

RESIDENTIAL SCHOOLING STRATEGIES

Impact on Girls' Education and Empowerment



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Centre for Budget and Policy Studies (CBPS)

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Executive Summary

The following is the chapter-wise summary of the Report:

I. Chapter 1: Introduction

Several residential schooling strategies exist for girls in the publicly funded school system in India. However, there is no definite policy on residential schooling in general or for girls in particular. The information on the performance of these schemes / programmes / strategies remains uneven, isolated and sporadic. A good number also exist in the private sector catering to both girls and boys, and information about them is even more limited. It is in this context that this study based on review of literature and documents coupled with validation visits to a few sites and consultations with key stakeholders plays an important role in providing several key pointers for policy initiatives.

II. Chapter 2: Mapping of the Schemes

Broadly, there exist four types of residential set-ups in the country: (i) Formal Schools, (ii) Hostels attached to formal schools, (iii) Accelerated Learning Programme (ALP), and (iv) Bridge courses. The study focuses on formal schools and ALPs, and does not delve deep into hostels or the bridge courses. A number of hostel schemes exist with funding support from both Union and state governments and are meant largely for Scheduled Tribe (ST) or Scheduled Caste (SC) students, but the information available on their functioning is almost non-existent. Bridge courses are short term interventions and though important

links for schooling, they themselves are not a means for sustained education, and therefore excluded from inquiry. ALPs are included for their specific contribution to the conceptualisation of residential schools. ALPs act as spaces for embedding girls' education and empowerment with an emphasis on building collective identity, and strengthening individual capabilities and aspirations using shared living and learning experiences as an important means for that purpose.

Major schemes funded by the union government include Jawahar Navodaya Vidyalayas (JNV) and Kasturba Gandhi Balika Vidyalaya (KGBV) funded mainly by the Ministry of Human Resource Development (MHRD), and Ashram schools (AS) and Eklavya Model Residential Schools (EMRS) funded by the Ministry of Tribal Affairs. In addition, both Union and a number of State governments have grants-in-aid schemes to support exclusive schools for SC/ST children known generally as Ashram schools. Several other non-fee-charging residential schools source their funding from development/philanthropic sources.

Barring some isolated small initiatives, Mahila Samakhya run Mahila Shikshan Kendras (MSK) under the MHRD, with presence in a number of states, can be termed as one of the first major ALPs that focussed on women/girls keeping gender concerns as the central theme. This, and other similar programmes such as Lok Jhumbish's Balika Shikshan Shivirs in Rajasthan, M.V. Foundation's residential bridge courses for girls in Andhra Pradesh, and Udaan (a CARE-India initiative for out of school girls in the age group 9-14 years) are the major models that



informed the design of KGBV - a pan Indian residential scheme for upper primary schooling of girls started in 2004-05. KGBV, meant for educationally backward, low-female-literacy blocks is perceived as a major policy response to the issue of girls' dropout after primary education.

As against KGBV, the genesis of JNV, started during 1980s, can be traced to the high-fee-charging residential schools catering to both boys and girls from elite sections of the society modelled after British boarding schools of the colonial era. The policy goal was to provide the same opportunity for excellence to rural boys and girls by opening one well-endowed residential school in each district of the country. Though located in tribal areas, EMRS is also modelled after JNV. Structured after similar initiatives and the oldest of all, the Ashram school model was adopted as a policy soon after independence, to promote formal schooling among SCs and STs. The rationale was both economic: covering living as well as accessing costs, and social: taking children away from their contexts which were not conducive to meet the demands of formal schooling per se.

III. Chapter 3: The Reach and Coverage

District Information System for Education (DISE), a national database for elementary level suggests that with girls' enrolment being nearly 28 lakhs in 2013-14, residential schools now cover about 2.8 to 3 per cent of total girls' enrolment at elementary level in the country.

More than half of the girls are enrolled in residential schools run by the education and social/tribal welfare departments. Ashram schools are the biggest providers of residential schooling among publicly funded residential schools with private sector emerging as a major player at both elementary and secondary levels. Girls form about 51 per cent of total enrolment in Ashram schools, and 37 per cent

of total enrolment in JNVs. The proportion of girls served through residential schools at elementary level is the highest for Odisha (11 per cent) followed by Andhra Pradesh and Maharashtra (between 3 - 5 per cent). The number of residential madrasas and enrolment in them is high in Uttar Pradesh and Bihar, and girls are enrolled in significant numbers in these institutions. However, there is hardly any information available for madrasas in the public domain. The information base is extremely poor for the private sector as well, and so is the case for state funded residential schools.

The representation of educationally backward communities: SC, ST and Other Backward Caste (OBCs) is high in KGBVs, the representation of another educationally backward group, Muslims at 7.5 per cent of total enrolment, is not high and remains an area of concern. The incidences of artificially creating a 'dropout' situation by deliberately forcing girls to stay away from schooling to be eligible for KGBV, has apparently been observed commonly. Ashram schools by definition are meant for adivasi and dalit children, and hence the girls in these schools are assumed to be from these communities. It is still not known what percentage of girls in JNV comes from SC, ST or Muslim communities.

IV. Chapter 4: Physical, Social and Emotional Environment

A residential or boarding school is different from other schools in the sense that students here not only study but also live together. The act of residing together beyond classroom hours has significant implications for management, living environment, relationships and learning.

Physical Infrastructure and facilities

JNV and EMRS with much greater financial allocations for physical infrastructure and other facilities, have better norms than KGBV and Ashram schools. However, it is not necessary



that these norms translate themselves into reality, and even when complied with, these do not necessarily create an enabling environment for girls. Although no formal evaluation is available, the JNVs by and large seem to follow the norms in most places, as suggested by most of the key informants interviewed. However, the same is not true for Ashram schools. Most evaluations undertaken in different states at various time periods, as well as Parliamentary committee have raised the issue of poor provisioning and maintenance. Wide variations exist in norms and conditions for Ashram Schools supported by both State and Union governments.

Maintenance is also reported to be poor in case of KGBVs in many cases. A good number do not fulfil the Right to Education (RTE) norms. Addition of hostels for girls in grades IX and X to KGBV hostels in many states either under Rashtriya Madhyamik Shiksha Abhiyan (RMSA) or as state initiatives without commensurate funding provisions has also adversely affected the ratio of facilities to users in KGBVs. This was reported by the KGBV evaluation as per Government of India (GoI) 2013 data and confirmed in site visits. One good practice observed was the use of solar lighting facility in the KGBV in Bodhgaya (Bihar) and the provision for solar lamps to girls for studying at night in the KGBVs in Jharkhand. Wide variations exist in terms of space, infrastructure and access to facilities in the NGO run programmes. Libraries are present but rarely upgraded or used barring a few exceptions seen in some NGO run schools.

Food, Health and Nutrition

JNVs and KGBVs appear to be more regular in organising periodic health checks and taking preventive steps. Site visits confirmed that most schools maintained a first aid kit, maintained a set of medicines used in common cold and fever, and had some system of having

a doctor on call. This was true for schools in both state and non-state sectors, and for both the types: those running full time schools and those imparting accelerated learning courses, including JNVs, KGBVs and MSKs. In contrast, health of students has emerged as a major concern in Ashram schools. Although food is always identified as an important reason for liking their schools; indicating that students come from backgrounds where they do not have access to adequate food on a regular basis, both the quantity and quality of food emerge as an issue in Ashram schools; and to an extent also in KGBVs and MSKs. The access to clean drinking water and sanitation facilities is poor in most cases.

Safety and Security

A number of shocking incidents related to girls' safety and security have been reported in the context of Ashram schools. JNV is the only system with the presence of a safety protocol but in absence of any evaluation, it is difficult to comment on the real practice. The absence of clear protocol and lack of adequate stress on ensuring the importance of safety and security has resulted in poor provisioning in most cases. The concern for safety and security in JNV has resulted in strong disciplining rather than creating a system where suitable safety measures are coupled with a positive problem solving approach. The situation is varied in KGBVs. To an extent this enabling approach is visible in some isolated cases of ALPs, but has rarely been institutionalised. Teacher training in Udaan is reported to have combined the counselling aspects in teacher training in a manner that it helps in resolving adolescence issues as well as managing safety and security.

Day to day living and relationships

Residential schools were advocated for the most marginalised girls for 'the possibility and potential for providing diverse learning opportunities, having fun with the peer group and sharing joy and excitement to counter the experiences of disadvantaged lives and



opening up avenues for aspirations, dreams and resolves'. The literature suggests that KGBVs and NGO-led initiatives are relatively better in having management practices in a manner that learning becomes integrated with the whole living experience as compared to Ashram schools where the management is reported to be poor. In general, the atmosphere in JNV is too discipline focused to allow for any spontaneous teacher-child relationship to flourish.

