsible for implementing the Centrally Sponsored Programme of *Mahila Samakhya* as well as NPEGEL and KGBV. Bihar *Mahila Samakhya* Society runs over 1,300 non-residential education Centres (*Jagjagi*) for adolescent girls, 700 early child care and education centers (*Bal Jagjagi*) and 22 residential education centers (MSKs), benefiting more than 60,000 girls in about 5,618 villages in 13 districts of Bihar.

Project Objectives:

- To provide quality education to 250 adolescent girls every year (50 girls each in 5 Centers) of 11-18 years from excluded communities who have never been to school or are school drop-outs.
- To empower 250 students of the Centers every year by imparting life skills and vocational skills. The Project would encourage the girls to continue their higher education and emerge as leaders in their villages and communities.

Strategies:

- Establish residential MSKs of one-year each in 5 districts with the assistance of Bihar Mahila Samakhya Society and its Mahila Samoohs.
- Introduce the curriculum, syllabus, TLM, learning material, pupil evaluation system, teaching learning processes etc as adopted in the existing MSK Centres of Mahila Samakhya along with inputs on life skills, vocational skills and training on bicycle riding, karate, yoga etc.

Provided Education to Adolescent Girls:

There is great demand for admission to these centers, by girls. During admission process the application of girls exceeded by 5-10 times of the in-take capacity of the centers. The process for selection of third batch of girls was rigorous. First, the field level functionaries of *Bihar Mahila Samakhya Society* identified girls in excluded communities. Girls from marginalized communities who are poor and who had never attended school or are school drop-out were given preference. The girls were finally selected through workshops at block and district levels, based on written test, aptitude test and group discussion. In all, there are 331 girls (as against the project goal of 250 girls) in the Project supported nine Centers in eight Districts of Bihar. Out of this, about 69% girls are from the socially and educationally backward Scheduled Caste (SC) and

Scheduled Tribe (ST) community, 10% from the minority Muslim community and 24% from other backward communities.

Learning levels:

In July 2009, on joining the Centre, the girls were imparted two-week orientation for preparing them for the programme. The competencies of the girls were assessed and categorized into different groups as per their learning level, characterized by colours at MSK.

After graduating from the Centre, these girls will join Grade 6 in regular schools. Every year, the graduates of MSK return to the Centre for one month where they undergo booster residential education programme.

Activities at Centers:

After two months of opening of the centre Judo-Karate and training to ride bicycle were introduced and after four months, vocational inputs in terms of Madhubani painting, Jute work, tailoring, etc were imparted to girls as part of the curriculum. All the girls at Mahila Shikshan Kendra apart from their scholastic development have been exposed to different basic vocational skills in painting, jute work, Madhubani painting (traditional folk art), stitching and sewing, judo-karate, yoga and cycling.

Impact

With the support of the United Kingdom (UK) National Committee for UNICEF, the Project provided educational opportunity to adolescent girls in the most excluded communities in Bihar.

Source: Abstracted from Progress Report on 'Empowering Girls in Excluded Communities in Bihar through Education' prepared for the United Kingdom National Committee for UNICEF in 2009

Case Study 4: Community Owned and Managed Education: Setting up Schools for Tribal Children in Dindigul district

An experiment in "Community (Owned and) Managed Education" by traditionally marginalised and disadvantaged tribal communities in Dindigul district, facilitated by a non-governmental organisation called Rural Education for Action and Development, led to local community-based organisations setting up five primary schools and two balawadis to serve their communities in the Kodaikanal, Oddanchatram, Palani and Vadamadurai taluks. The effort emerged out of a particular history, related to the exploitation, and later, the conscientisation of the tribal communities of the lower Palani hills, particularly in the Kodaikanal area.

As late as the 1990s, hundreds of tribal families, belonging to the Paliyar, Pulayar, Malaivedan, Kattunayakan, Muduvar, Malajar, Valaiyar and Malaipandaram communities, had worked as bonded labourers over generations in the estates in the Kodaikanal and lower Palani hill areas. Their experiences were marked by exploitation through poor working conditions and very poor wages, physical abuse, lack of access to any grievance redressal system, and sexual exploitation of women. Many of these areas were only accessible by footpaths through the thickly forested hills, and the lack of accessibility ensured that these conditions could be maintained without fear of official intervention as late as the 1990s. NGO representatives from organisations like the Rural Education and Action for Development (READ) managed to get information about the tribals in bonded labour to national newspapers like the Hindu and the Indian Express in the mid-1990s. Denials by the state government led to orders from the Supreme Court that an independent team carry out investigations into the newspaper reports. When the allegations were confirmed, the Supreme Court directed that certain reputed NGOs working in the area carry out the identification and enumeration of such families, and file petitions for their release and rehabilitation. In spite of attacks by vested interests, including the thugs of estate owners in cahoots with local politicians, between 1996 and 2002, 1,248 families were released.

The causes for the development of community schools by tribal populations in these areas and the process by which these evolved show many interesting features. These include an understanding by the tribals that their lack of awareness and education meant that they had little influence in the administrative system; consequently, these communities developed an almost missionary zeal to educate their children. The communities sought support from the government to set up schools for their children. However, the stand of the District Education Officer (DEO) was that even if they sanctioned a school, the hamlets were so small and remote that teachers would not take up the assignment. They suggested that work be undertaken through the Tribal Welfare Department. After extensive consultations to solve the issue, the community decided to set up their own schools. Class XII graduates were identified from Kodaikanal who served as teachers. Each family contributed Rs. 5 per child being sent to school, and, initially, in 1998-1999, the teachers received a salary of Rs. 300, along with food and accommodation. Members of the community gathered bamboo, forest grass, etc., and built the schoolrooms with the whole village contributing their labour, and even the children doing their bit. They also built huts so that the teachers could stay in the village. Members of the community took it in turns

to provide food for the teachers. In this way, teachers were made a part of the community, and accountability became easier.

The community realised that there were many NGOs working in the area, which would be willing to include the villages in their programmes. Accordingly, they began negotiations with them, asking them for resources that they could contribute to the school. Accordingly, NGOs provided slates, books, teaching aids like charts, as well as made contributions towards a noon meal for children. Small grants were also made for improving infrastructure. The NGOs also provided funds to raise the salaries of the teachers to Rs.1,500. The NGOs provided support to ensure that the teachers could attend any inservice trainings or education-related workshops being conducted by the NGO community in the area. The community continues to network with NGOs to secure resources and ensure regular medical checkups for the school children. Another indirect way in which education was supported was by using the services of NGOs to develop additional livelihood options for themselves, like beekeeping, so that the families did not miss the earnings of children who were no longer working.

The community took the support of the NGOs to develop the curriculum for the school in the early days. In addition, tribal leaders and elders of the community sat down with the teachers and worked out slots when the children would learn the traditional musical instruments like the drum and flute, the ritual songs and dances, techniques of hunting and trapping which are part of tribal ritual and culture. Children learn about medicinal herbs, barks, etc., and how to gather and store these. Traditional tribal values related to protection of the forest, conservation of water, etc. were also incorporated into the curriculum. Now, the schools follow the Activity Based Learning (ABL) method, and all the related resources are available in the schools.

Simultaneously, the strong community-based organisations, with NGO support worked to establish contacts and win the support of government systems and secure resources. They obtained permission for teachers from these schools to attend trainings organised by the SSA. They lobbied with the District Collector and got him to visit all the schools. In 2004, proposals for recognition, aid and takeover of the schools were submitted. After inspection by the DEO, the schools were granted approval.

In the early days, members of the community would take it in turns to attend classes at the school everyday to observe and monitor activities. This level of close monitoring continued till 2004, until certain expectations were clearly established. Members of the women's collectives continue to monitor enrolment and attendance, and if children play truant from school, hold their mothers accountable.

One reason why the communities have been successful is that they have had to fight hard for almost all the facilities they have secured, and to counter the various impediments they have had to work collectively, and be persistent.

In spite of the progress that has been made, there are still many challenges that continue to act as hurdles for the tribal children. Once they pass Grade V, most of the children are forced to go to schools about 10 kilometres away, or a residential school in Kodaikanal to continue their education, because there are no upper primary or high schools closer. This has proved a major deterrent for children to

continue their studies. Gender issues are also becoming apparent. Girls have been showing greater interest in continuing their education. Boys, after the fifth grade, are able to find work gathering forest produce for six months of the year. Once they start earning money, their interest in going to school drops dramatically. "They say, 'Send the girls, we won't go.'"

In all, five schools, which have grades 1 through 5, and enrolments ranging from 50 to 80 students; and two Balawadis, with about 20 children, have been established through the Community Owned and Managed Education initiative of the tribal communities in Dindigul district. That these marginalised communities, many of whose members are illiterate themselves, are able to play strong and proactive roles in promoting education, locating resources, and monitoring school functioning should give us hope that the increased role envisaged for community monitoring in the new Right to Education Act is relevant and can make a significant difference in helping the state deliver on its commitment to educate all the country's children.

Source: Meera Pillai/ Revisiting Education for All

Case study 5: Education in Orissa- A Language to Call Their Own- Duarsuni village, Orissa

Paina Juang, a seven-year old girl from the Juang tribe, dropped out of school after just a few months. She found it exceedingly difficult to follow the language of instruction, which was not her mother tongue, but Oriya, the main language of the state. Her parents agreed that such an education was irrelevant for her. Paina Juang is one of thousands of Scheduled Tribe children in India, whose state of illiteracy and poverty is exacerbated by the fact that education is imparted to them through a foreign medium. While the Constitution of India supports the use of a learner's mother tongue in education, the number of languages used for instruction in schools, has declined from 81 in 1970 to 33 in 2005. Language barriers lead to low enrolment rates, high dropout rates, and frequent absenteeism among Scheduled Tribe communities, which have historically constituted a socially deprived and neglected segment of Indian society.

The Challenge: On the lowest rung of the ladder

Scheduled Tribes occupy the lowest rungs in India's socio economic hierarchy and are one of the most socially deprived and neglected groups in the country. They have historically suffered from exclusion, isolation, and underdevelopment due to differences in ethnicity, language, social organisation, and economic structure. About 21.3 per cent of Orissa's population consists of 62 tribes (9.7 per cent of the total tribal population of the country), which in turn represent 30 different language groups. The Juang, one of Orissa's primitive tribal groups, face these multiple disadvantages as well as invidious social exclusion in terms of differences in honour, respect, and esteem. The overall literacy rate in Orissa is 64 per cent, whereas the tribal literacy rate is only 37 per cent. The overall female literacy rate is 51 per cent, whereas the literacy rate among tribal females is only 23 per cent.

The Intervention: Multilingual Education (MLE)

In order to combat the language barrier that is one of the primary causes for low literacy rates in the state, the Government of Orissa along with UNICEF initiated the Multilingual Education (MLE) intervention in the tribal-dominated districts of Orissa. The MLE intervention fosters learning in the tribal mother tongue and also represents a curriculum that resonates with the lives of tribal communities.

The focus on tribal education through the MLE is part of a wider framework established by the Government of India's *Sarva Shiksha Abhiyan* (SSA) for the achievement of universal elementary education. Under Article 350A, the Constitution of India guarantees education in the mother tongue for linguistic minorities, yet a large number of school children at the primary level continue to be taught in a language foreign to them. Prior to 2006, access to mother-tongue education had not been provided in Orissa. When it first began, the MLE intervention was a Government of Orissa intervention.

The approach

• Community awareness about the program was introduced through 3,000 image-based posters

- promoting education of the girl child.
- Community members were also involved in creating the school curriculum.
- Juang teachers were given special training workshops.
- Parent Teacher Associations (PTAs) and Mother Teacher Associations (MTAs) were formed to provide support to the schools and students.
- Each MLE school was given an introductory allowance of Rs 10,000 for the installment of a tribal museum, which would house handmade musical instruments, traditional Juang jewellery, and hunting weapons.

The Outcome: Language as a Social Bond

The MLE intervention has led to an increase in pupil enrolment, especially for the girl child. For instance, when MLE was introduced in Paina's village, the new MLE teacher (who was from the Juang community) convinced Paina's parents to send her back to school. Paina is currently enjoying her Class 1 education and participating wholeheartedly in extracurricular activities like storytelling — in fact, she has developed the ambition to become a teacher! Around three-quarters of the parents interviewed explained that since MLE has been introduced, they are more willing to send their children to school.

Some Lessons: Reading between the lines

Despite these successes, many gaps and challenges still remain. A shortage of qualified tribal teachers, limited MLE funds, poor school infrastructure, and low community engagement with and involvement in educational issues persist.

Conclusion: MLE is an important strategy for Universal Elementary Education

In spite of being in the early stages of development, MLE has already facilitated positive changes for the Juang community at large. However, it is just one of many tools that must be used alongside other socially inclusive policy processes to promote access to *quality* education for tribal children, especially girls, as well as the ideal of equality more broadly.

Source: Abstracted from Learning from Practice: Strategies for Promoting Equity and Inclusion, UNICEF India, December 2010

A Framework for Girls' Education- Draft

The Right of Children to Free and Compulsory Education Bill 2008¹, which was passed by Parliament on August 4, 2009, and notified as law following presidential assent on September 3, 2009 represents a historic opportunity to address persistent challenges around the education of girls.

Actions taken and planned for accelerating girls' education:

- 11th Five Year Plan
- UNICEF in the past took lead in promoting UNGEI, but it did not work very well in India.
- RTE Act 2009
- In 2009-2010, 4 Consultations were organized, one for the Centre and 3 for Regional (Central, Southern and Eastern) Consultations
- A Girls' Education Experts Meeting was organized at NUEPA in August 2010
- ISST submitted a proposal to and started a study on Girls' Education for UNICEF in September 2010
- The study will develop a road map, a paper and an annotated bibliography on Girls' Education by the end of 2010
- National level consultation is planned for February 2011

1. Goals of a policy on girls' education

The overall goal of a policy on girls education, within the framework of the Right to Education, is to ensure that all girls, from all social groups, are able to acquire education of good quality equally with boys, and that steps are taken to level the field by noting any specific disadvantages they may face in doing so.

2. Overarching considerations

- a. Long term engagement: Recognising that those who are not in school are likely to be disadvantaged in more than one way, and that social norms as well as economic opportunities will need to change to reduce the sources of disadvantage; and that these processes take time, a long term engagement is needed by all partners involved in implementing the policy.
- b. Life cycle approach: It is important to view the situation of girls from birth to adulthood/ 18 years as a whole, so as to be aware of the pressures that girls face at different ages. Thus even though educational goals may be focused on ensuring that all children 6-14 years are in school, a policy for girls education needs to have a broader framework as their ability to participate is linked to gendered norms and duties before the age of 6 and

 $^{^{1}\,\}underline{\text{http://164.100.24.219/BillsTexts/RSBillTexts/PassedRajyaSabha/right\%20of\%20children\%20AS\%20PASSED.pdf}\\ Retrieved on November 11, 2009.$

- beyond 14. Therefore, the policy needs to link all levels of education starting from ECCE, primary, secondary and higher education.
- c. Geographical targeting: A review of literature on girls education shows that there are wide disparities and situation specific factors that need to be addressed in order to bring all girls to school. To allow the addressing of situation specific factors, untied resources need to be available at local (village/ block/ district) level i.e. geographical targeting of resources. Such an approach is in consonance with the Human Development perspective which the government and the UN are already committed to.
- d. Tracking indicators: The monitoring of progress requires fast moving indicators, whereas most often the data presented is slow moving, based on NSS or Census, or other national data. Capacity to collect and interpret data closer to its source of generation is critical.
- e. Historically educationally backward areas continue to be backward still. What are the reasons for that? Why have the initiatives not been successful there?

3. <u>Issues</u>

The following table highlights the issues that become constraining factors in girls schooling, and that need to be addressed to meet goals of access, retention, equity and quality. As the table shows, while some issues affect girls at all ages, others are both gender and age specific.

Age Group (Years)	Issues
0-3	-Female foeticide -Nutrition
	-Identification of children with disabilities for early intervention
	-Lack of access to ECCE centers
3-6	-Gender inequality in classroom processes
	-Preference for madrasas by Muslim parents
	- STs' disconnect with the medium of instruction and curricula
	-Household chores
	-Care of siblings and lack of access to ECCE centers
	-Drop outs during household crises
6-14	-Quality, useful and gender sensitive education
	-Higher drop out before or right after completion of primary school
	-Household chores
	-Care of younger siblings
	-Drop outs during household crises
	- Gender inequality in classroom processes
	-Preference for madrasas by Muslim parents - STs' disconnect with the medium of instruction and curricula
	- S1s disconnect with the medium of instruction and curricula
14-18	-Labour market discrimination
	- Vocational skills and career orientation
	-Vulnerability because of early marriage and child birth, and mobility and
	safety constraints
	-Quality, useful and gender sensitive education
	-Higher drop out before or right after completion of primary school -Household chores
	-Care of younger siblings
	-Drop outs during household crises
	- Gender inequality in classroom processes
	-Preference for madrasas by Muslim parents
	- STs' disconnect with the medium of instruction and curricula
	- Unequal opportunities for boys and girls, in terms of subjects offered in
	single sex schools

Strategies

The sections below summarise the interventions needed for improving girls' participation in schooling, distinguishing between stakeholders. Thus, in order to address the range of factors

that affect girls schooling negatively, and to provide enough supportive and enabling forces, we need to look at the household, community, village, school, and education system.

The suggested interventions listed in each section are drawn from recommendations made at the state and national level consultations organized by UNICEF, recommendations of the JRM for the SSA, CABE Committee 2005, Working Group Report of the Development of Education of SC/ST/Minorities/Girls and Other Disadvantaged Groups under 11th Five Year Plan, the Working Group on Development on Children for education of girls under the 11th Five Year Plan, Global Campaign for Education 2003, and suggested by other policy researchers and analysts.

i. The Household

In an ideal world, the household is the first point of education, and provides a congenial environment conducive to regular and sustained learning by children. While it is well established that parental support for children's schooling is strong, at the same time, there are some situations in which household support for girls schooling is low.