All schools follow a routine of combining classes, additional study time, sports and exercises. On the one hand, evidence indicates towards complete lack of any free time in JNVs leading to stress and fatigue among students while on the other hand, the girls in KGBVs, in general, are reported to be much more at ease with the daily routine and enjoy their stay. This is despite the fact that KGBVs have also turned most of the tools, such as self-defence training or children's parliament borrowed from MSK and other similar experiences into a routine exercise. Instances of clear discrimination in assigning cleaning tasks to dalit girls have also been reported in some cases. However, in spite of these limitations, residing together with peer has resulted in strong bonding and contributed in building their self-confidence and aspirations for future.

It is also important to examine the issue of relationships from the perspective of the debate on whether residential schooling is desirable at a young age. This is especially significant for Ashram schools that start at grade 1 or 3 in most cases as overwhelming evidence exists to show that it is better for children at a very early age to stay with their parents. There is not much proof but the presence of negative feedback in Ashram schools is a cause of worry.

Teacher related Issues

Heavy workload coupled with anxiety for their children's education, low salaries and unstable jobs are common for contract teachers in

KGBVs. Though the situations vary from state to state; the range for salaries varied from INR 6000-17000 per month in Bihar, Jharkhand and Rajasthan (states where site visits were made). Rajasthan also places two regular teachers in all schools and their monthly salary was higher at INR 27000. The salary differential in the same school with hardly any difference in workload adversely impacts the inter-teacher relationship. Teachers' salaries are low in the NGO sector as well; the monthly salary ranging from INR 6000-25000 was reported. The salary range in Ashram schools in Andhra Pradesh was reported to be INR 14000-40000 and that for JNV in Karnataka to be INR 40000-55000 per month. JNV also allows teachers' children to be admitted without any screening.

Barring some exceptions made for the short term, all teachers in JNV are permanent whereas in the case of Ashram schools situation differs in every state and depends on the funding source. As for KGBVs, majority of the teachers are on contract with a few exceptions. This indicates a trend towards feminisation of low-paid, contract jobs that offer almost no protection. Some evidence of differential salary for teachers teaching Mathematics and English was also noticed indicating a privilege of these subjects.

V. Chapter 5: Learning and Empowerment of Girls

The evidence on the exact impact of residential schools on girls' learning and empowerment is thin, especially when it comes to large, publicly funded schemes. Sporadic evidence that is available indicates towards an uneven situation. The evidence base is stronger for ALPs such as MSK and Udaan and the impact on both cognitive and psycho-social empowerment has been found to be strong. Use of multiple texts and methods, coupled with strong focus on (i) creating opportunities for discussions, music, dance, excursions and theatre, and (ii) feminist ideology, have helped in creating alternative



socialisation experiences for these girls. The impact on the change in attitude towards marriage, and on building aspirations for a different kind of life has also been recorded. The feedback is mixed when it comes to academic performance. There are indications that content teaching at post primary levels suffer in such institutions probably because the teachers are not as qualified and professionally trained.

KGBV evolved out of success of ALPs but the curricular and transactional practices do not come across as intense and clearly defined as they are for the ALPs. There is no major difference between MS run and SSA run KGBVs except that the focus on developing an alternative gender image is slightly more visible in the former. Though KGBVs have often been credited with being better than average public school in terms of girls learning and empowerment levels, a number of practices are in fact clichéd or even reinforce the prevalent gender images rather than questioning those. The choice of vocational courses such as tailoring and beauty without any reference to or, discussion on the issues of feminisation and objectification of women to make girls aware of these issues is one such example. Research studies have also highlighted the lack of academic rigour in KGBVs. Considering that large scale initiatives are far more rigid and lack creativity visible in small scale programmes, it can be safely concluded that in general, scaling up makes the approaches rigid and diffuses focus.

There is no systematic study available to assess learning and empowerment levels of girls in Ashram schools (whether run by government or non-government agencies) and JNVs. However, the very design and provisioning of JNV focuses on academic excellence and therefore, the focus on academic performance is very high. A perusal of practices in JNV suggests a lack of focus on gender issues and hence a conscious use of residential setting to provide an alternative socialisation seems to be absent there.

Some international evidences indicate that single sex schooling experiences have potential for developing collective identity and gender images in the case of both boys and girls. However, it can go either way depending on the curricular and transactional focus: either reinforce or counter the prevalent gender practices. The ALPs and KGBVs are also conceptualised around the idea of using the single sex space to develop a common identity and have been successful to varying extent in questioning the existing gender relations. A school need not be single-sex; single-sex opportunities can be created even in co-educational schools but absence of any gender focus seems to have prevented any such effort or engagement in Ashram schools, JNV or other NGO run co-educational schools. Instead, a strong focus on the need to maintain discipline has resulted into forced separation of boys and girls in these schools where they are often disallowed even to talk and become friends. The issues related to gender, sexuality and interpersonal relation remains either unaddressed or are handled only with the punitive disciplining approach.

VI. Chapter 6: Cost Norms and Expenditure Patterns

The funding norms and provisions for different publicly funded residential schooling schemes are very different from each other with the norms of JNV and EMRS vis-a-vis Ashram or KGBV. While JNV and EMRS are viewed as a strategy for promoting 'excellence' among rural or tribal children respectively, Ashram schools and KGBVs are perceived more as fulfilling the 'equity' commitment of providing schooling to the disadvantaged: girls, dalits and adivasis.

JNV has often been termed as the school for rural elite, and the state obviously spends more for them: rough estimates suggest that per-student expenditure in JNV is more than five times higher than that of KGBV. The presence of differential norms confirms that there is no



appreciation for equity and excellence goals to be embedded into each other.

Higher expenditure in JNV is primarily due to increased spending on almost all heads: qualified and better paid teachers, better facilities, and higher allocations for food, sports, medical and co-curricular activities. The provisions for certain aspects such as excursion and travel, something that can enhance the learning experiences, are absent in Ashram schools and KGBVs. Budget norms for food, medical and other basic necessities are also lower in KGBV and Ashram schools. Unlike JNV, KGBV includes allocations for vocational training which is welcome as it helps in making the girls more self-reliant and independent hopefully not at the cost of academic rigour, and reinforces gender stereotypical images.

The public policy choice between residential and non-residential schools is to be determined by the established or potential cost-effectiveness estimates. Available evidence indicates that it is an effective strategy for reaching girls in deprived situations for a variety of reasons: compensating the living and schooling costs, safer environment as it avoids travel to school and risks therein, potential for greater attention to studies by making girls free from household chores and the possibility of creating experiences that leads to an alternative socialisation. However, a lot depends on how the whole residential school has been conceptualised and implemented. It in itself, does not ensure much except for some cost advantage for the household. Therefore, it is important to ensure that residential school strategy in its design, conceptualisation and provisioning is actually geared towards this transformational goal.

Though the very act of residing and learning together along with exposures to rigorous academic environment and access to facilities for sports, science and music made possible by higher allocations and better norms helps students achieve their schooling goals, the full potential of JNV into translating itself into

an empowering experience for all girls and boys has not been realised. This is because the curriculum as well as the entire design for residential set up has not been designed with any consideration for transformative and gender-responsive aspects in JNV. Alternatively, KGBVs have been designed with these considerations but in absence of resources and focussed monitoring, these goals are not realised fully; lack of resources renders the academic aspect weak in the KGBV. Ashram schools in most cases lack both: it neither has the academic rigour nor a focus on transformation. Experiments such as Udaan, though not as well-resourced as JNV, have tried to embed academic rigour to a transformative approach of schooling, and succeeded to an extent though limitations exist on the academic front. The resource allocations in Udaan and other examples from the NGO sector such as Viveka Tribal Centre for Learning (VTLC) includes provisions for follow up activities with those who have passed out, and hence continues being supportive for further education and other initiatives.

VII. Chapter 7: Some Good Practices and Emergent Principles

1. Reach: How to overcome 'elite capture'

Considering that running residential schools is a relatively high-cost exercise, especially in a situation where the differences between day-schools and residential schools are wide, and the demand for alternative allocations within the school sector is also high, it becomes imperative to ensure that residential schools reach the most needy and deserving. Some NGOs have identified specific communities and have worked only with them. For instance, Eklavya Parivartan Vidyalaya in Maharashtra runs a school for girls from the Katkari tribal community where girls have rarely gone to



school, and Nari Gunjan in Bihar works with adolescent girls from the Musahar community that is categorised as Mahadalit, the lowest within the Dalit community. Certain MSKs and Mahila Samakhya run KGBVs have also attempted to focus on specific groups. Identification of specific deprived group/s within a particular block helps in ensuring that such schools reach the most-needy in that area.