- a. Extreme poverty and established gender norms can lead to young girls being drawn into household chores resulting in non enrolment, weak attendance, or early drop out. Households most at risk of such an eventuality are those that are destitute, lack able bodied adult persons able to work, or are burdened by chronic illness or disability.
- b. In some parts of the country, and among some groups of persons, extreme levels of son preference have led to practices of female foeticide; in less extreme situations, gender preferences lead to lower nutrition or care of female infants. To counter such disadvantage, ECCE centres have additional significance, beyond enhancing school readiness, for girls
- c. Identification of children with disabilities at an early age is necessary for both girls and boys, to enable the planning of an appropriate education, training and other support as needed; special effort needs to be made to capture girls as well as boys in this situation.

To counter the possible adverse effects of intra household gender inequality leading to differential treatment of girls and boys, and to enable a smooth transition to regular schooling, supportive measures are needed.

Recommendations:

• Sustained awareness raising, including awareness generation about gender disadvantage; the Right to Education; and Child Labour legislation, and the responsibility of parents

and households in supporting education of both boys and girls; through regular interactions between all stakeholders, at a mutually convenient location, as well as through sustained advocacy using mass media, community groups, village clubs, religious leaders, NGOs etc . Special focus of advocacy campaigns in motivating men/male relatives to support schooling and education of girls up to the age of 18

• Income/ cash support to destitute households or poor households coping with chronic illness to enable school participation; evaluation of such programmes on a regular basis to enable design modifications for maximum impact

ii. The Community and the Village

Social norms are difficult to change by individuals acting alone, but give way as communities change their thinking. Households need to be supported in their efforts to enable quality schooling for girls by the wider community, through reinforcement of positive attitudes and by enabling collective decisions or practices that resolve any emergent problems and ensure safety and security of girls.

- Gaining community support for enrolment, regular attendance and quality schooling:
 Community mobilisation was adopted as a major strategy for bringing girls to school
 under DPEP and other similar projects. However, the campaigns focused on creating a
 milieu just for sending girls to schools. Beyond access and enrolment, communities need
 to be encouraged to support regular attendance and find ways to resolve safety, security
 or other problems arising locally.
- Gender sensitisation strategies with communities. These will succeed only if genuine
 mobilisation based on participative involvement of teachers along with their effective
 interaction with the community and parents is patiently, but consistently, pursued over a
 long time. And again the deeper issues concerning the prevalent gender disadvantage in
 the society have not been really addressed in mobilization efforts.

Recommendations:

- Gender discourse with village groups on a regular basis; involving influential village leaders/elders in seeking solutions to perceived problems and in encouraging new social norms favouring girls education; involve NGOS, CBOs, PRIs in developing locale specific solutions and positive attitudes; support bottom up strategies based on local needs
- Social, including gender, audits, with community participation; develop monitoring and accountability mechanisms of gender and social exclusion within PRIs; independent monitoring body to report abuse, GBV, corporal punishment

- Additional community based academic support for disadvantaged girls in school for example, encouraging communities to provide a space where girls can meet and study outside of school hours
- Ecological regeneration and community management of resources; development of village infrastructure for water, sanitation and electricity
- ECCE centers in all habitations close to schools, and coordination of their timings with regular school timings

iii. The School

The direction of the discourse should shift from the HH to the school (administration, classroom processes, ways of teaching, curriculum etc). Research has shown that gender disadvantage tends to creep into schools in a number of ways. Classroom processes may reinforce, rather than challenge, gender stereotypes; the shortage of toilets for girls, female teachers and transport can act as barriers to participation.

Recommendations

- Child tracking systems to pay special attention to girls and disadvantaged groups, and schools to discuss any problems with parents and community
- Conducive school environment, including more women teachers; specific facilities like functional toilets, water, residence and better security for female teachers; bicycles/escorts for transport; pucca buildings, furniture; provisions, like midday meals, books, stationery and uniform to be made regularly.
- Gender sensitization and training of all teachers, head teachers, resource persons and SMCs
- Female teacher associations to be formed
- Independent body to monitor and report gender and social exclusion, abuse
- School curricula relevant to children's lives, must not put an unnecessary burden on children, adapted to CWSN, break prevailing gender stereotypes, and include other equity issues through sports facilities; Life skills programme; Peer learning forums; Peer mentors; Child to child learning systems, career counselling.
- Day care centres for younger siblings/ children of teachers, at or near the school
- Recruitment of teachers for science and commerce subjects in grade 11 and 12 in girls' schools
- Ramps with hand rails and barrier free toilets
- Strengthening of SMCs

iv. The Education System

Teacher Training Institutions

Technical Support Agencies

Certification Agencies

Beyond the individual school, the education system as a whole needs to be aware of and sensitive to the nature of gender inequality that impinges on girls' education. This includes training institutions, and regulatory authorities.

Recommendations:

- Gender sensitization, training and understanding of convergence that is needed across
 departments in order to address infrastructure and other issues that impact on schooling,
 at all levels of administration
- Gender budgeting, to highlight the ways in which resources are being used and could be used to tackle gender-specific issues
- Special attention to, more research on and integration into mainstream of excluded areas and groups, conflict zones, and NGO strategies that have been successful
- Improved coordination among government departments (quarterly meetings) and with NGOs
- Sharing of useful examples from other countries
- Gender disaggregated data on boys and girls in and out of school, with targets spelt in terms of relative achievement and performance, and the use of gender disaggregated dropout rates as indicators of the gender gap
- Standardisation of madrasa syllabi for increased gender sensitivity
- KGBV to respond to local needs and context and forge linkages with formal education and other education programmes
- More girls' hostels closer to secondary schools
- Needs of migrant girls to be articulated and addressed in different contexts
- RCH courses for boys also, to help to change the view that parenting is only a woman's responsibility

- Increase in the share of women in administrative systems
- Institutionalised system of sharing of database generated through DISE, House Hold Survey (HHS) and Migration Mapping

•

- Total transparency in regard to the grants released for the school.
- An effective mechanism at the block and district levels to look into the complaints/grievances of or against the SMCs.
- Focused and qualitative research is the education of girls in conflict zones or during emergencies, and awareness and specific training, including for living in difficult circumstances and counseling for trauma for teachers there.
- Situation analysis of each school, cluster and block reporting low retention rate to understand the barriers coming in the way of children staying on in school.
- Special Training for out-of-school children: Development of appropriate material by the academic authority notified by the State under section 29 of the RTE Act accompanied by community level mapping exercise by the State Government, Local Authority and School Management Committee. This will be followed by
 - o A formal enrolment process to enter the child's name in the school records
 - o organisation of Special Training of flexible duration to enable the child to be at par with other children,
 - o actual admission of the child in the age appropriate class on completion of Special Training, and his/her participation in all class activities,
 - o continued support to the child, once admitted to the regular school, so that the child can integrate with the class socially, emotionally and academically. States will be required to plan context-specific strategies for Special Training.

[INSERT AS ANNEX RECORD OF UNICEF CONSULTATIONS]

Annotated Bibliography on Girls' Schooling in India

This annotated bibliography uses the following criteria:

- Literature from the last couple of decades
- Papers on girls' schooling
- Articles that include data on girls or gender disaggregated data
- Mostly published and some unpublished literature
- Articles that focus not just on the education sector, but also those that talk about issues surrounding the issue of girls' education

Acharya S, 2001, 'Access to Primary Education: Rural Maharashtra and Madhya Pradesh', in Vaidyanathan A, Nair P (Eds.), 'Elementary Education in India: A Grassroots View', Chapter 2, Sage Publications, New Delhi, pp. 49-85

The paper reviews the salient features of literacy status and access to elementary education in rural areas of Maharashtra and Madhya Pradesh. The description and analysis are based entirely on secondary data from the decennial census and the NSS. The focus is on mapping, at various levels of disaggregation, the variations in literacy and enrolment across space, gender and socio economic groups, and exploring the relation between educational performance and various socio economic characteristics. There is strong evidence to suggest that gender has been, and is, a major discriminatory factor in literacy. Women's literacy levels are half or less compared to men's. Acharya found literacy, male and female, to be an increasing function of infrastructure availability, occupational diversification and the school index. The article is divided into three sections. The first deals with literacy in rural Maharashtra and offers a tentative explanation of regional variations. The results of a similar exercise for rural Madhya Pradesh are presented in the second section. The third presents a picture, derived largely though not exclusively from the NSS data for 1986-87, of enrolment and dropout in elementary education, the private costs incurred for this purpose, and the variations relative to socio economic status.

Agarwal A, 1992, Educating the Girl Child: Who Will Help Her Learn, Down To Earth, 15 November 1992

The Centre for Science and Environment conducted a study of a Himalayan village and its eco system. The data collected from the village called Syuta (fictional name) reiterates the reality that a heavy workload on the mother implies the inability of the daughter to educate herself even when access to a school is easy. In this article the author begins with a description of the micro situation in the Himalayan village and then goes on to suggest possible solutions to the problem, both in national and international contexts.

Agarwal S, 'CINI Asha: Building bridges for urban children' in Ramachandran V (Ed), 'Getting children back into school', Sage Publications, New Delhi, 2003, pp. 85-136

CINI Asha was initiated in Calcutta to help street children on the Sealdah railway station. It provides health services, bridge courses and other assistance to children. CINI Asha organises education camps where it trains children before they join mainstream schools. An innovative scheme used by CINI Asha is to build halfway houses. Half way houses are night shelter particularly for girls. They not only provide a safe environment for girls in the night, but are also the first point of entry for mainstreaming schooling. It was found that many street children could not get in to schools directly as they were not used to the idea of living in these places.

Bandyopadhyay M and Subramanian R, 2008, 'Gender Equity in Education: A Review of Trends and Factors', Consortium for Research on Educational Access, Transitions and Equity, Pathways to Access, Research Monograph No. 18, National University of Educational Planning and Administration, April 2008

The review paper was commissioned by the Consortium for Research on Educational Access, Transitions and Equity (CREATE) and draws on CREATE's Zones of Exclusion model. It maps the access and participation rates of girls relative to boys using recent data. It provides an account of gender equity in schooling in India, with a specific emphasis on access to education. It highlights educational access issues affecting girls and boys in India, and the types of initiatives needed to secure meaningful and sustainable access for everyone. In particular, this paper refers to the gendered aspects of access in six zones of exclusion in the Indian context (Govinda and Bandyopadhyay, 2007); children who have never been to school and are termed as 'never enrolled' (Zone 1); children who enter primary schooling (grades I through V), but drop out before completing primary (Zone 2); children who enter primary schooling but are 'at risk' of dropping out (Zone 3); children who complete primary but fail to make the transition to upper primary (grades VI through VIII) (Zone 4); children who enter upper primary schooling but who drop out before completing the cycle (Zone 5); and children who complete elementary schooling (in the Indian context, 'elementary' refers to primary and upper primary levels, or from grade I through grade VIII) but do not enter secondary schooling. The paper, developed as a review of existing literature and data, shares both a qualitative and quantitative account of gendered access to schooling.

Banerjee R, Sahu P, Kumar P, 2010, 'Women's Education and Empowerment in Rural Areas: A Case Study of West Bengal, India', Journal of Educational Planning and Administration, Volume XXIV, Number1, January 2010, pp.

Starting with global documents on women's education and empowerment, this paper examines rural and urban women in West Bengal, particularly vis-à-vis access to educational opportunities and empowerment. The results of the study were based on a 10 per cent sampling of households in selected villages classified according to soil agro climatic zones of West Bengal.

Chaudhuri K and Roy S, 2009, 'Gender gap in educational attainment: evidence from rural India', Education Economics, Volume 17, Issue 2, June 2009, pp. 215 – 238

Chaudhari and Roy identify certain state specific factors influencing primary and middle school graduation probabilities of male and female children in Uttar Pradesh and Bihar, using a probit and censored ordered probit model of school completion. They find that education of parents, socio economic status of the household and village level factors affect the graduation probabilities differently in the two states. Both states exhibit a common feature, girls are less likely to graduate primary school and middle school, compared with the boys. They decompose the gap between male and female graduation probabilities into coefficient and characteristic effects. The education of parents and development of village infrastructure seem to be the most important channel of narrowing the schooling gap, in both states.

Cordeiro A, 2000, 'Building Partnerships and Collaborations for Education' in Wazir R (Ed), 'The Gender Gap in Basic Education: NGOs as Change Agents', Sage Publications, New Delhi, Chapter 7, pp. 225-249

The focus here is on a discussion of NGO strategies for reducing educational disadvantage. The author concentrates on collaborative efforts to involve all stakeholders, the private sector as well as civil society institutions.

Das V, 2004, 'More Unequal than Others: Evidence from Surguja District, Chhattisgarh', in Ramachandran V (Ed), 'Gender and Social Equity in Primary Education: Hierarchies of Access', Sage Publications, New Delhi, Chapter 9, pp. 235-258

The study is located in the Surguja district which was selected due to the high percentage of tribals in its population. The objectives of the study included an experience of the grassroots reality and observation firsthand of the impact of initiatives under the DPEP on primary education among ST communities in the district. It explores whether the Madhya Pradesh government's objective of reaching out to the 'hardest to reach' tribal hamlets had been jumpstarted in the district while it was still a part of undivided Madhya Pradesh. Further, they also wanted to see how a newly formed state

with an explicit tribal majority, was engaging with the previous efforts undertaken in the sphere of primary education. The field evidence from Surguja district are disturbing, particularly in the context of evidence from other DPEP states for this series of micro studies where courtesy DPEP schools not only have the basic facilities of water, toilets, buildings etc. but also function regularly, and only a few children remain out of school. However, in the case of Surguja district the presence of EGS in the two research panchayats seems to have actually widened as well as strengthened the social inequalities between the local groups by privileging one group's access to primary schooling. What is more ironic is that the majority of SC/ST consistently occupy the bottom rungs of the socio economic ladder. However, some are especially 'more unequal than others', namely the Majhvar within the ST community. Given the socio economic disparity and limited access to schooling in the region, gender inequalities also prevail. The cohort analysis indicates more or less equal admission of boys and girls. But, as far as transition to higher classes is concerned, more boys than girls move up. Moreover, there seems to be an inherent difference in the approach to boys and girls amongst the male teachers.

De A, Khera R, Samson M and Kumar A K S (Eds), 2010, 'PROBE Revisited: A Report on Elementary Education in India', ISST and IDRC, New Delhi

As in the PROBE Report, the authors try to present a genuine picture of the elementary schooling system as parents, teachers and children experience it. In that sense, this is a 'People's Report'. It is written from the perspective of the underdog, especially the millions of children and parents who despite yearning for good quality education find themselves excluded from learning and acquiring decent education.

Findings from 2006 with frequent references to the situation as they found it in 1996 are discussed. This gives a sense of the types of change (good, bad or indifferent), or the lack of it, that define the schooling experience for India's children over the decade between 1996 and 2006.

The 2006 Survey revisited the same "sample villages" that were studied in 1996, in which both schools and households were surveyed. In addition, "neighbouring villages" were also surveyed, as in the 1996 Survey, but these neighbouring villages were not necessarily the same as those covered in the 1996 Survey. The 2006 Survey also covered more neighbouring villages than the 1996 Survey, as the teams were able to cover a neighbouring village in all cases, which was not the case in 1996. Thus, in total, the 2006 Survey covered 276 villages while the 1996 Survey covered 236 villages. The number of households was similar (1,586 households in 2006 and 1,375 in 1996), as the number of sample villages -- in which the household survey was conducted -- was roughly the same.

They begin the report with some analysis of recent changes in education policy. Education has received greater attention from the central government, culminating in

the passing of the Right to Education Act by the national parliament in 2009. A supportive policy landscape is a welcome change, but as the findings of this report demonstrate, elementary education for all is a difficult vision to implement and make meaningful. In Chapter 3, they report findings on the school environment for primary school children. The situation is mixed with improvements in infrastructure, number of schools and incentive programs, but a failure to improve pupil teacher ratios, availability of trained teachers, teaching activity levels and other critical aspects of the schooling system. In Chapter 4, they look at the family of the primary school child and how the socio-economic context and family attitudes influence educational outcomes. In Chapter 5, they look at the situation of middle schooling, not taken up in the PROBE Survey of 1996. They found only low proportions of the 11-14 age group actually enrolled in middle school. A substantial proportion is still in primary school, and some may not even complete this stage. Children from more disadvantaged groups, particularly girls from these groups, mostly dropped out just after completing class 5 or during grades 6-8. Work activities were cited as an important reason for dropping out of school by the few children, particularly girls, in the 6-12 age group who had dropped out of school. Secondly, while parents, particularly of girls, from marginalised social groups were also extremely keen for their children to study further, their own lack of schooling meant they could not teach the child at home. Nonetheless, parental aspirations for girls' education were found to have increased greatly between 1996 and 2006.

Chapter 6 details the ongoing schooling revolution in Himachal Pradesh, demonstrating that the government school system can deliver and that sustained systemic improvement is possible. In Chapter 7 they conclude with a discussion on critical areas still requiring attention if elementary education for all is to become a reality.

Debi S, 2001, 'Inequality of access to Elementary Education in Orissa: An Inter and Intra Spatial Analysis', in Vaidyanathan A, Nair P (Eds.), 'Elementary Education in India: A Grassroots View', Sage Publications. New Delhi, Chapter 11, pp 518-563

This is a study of factors that have contributed to the relatively low educational performance of the state of Orissa and of those responsible for large and persistent differences between its constituent regions and social groups. It presents in summary form the results of research based partly on an analysis of secondary data on variations among regions and social groups but primarily on detailed surveys of selected villages in two districts of Puri and Koraput with more detailed field studies of educational participation and attainment in villages selected at random. After grouping the blocks in these two districts on the basis of the literacy level in 1981 and the extent of change in them between 1981 and 1991, six blocks were selected by stratified random sampling, two from Koraput and four from Puri district. The information obtained from the census covered socio economic characteristic of the households and the educational status of children. The survey focused on details of the classes, schools attended by the currently enrolled, expenses incurred by parents on various schooling related items and the reasons for non enrolment or discontinuance of children from respective households. In

the survey of schools details regarding buildings and other facilities, number and qualifications of teachers, facilities of the school management and other characteristics were sought to be selected from schools. Parents, children, teachers, students, mahila mandals, community leaders and others concerned with education were also interviewed in order to get their attitudes, opinions and other qualitative aspects, which structured scheduled cannot always capture. The education of girls was found to be significantly influenced by mother's literacy level as well as by schooling factors.