2. Teaching, learning and curriculum: Ensuring both academic rigour and empowerment

a. Integrated curriculum planning with consideration for both academics and empowerment: Nirantar and MSKs offer good examples of practices such as using girls/women's own life histories and narratives. These aid in building various skills especially around language while helping them realise about the exploitation and abuses that they have been facing and building a collective understanding of these trends in the society. The Udaan curriculum has integrated Social Learning as a subject alongside Language, Mathematics and Environmental Science, and developed those in close contact with each other. For instance, if water as a theme was being covered in Social Learning, it was not repeated in EVS in the same manner. This allowed faster learning in all the subjects while also building a perspective that takes the various dimensions of inequality into account; water is not only an issue of science but also of society and skewed access. This is just one example; a number of NGOs have attempted such integration with varied level of success.

b. Building non-gender-stereotypical vocational skills: MSKs and some KGBVs have introduced skill development courses in areas that are otherwise not commonly

offered to girls: mechanics, plumbing, etc. These are important as they provide income generating skills while at the same time break gender stereotypes. Using the advantage of additional time available in residential schools, there is potential to introduce skill-development but it is important to ensure that the choice of skills does not reinforce stereotypes. The KGBV tie-up with National Institute of Open Schooling (NIOS) for vocational training is a good practice as it leads to certification but it has limitations of promoting skills that could reinforce stereotypes.

- c. Creative use of library, exposure trips and inter-school competition:** Creative use of known teaching – learning experiences such as the use of library, exposure trips and inter-school competitions to strengthen learning and generate greater confidence among students emerged as an important distinguishing feature; how these processes are planned and carried out determines whether it is a good practice or not; some NGO and NGO supported programmes supply examples of good practices. Careful planning with clear linkages to the dual curricular objectives is necessary.
- d. Teacher training and support: Well-planned and reflective of integrated curriculum planning :** Another good practice that emerged as a precondition to success is well-planned and well-conceived teacher training strategies, largely visible in NGO run and supported programmes. Certain common principles that emerge are: (i) teacher training should be continuous and evolving rather than one time and fixed, e.g., experiences show that teachers were better equipped in places where a group of trainers interacted frequently with teachers and the training focused on both pre-planned contents and issues that teachers wanted to discuss. If required, they changed the training plan to



address the teachers' needs; (ii) the content should include academics, empowerment/relational and management aspects as all these are critical in a residential school; (iii) one of the best ways of teacher training is to ensure that the training processes (organisation, classroom interactions, activities, interpersonal relation between the trainer and teachers, etc.) are indicative of what is expected from teachers in the school.

- e. **Qualified and trained teachers:** The study clearly shows that though well-conceived and planned teacher training is very helpful, it goes only that far and there is no substitute for academically and professionally qualified teachers. In the end, residential schools need both: professionally qualified teachers and a well-planned and executed teacher training plan.

3. Ensuring effective management and using management experiences for enhancing learning

- a. **Involving children in school-management through well-planned processes and structures:** This is a common and very useful exercise that most schools follow albeit in different ways. A number of students committees are constituted either through election or allocation for various purposes (library, cleaning, food, health, sports, etc.) and the responsibilities are usually rotated. Elections help in inculcating a sense of responsibility and democratic values, and a better understanding of democracy as an institution. Rotation is also important and if managed well it ensures that not only all children get an opportunity to get involved in all kinds of jobs but also plays a role in breaking social barriers. In co-educational institutions, rotation helps in breaking gender stereotypes.

- b. **Presence of some free time in daily timetable:** MSKs, a number of NGO programmes like Shivir and Udaan, and KGBVs ensure that girls have some free time in their hands in the daily timetable. This free time is used for chatting, dancing, playing, etc., and helps in forming relationships, discussing various issues that help in developing aspirations and also a collective identity. These are critical for empowerment and an absence can lead to issues of frustration and repressed emotions as is apparently the case in some JNVs.

4. Engaging with and influencing the community

One good practice followed by VTLC and Udaan is to send teachers to the villages from where the students are expected to come. This builds confidence among parents in addition to making teachers more aware of the students' backgrounds. Another good practice followed by Udaan is to organise community seminars where some of the games and activities meant for children are modified for adults and done with parents. Some activities are meant for all while some are only for men and women. The objective is to expose the parents and the community to some of the schooling processes and also to challenge some of the existing gender norms so that they also start reflecting the change. It has helped in making them more understanding of the changes that they see in their girls and more supportive of their demands for further education and postponement of marriage.

5. Ensuring adequate costs for all relevant activities

Assuming that investments in residential schooling are effective and are reaching the most needy girls who then have access to all the facilities and services based on acceptable standards, the cost norms of JNV appears to be as a good practice in terms of details



and allocations. In terms of attention to activities with a perspective of providing long term support to students, one good practice followed by Udaan and VTLC is to have clear allocations for follow up activities. This is important as these two programmes also reported how these activities assisted students in continuing with their education and also in negotiating with their parents.

VIII. Chapter 8: International Experiences

In many western countries, boarding schools for indigenous ethnic groups were viewed as a place where students (e.g., Native Americans in what is now the United States and the Aborigines in Australia) would be institutionalised and ultimately lose their ethnic identity and heritage; in other words a means to civilize them. This was heavily critiqued and the experience till date makes people view residential schooling with suspicion. However, this is changing with the emergence of newer models and the developing world is increasingly viewing this as a strategy for empowerment and inclusion. Examples from Asia (Vietnam and Nepal); Africa (Forum for African Women Educationalists – FAWE); Pan Africa, Rwanda, Malawi have been explored in terms of intervention, impact and good practices.

In Vietnam, boarding schools established in 103 disadvantaged districts in seven provinces led to self-initiated gender responsive management systems. Student hostels, feeder hostels for secondary schools and revamping older hostels in Nepal mainstreamed girls in economic activities, improved school performance and led to positive shifts in perception about girls in intervention areas. FAWE's gender responsive school pedagogy and management and sexual maturation management programme improved girls' performances. Rwanda ensured high quality college-prep academics and access to healthcare. In Malawi, focus on extracurricular

activities, scholarships and tertiary transition programme led to delays in early marriage and child births and improved completion rate for secondary and transition rate for post-secondary level.

IX. Chapter 9: Conclusions and Suggestions

Residential schooling has emerged as a major system of providing school education spread across the country. These schools are spread over all kinds of management and have access to their funding from various sources. State governments and private agencies emerge as major players in terms of the number of schools they support. This review based analysis is largely limited to residential schools existing in state and NGO sectors, and the detailed inquiry is further limited to a few yet critical schemes of residential schools that serve girls using public funds. Nevertheless, some important and clear pointers for policy initiatives emerge. These are listed here:

1. Strengthening the data and information base:

The gaps in information, data and credible evaluations are huge, pointing out to an urgent need for major steps to streamline this issue. Unless this issue is addressed, the knowledge base is going to remain poor, and the analysis weak and tentative. The need for creating a repository of all existing information from diverse sources which involves collecting information pertaining to all schemes and initiatives that fund and support residential schools in any form is urgent. The details of spread and coverage, funding norms, expenditure patterns – all need to be collected and processed in a user friendly manner with details of sources, and placed in the public domain. Integration of clear data points in the existing education databases (e.g., Unified District Information System for Education -UDISE) could also facilitate disaggregated analysis.



2. Funding and supporting research and evaluation studies:

The evidence base for residential schooling can only be improved by creating credible evidences, which is one of the weakest links at the moment. Credible evidences can be created only when high-quality, well-designed research and evaluation studies are carried out. Dependable research and evaluations are as important for formulating policy decisions as for adding to the knowledge base. The need for carrying out formal evaluations of schemes such as JNVs, Ashram schools and KGBVs, following experimental and quasi experimental designs and using innovative methods, is immediate. It is surprising that a scheme such as JNV where the Union government spends nearly one third of its total spending on secondary schools has never been evaluated comprehensively. A comparative, field based research on different kinds of residential schools for their philosophy, functioning, budgeting, reach and impact on learning and empowerment, covering a few Indian states, would be of immediate use and relevance. Gender can be an important marker for such a research.

3. Comprehensive policy and shared vision on residential schooling:

At present, there is no comprehensive policy on residential schools backed by clear thought or rationale. Different schemes emerged at different points of time in history and followed a different trajectory of evolution. It is important to review, reflect and develop a comprehensive policy based on clear conceptual framework and a vision that directs all initiatives. The policy should also be able to provide clear pointers towards essential elements and non-negotiable features of any residential schooling programme: this can then act as a guide for the state and private players and help in developing their schemes and initiatives accordingly. The vision on residential schools in India must take gender, and other

equity concerns in addition to the issue of efficiency and effectiveness into consideration. Also important will be to break the equity-excellence dichotomy.

4. Interim institutional measures contributing to policy development

- a. **Defining essential quality parameters for physical and social environments:**
This would help to develop a set of protocols and essential parameters that can serve as a ready reckoner for all relevant purposes. International Network for Education in Emergencies (INEE) has a handbook that recommends standards for access, safety and protective learning environment, quality learning and teacher management which could be used to develop the parameters. Any such guideline or protocol must have a clearly defined negative list outlining the practices that are barred coupled with punitive provisions in cases of violation; this should especially take safety and security aspects into consideration.
- b. **Review of budget and institutional norms across schemes and removing the anomalies:** This is an essential step towards a comprehensive policy for residential schooling. A review followed by removal of sharp anomalies would also help in raising the morale and will give a clear signal about policy objectives. In this context it is important to allay the fears that presence of a unique vision or standardisation of norms could be detrimental to experimentation and would lead to homogenisation. Presence of a guiding framework that ensures basic rights of students and teachers should not be seen as an effort to homogenise, as widely unequal norms and practices cannot be promoted on the name of diversity. For instance, the presence of Universal Right to Food does not mean everyone has to eat the same food; it ensures that everyone gets adequate food and desired



nutrition. Similarly, it is possible to build accountability norms for residential schools such that it ensures a certain degree of equality but also allows the teachers/ managers at the school level an agency to act and facilitates independent action.

c. Facilitating cross learning among schools / schemes and enhancing the influence: Although some level of cross learning has taken place but, in general, the level of sharing and cross learning is low. The teachers and administrators of different kinds of residential schools rarely get together to discuss, share and learn from each other. The presence of formal mechanisms for facilitating such exercises periodically could help all concerned. Cooperation and exchange of experiences, concerns and solutions can also help in enhancing the influence of these schools operational under various schemes. Schools located close to each other can allow the use of certain facilities to make the use more efficient.

d. Ensuring higher proportion of girls in well-funded schemes such as JNV: A coherent public policy would expect the same rationale to be extended to similar schemes: if residential schooling is viewed as a good policy option to reach girls from deprived communities, the same should be reflected in all state funded schemes. Hence, JNVs should have higher reservation for girls and within that, for SC, ST and Muslim girls. There is a need to go beyond ensuring participation of these groups, as more privileged among them tend to gain and retain access. One way could be to make it compulsory to identify the group for which the female educational status is the lowest in a particular district/ block for filling particular percentage of seats (e.g., at least half the seats in KGBV). This could be, for instance, Meos (Muslims) in Mewat areas of Rajasthan and Haryana, Mushers (SC) in parts of Bihar, Kols (ST) in parts of Madhya Pradesh and Upparas

(OBC) in parts of Karnataka. What is implied here is that such an exercise would help overcome the limitation of a broad categories of communities such as SC, ST, OBCs and Muslims, and address the elite capture to some extent.

e. International exchange and learning: Cross learning can be facilitated across many other levels and sharing of international experiences through appropriate platforms is one such means. For instance, the experiences from Vietnam, Nepal or Kenya appear to be relevant for improving the schemes in India. The choice of exchange could be preceded with a detailed inquiry and analysis of the programme to determine the relevance. Indian schemes can also benefit by knowing more about Gender Responsive Management practices in African countries. Kenya's human rights-based approach to promote inclusive and persuasive gender responsive discourse in girls' education could also be a good model for replication. Indian experience also has a lot to offer, as is visible from the section on good practices.



INTRODUCTION



Introduction

1.1. Background

A residential or boarding school is different from other schools as an educational institution in that the students here not only study but also live together. The act of living together beyond classroom hours has significant implications for management, relationships and learning. A number of countries have used the system of residential schooling strategy with definite purposes and for specific reasons. This is true for India as well. Although initially used as a tool that was exclusionary in character, as evidenced by presence of religious schools meant for only boys from exclusive caste groups in ancient times or elite boarding schools in modern times, the State has tried to use this as a means of inclusion for those who face deprivation and exclusion in education for a variety of reasons.

In the immediate post-independence phase, as revealed from the perusal of the first four five-year-plans, the establishment of hostels emerged as a strategy to improve the educational indicators among the socially and economically marginalised groups such as Scheduled Castes (SCs) and Scheduled Tribes (STs) largely through schemes under the Department of Social Welfare, Department of Tribal Welfare and Department of Women and Child Development (Dubey & Chander, 1973). The rationale came not only from the need for covering the living costs and making it possible to have access to physical, residential space and food in order to be able access the schooling facilities but also from the need for providing a conducive environment

for education where these children are not expected to participate in work and other chores. However, it was the Mahila Shikshan Kendra (MSK) programme of Mahila Samakhya, a State sponsored women empowerment programme, and the initiatives from among the NGOs, particularly from the 1980s onwards, that brought residential schooling as an appropriate strategy for education and empowerment of girls and women from disadvantaged communities.

Although there is no definite policy on residential schooling in general or for girls in particular, several residential schooling strategies exist for girls in the public school system in India. There also exist certain small-scale residential schooling strategies outside the State sector, funded either through public funds or other avenues. While a few of these have some inter-linkages, many have evolved independently of each other drawing their rationales from a variety of experiences within and outside the country. However, information on the performance of these schemes, programmes or initiatives is uneven, isolated and sporadic.

1.2. Present Study

The present study is primarily a review-based analysis of existing residential schooling schemes and strategies for girls in India. It also includes a preliminary review of some examples from other countries, particularly Asian and East African countries, for drawing parallels to gain insight.



1.2.1. Objectives of the Study

The main objectives of this study are:

- a) To understand the types of residential schooling programmes or schemes that exist in India, managed by either government or non-governmental bodies and to understand their reach, spread, target and focus;
- b) To review the existing information and knowledge pertaining to residential schooling for girls and understand its impact on girls schooling and empowerment in India, by identifying the gaps and reviewing the need for research;
- c) To have a comparative understanding of different schemes and programmes in terms of their costs, scale, curricular and their impact. ; and
- d) To trace and analyse the national policy towards residential school as a strategy for girls' schooling and empowerment, specifically for girls from disadvantaged and marginalised communities; see to what extent the schemes and programmes have contributed to that; and to place this as against policies and practices internationally.

1.2.2. Scheme of analysis

The above stated objectives are attained through the following scheme of analysis:

a. Mapping residential schooling programmes for girls

The report attempts a mapping of all residential schemes and programmes, run by either government (central and state governments) or NGOs, subject to information available. The mapping has taken the main features and objectives, main type (single sex or co-educational), location, target group, grades covered, social group and locational focus, physical facilities and teachers, curricular and student evaluation approaches, and certification strategies into account.

b. Review and appraisal of the policies on residential schools

This review focuses on genesis and evolution of residential schooling as a strategy from the perspective of gender equality and girls' empowerment framework. The review also goes into the presence (or lack of) a cohesive policy approach towards residential schooling for girls.

c. Comparative analysis of different schemes/ programmes using existing research and evaluation studies

The comparative review looks at the dimensions of management structures and processes (including teacher qualifications and related issues) and their implications for particular curricular choices/learning environment; the presence of safety norms, guidelines and protocols, and awareness of the issues around protection; curricular approaches and their impact on learning and empowerment of girls; and overall efficiency and effectiveness in relation to the stated objectives. Including girls' empowerment. The review also points to the gaps in information and knowledge about these initiatives and identifies the area for further research.

d. Data analysis

Data available from various sources have been used to understand and analyse the trends in enrolment and retention. Available data related to teachers and facilities have also been analysed. No separate data on learning outcomes exist for residential schools, and therefore no comparative analysis was possible on that count. Statistical analysis is limited by the nature of data available from secondary sources.

e. Budget and cost analysis

Comparative budget and cost analysis for different types of residential schools has been attempted to the extent data was accessible.



f. Good practice analysis

The report identifies good practices based on existing knowledge for residential schooling and empowerment of girls from the perspective of promoting gender equality.

g. Scoping review of the existing scenario of residential schooling for girls in selected developing countries

A scoping review of the existing scenario at international levels, particularly in other Asian and East African countries has been attempted.

1.2.3. The Review Framework

Mapping and review of government schemes and programmes is based on the following framework. The desk review conducted initially informed the choice of criteria for this framework. The same framework was also used for identification of good practices. These indicators need to be viewed in conjunction with the objectives laid out earlier.