Dreze J and Kingdon GG, 1999, 'School Participation in Rural India', Development Economics Discussion Paper Series, London, DEDPS No. 18, August 1999

This paper presents an analysis of the determinants of school participation in rural north India, based on a recent household survey which includes detailed information on school characteristics. The analysis draws on three components of the PROBE survey: the Village Questionnaire, the School Questionnaire and the Household Questionnaire. School participation, especially among girls, responds to a wide range of variables, including parental education and motivation, especially maternal, social background, dependency ratios, work opportunities, village development, teacher postings, teacher regularity and midday meals. The remarkable lead achieved by the state of Himachal Pradesh is fully accounted for by these variables. School quality matters, but it is not related in a simple way to specific inputs.

Duraisamy M, 2007, 'Child Schooling and Child Work' in Shariff A, Krishnaraj M (Eds), 'State, Markets and Inequalities Human Development in Rural India', Orient Longman, New Delhi, pp 328-372

This study examines the differentials and determinants of child schooling and work in rural India using NCAER 1994 survey data. A large number of these children are believed to be girls who work at home. Besides providing quantitative magnititude, an econometric analysis has also been done. The study finds that of the 28 percent of children reported as neither working nor enrolled in school a majority of them are girls working at home. An educated mother has a positive impact on the education of girls' education.

Duraisamy M, 2001, 'Demand for Access to Schooling in Tamil Nadu', in Vaidyanathan A, Nair P (Eds.), 'Elementary Education in India: A Grassroots View', Sage Publications. New Delhi, Chapter 6, pp 217-256

This paper is based on a more elaborate project report submitted to the UNDP/IDRC/GOI project on 'Strategies and Financing for Human Development in India'. It reviews the progress of education in Tamil Nadu using aggregate data culled from several published and unpublished records. Based on the level of total literacy in 1981 and the changes in literacy levels between 1981 and 1991, two districts, North Arcot and Dharmapuri, were selected for the micro level study. Six villages from North Arcot and four villages from

Dharmapuri were selected based on a stratified random sampling procedure. The survey covered 3868 households from 10 villages besides a village level survey and survey of schools. The insights gained from the aggregate evidence were then used to investigate some select issues using an in depth micro level study. Issues regarding the measurement of and variations in child schooling across socio economic groups are then dealt with. An important question is how free is free education provided by the government. The private costs of schooling are computed and discussed. This is followed by a rigorous examination of the factors influencing child schooling within a household choice theoretic framework using econometric methodology. The functioning of schools, and the effect of school characteristics on children's educational attainment are also analysed. The predominant reasons for girls' non enrolment or discontinuance of studies were found to be care of siblings and locational access. The last section presents the concluding remarks and highlights the policy implications emerging from this study.

Duraiswamy P, 1988, 'An econometric analysis of fertility, child schooling and labour force participation of women in rural Indian household', Journal of Quantitative Economics, 1988 Jul; 4(2):293-316.

A household choice model, based on the new theory of consumer behaviour, is derived to analyse families' joint decisions concerning family size, investment in child schooling and labour force participation of the wife. The comparative static properties of the model are examined and the theoretical predictions are empirically tested within a simultaneous equations system using rural household data from India. The empirical results, in general, confirm the a priori expectations of the model and also suggest that economic variables, namely wages (opportunity cost of time) and income are important in explaining the demographic and economic behaviour of the rural households.

Educational Initiatives India Pvt. Ltd, 'Student Learning Study: Status of Student Learning across 18 States of India in Urban and Rural Schools'

Student Learning Study (SLS) is a benchmarking study of student learning conducted by Educational Initiatives (EI), with financial support from Google.org, USA. The study has been carried out in 48 districts in 18 states and 1 Union territory of India. About 1.6 lac students studying in classes 4, 6 and 8 in 2399 selected government schools were sampled (101643 students actually took the tests – the others were absent on the day of testing) and tested in Language and Math through common test papers in 13 language versions. The study also gathered background information from the students, teachers, head teachers and schools to identify relationships between these factors and student learning. The comparative performance of boys and girls was seen to be similar to many international studies. Boys seem to do better in math, although the SLS study reveals that it is a meaningful difference that matters in class 8 only.

Other studies like Pratham's ASER (ASER 2005-09) and NCERT's achievement surveys (NAS, 2008) have revealed low student learning levels. The current study is different in 3

significant ways, the test design is more sophisticated and checks for student understanding (not just procedural learning). It is independently conducted by a single external agency (EI) and the analysis includes advanced methods like Scale Anchoring. The authors believe that detailed data helps to devise remedies and solutions in addition to highlighting the problem. The study is probably the biggest of its kind in one country. It was conducted between January and September 2009 in 18 states across India.

Ghosh A, 2004, 'Alternative Schools and Education Guarantee Schemes', in Ramachandran V (Ed), 'Gender and Social Equity in Primary Education: Hierarchies of Access', Sage Publications, New Delhi, Chapter 5, pp. 120-142

This paper on alternative and education guarantee schools explores the strengths and weaknesses of non formal education initiatives, from bridge courses and EG schools in Madhya Pradesh and Chhattisgarh, in addressing the specific constraints of those with low access to formal schools. This study is based on a desk review. The study covers the following aspects of AS and EGS, needs assessment through household survey and micro planning, diversity and flexibility, decentralized management system, emphasis on quality of education, cost effectiveness, community involvement, education guarantee scheme and their sustainability beyond DPEP. It also gives overview of the current status of AS and EGS in DPEP I states, vis-a-vis coverage, administrative arrangements, capacity building, equivalence strategy, duration, school hours, number of children per class, teacher qualifications, training and honorarium, expenditure per school per year, academic support and supervision, teacher learning materials, and collaboration with NGOs. Ghosh shares that as the AS programme evolved, a wide range of need specific strategies were tried out in various parts of the country. These include schools with specially designed curriculum for adolescent girls and efforts to reach out to Muslim girls through maktabs and madrasas. The author also states that the increase in the literacy rates of girls in many districts has been through the combined efforts of various alternate school systems. In particular, he points to the paradox of evolving a system of providing some access to those hitherto left out without following it up with creating a viable alternative stream. As such, it appears that the pressure towards uniformity of textbooks and pedagogy mitigates against the original analysis of why children have so far remained left out.

Global Campaign for Education, 2003, 'A Fair Chance Attaining Gender Equality in Basic Education by 2005', September 2003

Recommendations for India include the need to ensure well-functioning and good quality schools, ensure learning, making education relevant to the lives of children and creating backward and forward linkages.

Himaz R, 2009, 'Is There a Boy Bias in Household Education Expenditure: The Case of Andhra Pradesh in India Based on Young Lives Data', Young Lives, Department of International Development, University of Oxford, Working Paper No. 46, February 2009

This paper asks whether there is a boy bias in household level education expenditure for households with children aged 5 to 19 years old in Andhra Pradesh in India, based on Round 2 of the Young Lives survey conducted in 2006. The sample contains 982 households comprising 2578 children. The analysis is based on both demand analysis and a hurdle model. The results show that there is a bias favouring boys in terms of school enrolment as the children get older, captured by age categories 10–14 and 15–19. There is also a bias favouring boys in household education expenditure allocation, given positive expenditure, when children are between 10 and 14 years of age, driven mainly by extra tuition fees. Quite notably, once the households have decided to educate a child beyond the upper primary level (i.e., beyond grade 8), there is no gender-based expenditure bias and an equal proportion of boys and girls are sent to private schools that provide better quality education.

Jabbi M K and Rajyalakshmi C, 2001, 'Education of Marginalised Social Groups in Bihar' in Vaidyanathan A, Nair P (Eds), 'Elementary Education in India: A Grassroots View', Sage Publications. New Delhi, Chapter 9, pp 395-458

The purpose of the study was to unravel the reasons for low enrolment and high drop outs in Bihar. Two districts were selected, namely, Bhojpur and Santhal Parganas for a detailed survey. From each of the two districts, one block was selected. Four villages in Bhojpur and 14 villages in Dumka were selected to reflect the various combinations of level and change in literacy. In addition to the macro analysis of secondary data and micro analysis at the household level, schools located in the study villages and neighbouring areas catering to these villages were also surveyed. Group interviews with women and children brought out that parents, both tribal and SC, preferred residential schools and a good quality of education for their children. The paper discusses the relationship of land possessed by the household, and parental occupation and education with educational status of children. It also looks into characteristics of schools children are attending, their management, level of the school, its distance and location, benefits or exemptions received and expenditure on education. The main findings of the study indicate that enrolment was higher for boys than girls in both districts, but the male/female differences were less pronounced in the FCs and tribals and were most pronounced among the SCs. The reasons cited for non enrolment of girls were economic and home related. Of the girls who did not go to school, most of them were doing household work. The paper concludes with policy recommendations, group specific interventions and for the overall school system.

Jain S, Adyapika Manch, 2004, 'Case Study: Commonwealth Conference Lessons from Promising Practices and Implications for Scaling Up Girls Education', Chandigarh, September 20-22, 2004, pp.

As part of attaining Minimum Levels of Learning in Rajasthan children were sent to residential schools to bridge the gap in their schooling. Female teachers were not keen

on teaching in these schools even the female teachers teaching were not part of the management. This had an effect on the enrolment of girls in these schools. The Adhyapika Manch (AP) was started as part of the Lok Jumbish programme in Rajasthan as a forum for female teachers. The manch was created with the purpose of proving female teachers a platform to express their needs and to help the teachers to work together to resolve issues. The AP provided a forum for women to come together and participate in management decisions thereby becoming positive role models for girls in schools. Eventually the forum was discontinued due to the lack funds. This paper studies Adhyapika Manch programme of the Government of Rajasthan, its origins', expansion and the impact it has had on girl child education.

Jain S, 2003, 'Gender equality in education: Community based initiatives in India', Background paper prepared for the Education for All Global Monitoring Report 2003/4, 'Gender and Education for All: The Leap to Equality'

The main claim of this article is that gender discrimination in India, as also in most South Asian countries, is situated within the deeply ingrained systems of patriarchy, which limit and confine women to subordinate roles. Discrimination against South Asian women begins at, or even before, birth. This further manifests itself in discriminatory investments in nutrition, education and mobility, the three essential inputs in access to employment as an 'equal' member of society. Consequently, the perceptible scenario is not just of inequality but systemic subordination. Redressal of this situation demands shedding the reluctance to go to the roots of the problem, analysing the social construction of femininity and masculinity and bringing these issues centre stage in the debate on national development and educational planning.

The first, short section presents the context within which the concept of gender equality can be understood in a meaningful way. The second section attempts to distill some lessons in the context of gender inequality from three significant community-based initiatives in India designed for the most marginalised groups in India, which can be termed as 'path-breaking' in educational management. They have their roots in non-governmental contexts and have subsequently influenced state managed programs. All three are now seen as 'basic' models to inform national policy. Each of these initiatives has interpreted gender equality in its own way, with different textures of outcomes. The third section pulls together the analysis of these initiatives to identify causal linkages between the choice of interpretation and manifest outcomes. A short 'conclusion' lists out some recommendations for managers of education and could help move towards gender equality in a coherent framework.

Jain S, Sharma S, 'Pratham: Redefining a societal mission' in Ramachandran V (Ed), 'Getting children back into school', Sage Publications, New Delhi, 2003, pp. 172-210

Pratham describes itself as a citizens movement where the citizen works to contribute in a positive way to what the government is already doing. The contribution could be in innovating, experimenting and responding to specific demands of the community.

Pratham employed female teachers to help in the balwadis which are preschools.

Jain S, Sharma S 'Muktangan: Breaking fresh ground' in Ramachandran V (Ed), 'Getting children back into school', Sage Publications, New Delhi, 2003, pp. 335-375

Mukyangan was a scheme which was started under the Lok Jumbish programme of the government of Rajasthan. To achieve universal education in Rajasthan it was felt that many innovative methods had to be used due to the diverse socio economic features. Muktangan was a scheme which was started in the Khandela cluster among the Sahariyas a tribal community which is socially and economically backward. As part of the scheme it was decided that people from the local villages who had the minimum qualification would be hired to teach. The aim of the programme was to bring girls to school this required female teachers as villagers were more comfortable sending their daughters to school when there were female teachers. Finding female teachers who were qualified was the initial problem and after finding teachers it was found that female teachers felt inferior to male teachers and would not participate easily in activities. The Muktangan staff had to work first with the teachers in informal sessions to make them realize their potential before they started teaching girls.

Jandhyala K, 2004, 'So Close and Yet So Far: Primary Schooling in Warangal District, Andhra Pradesh', in Ramachandran V (Ed), 'Gender and Social Equity in Primary Education: Hierarchies of Access', Sage Publications, New Delhi, Chapter 12, pp 304-335

Within the district Chemurapalli village was selected because it is fairly large and with one third SC population. Chemurapalli is about 6 kms from the mandal headquarters. A further factor that influenced its selection was the presence of two primary schools within the village, one with a woman headmistress in the SC colony. The study was a qualitative exercise and FGDs were held with school children, self help group members, and men and women in the village. Access takes on a new meaning with two primary schools and one private school in the village. The findings indicate that perceptions of what a good school should be are being formed. The well off SCs prefer to send their younger children to the private school and are willing to pay the requisite fees, not only because they regard this as a status symbol but also because they hope that their children will be able to learn some English. They also found that the physical presence of a school within one's locality or special initiatives for out of school children do not automatically address the issues of child labour or older girls in the 11 plus age group. Within the classroom, equity issues have yet to be resolved. Having a high school within the village has made a difference in access to secondary education, particularly among girls and children of poorer families. The awareness generation campaigns that were

effective in the initial phases of DPEP in mobilizing the community have not led to empowering the community to play a proactive role in education.

Jha J and Bhardwaj M, 2001, Women Teachers in Rural India, UNESCO and MHRD, New Delhi

The study provides an overall picture of the country vis-à-vis female teachers in schools in rural India with ample analyses of trends, policies and provisions in different parts of the country. The report has been divided into five chapters. The first chapter is the introductory one providing details of objectives, approach, methodology and scope. The second chapter documents and analyses all the major national policy initiatives and statements vis-à-vis women teachers and girls' education. All major recommendations and programmatic expressions have been traced for the post independence period. The third chapter analyses the need and experiences regarding female teachers, the trends seen in their number, their profile, the recruitment and transfer practices and the status of professional as well as physical support services for the country with special emphasis on Uttar Pradesh and Karnataka. Uttar Pradesh had the lowest percentage of female teachers in 1989-90 (18 per cent), while Karnataka has shown one of the largest changes in percentages of teachers in the recent past. The percentage of female teachers in primary education has risen from 27 per cent in 1989-90 to 42 per cent in 1986-87 in Karnataka. These two states provide a wide spectrum for the concerned issue. Primary consultations and discussions were held at state as well as district level in these two states; this provided the perceptions of different stakeholders and feedback from all important players. The analysis also focuses on a rural-urban comparison. The following chapter discusses other major initiatives in primary education that have come in the shape of Non-Formal and Alternative Schooling systems from the perspective of availability of female teachers in rural areas. The next, which is the last chapter, lists main findings and observations, identifies major issues and provides suggestions for the future. Universalization means providing education to all children, including girls and those belonging to other disadvantaged groups, and it also means imparting a meaningful education. The problem of women teachers for rural areas is difficult to solve without developing girls from the same areas to take up the job. The recommendation must also take into account the real problems faced by women teachers in the villages. It is also critical that the issues of teachers' accountability and responsibility are also linked to those of status and rights of women teachers.

Jha J, Gulati K, 2004, 'Teaching Equity in Early Years: A reflective Paper on Developing and Implementing a Social Learning Curriculum at Primary Level', Commonwealth Conference Lessons from Promising Practices and Implications For Scaling Up Girls Education, Chandigarh, September 20-22, 2004, pp.

The paper examines two programmes of Social Learning Curriculum (SLC), Udaan and Janshala. SLC is an education programme started for girls with the aim of developing appreciation for different forms of equity, respect for diversity and democracy and capability to question, argue and negotiate in the context of real life experiences and

social situations. The Udaan experience reflects upon the content and the process of developing the SLC, training the teachers, the challenges faced and the impact on girls. The Janshala experience reflects upon the process of adaptation and the challenges faced. It is based on early experiences as the programme is relatively new.

Jha J and Subrahmanian R, 2005, 'Secondary Education in the Indian State of Uttar Pradesh: Gender Dimensions of State Policy and Practice', UNRISD, Geneva, April 2005

A central proposition of this paper is that the focus on minimum 'thresholds' for public investment, in turn derived from the analysis of rates of return to education has contributed to the neglect of female post-primary education. Influenced by Human Capital theory (HCT), 'gender' and female education have been central framing discourses of education policy, resulting in substantial policy rhetoric and concern about women's and girls' education as a lever of development and progress. In India, acceptance of this global rhetoric has been mediated by particular policy choices, which have resulted in the neglect of the secondary sector, the rise of for-profit schooling at all levels of education, and a fragmented formal elementary education system, with particular implications for achieving gender parity and equality. This has resulted in a range of issues relating to female well-being being erased from the policy map. Girls disappear off the formal education policy agenda past the age of 14, at a crucial age when aspirations can be channeled into opportunities. In this paper, the authors focus on secondary schooling, which they believe best serves the interests of girls, especially if supported by policies that expand its availability, address socio-cultural constraints that exclude girls (both within society and within the school), and keep its costs low. They argue that the lack of policy focus on secondary schooling for girls is linked to the curious contradictions between policy rhetoric, on the one hand, and policy prescriptions on the other, where development visions are not matched by policy decision making processes that can realise these visions.

In this paper they have argued that education policy initiatives remain divorced from broader visions of gender justice and social policy, partly on account of the continuing dominance of discourses of investment in female education, which rely on identifying thresholds for minimum public action. Although there are multiple discourses influenced by diverse actors in the education policy arena, these do not seem to translate into policies and practices that have an impact on female schooling in a way that reflects the reality of girls' education today.

Jhingran, D, Sankar D, 2009, 'Addressing Educational Disparity Using District Level Education Indices for Equitable Resource Allocation in India', Policy Research Working Paper 4955, The World Bank, South Asia Region, Human Development Department, June 2009.

This paper takes up the case of the Indian government's Elementary Education for All Mission to understand how this flagship program relates investments to spatial and social disparities. For identifying the most deprived districts in terms of educational inputs,

outputs and overall development, the authors estimate district level education development indices for 2003–2004. The key inputs which are studied to derive this index are access, infrastructure, equity and outcome. As part of the equity index the following are included.

- Girls' age-specific enrolment ratio (as a percentage of the girls in the 6-14 year age group enrolled in school on the basis of the Census 2001 data).
- The female literacy rate of Census 2001 as a comparison to gauge the current level of girls' enrollment vis-à-vis the historical backlog.

The contribution of the largest investment program is measured by "per child allocations" and expenditures at the state and district levels for 2005–2006. An analysis of comparing the ratio of allocations to expenditures with the ratio of district level indices to sub-dimensional indices shows that there is an apparent disconnect between the "real investment needs" of the districts, reflected in their level of educational development and the actual allocations made on an annual basis. The analysis shows that although all districts received more funds for investing in elementary education programs, the most disadvantaged and needy districts received proportionately more funds, which helped these districts to bridge access and infrastructure gaps and appoint more teachers.

Joshi K M, 2010, 'Indigenous children of India: enrolment, gender parity and drop-out in school education', International Journal of Sociology and Social Policy, Vol. 30 Iss: 9/10, pp. 545 – 558

The purpose of this paper is to examine the status of access to school amongst the indigenous children of India. It looks at the enrolment, gender parity and drop-out at different levels of school education as well as gender-wise. Sociological factors and the economics of education discourses on the significance of education and reasons for impediments to access are reviewed. The paper uses SES data for the year 2006-2007 published by the Indian Ministry of Human Resource Development in the year 2008. The findings indicate that the indigenous children still remain the most deprived group in terms of access to school education and drop-outs. The girls are the most affected stakeholders. The enrolment and gross enrolment have increased in the last three decades, but it is still very low at the higher levels of schooling. Similarly, the gender gap amongst the indigenous children increases at the higher levels of schooling. The high poverty and opportunity cost of attending schools are the major reasons for low participation. Although the macro-level strategies of government reflect an overall increase in enrolment and fall in drop-out, research is needed to study grass root/microlevel strategies adopted by NGOs for individual indigenous communities at different locations and their effectiveness. The effective and equal access to and within indigenous children is an important tool for their socio-economic development. The paper provides both an aggregated and a disaggregated picture by both gender and state.

Karlekar M, 2005, 'Educational Structures', in Khullar Mala (Ed), 'Writing the Women's Movement', Zubaan, New Delhi, pp 243-247

This article by Malvika Karlekar introduces the papers in the section on education of women. Karlekar, here, discusses the meaning of equality in education, education in the women's movement, socio economic disparities reflected by data on education indicators, the government and non government schemes and programmes, education for older women, and higher education.

Karlekar, Malavika, 2000, 'Girls' Access to Schooling: An Assessment' in Wazir R (Ed), 'The Gender Gap in Basic Education: NGOs as Change Agents', Sage Publications, New Delhi

The paper initially looks at the factors affecting girls' access to education from both the supply side which is the access to education and the demand side which is internal dynamics of the family and collectivity. After these have been examined it examines successful initiatives of various NGO in improving girls' access to education and finally it goes on to suggest other options and strategies that will help in improving the access to education of girls.

Kaul R, 2001, 'Accessing Primary Education: Going Beyond the Classroom', Economic and Political Weekly, Vol. 36, No. 2, pp. 155-162, 13-19 January 2001

While compulsory education for children up to the age of 14 is enshrined as a directive principle in the Indian Constitution, the reality is abysmally different. This study involving a sample of 93 schools across Karnataka reveals that access to primary education and its quality, retention and drop-out rates are ruled by and related to prevailing caste, class and gender divides in the region. The study revealed that domestic work, sibling care, parental apathy towards girls' education, denial of specific facilities to girls in community based mutt schools, for example free accommodation in a hostel, and parents' preference for madarassas were significant factors for fewer enrolment and larger drop outs among girls. Integrated government supported development projects seeking to reduce widespread inequalities, alleviate poverty and provide adequate support programmes would in turn have a positive and long lasting impact on the literacy level.

Kingdon, Geeta Gandhi, 1998, 'Does the Labour Market Explain Lower Female Schooling in India?', Journal of Development Studies, 35 (1): 39-65.

Labour market discrimination against women and parental discrimination against daughters are two of the most commonly cited explanations of the gender gap in education in developing countries. This study empirically tests the labour market explanation for India using recent household survey data. The data for this study came from a purpose-designed stratified sample survey of 993 households in 1995 in urban agglomeration of Lucknow district, Uttar Pradesh (UP). The results reveal substantial omitted family background bias in the estimates of rates of return to education. The findings suggest that, as well as overall labour market discrimination, girls face poorer economic incentives to invest in schooling than boys because they reap lower labour market returns to education than boys.

Kingdon GG, 1995, 'Education of Females in India: Determinants and Economic Consequences: A Case Study of Urban Uttar Pradesh', Institute of Economics and Statistics, University of Oxford

This study investigates the causes of gender differences in educational attainment in urban India. This is done both by a direct analysis of the determinants of educational attainment of males and females, and by examining the labour market incentives to invest in education faced by men and women. The analysis is carried out using purpose-designed household survey data collected by the author in Uttar Pradesh in 1995.

Kingdon G G, 2003, 'Gender-bias in the intra-household allocation of educational expenditure in rural India, Department of Economics, University of Oxford, October 2003

The reliability of the household consumption based (Engel curve) methodology in detecting gender bias has been called into question recently because it has generally failed to confirm bias even where there are large gender differences in outcomes. This paper seeks to find explanations for this failure. To do this, it utilises a large dataset from India that has educational expenditure information on individuals and, by aggregation, at the household level. The results show that the Engel curve method fails to find significant gender bias in Indian states where individual level expenditure data show significant bias. Two explanations for this failure are tested, namely incorrect functional form of the budget share equation and the effect of aggregation of data at the household level. Hurdle model estimation is used in order to allow the decision of whether to incur any education expenditure to be modelled separately from the decision of how much to spend on education, conditional on spending anything. The results provide support for the explanation that the Engel curve method fails partly because it models in a single equation these two different (often divergent) processes through which gender bias takes place. The results also provide support for the explanation that aggregation of data at the household level makes it more difficult to pick up gender discrimination. The paper concludes that for those concerned with reliably measuring gender bias in the intra-household allocation of expenditure, household level expenditure data is a poor substitute for individual level expenditure data.

Kingdon, G G, 2001, 'The Gender Gap in Educational Attainment in India: How much can be Explained?' Department of Economics, University of Oxford, August 2001

Differential treatment of sons and daughters by parents is a potential explanation of the gender gap in education in developing countries. This study empirically tests this explanation for India using household survey data collected in urban Uttar Pradesh in 1995. Kingdon estimates educational enrolment functions and selectivity corrected educational attainment functions, conditional on enrolment. The gender difference in educational attainment is decomposed into the part that is explained by men and women's differential characteristics and the part that is not so explained (the conventional 'discrimination' component). The analysis suggests that girls face

significantly different treatment in the intra household allocation of education. There is a large unexplained component in the gender gap in schooling attainment. A detailed decomposition exercise attempts to discover the individual factors most responsible for the differential treatment.

Kingdon G G, 2007, 'The Progress of School Education in India', Oxford Review of Economic Policy, Vol. 23, No. 2, pp 168-195

This paper provides an overview of school education in India. First, it places India's educational achievements in international perspective, particularly against countries with which it is now increasingly compared, especially China. Second, the paper examines schooling access in terms of enrolment and school attendance rates, and schooling quality in terms of literacy rates, learning achievement levels, school resources, and teacher inputs. Conservatism about gender roles is seen to be a significant factor that hinders greater participation in secondary schooling. Third, the paper investigates the role of private schooling in India, examining the extent of growth of private schooling and surveying evidence on the relative effectiveness and unit costs of private and public schools. Last, the paper discusses some major public education initiatives. The concluding section suggests a future research agenda and appeals for rigorous evaluation of the impacts and costs of the numerous existing educational interventions, in order to learn about their relative cost-effectiveness for evidence-based policy-making.

Krishnaji N, 2001, 'Poverty, Gender and Schooling: A Study of Two Districts in Andhra Pradesh, in Vaidyanathan A, Nair P (Eds), 'Elementary Education in India: A Grassroots View', Sage Publications. New Delhi, Chapter 4, pp 131-165

The study is based on contrasts in educational development at state, district and village levels. The article begins with a picture of rural literacy in India and its roots. The investigation starts by looking at the variations across the districts of Andhra Pradesh, in particular to see why Mahaboobnagar and Adilabad have extremely poor literacy and education levels. Enrolment and its correlates were worked out using the Census 1981 data. The villages were chosen purposively through the inspection of the census data on literacy rates so as to ensure that those selected provide the contrasts planned to be studied. However, households were selected at random through a stratified design. The analysis about the determinants of enrolment status was done using a multivariate analysis. The analysis refers to the variation in enrolment ratios across villages and among families belonging to various economic and social groups and attempts to identify the conditions at the household level that promote or hinder schooling. Findings concerning the reasons for non enrolment and costs of schooling are also shared. Rapid improvements in the economic conditions of the poor are no doubt necessary for promoting education, but for a time when girls will not be discriminated against and left out of school we have to wait for a cultural transformation to take place. Mere provision of schools may not be sufficient to promote literacy. Conditions at the household level

are still of paramount importance in determining whether a child goes to school or not. Poverty is undoubtedly the most relevant factor in this respect.

Kumar K, 2009 'India in Transition: The Cultural Context of Girls' Education in India', Centre for the Advanced Study of India, University of Pennsylvania, 6 July 2009

The article begins by highlighting physical restrictions as well as psychological negativity communicated to little girls since birth. Further it discusses the lack of attention paid to the implications of such negative aspects of girls' socialization on their psychological development, in educational research and teacher training. Then the question of the effect of the social milieu on girls is talked about. Later he writes about the different forms of discrimination against girls in curricular and institutional policies. Gender parity in elementary education and the need to look at it in a wider, more complex and nuanced perspective is also looked at.

Madan V, 2004, 'Inside the Classroom: Content Analysis of Classroom Processes Studies in Eight States' in Ramachandran V (Ed.), 'Gender and Social Equity in Primary Education: Hierarchies of Access', Sage Publications, New Delhi, Chapter 6, pp 143-168

The paper analyses classroom processes through a content analysis of DPEP initiated innovations since 1994 and whether they have been successful in, at least partially, mitigating the negative attitudes towards girls and children from deprived communities. It is based on 14 reports from 14 districts in 8 states. The following aspects are covered in the study, teachers and pupils, infrastructure and TLM, teaching methods, parents in community, trends in DPEP, external linkages, social discrimination and gender bias, disability, and discrimination within the teaching community. Discrimination against girls was seen to be widely prevalent, though played out subtly in the language used by teachers, the content of text books where lessons are largely male oriented, or in the segregation of children by seating them separately within the classroom. Since, the general assumption is that girls are incapable of learning, they are constantly passed over by the teacher and not given much attention. In addition, it was seen that girls are the first to be withdrawn from school whenever there is an economic, social or family crisis. Thus, if DPEP is to be truly successful, according the Madan, a process of sensitization has to occur among the teachers, community, administrators and researchers.

Mahajan V, 2004, 'The Hidden Picture: A Case Study from Hisar District, Haryana', in Ramachandran V (Ed), 'Gender and Social Equity in Primary Education: Hierarchies of Access', Sage Publications, New Delhi, Chapter 10, pp. 259-282

The micro study confirms that enrolment and retention rates for boys and girls rise and gender disparity in both respects falls as we move up the scale of the economic status of households. Also, inter group disparities tend to decline as the average literacy rate increases and the gender gap as well as differences between socially disadvantaged and

other caste groups become narrower. It also confirms that inequalities remain hidden in this bigger and better picture of a quantum leap in enrolment and retention rates. The cultural barriers faced by the disadvantaged groups in terms of attitudes, perceptions, ignorance and prejudices of the education hierarchy remain unaddressed. Elimination of gender, caste, community and other social biases of the school administration, teachers and the community still remain a big challenge. It is evident from the study that lack of any regulatory mechanisms has led to the perpetuation of inequalities in primary education in Haryana.

Majumdar M, 2001, 'Educational Opportunites in Rajasthan and Tamil Nadu: Despair and Hope' in Vaidyanathan A, Nair P (Eds), 'Elementary Education in India: A Grassroots View', Sage Publications. New Delhi, Chapter 8, pp 320-394

The study is part of a larger project on Elementary Education in Different States of India, jointly sponsored by the UNDP and IDRC. Based upon, both, household and school surveys, it attempts to map out the diverse factors behind elementary school attendance and primary school completion of children in three selected villages of the two best performing districts in terms of rural literacy in Tamil Nadu and Rajasthan, Kanyakumari and Jhunjhunu, respectively. They developed, for heuristic purposes, a nine fold classification of villages, combining different initial levels of rural overall literacy (in the base year 1981) with different degrees of decadal change. To analyse, elementary school enrolment and primary school completion, logistic regressions were run. After some methodological clarifications they turn to field based evidence on elementary education including children's schooling patterns, household characteristics and schooling facilities. Finally, they consider some relevant policy issues emerging from the study. Concerning girl children, the author states that there is a lot of pressure to drop out once they attain puberty, that is, before completion of primary school, especially those attending co education schools. He suggests two alternative policy responses. One is the establishment of schools exclusively for girls at convenient locations within the village. Another approach could be to proscribe through law education non participation across the board.

Mehrotra S, 2006, 'Reforming Elementary Education in India: A Menu of Options', <u>International Journal of Educational Development</u>, <u>Volume 26</u>, <u>Issue 3</u>, May 2006, pp. 261-277

This paper reports on findings from a large sample survey in the states of India that account for two thirds of the children out of school. It then examines the feasibility of the central government's goals to ensure all children complete 5 years of school by 2007, and 8 years by 2010. These goals, more ambitious than the global EFA goals, are unlikely to be achieved without significant reforms by the central and state governments. It examines key reform options: in the public spending pattern; improving teacher accountability and work environment; incentives to improve demand for schooling; and the private sector. It argues that central to universalising elementary education will be improving the level, equity and efficiency of public spending. However, even with these

reforms, improving teacher accountability will still remain key to the achievement of the goals.

Miller S K, 2007, 'Determinants of Parental Attitudes Regarding Girls' Education in Rural India', Washington DC, 12 April 2007

Parental attitudes regarding the importance of educating girls may contribute to the education gender gap in rural India. This thesis presents an empirical analysis of the determinants of parental attitudes regarding girls' education. It draws upon household survey data collected in Bihar, Madhya Pradesh, Rajasthan, Uttar Pradesh, and Himachal Pradesh in 1996. Results obtained by this survey and discussed in the Public Report on Basic Education in India (PROBE Report, 1999) find a positive relationship between parental attitudes and girls' educational attainment. Yet the PROBE Report also reveals a significant minority of parents do not value girls' education. Using a binary probit model, this thesis tests the relationship between parental attitudes of the importance of educating a girl on individual and household characteristics. It finds that no parental education variables are significant indicators of a household asserting the importance of educating a girl. The main determinants are ownership of a small amount of land, the number of rooms in the house, the girl child being enrolled in school, and the belief that education is important for girls' marriage prospects. Meanwhile, ownership of at least one goat is a detractor to girls' education. These results demonstrate that there are income and substitution effects involved in household decisions of the allocation of education among children. They also demonstrate the importance of the relationship between girls' schooling and marriage in rural India. Policy implications gained from this study could include the continued support for programs that offset costs of schooling for rural families, and that account for the opportunity costs of girls attending school.

Nambissan G B, 2000 'Identity, Exclusion and the Education of Tribal Communities' in Wazir R (Ed), 'The Gender Gap in Basic Education: NGOs as Change Agents', Sage Publications, New Delhi

The article focuses on the education of tribal children in the context of exclusion experienced by them and the need to ensure equity in their education. The author uses gender disaggregated data to emphasise the problems associated with education in the tribal belt. The author is of the view that the identity of tribal groups, as well as their cultural and economic marginalisation, is the factor responsible for the poor spread of education. The literacy rate among tribals is low and specifically low among women. Present day initiatives of NGOs in tribal education are limited in the form of ashram schools and Non-formal Education (NFE). A major initiative in education among the tribals was taken up by the christian missionaries. Some of the problems faced by tribals in accessing education are distance to schools, disconnect to the curriculum and medium of instruction. In most schools the medium of instruction is the regional language which is not the same as the language spoken by tribal children. The author is of the opinion that any change in the above will bring about a positive change in girls education.