Table 1: Framework for Review and Analysis

	Criterion	Indicators for the criteria
1.	Reaching girls from marginalised sections	a. Representation (e.g. SC, ST, Muslims, OBCs, other forms of disadvantaged persons i.e., working children, girls married early, etc.) b. Identification, Enrollment / Selection processes of students
2.	Management	a. Basic infrastructure and opportunities for living, dining, bathing, studying, play/ sports and leisure b. Security and safety aspects c. Management practices in tandem with teaching learning approach
3.	Curriculum/Teaching Learning	a. Emphasis on empowerment b. Methods used for teaching-learning and evaluation (classroom and outside classroom) c. Use of residential space for increasing the time and enhancing the variety in learning experiences d. Teacher selection process, profile and development process
4.	Influence	a. Construct of education for adolescent girls (whether the programme has influenced curriculum design and delivery, especially for girls) in any particular context b. Targeting and reach (whether the programme has reached a large number or/and most marginalised girls) c. Transforming influence on girls, families, communities (continuing further education, postponing marriage, questioning injustice in various forms and so on) d. Policy (whether the programme/ scheme has influenced wider policy)
5.	Cost effectiveness	a. The application of cost effectiveness technique is not possible but an analysis of costs / expenditure vis-à-vis delivery has been attempted.

1.3. Research Method and Tools Used

The study is largely based on four methods: desk review of documents, analysis of secondary data, consultation with selected key informants, and site visits for validation.

1.3.1. Document Review

As a review based study, it relies heavily on existing reports, documents and research studies on residential schools, particularly for girls. The documents reviewed have been classified into five categories.



a) Policy and Programme Documents:

Residential Schools as an access strategy for girls from marginalised communities has been part of programmes under the Department of Education. Besides, residential schools are also included in policies under the (1) Department of Social Welfare, (2) Department of Tribal Affairs and (3) Department of Women and Child Development. Kasturba Gandhi Balika Vidyalayas (KGBV) and Ashramshalas are the two most important residential school programmes for girls. KGBV in particular is important for its focus on empowerment. In addition to the national and state schemes, we have also studied the documents pertaining to programmes run by NGOs.

b) Review reports of Programmes:

Multi-stakeholder, periodic Joint Review Missions (JRM) were introduced under large programmes, mostly multi-donor programmes like District Primary

Education Programme (DPEP), as a 'review' or 'monitoring' mechanism. The tradition continued under Sarva Shiksha Abhiyan (SSA), Government of India's flagship programme for universalisation of elementary education. The JRMs usually based their observations on the reports and documents provided by the states, interactions with a wide range of stake-holders, visits to schools, interactions with communities, and guided observations on teacher support. These observations were also acknowledged and their recommendations often seriously considered for due action. Although relevant, JRM observations largely remain subjective and are unable to give any trends. However, they give us an idea about how different schemes are being monitored, and how different aspects are prioritized. These reports, wherever relevant, have been reviewed to get an insight about different schemes.

Table 2: Literature reviewed

Joint Review Mission (JRM) reports	Evaluation Studies	Qualitative Studies (Articles and Narratives)	Budget Documents / Data sets
- Review of Reports - Discussions and Interview - Field Visits - One time Observations - Anecdotal	- Review of Reports - Discussion, Interview, FGDs - Unstructured Observations - Field Visits - Anecdotal	- Case Studies, - In-depth Interviews - Focus Group Discussions - Projective and Semi-Projective Techniques - Structured Observations - Theme Based Analysis - Ethnographic Study - Narratives	- DISE; Programme / scheme websites. - Evaluation reports, Budget details shared by specific organisations, Information available on different websites
- Institutionalized, Periodic, Actions taken on recommendations - Focus- Monitoring	- Some are institutionalized , - Some are commissioned - Periodic – with no determined time gap. One time evaluations - Focus – Impact, Outreach, Cost Analysis, Recommendations	- Often one time studies - Focus – research and knowledge building	

- c) **Articles and Narratives:** Wherever available and accessible, the articles based on a study of small sample or following the JRM mode, where authors base their observations on short visits to residential schools (which involve short interactions with the stake-holders, including girls in the residential schools) have been reviewed. Again, although meaningful, it is important to remember that these narratives are anecdotal and subjective.
- d) **Research and Evaluation Studies:** All research and evaluation studies available in public domain or accessible through networked sources, even if not in public domain, were included in the documents review. In the Indian context, researches on residential schools that are based on robust research methods, both quantitative and qualitative, are few. Most of the studies reviewed had limited scope and small sample size. Most were small surveys on a specific theme like infrastructure, pedagogy or profile of children in residential schools. Research tools ranged from observation forms, interviews of select people or Focus Group Discussions (FGDs).
- e) **Budget Documents:** Budget, cost and expenditure documents of selected government schemes and few NGO-led initiatives were also reviewed to understand their per-child costs and other expenditure related aspects. The budget/expenditure for government schemes is, however, not always available in their evaluation reports and websites. Budget details for NGO run schemes are also not widely and openly available. Therefore, wherever information could be accessed either through public sources or on request has been included in the analysis.

1.3.2. Analysis of data from Secondary Sources

Data from several sources including the Census of India, DISE, UDISE and programme websites etc. were used for analysis. Large scale discrepancies exist in data from various sources and the same has been reported.

1.3.3. Consultations with Key Informants

We interviewed selected key informants who have followed the residential school scene for girls in India for long through research and other forms of engagement for their views and perceptions. The list is attached as Annexure V.

1.3.4. Site visits for Consultation

We undertook site visits for validation to eight sites located in five states. The identification and finalization of these sites was done taking into account the spread of different schemes and programmes, run by both government and non-government organisations. The target population aimed at and the nature of the programmes were also kept in mind while deciding the final sites. The choices were also determined by both the possibility of covering diverse kinds of sites and ease of access. The following matrix gives details of the site visits undertaken for the study. It includes formal residential schools and accelerated learning programmes. The rationale for including accelerated learning programmes in the review as well as in the field visit is manifold: (i) though not schools, they aim at completing one level of schooling, i.e., primary, by providing accelerated learning experiences, (ii) they have played a major role in the evolution of residential schooling as a strategy for girls' education and empowerment, (iii) they can act as a comparator in certain cases. Hostels, though included in the mapping, could not be included in the analysis because of paucity of information.



Table 3: Sites covered for validation visits

S. No.	Scheme	School Type		Fund	Main Target Population	State
1.	Ashram School for Girls	SS	Formal Residential Schools	Govt.	ST	Telangana
2.	Jawahar Navodaya Vidyalaya	Co-ed		Govt.	Rural	Karnataka
3.	KGBV (MS-run) (Located next to an upper primary school and runs as a hostel)	SS		Govt.	Muslim and SC	Bihar
4.	KGBV (SSA-run)	SS		Govt.	ST	Jharkhand
5.	KGBV (SSA-run)	SS		Govt.	ST	Jharkhand
6.	KGBV (SSA-run) and NGO technical support	SS		Govt.	Muslim and OBC	Rajasthan
7.	Vivekananda Tribal Centre for Learning	Co-ed	Accelerated Learning Programme	NGO	ST	Karnataka
8.	Mahila Shikshan Kendra	SS		Govt.	SC / Muslim	Bihar

SS: Single sex schools for girls; Co-ed: Co-educational schools for both boys and girls

An effort was made to have as much diversity as possible in the choice of sites for visits. We included both single sex girls' schools and co-educational institutions; the institutions were located in different population concentration areas and therefore had diverse target groups as their main focus population group: this included SC, ST, OBC and Muslim concentration areas. In terms of management, we covered schools run by various departments / schemes including the education department, tribal development department, Mahila Samakhyia and also one run by an NGO. However, it is important to point out that it is a small number and these were only validation visits. The observations can, therefore, only reinforce or counter what is already reported, and cannot be used for making any conclusive remark.

1.3.5. Tools used for site visits

Seven different tools were developed for site validation visits and key informant interviews. These include:

(i) School profile: This tool was used to map infrastructure, teachers profile, students profile, living/dining/security arrangements and enrolment. Through the school profile, assessment of the adequacy,

quality, suitability and use of space and infrastructure was conducted.

(ii) Budget and Expenditure: Source of funds, process of receiving payments, expenses against different aspects like food, library etc., delays in release of payments and audit processes were scrutinized through accounts, audited reports for last two years and inputs from accountants/principals.

(iii) Principal's Interview: Questions relating to selection and training of teachers, interaction with parents, performance of students from different backgrounds, grievance redressal mechanisms (for teachers and students), special provisions for children with special needs, teaching-learning materials and methods, assessments, expenditures on different heads, improvements in the students, governance, security and safety of students was examined through personal interview of the principal. The questionnaire also tried to capture the principals' perspective on residential schooling.

(iv) Group Discussion with Teachers: A group discussion with teachers was conducted to examine their teaching and non-teaching roles in the school, their interactions



with parents, safety of girls, changes in attitude of girls, their aspirations for the students and challenges they faced. Their understanding of empowerment issues and how they viewed girls' education was also explored through the discussion.

(v) Learner's Experience: Using activities and discussions, an attempt was made to understand girls' motive and choice in enrolling in residential school, relationship with teachers and other students, food and living experiences, sports/playtime/entertainment, duties in the school, safety and security issues and also their aspirations.

(vi) Key Informant Interviews: Taking the experience of the informant in account, these interviews tried to examine the evolution of residential schooling as a strategy for girls' education and empowerment, and gather their views on the performance of various initiatives. This also helped in understanding the constraints and limitations of the policy pertaining to residential schools for girls.

1.3.6. Limitations of this study

The following enlist the limitations of the review conducted:

(a) Limited Information and Information Asymmetry: The limited and at times no information available about schemes, especially state governments funded schemes, in public domain has been a major impediment in mapping the schemes. Information asymmetry gets reflected in the uneven reference and analysis in this report. The information available for KGBVs is the best (yet incomplete) followed distantly by Ashram schools funded by the central government in tribal areas and, Jawahar Navodaya Vidyalayas (JNV). The information is very poor or non-existent for residential schools for

Scheduled Caste children, especially those run/supported by the state governments. We had to drop the idea of including hostel schemes in the analysis due to lack of information.

(b) Limited Research: Lack of rigorous research and evaluation, barring certain exceptions, in the area proved to be a challenge. Review of JRM reports, information on websites and various small studies do indicate a trend, but do not necessarily provide a convincingly comprehensive analysis. Same is the case with NGOs covered in the study as the information available on their official websites remains inconsistent and un-validated. These documents have raised a number of issues pertaining to quality, access, infrastructural facilities, psycho-social development, and teacher recruitment and attendance in different residential schools. Uneven information available for various programmes and initiatives has resulted into uneven treatment in the analysis.

(c) Scale and Trends: We did not come across any large scale quantitative research studies on either status or impact of residential schools. Even the national U-DISE data does not present segregated data on residential schools. It clubs all government non-Ashram/KGBV/Model residential schools together. Despite substantial investments made in residential schools by various departments, there is no evidence of their performance and impact at macro-level being captured by researches. The innovative work of NGOs remains only as documentation of good practices, and this too in some cases, remain limited to self-reported accounts. These have not coalesced to advocate or promote an accepted model or a range of accepted principles for residential schools.



(d) Longitudinal Studies: We also did not come across any long term studies tracking cohort of girls through their stay at residential schools and beyond. Tracking of girls and impact on their education and life is not evident as a concern for both NGOs and government programmes. Large data around enrolment and transition seems to subsume all other elements of change.

(e) Knowledge Building: It is observed that the reviewed sources do provide information on some common parameters like enrolment, infrastructure, community participation, quality of education and obvious change in girls' behaviour. But these do not knit together into a theory of change for girls' education and empowerment. Also, the diversity of emerging good practices needs to be integrated in this knowledge building, which does not seem to have happened.

Despite these limitations, the available information definitely helps in tracing a trend and provides important pointers for policy and delivery, and indeed for future research. The report is organised into eight chapters:

Chapter 1 introduces the study and outlines the framework for review and analysis;

Chapter 2 focuses on evolution and mapping of various schemes related to residential school for girls in the country;

Chapter 3 discusses the reach and coverage of residential schools;

Chapter 4 discusses physical and social environments in residential schools;

Chapter 5 focuses on learning, empowerment and influence;

Chapter 6 deals with budgets and costs for different residential schools;

Chapter 7 highlights the good practices

Chapter 8 maps international examples of residential schooling for girls from disadvantaged sections.

The final Chapter presents conclusive remarks and lists some major suggestions that have emerged from the review.



RESIDENTIAL SCHOOL INITIATIVES: EVOLUTION AND MAPPING



Residential School Initiatives: Evolution and Mapping

2.1. Girls' Education and Empowerment: the Policy Focus

Girls' education has been a challenge for independent India. Traditional beliefs and practices against educating girls acted as a major impediment in the pre-independence phase and continue to be so even now. However, what is interesting is that even the debates regarding the need for universal and compulsory schooling amongst the freedom fighters and leaders in the pre-independence period did not have a focus on girls' education. These debates did not include girls' education as an issue. At the most, they pointed out the need for educating girls to be 'good daughters, sisters, wives and mothers'.¹

Nevertheless, significant efforts were made in the post-independence period for universalization of education, and it included girls. But much of the efforts were towards completion of primary education and the focus was on basic literacy. A definitive national vision for girls' education was first articulated in 1968's National Policy of Education, almost after 20 years of Independence. However, it was the National Policy on Education (NPE, 1986) and the Programme of Action (PoA, 1992) that brought the issue of gender and girls education to the Centre stage.

Moving away from the narrow focus of basic education and literacy, NPE 1986 for the

first time linked education of women and girls to their empowerment. NPE envisions education to be a transformative force which would build women's self-confidence, improve their position in society and enable them to challenge inequalities that are prevalent in Indian society. NPE 1986 stated that "Education shall be used as an agent of basic change in the status of women. In order to neutralize accumulated distortions of the past, there will be a well-conceived edge in favour of women. The policy committed that the national education system would play a positive, interventionist role in the empowerment of women". This became the key framework for all subsequent programmes and policies of the state. The women empowerment programme, Mahila Samakhya, which subsequently influenced a number of girls education programme framework was an outcome of the NPE 1986.

Although residential schooling emerged as an important strategy in the post NPE phase, there is no clear policy and conceptual framework that guides the policy on using residential schooling programmes in the country. This gets reflected in how different schemes have been conceptualized differently and have evolved in different ways over time. However, one can trace the policy evolution by looking at the relevant history. Therefore, before discussing the kinds of schemes and initiatives that exist now, it is important to discuss the history of residential schools in the country.

¹ Please refer to Bhattacharya S, et al, "Educating the Nation: Document on the Discourse of National Education in India 1880 – 1920" for the original letters, pamphlets and other writings on education in India during the 19th and early 20th centuries



2.2. History of Residential Schooling in India

Historically, there were two types of residential schools in India. One was the 'ashram' or 'gurukuls' that were part of ancient India's narrative. Children of kings and other gentry went to stay with a 'guru' in an ashram to learn various skills and philosophical perspectives. But these were only-boys ashrams. The second type comprised elite 'residential schools' of colonial times, also called the boarding schools. Structured on the lines of British boarding schools, these schools essentially catered to elite Indians, both boys and girls. Neither was aimed at girls from disadvantaged sections from economically or socially backward classes.

Thereafter, emerged Ashram schools; there were two strands within Ashram schools. One was motivated by the thoughts of political thinkers and social reformers like Gandhi, Tagore and Vinoba Bhave. These were civil society organisations initiated residential schools largely for dalit and tribal children. These, however, were few and dispersed in different regions and states of India. Other such schools were started by religious organisations backed by NGOs with a purpose of 'refining' and integrating the tribals in the Hindu fold or in some cases, under Christian fold. A number of these are continuing even now.

It is important to note that though these included girls in some instances, these were not informed by any gender perspective; the objective of reaching socially backward groups like dalits and tribals was the main focus. From the perspective of reaching girls, Banasthali University² is one of the oldest private efforts in the nation that needs a mention. From a mud hut that tutored half a dozen girls in 1935, Banasthali evolved to be the first and only

fully residential educational institution for girls, educating them from pre-primary to Doctoral level. However, it is an isolated example and was a result of individual efforts.

Certain other examples also emerged from civil society initiatives in 1970s and 1980s. Two significant ones among these were linked with the issue of child labour. V. Ramachandran (2003) documents how Namma Bhoomi, a resource centre and residential school – part of the field project of the NGO, Concerned for Working Children (CWC), initiated change in Kundapur in Udupi district, Karnataka during 1980s.

Making a distinction between 'child work' which should be regulated, and 'exploitation of child work' which should be prohibited, it neither sought to justify child labour nor stigmatise the situation. It advocated for, as well as provided, a long-haul strategy of a residential school that offered a one-year vocational course in practical skills and encouragement to those who passed out to form groups, and collectively bid for contracts. The programme succeeded in providing viable alternatives to children, albeit mostly male children, who would otherwise migrate to seek work in the Udupi hotel industry.

Similarly, mobilization programmes for out-of-school children and innumerable remedial education and bridge courses emerged in the following two decades, carrying momentum from the pioneering work of MV Foundation (MVF), Andhra Pradesh, which set-up and ran its first residential bridge course in 1992 in recognition of how age-appropriate enrollment was a motivational factor for out-of-school children (OOSC) from poor and marginalised sections to return to schools and complete their schooling.