Nambissan G B, 2001, 'Social Diversity and Regional Disparities in Schooling: A Study of Rural Rajasthan', in Vaidyanathan A, Nair P (Eds.), 'Elementary Education in India: A Grassroots View', Sage Publications. New Delhi, Chapter 10, pp. 459-517

The paper analyses variations in school participation in two different social contexts in rural Rajasthan, Jhadol tehsil in Udaipur district and Alwar tehsil in Alwar district, educationally the most backward state in the country. Eight villages selected for intensive study in two tehsils represent different levels of literacy and spread of education. The discussion that follows is divided into six sections. The first presents the context of elementary education in rural Rajasthan. The social structure and development context of selected villages and a glimpse of the surveyed households is given in the second. Patterns of school participation are analysed in section three. In section four, the dynamics of the home in relation to education is explored. Nambissan states that an increase in ownership of the number of livestock appears to constrain enrolment, especially that of girls. The link between the time available for children, particularly girls, to spend in schools and larger development issues of easy access to fuel, fodder and water must be recognized. As a result of government, NGO and media campaigns, schooling for girls is being viewed positively. There is need for sensitivity to community sentiments and to give serious thought to the issue of single sex/ co education especially at the middle school stage. It also must be recognized that some children, especially girls, are likely to go to the maktab in larger number than to the formal school. The next section focuses on the quality of schooling available to children. Decentralization and community mobilization in relation to education is then briefly discussed. The last section raises critical issues for policy and planning in elementary education.

Nayar U, 2002 'Education of Girls in India' in Govinda R (Ed), 'India Education Report: A profile of Basic Education', NIEPA, UNESCO, Oxford University Press, New Delhi, Chapter 3, pp 35-46

The India Education Report presents a comprehensive overview of the status of basic education in India that goes beyond the usual statistics on literacy and school enrolment. It is the outcome of a detailed and reflective review of all aspects of the Indian education system undertaken on the occasion of the world forum on Education for All, convened in Dakar in 2000. The reviews also

- Comprehensively capture the current scenario of basic education in India
- Address the critical issues and problems stalling the progress towards a fully literate populace
- Critically assess past trends and policies, and outline future prospects
- Present an analytical overview of the situation both in quantitative and qualitative terms while addressing regional specificities and differences
- Identify current policies, programmes, and issues characterizing different aspects of basic education in India. These include literacy campaigns, education of girls, early

childhood care and education, education of Dalits and of the urban disadvantaged, problems of teacher education, quality of schools and conditiond of learning, role of NGOs IN education, decentralized management and financing of elementary education etc.

- Details the enhanced role of civil society in the governance and management of education
- Discuss how management of education has been decentralized across the country through transfer of power to panchayati raj bodies

The paper reviews the progress of girls' education in India from 1950-2000 with special focus on the last 10 decades and within the framework of the EFA. The paper begins by highlighting the positive policy climate being created for promoting girls' education in the country. The next section analyses the progress made and the shortfalls in achievement with respect to girls' education in the country. The analyses encompasses the following issues of female literacy, enrolment at the elementary stage, SC/ST status, regional variations, dropout rate, DPEP, Shiksha Karmi Project, Lok Jumbish, Bihar Education Project, women teachers, rural urban gap and out of school girls, Against the broad findings of the review, it also discusses some important issues and interventions that need consideration.

Pal S, 2003, How Much of the Gender Difference in Child School Enrolment Can Be Explained? Evidence from Rural India', Economics Section, Cardiff Business School, UK

There are significant gender differences in child schooling in the Indian states though very few studies explain this gender difference. Unlike most existing studies Pal takes account of the implicit and explicit opportunity costs of schooling and uses a bivariate probit model to jointly determine child's participation in school and market jobs. Results obtained from the WIDER villages in West Bengal suggest that indicators of household resources, parental preferences, returns to and opportunity costs of domestic work significantly affect child school enrolment. While household resources have similar effects on enrolment of boys and girls, other arguments tend to explain a part of the observed gender difference. Even after taking account of all possible arguments, there remains a large variation in gender differences in child schooling that cannot be explained by differences in male and female characteristics in our sample.

Pande A, 2001, 'Education of Rural Children in UP Himalayas', in Vaidyanathan A, Nair P (Eds.), 'Elementary Education in India: A Grassroots View', Sage Publications. New Delhi, Chapter3, pp 86-130

The study was done in two phases. The first phase involved collection, processing and analysis of secondary data. This was intended for the selection of two districts or blocks for detailed household and school surveys in the rural areas. For selecting the districts, a three by three matrix combining low, medium and high base levels of literacy with low, medium and high changes in literacy was prepared. Districts falling in low level low

change and low level high change categories were of particular significance. The pattern of enrolment, availability of educational facilities and geographical conditions were also taken into account. The study is confined to Chamba in Tehri Garhwal and Bhimtal in Nainital. The census of all households in each selected village was followed by meetings, unstructured group interviews with parents, visits to local education department officials, teachers, children and the headmasters of schools. To assess the strength and direction of influence of various factors in explaining inter village variation in schooling, multiple regression using village level data was estimated. Findings regarding the educational status and schooling of the population, and determinants of schooling are shared. The determinants of schooling here include family characteristics, community related factors, caste, gender disparity, people's perception of schooling, schools and their functioning, nature of facilities, gender gap in teaching staff and private costs of education. The study shows that there is a distinct relationship between the scarcity of natural resource base and educational status of younger children, especially girls. It also suggests that mere investment in school buildings and teaching and learning materials in schools would not by itself solve the problem of non enrolment and school dropout. Investment for regeneration of ecologically fragile and sensitive agro climatic zones is required to reduce the drudgery in rural life and to release time for other activities, including formal schooling.

Periodi V, 2004 'Second Generation Issues in Equity and Education: Learning from Kolar District, Karnataka', in Ramachandran V (Ed), 'Gender and Social Equity in Primary Education: Hierarchies of Access', Sage Publications, New Delhi, Chapter 11, pp 283-303

This study, through a specific focus on a single panchayat in Kolar, is a qualitative exploration of the larger DPEP initiative in Karnataka, especially its performance in reaching out to the marginal social groups. Kolar district and the village of Kallur were selected because of their heterogeneous social composition, which include FCs, OBCs, STs and SCs. They primarily relied upon direct observation, informal conversations, semi structured interviews and organized FGDs to collect information. The findings of the study indicate that far from being self evident, the social disparities in school achievement are, in actuality, a response to a complex interplay of the multiple social forces of class, region, community, family and the state. Participation of boys and girls from SC/ST communities in schooling has improved. This has gone hand in hand with the emergence of private schools and segregation between the haves and the have nots. As far as gender equity in the learning process is concerned, teachers, parents and the community at large speak of gender equality as given and emphasise that there is no discrimination in their school. However, closer scrutiny revealed subtle but deep rooted discrimination operating in the school. Despite the resistance to engage with issues of gender in the larger society, there is an increasing demand for girls' education and this has had a positive impact on raising their age of marriage.

Pillai M and Radhaswamy R, 2009, 'Qualitative Studies of Selected Educational Initiatives in South Indian States (Karnataka, Tamil Nadu and Andhra Pradesh), Revisiting Education for All, IDRC, November 2009, Sections 1 and 2, pp 1-6

Section 1 begins by discussing the benefits provided by the Right to Education Act. It further goes on to discuss the need for a common school system which can also respond to children with disabilities, other special needs or communities with particular socio cultural historicities. It emphasizes the need to learn from particular stories of success in this context.

Section 2 shares a small qualitative study of the NPEGEL and KGBV programmes implemented by the MS Karnataka to understand the difference that a programme that is already committed to and has extensive experience of promoting gender equity and women's literacy can make to education programmes aimed at supporting disadvantaged girl students. Interviews were conducted with the State Project Director, MSK, and District Coordinators of Bagalkot and Koppal Districts. Field visits were carried out to 4 MS facilitated KGBVs and interviews carried out with students, parents, teachers, cooks and support staff, as well as the concerned MS block area and area coordinators. The paper begins by highlighting the traditional and infrastructural barriers to girls' education, and further introducing the MS, KGBV and NPEGEL programmes. It also discusses MSK's interventions at the levels of the community, family, child and teachers.

PROBE TEAM, 1998, PROBE Report, Centre for Development Economics

In this report, the team tries to present a balanced assessment of the state of India's schooling system. They also discuss how the current morass has come about, and try to give an idea of what is to be done (without indulging in detailed prescription). However, even this relatively brief survey unearths plenty of problems, and many possibilities for change. This report builds on extensive field work in rural areas. The cornerstone of this report is a detailed field survey carried out from September to December 1996. This survey covered all schooling facilities, and a sample of 1376 households, in 234 randomly selected villages of Bihar, Madhya Pradesh, Rajasthan, Uttar Pradesh and Himachal Pradesh. Based on this field work, they have attempted to present an authentic picture of the schooling system as parents, children and teachers experience it. In that sense, this is not just a public report but also a 'people's report'. It is written from the standpoint of the underprivileged, especially the millions of children who are excluded from the schooling system, and their parents. The report is based on the premise that elementary education is a fundamental right of every child. Guaranteeing this right is not just a matter of welfare or development, but one of basic social justice. The report also examines some recent developments in the field of elementary education. These include school-meal programmes, 'alternative schooling', the rapid expansion of private schools, various NGO initiatives, and some examples of spontaneous popular action.

Following are the key findings concerning education of girls. Girls are more easily withdrawn from school for a combination of social and economic reasons. To start with, household work and child-care are seen as the responsibility of daughters. Secondly, the economic returns to education are perceived to be high in the case of boys in all six villages. Girls, for their part, are expected to leave their natal homes after marriage. When resources are scarce (most parents were cultivators or labourers), the education of boys is given priority. Moreover, according to parents, daughters study only as far as school facilities within the village permit, because it is not safe to send a girl out of the village to study. A well-functioning anganwadi has much to contribute to the success of schooling. The performance of anganwadis in the PROBE states, however, is very poor. Gender bias is also an aspect of social discrimination in the classroom. For instance, boys often receive more attention than girls from the teacher. Another major source of gender bias in the classroom is the sexist content of the curriculum. The absence of female teachers in many schools reinforces the male dominated nature of the school environment.

Raju S, 1988, 'Female Literacy in India: The Urban Dimension', Economic and Political Weekly, 29 October 1988 complete reference

Using the 1981 census data, this paper undertakes a socio geographic analysis of female literacy both for the non scheduled and scheduled segments of the population in class 1 cities of India. Literacy is examined in relation to the levels for corresponding male counterparts. Viewed thus, the caste and the sex disparities that exist provide insights in to biases affecting females and scheduled castes. These biases appear to vary along a north south dimension. Finally, in order to interpret the pattern, a number of socio economic correlates of female literacy such as presence of particular communities which foster female education or vice versa, and composition of work force, are identified. The relative position of major localities, as for their literacy status is concerned, seems to be essentially the same as it has been since long. Whatever breakthrough is visible can be attributed to the actions of social movements.

Ramachandran V, 1998, 'The Indian Experience' in Ramachandran V (Ed), Bridging the gap between intention and action: Girls' and Women's Education in South Asia, UNESCO-PROAP, Bangkok and ASPBAE, New Delhi, May 1998, Chapter 2, pp. 67-156

This study primarily focuses on an analysis of the reasons underlying the persistent gap between policy level commitment and ground realities. Starting with a brief overview of policy (with a detailed annexe on overview of policy documents and commission reports), it moves on to present the current situation reflected in the last survey before the study, i.e. the Human Development Indicators survey of 1994 conducted by the NCAER. Sections III, IV, and V outline the oft-repeated analyses by researchers, activists, administrators, and policy-makers of persistent gender gaps. Experience of interesting and innovative projects in the government and non government sectors are juxtaposed with these with a view to drawing macro policy lessons from micro initiatives. The study

concludes by recapturing the principal issues that emerge from the preceding sections in order to draw concrete lessons from successful initiatives and from those that were unable to achieve their own stated objectives. It incorporates boxed items and standalone sections that highlight a few key issues.

Ramachandran V, 'Fostering Opportunities to Learn at an Accelerated Pace: Why do girls benefit enormously', UNICEF, 2004

One of the challenges that we currently face in achieving universal education is how do we ensure that girls, who have missed the school bus or simply got off the bus too early, can still realise their right to quality basic education? This paper reviews several key education initiatives implemented in the last decade to reach out to the out of school children and young women in particularly difficult circumstances through condensed or short term residential education programmes, also known as accelerated learning (AL) programmes. The review indicates that evidence on the ground regarding the impact of the interventions is rather mixed and fragmented. AL programs have provided a muchneeded opportunity to learn in a congenial environment characterised by child centred learning and a multi-dimensional teacher-pupil relationship. Discussions with young women and girls who participated in condensed programmes across the country is revealing in one voice they all said that the experience was valuable and it was their only window into the world of education. However, at the same time programmes are often unable to sustain their achievements through forging of effective multiple linkages with the formal education system to ensure continuous learning. The paper asserts that since the demand for such interventions is increasing, the limitations as well as the potential of AL as a strategy needs to be critically engaged within our quest for achieving universal elementary education.

Ramachandran V (Ed), 2004, 'Gender and Social Equity in Primary Education: Hierarchies of Access', Sage Publications, New Delhi, Introduction, Chapter 1, pp. 19-31

The introduction to the volume begins with familiarization with gender and social hierarchies in education. This is followed by an overview of the DPEP. The author also shares the objectives of the study, methodology used and the structure of the report. The study was commissioned by the European Commission and the EE Bureau, MoHRD, GoI, to carry out an analytical review of progress reports, data and other research documents from a gender and equity perspective. The study involves desk research and micro field studies with documentation of some best practices. At a later stage certain areas were identified for in depth analysis. An important focus of their research relates to the hierarchy of access in education.

This volume provides an insightful understanding of the ground realities of primary education programmes, particularly those run by the DPEP. Combining secondary research with field studies conducted in six states, the contributors explore gender and social equity issues in primary education. They conclude that there is a subtle but

nevertheless discernible hierarchy of access to education which has resulted in new forms of segregation in primary schools.

The findings indicate that a child's gender, caste, class and community tend to define the nature of the school he or she attends which, in turn, has implications for the processes of teaching and learning. The field studies also explore the perception of parents, teachers, children and the community regarding primary schooling and the impact of the DPEP. This book additionally elaborates on the institutional mechanisms and strategies required to improve schooling and reduce inequalities, as also assesses the efficacy of various non formal and alternative education initiatives.

Ramachandran V (Ed), 'Getting children back into school', Sage Publications, New Delhi, 2003

This volume explores strategies and alternatives to keep children in school, reach out to those outside the schooling system, and improve the quality of elementary education. To this end, it brings together case studies of innovative educational programmes from the voluntary sector which influence, support and strengthen basic education, particularly forward and backward links. The book is divide into three sections and each section has specific case studies on bringing children to school.

Ramachandran V, 1998, 'Girls and Women's Education: Policies and Implementation Mechanisms – Case Study India', UNESCO-PROAP, Bangkok

This paper is an effort to capture the emerging picture with respect to girls' and women's education in India. While the general narrative has a national focus, concrete examples, experiences, case studies and voices from the field have been drawn from Rajasthan. Given the size of India and the enormity of the problem, it is not possible to do justice to a wide range of issues impacting girls and women's education. A study was commissioned by UNESCO-PROAP in 1996-97 and this resulted in the book titled Bridging The Gap Between Intention And Action — Girls' And Women's Education In South Asia. Many of the issues discussed in that book have not been repeated, and where absolutely essential, specific items have been quoted. In this paper the author has drawn upon recent survey data on education and development, latest progress reports of special programmes and schemes of Government of India and Government of Rajasthan. This paper focuses attention on policy makers and argues for greater commitment and effective leadership to ensure sincere implementation of government's own policies and programmes.

Ramachandran V, 2004, 'Hierarchies of Access', in Ramachandran V (Ed), 'Gender and Social Equity in Primary Education: Hierarchies of Access', Sage Publications, New Delhi, Chapter 3, pp 70-89

The paper discusses issues related to hierarchies in the access to education and whether the current trends of a shift by the better off to private schooling and policies, while enhancing universalisation may simultaneously be resulting in a segregation with poorer socially deprived groups, including girls, being clustered in government and alternative non formal schools. The study is based on a desk review. It also discusses the consequences these hierarchies of access have on teaching and learning in the classroom, and the key steps needed to reverse this trend. These include functioning primary schools, identification of stakeholders for government schools, elimination of social biases inside the classroom, especially among teachers, motivating and training teachers, and improving access to upper primary education.

Ramachandran V, 2004, 'Institutional Mechanisms and Strategies' in Ramachandran V (Ed), 'Gender and Social Equity in Primary Education: Hierarchies of Access', Sage Publications, New Delhi, Chapter 4, pp 90-119

The paper elaborates on the various institutional mechanisms and strategies, specifically DPEP, to improve schooling and reduce inequalities. An effort is made to assess the efficacy of various strategies, whether they remain localized or have impacted the mainstream. The parameters used for the study include planning and management, school infrastructure and facilities, school community linkages, ECCE, pedagogy, curriculum and classroom processes, targeting girls and socially marginal groups, and women, SC and ST teachers. A review of interventions indicates that it is only in certain areas like planning and management, school community linkages and school infrastructure and facilities that a somewhat uniform effort with respect to gender and social equity has been made across the DPEP states and districts, at times with mixed consequences. One of the most important contributions to gender equity is the official recognition that multiple strategies are necessary to reach out to the unreached. An initiative that stands out from the rest because of its scope as well as documented impact on expanding access to primary schools, particularly among girls and other special focus groups, are the AS/EGS. Yet, at another level, other DPEP initiatives have tended to be a pastiche of very localised efforts that are either transient in nature or limited in outreach, making it impossible to draw conclusions on their efficacy in attaining gender and social equity. While an exciting range of innovations had been initiated and mechanisms introduced to make the system work, it is not possible to make a comprehensive assessment o gender and social equity issues on the basis of data available in DPEP. An area of concern is the shortage of independent research based information on the impact of DPEP in India. Hence, the overall picture that is generated seems rather skewed and at times a distant cry from the promise of social equity enshrined in the DPEP goals.