² <http://www.banasthali.org/banasthali/wcms/en/home/about-us/history/index.html>; last access on 14 November 2014

2.3. Residential Schooling for Girls: Policy and Programmes

A number of developments in the area of education during the late 1980s and early 1990s brought increased emphasis to the issue of girls' education and empowerment. Internationally, the Education for All (EFA) movement led to the declaration of the Jomtein EFA Goals in 1990 under which the signatory countries including India committed themselves to eliminating gender disparities in primary and secondary education by 2005, and achieving gender equality in education by 2015, with a focus on full and equal access to quality education for girls. A decade later in 2001, the Dakar Framework for Action for the EFA goals called on the world community to find appropriate strategies for educating underprivileged groups and those children who live under difficult circumstances. Wide ranging access options emerged in the post EFA phase; these included community schools, alternative schools, flexi timing and bridge courses.

Experiments with residential schools as a strategy for girls' education and empowerment also emerged around the same period: late 1980s and early 1990s. Emerging as small initiatives in different parts of the country, these were either independent or informed by each other. Significant among these were Mahila Shikshan Kendra (MSK) under Mahila Samakhya in a number of states, Lok Jumbish's Balika Shikshan Shivirs in Rajasthan and M.V.Foundation's residential bridge courses for girls in Andhra Pradesh. While the first two were part of the State managed, externally funded education projects, the third one was managed and funded by a non-State actor.

The Ministries of Social and Tribal Welfare³ in the Government of India as well as in a number of states started the system of Ashram schools not only for tribal children but also for dalit children (known as Harijan Vidyalayas) in many

states as early as the 1960s. The policy varied in terms of having separate schools for boys and girls (e.g., Madhya Pradesh), or co-educational (e.g., Bihar and Andhra Pradesh). While Bihar had no particular norms for the number of boys and girls, Andhra Pradesh had specified particular norms for boys and girls (Department of Tribal Welfare, Govt. of Telangana). Later, after the bifurcation of the department at the union government level, the Department of Tribal Welfare continued to focus on running and supporting Ashram schools albeit with revised norms and guidelines. Department of Social Welfare has focused on running hostels.

This, however, is not universally true for state governments; a number of them run and support Ashram schools for Scheduled Caste students (e.g., Uttar Pradesh). The Ministry of Human Resource Development, Government of India, started Jawahar Navodaya Vidyalayas (JNV) in every district for 'meritorious' students, both boys and girls, from rural areas in the mid-1980s.

It is important to note that the trajectories of these different kinds of policy initiatives were very different from each other. At a broader level, one can understand the differences by drawing analogies in the genesis: JNVs started as an effort to de-urbanise and de-elitise the high end 'boarding schools' by having well-resourced residential schools for 'meritorious' rural students; Ashram schools were more in line with the Gandhian initiatives by civil society organisations and were meant to provide the educational opportunities to the isolated and deprived. Tribal societies and locations were perceived to be isolated and therefore Ashram schools were more to break that isolation and give opportunities to tribal children to go through mainstream education. Dalits were not physically isolated but faced discrimination and therefore separate hostel or at times residential school exclusively for them was seen as a solution.

³ Later bifurcated as Ministry of Tribal Affairs and the Ministry of Social Justice and Empowerment in the Government of India.



As mentioned earlier, a sub-strand within the Ashram school was not necessarily Gandhian; this was more guided by religious considerations, a good number of Ashram schools were backed by Hindu organisations with an objective of mainstreaming the tribals in the Hindu fold (Veerbhadranaika et al 2012). Some Christian charity based organisations also came into being in tribal areas. On the other hand, the MSK and other similar initiatives drew a lot from feminist theories and focused on the aspect of women's empowerment. For these initiatives, bringing girls or women together for living and learning together served a larger goal that went beyond fulfilling the need for formal schooling and was meant to provide a platform for empowerment by experiencing the possibilities and potentials of collective living, learning and action. These initiatives also learnt a lot from women's movements, and witnessed high level of State-NGO collaboration.⁴

Between 1994 and 1997, Nirantar⁵ worked intensively with teachers and learners at the local Mahila Samakhya team in Banda, Uttar Pradesh, to develop the MSK curriculum based on the principles of being learner-centered, holistic and feminist. Since 1997, Urmul⁶, another NGO, has been collaborating with State programmes such as Lok Jumbish to run Balika Shivirs in Rajasthan. The Balika Shivar or the Shivar (Girls' Education Camp) was a six-month residential education programme for girls between the ages of 10-17 years who had dropped-out of school or been deprived of an education. CARE-India⁷ piloted the Udaan (meaning 'Flight') school in Hardoi district of Uttar Pradesh in 1999 employing the accelerated learning model, for older

out-of-school girls, ages 9-14. It allowed girls to complete primary school in 11 months in a residential setting. The success of this model informed CARE's decision to replicate the model in other parts of the country.

In the post-Jomtein/Dakar/MDG⁸ phase, with increased impetus to girls' education and gender equality, the residential school strategy received greater attention. In 2004, came the ambitious scheme of residential schooling for girls, known as Kasturba Gandhi Balika Vidyalayas (KGBV) for educationally backward blocks where female literacy rates were low and the gender disparity in literacy was high.

Started as an independent scheme, KGBV was later merged with Sarva Shiksha Abhiyan (SSA). The Right to Education Act 2009, which made access to free and compulsory elementary education a fundamental right of every child in India, recognizes residential schooling as a strategy for overcoming physical, social and economic barriers. It also allows for short term residential camps for out-of-school children (OoSC) for their mainstreaming to regular schools.

RTE 2009 has also set parameters for basic physical infrastructure and teachers in every school at elementary level and these are applicable to all institutions including residential ones teaching elementary level grades. Residential schools have, however, been exempted from the clause that makes it compulsory for all schools to admit one fourth of their students at entry level from disadvantaged and weaker sections, except for the schools that also take day-scholars where the exemption does not apply; (Right to Education Act 2009 and F.No. 1-3/2010-

⁴ This was expressed by almost all the Key Informants interviewed. The list is attached as Annexure V.

⁵ www.nirantar.net: Accessed on 25th November, 2013.

⁶ www.urmul.org: Accessed on 25th November, 2013

⁷ www.careindia.org: Accessed on 25th November, 2013.

⁸ The World Conference on Education for All in Jomtien, Thailand 1990; World Education Forum in Dakar, 2000; UN-Millennium Development Goals (MDGs), MDG 2 and 3 focus on universal primary education and gender equality and women's empowerment respectively.

EE4, MHRD (Department of School Education and Literacy; Gol). Residential facilities are also viewed as a solution in making education accessible to children from dispersed, remote and difficult locales like desert areas, mountainous region, or tribal children in dense forests, or children living in internal strife situations.⁹

Residential schooling was recognised and promoted as a strategy that had the scope to address several factors that influence girls' participation (or lack thereof) in education (as described, for instance, by Ramachandran, 2010; Sandhan, 2011, and Ramachandran and Patni 2013), particularly at the upper primary level and beyond, and when they are from disadvantaged communities. The facilities include:

- i. Offering them an environment away from the strong gendered expectation for girls to assume charge of care work and household responsibility, including often tedious ones of fetching water and firewood, cooking, cleaning and caring for siblings and elders;
- ii. Protecting them from risk of sexual abuse and violence, a phenomenon unfortunately present both within schools and outside, complicated further by cultural and religious notions of family honour and the desirability of early marriage. Traversing long distances to schools in rural/hilly/desert/remote hamlets pose an important security issue, especially for those from economically weaker and disadvantaged communities who cannot afford the luxury of being escorted.
- iii. Mediation against (especially when residential facilities are part of free schemes or include stipends) the influence of gender and poverty acting in tandem such that in very poor households, parents do not

invest in the education of their daughters, or girls are withdrawn from school. Poverty related compulsions like seasonal work or migration also affect school attendance and performance in non-residential schools.

- iv. Mitigating the effect of unfavourable perceptions or low expectations of teachers and peers stemming from class, caste and occupation-related identity issues, through special focus on addressing these, in targeted residential facilities.
- v. Addressing by default through residential schools the fact that from the upper primary level onwards, when girls attain puberty, water and sanitation facilities that they have access to at school, assumes even more significance.
- vi. Facilitating access to school for girls with disability, as they face all the above challenges aggravated by additional requirements of their special need.
- vii. Addressing quality of the teaching-learning experience in school, to include elements of pastoral care, and greater relevance of curricula to the circumstances of their lives and the factors they need to negotiate, compared to standardized school curricula.