Ramachandran V, 2000, 'Literacy, Development and Empowerment: Conceptual Issues.' in Wazir R (Ed), 'The Gender Gap in Basic Education: NGOs as Change Agents', Sage Publications, New Delhi

The article deals with the issues of female literacy rates, development and empowerment. The author finds that true empowerment can be achieved through

education but for literacy rates to increase it is necessary that universal primary education be coupled with avenues for adults to continue education. The author also suggests that systems need to be created to ensure that the poor, especially women are able to participate in the democratic processes which will strengthen civil society, eventually empowering women.

Ramachandran V and Saihjee A, 2004, 'An Overview of Micro Studies', in Ramachandran V (Ed), 'Gender and Social Equity in Primary Education: Hierarchies of Access', Sage Publications, New Delhi, Chapter 7, p.p 169-188

The chapter gives an overview of the 6 micro studies included in the second section of the book. It attempts to identify the issues that resonate across the different studies with regard to gender and social equity in primary schooling. The issues discussed here impact girls and children belonging to certain social groups differently and often with severe social consequences. The states selected for this exercise are Andhra Pradesh, Chhattisgarh, Haryana, Karnataka, Madhya Pradesh and Tamil Nadu. The studies have been instrumental in generating rich data that highlights the importance of the local context within which the DPEP initiatives are implemented and impart a more textured and nuanced understanding of education in rural India. The rest of the chapter is devoted to briefly outlining the specific methodology used in the micro studies as well as capturing the similarities and differences of the DPEP experience across the 6 states and highlighting the chasm, at times widening and sometimes narrowing, between the rhetoric and reality of policy initiatives. The methodology adopted for these studies is primarily qualitative and interpretive in nature and attempts to capture the local dynamics that frame social and gender equity issues in primary schooling in DPEP districts across the country. The districts were selected by virtue of being DPEP phase I districts, except Andhra Pradesh, as well as having a sizeable SC/ST population so as to be able to reflect the complexity of local contexts. Similar criteria were used to select the research block as well as the panchayat. It focused primarily on the educational facilities and infrastructure available at the primary level. The methodology sought to combine direct observation, informal conversation, open ended interviews and FGDs to capture the local dynamics of access, enrolment and retention in primary schooling at the micro level, especially from 2000-2004. The micro studies indicate that DPEP's success is inextricably entwined with its ability to engage and dialogue with the larger weave of Indian society. The objective of this exercise is not to pronounce generalizations on the basis of these micro studies, rather, it is to provide insight into the underlying issues most pertinent to the topic under study.

Ramachandran V and Saihjee A, 2002, 'The New Segregation: Reflections on gender and equity in primary education', Economic and Political Weekly; No 17 Vol. XXXVII, 27 April-3 May 2002, pp. 1600-1613

The article is based on a desk review of the DPEP and qualitative micro studies in 6 states, Madhya Pradesh, Chhatisgarh, Andhra Pradesh, Haryana and Tamil Nadu. It

attempts to capture the impact of primary education programmes on the ground. Introducing the emergent concept of 'hierarchies of access' to describe the new segregation occurring in primary education, the article focuses on the micro studies documenting the tangible and intangible dimensions of gender and social equity that frame the implementation of the DPEP at the village and panchayat level. On the basis of the findings of the desk review and the micro studies, the authors discuss ways to reverse the trend of segregation so as to make universal primary education a substantive reality. The desk review of Census 2001 and NFHS-II (1998-99) indicates that gender disparities have declined with an overall increase in school enrolment attendance, particularly in the more backward regions like Madhya Pradesh, Rajasthan and Chhattisgarh. However, the micro studies confirm that the presence of an upper primary and high school in the village is the most important factor affecting transition from primary to upper primary, particularly for girls. The micro studies also indicate that DPEP's success is inextricably entwined with its ability to engage and dialogue with the larger weave of Indian society.

Ramachandran V and Visaria L, 2004, 'What DPEP and other data sources reveal', in Ramachandran V (Ed), 'Gender and Social Equity in Primary Education: Hierarchies of Access', Sage Publications, New Delhi, Chapter 2, pp 32-69

The chapter surveys the data generated by DPEP, national sample surveys and NFHS for the last decade with a special focus on teasing out the gender and social equity dimensions in primary education. It begins with a brief introduction to the different data and their sources. Next, findings concerning enrolment and attendance, reasons for non attendance, and literacy and school participation among disadvantaged social groups are shared. It also discusses the weaknesses in the methodology in computing gender and other social gaps, specifically in the reliance on gross enrollment data.

Rathnam A, 2004, 'The Weft and Warp of Public Education: A Tale of Primary Schools, Cuddalore District, Tamil Nadu', in Ramachandran V (Ed), 'Gender and Social Equity in Primary Education: Hierarchies of Access', Sage Publications, New Delhi, Chapter 13, pp 336-363

This is a descriptive report of two primary schools in a single panchyat in Cuddalore district with specific focus on the issues of gender and social equity. To achieve the aim of reducing differences in enrolment, drop out and learning achievement between gender and social groups to less than 5 percent, DPEP has devised several strategies. By examining how these strategies are woven into the fabric of existing public education, the micro study attempts to look at the texture of this weave. Other details such as infrastructure, pedagogical practices, community development and attitude to gender are therefore foregrounded in this report. The key finding concerning girls' education is that there is very little resistance to educating them. Though expectations of gender roles have not changed in the domestic sphere. Girls are expected to do well at all levels of education. Here credit should be given to DPEP's focus on girls' education.

Rogaly B, Biswas J, Coppard D, Rafique A, Rana K and Sengupta A, 'Seasonal migration, social change and migrants' rights: lessons from West Bengal', Economic and Political Weekly, Vol. 36, No. 49, December 8 2001, pp. 4547-4548

The paper shares a summary of the findings of an empirical study on the scale and pattern of seasonal migration for rice work in West Bengal. It analyses the cause and consequences of the migration, including its relation to present social change. These seasonal migrants for rice cultivation are recruited at busy labour market places or in migrants' home villages by individual employers. About the education of migrant children, including girls, the authors state that they are deprived of education. The schooling system back home does not take into account their migration pattern, And, their temporary status in the destination area does not make them eligible for schooling there.

Rogaly, B., C. Daniel, A. Rafique, K. Rana, A. Sengupta and J. Biswas (2002). "Seasonal migration and welfare/illfare in eastern India: a social analysis", *Journal of Development Studies*, vol. 38, No. 5, pp. 89-114.

Sabar B, 'Education as Culture Mapping: Schooling among Chuktia Bhunjia Girls', Social Change, 40, 3 (2010): 257-273, Sage Publications, New Delhi

The paper focuses on education of girls from the Chuktia Bhunjia tribe of Orissa. The author observed a wide gap in the access to education between Chuktia Bhunjia girls and others. The factors found to be responsible for the high dropout rate among the girls included material culture, life cycle rituals and customary cultural norms like Kanbiha (pre puberty marriage), the customary sari which is different from the school uniform, customary laws that do not allow consumption of boiled rice by girls but which are provided under the MDM scheme. Other causes included poverty, school timings, girls' responsibility towards household chores and agricultural activities, lack of familiarity with the language of instruction in schools. Many parents are also forced to stop sending their daughters to schools out of the fear of social ostracism. This makes it important to encourage girls' education without offending the traditional cultural practices and norms of the community.

Sadgopal, A. (2003) Gender and Education. Frontline, 22 November – 5 December, 20(24). Available from: http://hinduonnet.com/fline/fl2024/stories/20031205006910000.htm [Accessed 1 December 2010].

The article argues that the Indian stance on women's education and gender sensitisation will be meaningful only when it is informed by a socio-cultural and historical perspective on gender.

Saihjee A, 2004, 'Long Live the Alphabet! Reflections from Betul District, Madhya Pradesh', in Ramachandran V (Ed), 'Gender and Social Equity in Primary Education: Hierarchies of Access', Sage Publications, New Delhi, Chapter 8, pp 189-234

This micro study of the Egarim panchayat takes a critical look at the DPEP initiative in Madhya Pradesh and its performance in tandem with the AS/EGS at the village level. It is primarily a qualitative study and focuses on the state sponsored primary education initiatives introduced in the Egarim panchayat in the last five years and its achievement of UEE. It explores the local dynamics of gender, class and community participation that frame this achievement and highlights its implications for universal primary social and gender equity. The key findings, here, concerning gender are that in Egarim gender as an issue is widely prevalent, however has become synonymous with women. Getting girls to enroll and attend school is primarily what gender is all about. The opening of a girls' only primary school has encouraged the Kurmi community to educate their daughters. The lack of local employment for women and prevailing social structures against their employment seem to be leading to the instrumental use of education as a commodity in the marriage market. There are attempts in AS, EGS and the girls' GPS classrooms to actively address gender issues and focus on the gender division of labour. Segregated schools have also allowed gender to disappear from the boys' classrooms. There is no institutionalized interaction between the two schools, now has any effort been made to converge activities where both boys and girls can participate.

Sahay, A, 'CREDA: Mobilising child labour for primary education' in Ramachandran V (Ed), 'Getting children back into school', Sage Publications, New Delhi, 2003, pp.

CREDA was one of the main NGOs involved in the passing of the Prevention of Child Labour Act 1986. CREDA initially worked towards bringing children working in the carpet industry in Mirazapur district of Uttar Pradesh, out of work. Many of the children working in the industry were bonded labour. CREDA runs special schools with an emphasis on accelerated learning. The work done by girls by definition does not come under child labour hence CREDA evolved the concept of community cottages schools (CCS) which linked education to education to basic human rights of all children and all children could be enrolled. CCS prepares children to join mainstream schools. The case study provides gender disaggregated data.

Sankar D, 2008 'What is the progress in elementary education participation in India during the last two decades?' An Analysis using NSS Education rounds, Discussion paper series, Report No.24 South Asia Human Development Sector, October 2008.

This paper examines the trends in elementary education participation in India over two decades (Mid1980s till 2004-05) using three rounds of National Sample Survey Organisation (NSSO)'s household survey data. The analysis shows that there has been a sharp reduction in the number of children 'not-attending' schools as well as their share in total child population. The number and share of children attending school in the age

group of 6-13 years has been on the rise. Increase in the number and share of children attending among girls, and socially and economically marginalized groups have been quite impressive.

Sengupta P and Guha J, 2002, 'Enrolment, Drop out and Grade Completion of Girl Children in West Bengal', Economic and Political Weekly; No 17 Vol. XXXVII, 27 April-2 May 2002, pp 1621-1637

This paper studies the impact of household demand factors on the school participation and performance in four villages and two urban wards of West Bengal. The aim of the study was to assess the relative importance of these factors on the schooling choices made for girl children. The results indicated that some of the strongest enabling factors with regard to girls' school participation and grade attainment were household resource factors such a parental, especially maternal schooling, father's occupation and family income. Urban residence, as expected, had a strong positive association, and significant cohort effects were observed with regard to the schooling outcomes. A girl child's labour force participation significantly reduced the demand for schooling and the amount of schooling obtained. Religion and caste factors emerged as important determinants of schooling, as well.

Sharma A, 2004, 'Decentralisation: Centering the decentered, The question of equity and institutional response in the context of Madhya Pradesh', Commonwealth Conference Lessons from Promising Practices and Implications For Scaling Up Girls Education, Chandigarh, September 20-22, 2004

The paper examines the Education Guarantee Scheme (EGS) for Madhya Pradesh. The EGS scheme has been decentralized to a degree which allows for flexibility in the functioning of schools with regard to time and promotion policy. This has increased the access to education for many children especially girls. Flexibility in timings has allowed girls to continue with formal schooling. The scheme has also built backward and forward linkages by linking schemes of adult literacy such as Padna Badna Andolan and integrated the local community in curriculum development through Aas Pas Ki Khoj. The integration of these schemes with the EGS has allowed for a holistic effort to ensure that girls are able to complete their basic education.

Shukla S and Joshi P, 2008, 'Impact of Private Sector Education on Achieving Universal Primary Education in India', January 2008

The paper discusses the impact of private school education on the public sector and thus on universalisation of primary education in India. It begins with an executive summary of the chapters to follow. The second chapter talks about the different types of schools operating within the Indian education system. These include government, private unaided, private aided, recognized private and low fee private schools. The focus here remains on pro poor low cost private education and their emergence. Chapter three

tracks the scale and the nature of low cost private education. Here, the authors also mention the different sources of data on education, the specific indicators they cover and their quality, reliability and limitations, particularly vis-à-vis private schools. The DISE and its limitations are discussed in more detail. They also share the DISE 2005-06 data on private schools. Here they include indicators regarding the spread of private schools, their growth, infrastructure, basic facilities, staffing, teacher related indicators, pupil teacher ratio, enrolment and education for the disadvantaged. The chapter also shares the findings of Mehta's study of unrecognized private schools in Punjab in 2005. The section ends with some suggestions for improving quality of data on private unrecognized schools and some research questions concerning this data that need to be addressed. The following chapter talks about the demand for low fee private education, its growth, its clientele and its reasons for choosing low fee private schools. Chapter five shares case studies on low fee private schools in Uttar Pradesh. Clusters of schools located largely in two areas of were observed and analysed. The first, in rural areas, were located around 35-42 kms from Lucknow. The second set was located in a peri urban area in the NCR, near an industrial township. Apart from observation visits, interviews with a cross section of stakeholders and analysis of available documents were relied upon. The chapter also discusses the economics of a low fee private school. Chapter six examines issues regarding supply, demand, quality and efficiency of government and private school education. It also highlights some research questions that need to be addressed about low fee private schools. The authors also explore the dynamics of opening and running private schools, why they prefer to remain unrecognized, fees and scholarships as major preoccupations, the subsistence level of education in these low fee private schools. The section ends with some recommendations for improvement of the quality of low fee private schools. The subsequent chapter discusses the impact of the private school sector on the government school system. The issues talked about here include declining enrolment in government schools, wastage of government resources because of subsidies to the private sector and dual enrolment in government (for entitlements) and private schools (for functional education), incomplete plans for universalisation of elementary education, increased inequity with decreased system performance since the growth of private schools reduces the dependence of powerful families on the public system, and a diluted 'pop' notion of education and a good school based on stereotypes. Data on enrollments in government and private schools shows that private schooling tends to cater more to boys than girls, to the better off groups, and to urban rather than rural areas. DISE 2005-06 indicates higher percentage of girls' enrolment in government managed schools than in private schools. The last chapter explores the options ahead. It also talks about the Right to Education Act in the existing 'options environment'. The section also summarises certain low key actions towards improvement of the quality of education in India proposed by Mehta (2005), Muralidharan and Kremer (2006) and the authors themselves. These include collection of data from unrecognized schools, consideration for private sector as well in policy and planning for improvement of education in India, attention to reforms disparities between private and public schools suggest in the public sector, framework for process and outcome parameters to ascertain and attain quality for all schools, capacity building

of all education workers, and monitoring and assessment of quality of education by parents and communities.

Sinha S, 2000, 'Child Labour and Education' in Wazir R (Ed), 'The Gender Gap in Basic Education: NGOs as Change Agents', Sage Publications, New Delhi

In this article the relationship between child labour and education is explored and an uncompromising view is taken on the definition and causes of child labour. The distinction made between child labour and child work is rejected, as certain forms of work are inevitable and can even be beneficial for the child. In the specific context of girl child education the author points out the fact that a lot of the work done by girls is not considered child labour under the accepted parameters. The work can include taking care of younger siblings, collection of water, fuel etc. All these activities though not hazardous are still keeping the child away from school. In the author's view every child out of school comes under the definition of child labour. Consequently, full-time formal school is accepted to achieve the interlinked goals of universalisation of elementary education and elimination of child labour. The author also feels that due to the already existing gender biases it is absolutely necessary to get girls into formal education and the transition from work to education can be done through reorientation and a greater involvement of the community.

Srivastava R, 2001, 'Access to Basic Education in Rural Uttar Pradesh', in Vaidyanathan A, Nair P (Ed), 'Elementary Education in India: A Grassroots View', Sage Publications. New Delhi, Chapter 7, pp 257-319

Based on certain key educational indicators and other criteria of human development in UP, it was decided to carry out a field study in two districts with contrasting human development profiles. Health indicators, particularly IMR, were added to the list of educational variables to enable selection of the districts. The districts considered for selection belonged to the low and high performance groups, adjudged in terms of literacy levels in 1981 and 1991, and changes therein over the decade. The two districts covered by this study, selected randomly, were Rampur in Rohilkhand and Ballia in Eastern UP. On the basis of the 1981 and 1991 literacy situations and change in the literacy level over the decade, they initially selected two blocks in each of the districts. Navanagar in the Sikandarpur Tehsil, and Bansdih were selected in Ballia. Three villages were randomly selected in Navanagar block, while in Bandsih, only one low low village was selected. Similarly, in Rampur, Saidnagar village was selected from the low low group and Bilaspur form the hjigh high group. Two villages were selected from the Saidnagar block. For qualitative information on functioning of schools school visits were made and FGDs held with parents, guardians, teachers and children on the existing condition of schools and possible ways of their improvement. Both, univariate and multivariate methods were used for analysis of data. The findings shared in the paper are based on the following parameters of enrolment by gender, social group and management, discontinuation of children from school education, characteristics and importance of government and private schools, costs of schooling, distribution of scholarships and incentives, reasons for sending or not sending children to school, involvement of non students in paid or unpaid work, and functioning, quality and

expenditure of schools. The evidence presented in the different sections confirms the role of socio economic factors in determining the nature of participation of rural households in the educational process. Further, these factors influence the demand for and supply of education, which are to an extent co determined. The discussion in the paper indicates that government policy has a major role to play in shaping people's ideas about returns from education, lowering opportunity costs and provisioning of good quality public education. The findings indicate that both economic and social factors are significant in explaining non enrolment and non retention of girls. Another important cited is the non usefulness of education, particularly in the case of girls. Female participation was found to be less in private schools.

Srivastava, R. and S. K. Sasikumar (2003). "An overview of migration in India, its impacts and key issues", paper presented at the Regional Conference on Migration, Development and Pro-Poor Policy Choices in Asia, 22–24 June 2003, Dhaka, Bangladesh, available at http://www.livelihoods.org/hot topics/docs/Dhaka CP 2.pdf, accessed on 3rd January 2011

Sudarshan R M, (2000) 'Educational Status of Men and Women: The Emerging Scenario' in Wazir R (Ed), 'The Gender Gap in Basic Education: NGOs as Change Agents', Sage Publications, New Delhi.

This essay attempts to place the current educational status of girls and women in India in context by examining the expansion of the educational system, as well as some educational outcomes. As attempt is made to indicate both the strong and the weak points of the present system, and as counterpart to this, the points of intervention that appear to have the greatest leverage.

This chapter maps gender disadvantage in Indian education from the perspective of girls and women. In addition to statistical data, a historical record of the evolving policy and programmes is also provided. The responses of the NGO sector to poor educational performance and gender gap have been examined in some detail. It is emphasised that efforts to universalise schooling are doomed if attention is confined only to the education sector. Supportive policies in other areas are needed to ensure that children go to school. For example, a ban on child labour, better system of childcare and better environmental management are necessary complements. Similarly, literacy campaigns cannot succeed on their own unless supported by general educational activities and educational resource groups at the grass root level. So sustaining life-long learning requires painstaking work over a long period. Education is a powerful tool to enhance the capacities of ordinary citizens to negotiate this unequal world from a position of strength.

Thomas J A, 'Dynamics of Educational Development: A Case Study of Selected 'Backward' Villages in Kerala', in Vaidyanathan A, Nair P, 'Elementary Education in India: A Grassroots View', Introduction, Chapter 5, 166 pp, Sage Publications. New Delhi, 2001

In Kerala, despite significant progress in most aspects of elementary education and achievement in quantity, micro level disparities exist among regions and socio economic groups. It is against this background that the present enquiry was carried out in four villages selected from two educationally backward districts of Malabar, Malapuram and Palakkad. Based on the level of literacy in 1981, and the rates of change in literacy during the 1980s, the taluks and then the villages were chosen. Two villages were selected from each district, one which had attained a relatively high level of overall literacy in 1981 and had also reported relatively large improvements in this respect during 1981-91 and another which had a low literacy rate in 1981 and relatively slow improvement during the 1980s. Only 500 households could be surveyed in detail in each village due to time and resources available. In each village one or two wards within the village as a whole were selected. No scientific procedure was used here. The enquiry addressed the problems of disparity, determinants of educational choice within households, dynamics of educational initiatives and availability, of accessibility to, and quality of education. The article also discusses the story of educational development in Malabar and the growth of particular educational initiatives in the selected villages pre independence. The article concludes by saying that improvement if student performance, ensuring of social accountability of teachers, and active public participation in educational activities of the schools are among the urgent needs of the education system of Kerala.

Tilak J B G, Sudarshan, R M, 2007, 'Private Schooling in Rural India' in Shariff A, Krishnaraj M (Eds), 'State, Markets and Inequalities Human Development in Rural India, Orient Longman, New Delhi, pp. 269-327

The article analyses the enrolment of children into private schools based on the economic (income), social (religion, caste) background of families. It also analyses the enrollment inter state and based on the education of parents. The study uses data from the HDI survey conducted by NCAER and concentrates on children of the age group of 5-15. Some of the key findings related to girl child education were that the enrollment of girls in private schools in rural India was higher in the higher income groups. Educated parents were also more likely to send their daughters to private schools. The article found that private education had not done much in countering existing gender biases instead it had continued to perpetrate the old biases.

Tooley J, Dixon P, 2007, 'Private Schooling for low income families: A census and comparative survey in East Delhi', India, International Journal of Education Development, 27(2007), 205-219

The paper uses a census and survey method to study schools in the slums of East Delhi, India. It explores the nature and extent of private education serving low income families, and compares inputs in public and private schooling. The paper found that around two-thirds of all schools were private unaided, with more unrecognized private than government schools. Although teacher absenteeism was lowest in government schools, most inputs showed either comparable levels of provisions in government and private

unaided schools, or superiority in private unaided schools. The paper also looks into the gender disparity in private education and possible implications regarding targeted vouchers, increased regulation and self regulation are explored.

UNICEF ROSA, 'Equity in School, Water and Sanitation: Overcoming Exclusion and Discrimination in South Asia' India Report, 2009

In 2007, UNICEF Regional Office for South Asia (ROSA) commissioned a desk study to understand the effect of water and sanitation on social exclusion in schools in South Asia (Ollieuz, 2008). This study was based on secondary literature and anecdotal evidence. Concluding from the valuable insights from this study, the researcher recommended that UNICEF ROSA follow it up with another study to gather empirical evidence to explore whether the inclusion and exclusion practices documented in the desk study were widespread. It was agreed that a qualitative research study would fill in the gaps in the earlier research. ERU Consultants Private Limited (ERU), New Delhi, was appointed as researchers for the study in India. The specific areas it covers include enrolment and attendance, water and sanitation facilities and their use, senior secondary schools untouched by WATSAN or any other such campaigns, midday meal and its dynamics and voices and experiences of primary school children with special needs. It also shares one case study each to illustrate best practices and failure.

UNICEF, 'Girls' Education', New Delhi, November 2003

UNICEF, 'Frequently Asked Questions: On the Right of Children to Free and Compulsary Education Act 2009'

The resource covers the following aspects of the act- the beginning and journey of the act; definitions; the right; duties of governments and local authority; schools and teachers; curriculum content and process; protection and monitoring of children's rights; other issues; and immediate tasks of the government.

Unni J, 1998, 'Gender differentials in Schooling' in Krishnaraj M, Sudarshan R M and Shariff A (Eds), 'Gender, Population and Development', Oxford University Press, Chapter 7, pp 141-158

The data analysed in this paper were collected as part of a project sponsored under the UNDP and IDRC's Research Project on Strategies and Financing for Human Development. Mehsana district in Gujarat was chosen to represent the state in the study. In this particular paper they attempt to study some of the determinants of schooling among boys and girls in rural areas of Mehsana district in Gujarat. This they say should provide the basis for later analysis of the returns to education at a disaggregated level. They found gender differentials in determinants of schooling to be quite high. While the education of the mother has a strong positive impact on girls' schooling, the father's education has no significant impact. Unlike as in the equation for boys, both wealth and composition of household income were seen to have a positive association with

education of the girl child. The supply of schooling also has a stronger impact on girls' schooling than that of boys.

Vaid D, 2004, 'Gendered Inequality in Educational Transitions' Economic and Political Weekly, Vol. 39, No. 35, Aug. 28 - Sep. 3, 2004, pp. 3927-3938

This paper underlines the factors associated with the inequality in educational experience transitions in India. Not only do girls lag behind, but also certain communities and classes fare worse than others, where education is concerned. The aim of this paper is twofold. First, to underscore the causes for this inequality for both boys and girls from socially disadvantaged groups, and secondly to highlight in particular the inequality facing girls at each stage of educational transition. The paper uses a unique National Election Study (1996) data set that contains information on the respondent's parent's caste, class, religion and locality. Only some of the main results of this study are consistent with previous research. There was weak support for the effect of caste, but class on the other hand emerged as a string determinant of the relative chance of a child continuing in school. Where the education of girls is concerned, no support was found for a supplementary class effect, thus refusing the notion of a more egalitarian Indian middle class.

Vaidyanathan A, Nair P (Ed), 2001 'Elementary Education in India: A Grassroots View', Sage Publications, New Delhi, Introduction, Chapter 1, pp 23-48

This volume and its introduction emphasize the importance of addressing the peripheral issues concerning education, and not solely increasing allocation of resources in the education sector, for the achievement of educational goals. The introduction begins with sharing the findings of the decennial census and the NSS. Some of these include the direct correlation between average literacy and literacy of females, SCs and STs and that between rural and urban areas, of the rich and the poor, narrowing of disparities across and within regions with improvement in overall literacy, and the existence of pockets of persistent educational backwardness. The authors also share the particular findings of NSS 1986-87 vis-à-vis enrolment. This is followed by a summary of the findings of and the insights from village and household surveys in seven major Indian states of Andhra Pradesh, Kerala, Tamil Nadu, Uttar Pradesh, Bihar, Rajasthan and Orissa. These explore the nature and extent of disparities, based on inadequacy of resources and social and regional inequality, in educational participation and performance. The contributors examine the ways in which caste and community, economic status, parental attitudes and the cost of education affect the enrolment and drop out behavior of boys and girls and of different social groups. They show how the impact of these factors varies between regions, or even between comparable situations. The social and economic factors in the spread of literacy, existence of pockets of chronic educational backwardness, the role of private schools in elementary education, and the problems relating to school functioning and teachers' performance in government schools are also explored in detail. The section ends with giving certain implications of these findings for

policy and research. They highlight the importance of tailoring programmes and policies to location specific needs and endowing local bodies with greater authority and flexibility in the management of local schools. This volume explores issues that are of enormous significance in developing an inclusive, effective and equitable basic education system.

Velaskar, Padma, 2005, 'Education Caste, Gender: Dalit Girls' Access to Schooling in Maharashtra', Journal of Educational Planning and Administration, Volume XIX, Number 4, October 2005, pp 459-482.

The paper examines the extent to which Dalit women have been able to achieve access to schooling. It studies the combined impact of class, caste and gender on the access to schooling. The first part of the paper places the problem of access in the historical context and next analyses the changes in enrollment using data from the Directorate of Economics and Statistics, Maharashtra Government, Census of India and NSSO. One of the key findings of the paper is that after the 1980s the education levels of Dalit girls has been increasing and is at par with that of the Dalit boys. It also found that the proportion of girls in general and that of Dalit girls in specific fell in higher classes. A large disparity in the enrolment between the districts studied was also observed. Surprisingly some economically backward districts in Vidarbha, Konkan and Marathwada have shown significant improvement in Dalit girls' education. Even among the Dalits there is an intra Dalit educational inequality, communities such as Mahar, Neo-budhists and Chambhars are more educationally advanced than Mangs and many other groups.

Wazir R, 2000 'Profiling the Problem' in Wazir R (Ed), 'The Gender Gap in Basic Education: NGOs as Change Agents', Sage Publications, New Delhi

The book maps the Indian education scenario from two perspectives- gender disadvantages in access to basic education, and the responses of the NGO sector for overcoming them. The elaboration of both issues has been placed within a larger debate on education access and NGOs' function. Gender prejudice constitutes a powerful factor in the exclusion of girls and women and needs to be identified as such. The eight chapters included in the volume cover a wide range of topics focusing on supply, demand and institutional dimensions.

The introduction profiles the problem. The author understands the gender gap in education in the wider context that is female disadvantage in India. Gender bias permeates all aspects of society, and informs political decision making as well as intra familial attitudes and values. This cycle of disadvantage starts before birth and continues with neglect of female children through to widowhood. How can the cycle of gender discrimination be broken? It is argued that the status of women, including their educational status, will improve as a consequence of their increasing participation in the labour market. Broadly speaking, this implies that education must play a central role in breaking the cycle of female disadvantage.

Chapter 5 and 6 investigate child labour and the educational status of tribal communities in the context of economic and identity-based educational exclusion. In Chapter 5 the relationship between child labour and education is explored and an uncompromising view is taken on the definition and causes of child labour. The distinction made between child labour and child work is rejected, as certain forms of work are inevitable and can even be beneficial for the child. In the author's view every child out of school comes under the definition of child labour. Consequently, full-time formal school is accepted to achieve the interlinked goals of universalisation of elementary education and elimination of child labour. The next chapter focuses on the education of tribal children in the context of exclusion experienced by them and the need to ensure equity in their education. The author is of the view that the identity of tribal groups, as well as their cultural and economic marginalisation, are the factors responsible for the poor spread of education. Present day initiatives of NGOs in tribal education are limited in scale and are restricted to specific pockets in the country.

Wazir R, 2000, 'Making a Difference: NGOs Strategies Revisited' in Wazir R (Ed), 'The Gender Gap in Basic Education: NGOs as Change Agents', Sage Publications, New Delhi, Chapter 8, pp

The author concentrates on NGO strategies for reducing educational disadvantage. The chapter focuses on collaborative efforts to involve all stakeholders- the private sector as well as civil society institutions. It reassesses the potential of NGO strategies that had been identified as successful. Examples of good practices can be seen at the micro level but these tend to cater to supply side constraints. The paper recommends that Indian NGOs would have to pay more attention to creating a demand for education, if they are to contribute to the improvement of overall education performance

World Bank, 1997, 'Development in Practice: Primary Education in India', Allied Publishers Limited, New Delhi, pp. 119-127

The book covers the following questions surrounding primary education in the country-progress, prospects and challenges; economic and social outcomes as justification for investing in primary education; improving access and efficiency; enhancing learning achievement; reducing gaps in enrolment, retention and achievement; improving teachers' performance; improving the quality of textbooks and the efficiency of their production; building management and institutional capacity; financing elementary education; and financing more and better primary education. The section illustrates some state specific interventions that have been seen to narrow the gender gap. These include

- Assam: Access to teaching materials and parental involvement, teacher assigning
- homework
- Haryana: Head teacher acting as leader
- Karnataka: Stable teaching staff

Gol

12th JRM for the SSA, Aide Memoire, July 2010, ssa.nic.in/.../FINAL%20AIDE%20MEMOIRE%20OF%2012_JRM_29_July.pdf, accessed on 16th November 2010

Sarva Shiksha Abhiyan (SSA) is a comprehensive and integrated flagship programme of the Government of India (GoI), to attain Universal Elementary Education (UEE) in the country in a mission mode. Launched in partnership with the State Governments, SSA aims to provide quality education to all children between the ages of 6-14 years. SSA's four goals are:

- All children in school.
- Bridging gender and social gaps.
- All children retained in Elementary Education.
- Education of satisfactory quality.

SSA is a national programme supported by domestic resources, supplemented partly by external funding from the World Bank's International Development Association (IDA), United Kingdom's Department for International Development (DFID) and the European Union (EU). The GoI and Development Partners (DP) conduct a Joint Review Mission (JRM) twice a year, as per the agreements. The main objective of the JRM is to review progress in the implementation of the programme with regard to SSA's goals and to discuss follow up actions in the light of the Terms of Reference (TOR) agreed upon for each JRM.

The first JRM was held from January - February 2005. This review is on the Twelfth JRM of SSA that was held from 19th to 30th July 2010. It is based on a study of available documents and discussions with national and state level functionaries.

The JRM notes development of several strategies for improving girls' participation in schooling. These include

- Specific facilities for girls and female teachers
- Entitlements such as free text books, transport and bicycles
- Girls' empowerment initiatives under NPEGEL
- Girls' residential programs such as KGBV.

The Mission recommends a systematic approach to pull out best practices from the states, to reflect and build on lessons learnt from these practices, and to promote formal mechanisms of exchange of experiences related to gender and social inclusiveness.

Ministry of HRD, 2005, Report of the CABE Committee on Girls' Education and the Common School System', New Delhi, June 2005

The three themes assigned to the committee for deliberation under the Terms of Reference are Girls' Education, the Common School System and Inclusive Education including Education for Children with Disabilities/Special Needs. These themes though different in scope, are interrelated in certain ways because all three are to be viewed in the context of the parameters of the modern Indian state. The present Committee understood these parameters as given by the Directive Principles in Part IV of the Constitution including Article 45 that stands modified by the 86th Amendment.

About girls' education, the committee says that caution needs to be given to the danger of girls' education being reduced to an instrument for fertility control, decreased infant mortality rates, decreased expenses on health care etc. Since, these are and need to be looked upon and understood as an equal responsibility of men. Moreover, in the case of the instrumentalist approach the emphasis remains on literacy and non formal education. The committee shares that functional literacy, residential camps, bridge courses and other programmes under Mahila Samakhya have helped women's self esteem, as well as brought back many drop out girls to formal schools and ensured that they fare better. Under DPEP, to free older girls from sibling care to enable them to attend schools, efforts were made in few states to shift ICDS centers close to schools and extend the working hours to match with the school's working hours. The members also suggest interventions to reduce gender biases and reinforcements of gender stereotypes in classrooms and schools in the form of work division and teachers' comments. The textbook review exercises under DPEP, they state, mainly included a gender audit of content and illustrations. However, the initiative rarely went into deeper aspects and essentially remained a mechanical exercise. The approach to education should be such that it develops girls' capabilities to claim their rights and enables boys and girls to critique unequal gender relations and roles. Furthermore, courses like those in basics of parenting, reproductive health etc are as important for boys as they are for girls. Also, they would help break established notions like parenting is only the mother's responsibility. The CABE Committee also recommends conversion of boys' schools into co education schools. The committee argues that gender sensitisation strategies will succeed only if genuine mobilisation based on participative involvement of teachers along with their effective interaction with the community and parents is patiently, but consistently, pursued over a long time.

Ministry of Women and Child Development, 2007, Girl Child in the Eleventh Five Year Plan (2007-2012), Sub Group Report, Government of India, New Delhi

The Planning Commission constituted a working group on 'Development of Children' for the Eleventh Five Year Plan under the Chairpersonship of Secretary, Ministry of Women and Child Development. The main objective of the group was to review the present approach and strategies as well as the programmes for protection, welfare and development of children and to make recommendations for the Eleventh Five Year Plan. The working group set up four sub groups of which one was on the 'Girl Child'. This sub group was assigned the task of an exhaustive analysis of the issues facing the girl child and of recommending a plan of action for the Eleventh Plan. The sub group met twice and experts were also co-opted to attend these meetings. Extensive e-discussions and brainstorming also took place. Based on these deliberations this report of the thematic sub group on girl child has been prepared which has sections focusing on the key issues and recommendations, including those on enabling girls' education and gender sensitization of the education system. The group's recommendations for education of girls include:

- Preschool education & supplementary nutrition facilities
- Enrolment of the girl child in school
- Primary education facility
- Availability and accessibility of elementary and secondary education facility
- No. of female teachers
- No. of trained teachers
- Provision of mid day meal/ supplementary nutrition
- Availability of school books/stationery/school uniform
- Pucca school buildings
- Toilet / sanitation facility in school
- Furniture in school
- Extracurricular activities in schools
- Sports facilities
- Safe transport
- AS/RS/ bridge courses
- Special provisions for SC/ST/OBC
- Special education for disabled

National Common Minimum Programme of the UPA Government, announced in May, 2004 Extracts relating to Education

After fresh election to the Lok Sabha, the United Progressive Alliance (UPA) Government took office in May 2004 and adopted a National Common Minimum Programme (NCMP).

National Policy on Education 1986 (modified in 1992)

The NPE was adopted by the Parliament in 1986. A committee was set up under the chairmanship of Acharya Ramamurti in May 1990 to review NPE and to make recommendations for its modifications. The Committee submitted its report in December 1990. At the request of the Central Advisory Board of Education another committee was set up in July 1991 to recommend modifications in the NPE taking into account the report of the Ramamurti Committee and other pertinent developments

having a bearing on the Policy. This Committee submitted its report in January 1992. The report of the Committee was considered by the CABE Committee in its meeting held on 5-6 May 1992. While largely endorsing the NPE, CABE recommended a few changes in the policy. The NPE, regarding women's education states that the National Education System will play a positive interventionist role in the empowerment of women. It will foster the development of new values through redesigned curricula; training and orientation of teachers, decision makers and administrators; and the active involvement of education institutions. The removal of women's illiteracy and hindrances in their access to, and retention in, elementary education will receive overriding priority, through provision of special support services, time targets, and effective monitoring.

Planning Commission, 2008, '11th Five Year Plan: 2007-2012', Oxford University Press, Vol. 2, Gol, Chapter 1

The Eleventh Plan focuses on the problems in the higher education sector where there is a need to expand the system as well as to improve quality. The Eleventh Plan also attends to other significant challenges including bridging regional, social, and gender gaps at all levels of education.

Right of Children to Free and Compulsory Education Act, 2009

The Right to Education Act of the Parliament received the assent of the President on 26th August 2009. It provides for free and compulsory education to all children of the age of 6 to 14 years.

Working Group Report of the Development of Education of SC/ST/Minorities/Girls and Other Disadvantaged Groups for the 11th Five Year Plan (2007-2012)

The Planning Commission had set up a Working Group on the 'Development of Education of SC/ST/Minorities/Girls and other Disadvantaged Groups' for the Eleventh Five Year Plan under the Co chairmanship of Secretary, Higher Education and Secretary, School Education and Literacy. The Working Group first met on 17th August 2006 where it was decided that the Working Group may consider the sectoral issues presented by various sectors like Higher Education, Technical Education, Vocational Education, School Education, Elementary Education and Adult Education. Accordingly, the Working Group met on 1st, 6th, 7th & 8th September, 2006 to deliberate upon the issues raised by various sectors including a special session exclusively dedicated to the issues and challenges faced by children with specific needs. Based on the recommendations developed during these meetings a draft set of recommendations was prepared to be discussed in the Working Group meeting held on 26th September 2006.

Recommendations impacting girls' education that emerged in the final meeting of the Working Group are:

- Early Childhood Care and Education (ECCE) centers in all habitations irrespective of the number of inhabitants and this should be gradually elevated by inclusion of other components like nutrition, health etc.
- An accelerated programme of inclusion of more and more low literacy districts especially low female literacy areas in all districts in all states.
- Extension of the existing Kasturba Gandhi Balika Vidyalaya Scheme up to class XII
- More special schools at secondary level focusing on the needs of the disadvantaged nearer to the habitations of these groups. If the private sector does not come forward, the government should take up more responsibility in these areas.
- Basic facilities like drinking water, toilets and common rooms for girls in all schools
- More hostels especially for girls nearer to the secondary schools, which the girls attend. Hostel facilities for girls/women should also be increased and made available in and around the existing higher educational institutions. There should be a special scheme for construction of hostels, especially for girls.
- Day care centers in all the institutions, especially in institutions where girls/women are studying /employed.

ECCE

UNICEF-ISST, 2009 'Who Cares for the Child: Gender and the Care Regime in India' Report of the UNICEF-ISST Conference, Surajkund, NCR, 8-9 December 2009

The international workshop was organized with the objective of facilitating dialogue about gender sensitive child care policies, programmes, services and practices, bringing together both the pressing and complex age differentiated care requirements of children as well as the near universal implication of women as care providers in the undervalued arena of care work. When women are unable to cope with the triple burden of domestic, reproductive and paid employment, more often than not the onus of care work falls on the older girl children. This is a major factor in restricting girls' participation in schools. ICDS does provide a universal framework for ECCE, but it needs improved coordination with regular schools and better functioning. Kerala and Tamil Nadu have taken a step towards this by setting school timings and those of ICDS centres as the same. Under ICDS and the NREGA, where even in cases provisions exist for child care centres and crèches, these have not been established.

Women's movement

Khullar M, 2005, 'Movements for Equality' in Khullar Mala (Ed), 'Writing the Women's Movement', Zubaan, New Delhi, Introduction, pp 1-43

The collection en bloc aims at providing a synoptic account of women's studies in India as it has developed since the late 1970s and early 80s. Following the women's movement, there has been a virtual information explosion in this field, which has spread extensively within the academic framework of the social sciences as well as the spheres of policy making and advocacy. The reader seeks to consolidate some of this knowledge as well as the research and policy perspectives offered. It represents the work of several women's studies scholars such as Mala Khullar, Malvika Karlekar and Ratna Sudarshan. The themes covered include women in politics, educational intervention, women's encounters with violence, women in the family, women's sexuality and women's work.

The introductory chapter by Mala Khullar gives a brief recapitulation of the historical background of the women's movement before and after the nationalist struggle and education, and in its contemporary form. The role of the education system in reinforcing traditional and sexist ideologies, and in the perpetuation of gender inequality has been a vital concern for the women's movement. It also discusses the changing focus of, research methodology and tools used in, and achievements of studies in women in social sciences. Further it introduces the issues discussed in the articles and excerpts put together in the rest of the volume.

United Nations Publications: United Nations Girls Education Initiative

Heijnen-Maathuis, Eds, 2008, 'From Parity to Equality in Girls' Education: How Are We Doing In South Asia?'

Subrrahmanian, Ramya, 2006, 'Mainstreaming Gender For Better Girls' Education: Policy And Institutional Issues'

Mathieu, Alexandra, 2006, 'Reaching the Girls in South Asia: Differentiated Needs and Responses in Emergencies'

Freeman, Ted, Goss Gilroy Inc., 2006, 'The Move To Programme based Approaches: An Effective Partnership For Girls' Education? The Experience of Recent Evaluations'

Eshya Mujahid-Mukhtar, 2006, 'Poverty and Economic Vulnerability in South Asia: Does It Impact Girls' Education?'

Chandra Gunawardena and Swarna Jayaweera, 'Gender Mainstreaming: Does It Happen in Education in South Asia?'

Barbara Herz, 2006, 'Educating Girls in South Asia: Promising Approaches'

Elaine Unterhalter, 'Measuring Gender Inequality in Education in South Asia'

Amanda Seel, 'Addressing Social and Gender Disparity in South Asia through SWAPs and PBAs in Education: How Can We Use World Experience?'

Sarah Huxley, 'Progress in Girls' Education: The Challenge of Gender Equality in South Asia'

Chitrakar, Roshan, 2009, 'Overcoming Barriers to Girls' Education in South Asia Deepening the Analysis'

Statistical data sources

Ministry of Statistics and Programme Implementation

Census of India

It is a census survey conducted by the Government of India every ten years. The literacy rate is available from this source. As the data is collected only once in ten years it may not always represent the actual picture.

http://censusindia.gov.in/accessed on 25-11-2010.

Education in India: July 2007-June2008, Participation and Expenditure, National Sample Survey (NSS) 64th Round

National Sample Surveys (NSS) conducted by the National Sample Survey Organisation collects information from selected households on a sample basis with each round focusing on specific areas of social and economic activity. The NSS data classifies respondents' educational and other characteristics by social and economic status (e.g. distribution of households by their educational attainment cross classified by income fractile group). The 64th round of the NSS focused on the participation and expenditure on education. The survey contains information on the following aspects

- 1. Participation of persons aged 5-29 years in the education system of the country
- 2. Private expenditure incurred by households on education
- 3. The extent of educational wastage in terms of dropout and discontinuance, and its causes
- 4. The extent of use of educational infrastructure, or facilities and incentives provided by the government and private sector as reflected in current attendance status of population in educational institutions
- 5. The magnitude and nature of private expenditure on education
- 6. The incidence and causes of dropping out, non enrolment etc

http://www.mospi.gov.in/mospi nsso rept pubn.htm accessed on 25-11-2010

Ministry of Human Resource Development

District Information System for Education (DISE)

DISE is a data base for school level information on disaggregated data on location of schools, gender, social categories and children with special needs. The DISE was established by National University of Educational Planning and Administration (NUEPA). Educational data collected under DISE is systematically analysed and disseminated to different stakeholders both online http://www.dise.in/ and through a series of publication. These publications include

- Elementary Education in India: Progress towards UEE- Analytical Report 2006-07, National University of Educational Planning and Administration (NUEPA), 2008
- ➤ Elementary Education in India: Where Do We Stand?- District Report Card 2007-08, National University of Educational Planning and Administration (NUEPA), 2009
- ➤ Elementary Education in India: Progress towards UEE- Flash Statistics —DISE 2007-08, National University of Educational Planning and Administration (NUEPA), 2009

The data gives district wise details on the

- Enrollment rates in different schools (government, private, primary only etc)
- Different school categories (Single classroom, single teacher school etc)
- Retention rate
- Gender Parity Index
- SC, ST and OBC enrolment
- Pupil teacher ratio
- Position of teachers by education qualification
- Gender and caste distribution of teachers
- Enrolment of students by medium of instruction
- Enrolment of children with disability
- Gross Enrolment Rate and Net Enrolment Rate.

All India Survey on Education (Seventh All India Survey on Education)

The survey is conducted by the National Council for Education Research and Training (NCERT) under the Ministry of Human Resource Development (MHRD). This survey aims at collecting comprehensive data on census basis on every facet of school education in the country with the date of reference as September 30, 2002. It covers availability of schooling facilities in rural habitations:

- Physical and educational facilities in schools
- Incentive schemes and beneficiaries

- Medium of instructions and languages taught
- Enrolment, particularly of SCs, STs, girls and educationally backward minority communities
- Teachers and their academic and professional qualifications
- Library, laboratory, ancillary staff
- Subject-wise enrolment at +2 stage of education.
- In addition, the enrolment and teachers in unrecognised schools, alternative schools and AIE Centers, oriental schools covering Sanskrit Pathshalas, Madarsas and Maktabs, special schools for children with disabilities, and pre primary institutions.

Reserve Bank of India, Indian Economy database

The website contains details on central and state government expenditure on education and the receipts from education. It provides details on

- Capital expenditure
- Revenue expenditure
- Plan and non plan expenditure

It also provides data on revenue from education in various states and at the central government level.

http://dbie.rbi.org.in/InfoViewApp/listing/main.do?appKind=InfoView&service=/InfoViewApp/common/appService.do accessed on 23-11-2010.

State level educational statistics

The Directorate of Economics and Statistics in each state collects data for the state. State level data are more detailed than the data available at the national level, but the availability of data varies from state to state. Only Punjab and Orissa (and to some extent Andhra Pradesh) have included unrecognised private schools in their data collection exercises (and found that they account for at least one fourth the children attending school). Again, inadequate and ill equipped manpower affects the timeliness and reliability of the data.

Third National Family Health Survey

The survey has details on literacy rates of the country. http://www.nfhsindia.org/nfhs3.shtml accessed on 5-1-2011

Other National Level Sources

Annual Status of Education Report (ASER) 2009

ASER is an annual survey on education of children done at the household level. The focus of this initiative is primarily on enrollment and basic learning. The collection of the data is a citizens' initiative. The survey is a household level sample survey and the design of the exercise is such that using a common set of survey questions and assessment tasks as well as a common sampling frame, local groups in each district carry out the data collection and dissemination. This exercise has been conducted every year since 2005. http://www.asercentre.org/ngo-education-india.php?p=ASER+reports accessed on 25-11-2010

The data provides state wise data on

- Enrolment in balwadis
- Percentage of children out of school
- Children in private schools
- Children taking tuitions after school
- Mothers reading level
- Learning levels of children from first to fifth standard
- Srivastava M, Yadav K A, (2005) Education Development Index in India, Manak Publications Private Limited, New Delhi.
- Srivastava M, Yadav K, (2005) Primary Education in Delhi Slums, Manak Publications Pvt. Limited, New Delhi
- Ministry of HRD website
- NUEPA webpage
- HDR
- PROBE Survey
- UNICEF website
- World Bank website
- UNGEI website

Films

A day at school

[Filmmaker/s: Jasmine Kaur, Avinash Roy, UNDP "Films for Human Development"]

The effort of the Madhya Pradesh government to decentralize the highly centralized, bureaucratized education system forms the focus of the film. The film enquires into how far this decentralisation has succeeded in improving the quality of education. What has been the role of local bodies like parent teachers associations, are they serving the purpose that they are meant to or they themselves are entangled in power politics? The film looks at these problems through various stories.

A school of my own

[Filmmaker/s: Gargi Sen, UNDP "Films for Human Development"]

A school of my own tells the story of the spread of education in the North Indian state of Himachal Pradesh through an intimate interaction with two children and their families. Shot in the lower Himalayan district of Solan and Upper Himalayan district of Kinnaur, the film paints the picture of a very successful intervention by the state in education through the two protagonists. The two children from two different geographical locations in the state take the viewer into their families, their lives and of course their schools. These are stories of transformation, aspiration, of life and cultures, and of struggles and dreams.

Divided colours of a nation (60 min) [Filmmaker/s : Umesh Aggarwal]

The film examines the ongoing debate on caste based reservation in educational institutions and jobs in government organisations in India. Probing further into the quality of education the film takes us to government schools where children come from underprivileged backgrounds. The infrastructure and quality of teaching of these schools get reflected in the film.

Fiddlers on the thatch (30 min), PSBT [Filmmaker/s: Trisha Das]

The film is an inspirational story of the children of Gandhi Ashram School, Kalimpong. It documents how learning western classical music acted as a catalyst for change, opening up new horizons in their otherwise impoverished and humdrum lives. The film won the Best Non-Feature Educational/ Motivational/ Instructional Film and Best Music award, at the 51st National Film Awards, 2004

Flowering of the mind (30 min), PSBT [Filmmaker/s: Sabia Khan Shastri]

An exploration of J. Krishnamurti's philosophy of education in the backdrop of Krishnamurti Foundation schools where children are encouraged to discover the finer nuances of life along with academic excellence. The two institutions explored here are Rishi Valley School, and the Valley School, both co-educational schools. The children in these schools come from a different social background than the ones seen in the other films thereby giving us a different perspective on educational needs.

Forever sunshine (30 min), PSBT [Filmmaker/s: Rahul R. Ranadive]

The film captures the vision of Sonam Wangchuck to improve government schools in Ladakh through partnership between the community, state and NGOs. His work is a pioneering attempt to redefine the notion of responsibility towards the education of children. The focus of the film is on the issue of quality of education, as Ladakh has a high enrollment rate yet the passing rate at the tenth standard has been low. The film documents the efforts of Mr. Wangchuck and the Ladakhi people in rectifying this situation.

Girls can't wait (30 min), PSBT [Filmmaker/s: Usha Albuquerque]

A thought provoking documentary that looks at the status of girls' education in India. It explores some of the unique education initiatives currently on in India in the context of educating the girl child, for instance Mahila Samakhya project in Uttar Pradesh and the Urmool schools in Rajasthan.

I wonder... (30 min), PSBT [Filmmaker/s: Anu Srinivasan]

What does school mean to children? What kind of learning takes place within the school and outside it? The film is an attempt to explore how the school system is impacting the lives, thoughts and dreams of children lying at the extremities of the country. The film was an official selection at New Asian Currents and Yamagata International Documentary Film Festival.

Kid power

[Filmmaker/s: Ramchandra P.N, UNDP "Films for Human Development"]

In coastal Karnataka in South India, 56 village self governing bodies are holding elections to the Makkala Panchayat (Children's Self Governing Bodies), so that the children can actively participate in the development issues that they think are important to them. The film traces the election process of the Makkala Panchayat and documents some of the changes brought about by them. In the election process

problems which are brought up by children relate to access, availability of basic utilities and the quality of mid day meals.

Kanyashala (30 min), PSBT [Filmmaker/s: Ganga Mukhi]

Students from Kanya Vidyalaya, an all girls' school at Vajreshwari, share poignant stories of how they joined the school and their dreams for the future. Along the way, the film looks at how a segregated all girls' space is an extension of existing social norms, enabling certain modes of becoming while seeking to restrict others.

Mirror mirror on the wall "who am I after all?" (30 min), PSBT [Filmmaker/s : Naina Kapur & Smita Bharti]

The film traces the engagement of students of the Uttam School for girls, Ghaziabad with their dilemmas about sexuality, along with their parents and teachers. Gradually through the process they move towards enabling questions, responsible choices and healthy sexuality.

Shazia (30 min), PSBT [Filmmaker/s: Arvind Sinha]

Shazia is an inspirational story of a girl from a slum in Kolkata who is educating herself while earning a living and running her family. The film reflects some of the changes which have come into the attitudes of the community regarding the education of girls.

Teacher's journey
[Filmmaker/s: Deepak Verma]

The film is an observational film on the teaching methodologies of a primary school teacher in a single teacher school in Madhya Pradesh, India. The teacher Mr. Malviya has developed innovative methods of teaching children of all the classes and successfully integrated aspects from the children's lives into the curriculum. Being the only teacher for all the classes his teaching actively uses peer learning as a method.