2.4. Mapping of existing Schemes and Initiatives

At present, a number of schemes and initiatives that can be loosely labeled as residential schooling exist in India. This includes formal schools, hostel schemes, accelerated learning programmes and short term bridge courses. This section attempts to map them against several parameters to have an idea regarding their type, nature and reach. Table 4 shows classification of the existing schemes/initiatives based on two parameters, namely, types of

⁹ Ministry of Home Affairs identifies three context as strife affected, Jammu and Kashmir, parts of central India affected by Left Wing Extremism and areas of North East.



courses and the funding or management. While certain government schemes are both funded and managed by the government bodies, others are open to NGOs. JNVs and Ashram schools fall in the first category whereas KGBV is the latter category.

The hostel schemes ensure residential facilities for girls/boys from disadvantaged sections so that they can attend formal schools. Babu Jagjivan Ram Chhatrawas Yojana is meant for dalit and the Scheme of Strengthening Education among Scheduled Tribe (ST) Girls in Low Literacy Districts is meant for tribal girls. The latter is funded by the government but can be managed/run by NGOs as well. Grants in-aid schemes are open to NGOs and others, who can propose any strategy including residential schools funding.

Accelerated Learning Programmes (ALP) aim at completion of certain specific education levels (e.g. class 5, class 8) at an accelerated pace, usually through an intensive course of 10 to 12 months. Bridge courses on the other hand are short term camps for mainstreaming Out of School Children (OoSC) and never enrolled children into age-appropriate classes in formal schools. Sarva Shiksha Abhiyan (SSA) runs 12-month, 6-month and 3-month residential bridge courses, known as special training for enrolment of OoSC in age-appropriate classes. Doosra Dashak (Rajasthan), Nari Gunjan (Bihar), M.V.Foundation (Andhra Pradesh) and Seva Mandir (Rajasthan) also run bridge courses. Table 5 provides certain features of the state funded programmes and Table 6 provides specific information about each of these initiatives.

2.4.1 Formal Schools

(a) Jawahar Navodaya Vidyalays (JNVs):

JNVs are meant for rural students; as such at least 75 per cent of students enrolled have to be from rural areas. At least one JNV has been established in each district, leading to sanctioning of 576 JNVs across the country. Additionally, a few extra JNVs

have also been sanctioned in districts with large SC and ST population. Total number of JNVs sanctioned is 596 (S. S. Sharma, Manju, 2012). The admission is through screening of those who fulfill the eligibility criteria based on selection test.

(b) Ashram Shalas: These are supported by the Ministry of Tribal Affairs (MTA) to provide residential schools for tribal children (girls and boys) in an environment that is conducive for learning. The main idea behind the scheme was to increase the literacy rate among tribal students and bring them at par with non-ST population. This scheme is being implemented in 22 states and two union territories that have been identified under the Tribal Sub-Plan by the MTA. Currently, there are 862 sanctioned and 616 completed Ashram Shalas across the country (Gol, 2013-2014) that are receiving support from the central government under the specific scheme. However, in addition, the state governments have separate schemes of having Ashram schools both for tribal and for Dalit children, and the total number is much larger than this (Refer to Annexure III for the table).

(c) Eklavya Model Residential Schools

(EMRS): MTA also initiated Eklavya Model Residential Schools (EMRS) along the same lines as JNV. These co-educational schools were set up to enable ST students to avail reservation in high and professional education courses as well as jobs in government sector. Admission to these schools is through competition with preference given to children belonging to Primitive Tribal Groups and first generation learners. An upper limit for capital (non-recurring) and recurring costs have been set by the Centre, beyond which the respective state/UT governments are required to contribute. In 2013, 153 EMRS were operational across 22 states (Jagranjosh, 2013).

(d) Kasturba Gandhi Balika Vidyalaya:

KGBVs were established under the Sarva Shiksha Abhiyan (SSA) by MHRD in 2004 to enhance the enrolment and completion of upper primary education amongst girls from disadvantaged sections. These were set up in Educationally Backward Blocks (EBBs) with rural female literacy below national average as per Census 2001. Enrolment was targeted towards girls from SC, ST, OBC and other minority communities. There are more than 3,000 operational KGBVs in the country with an enrolment of 3.49 lakh girls (Gol, 2013b). Based on the type of hostel, school facilities and the number of girls it can accommodate, KGBVs have been classified into following three models:

1. **Model I:** Schools with hostels for 100 girls
2. **Model II:** Schools with hostels for 50 girls
3. **Model III:** Hostels are built in existing schools for 50 girls

The intake of girls could be increased from the existing level of 50 to 100 in blocks with a high number of out of school/dropout girls for which the recurring & non-recurring grants also increases, based on the additional enrolment (Gol, 2010a).

(e) Schemes of Grant-In-Aid to Voluntary

Organisations: Two separate grants-in-aid schemes exist in the Ministry of

Social Justice and Empowerment and the Ministry of Tribal Affairs. These schemes were started in 1953-54 to enhance the reach of development interventions of the Government and fill the gaps in service deficient sectors such as education, health, vocational training etc., for Scheduled Castes and Tribes. Voluntary organizations and other organizations also helped in providing an environment for socio-economic upliftment and overall development of the disadvantaged sections. After the bifurcation of the ministry into Ministry of Social Justice and Empowerment (MSJE) and Ministry of Tribal Affairs (MTA), the scheme is continued by both the ministries.

MSJE revised the schemes in 1998 and again in 2014, changing the financial norms to 100% government funding for most items. During 2013-14, 225 NGOs were approved Rs 2,714 lakh for 37,282 beneficiaries (Annual Report 2013-14, Department of Social Justice and Empowerment, Government of India). MTA revised their financial norms in 2008-09. The scheme continues to extend 100% financial assistance in scheduled areas and 90% assistance in non-scheduled areas. During 2013-14, 71 residential schools in 15 states benefitted 11,390 ST students through this scheme (Annual Report 2013-14, Ministry of Tribal Affairs, Government of India).

Table 4: Schemes/programmes for Residential Schooling

Type of Scheme	Union Government funded Schemes #
Full Time Formal Residential Schools	i. Kasturba Gandhi Ballika Vidyalaya (KGBV) (O) ii. Jawahar Navodaya Vidyalayas (JNV) (C) iii. Aashram Schools (AS) (C) iv. Eklavaya Model Residential Schools (ERMS) (C)
Hostels attached to formal schools	i. Babu Jagjivan Ram Chhatrawas Yojana-BJRCY (C) ii. Scheme of Strengthening Education among Scheduled Tribe (ST) Girls in Low Literacy Districts – EGRS (O) iii. Construction of Hostels for OBC Boys and Girls (O)



Type of Scheme	Union Government funded Schemes #
Grants in Aid schemes	i. Scheme of Grant-in-aid to Voluntary and other Organizations Working for Scheduled Castes(O) ii. Scheme of Grant-In-Aid to Voluntary Organisations Working for the Welfare of Scheduled Tribes(O)
Accelerated Learning Courses	i. Mahila Shikshan Kendras (C)
Bridge Courses	i. SSA run residential bridge courses (12 month, 6 month and 3 month Residential Special Training) (O)

C: denotes 'closed' implying that these schemes are funded, managed and run completely by the government;

O: denoted 'open' implying that these schemes receive government funding while management/implementation can be done by either government or NGO.

#This covers only those schemes that are either fully or partially funded by union government. The schemes that are fully funded by various state governments without any fund support from the Centre are not listed here.

*based on information that exist in public domain. Not necessarily an exhaustive list.

Table 5: Basic parameters of schemes under Govt. of India

Specifics	Formal Residential School				Hostels with formal schools			Grant in Aid		ALP
	JNV	Ashram	EMRS	KGBV	BJRCY	EGRS ^	OBC+	GIA-SC@	GIA-ST@@	MSK
Year of initiation	1985-1986	1990-1991; revised in 2008-2009	1997-1998	2004	2008^^	2008	Not specified	Not specified	Not specified	MS* - 1988
Girls/Boys	Both	Both	Both	Girls only	Separate for boys and girls	Girls only	Separate for boys and girls	Separate for boys and girls	Separate for boys and girls	Girls only
Ministry concerned	MHRD	MTA***	MTA	MHRD**	MSJE&	MTA	MSJE	MSJE	MSJE	MHRD
Funding	Dept. of School Education, MHRD	100% for AS (girls) by Centre#	Funding by Centre upto 12 crore@ (non-recurring cost) and Rs 42,000 per child (recurring cost)	Centre: 65%; State: 35%	100% assistance to state/UTs, 90% assistance to NGOs/Deemed universities for expansion	Fully funded by Centre	90% to NE states and Sikkim and 50%to other states; 100 %to UTs and Central institutions; For NGOs: 45:45:10 (Centre: State: NGO)	100% for projects in scheduled areas; 90 % for non-scheduled areas	Not specified	Fully funded by the National Programme
Strength per school	560	Depends upon the layout plan	480	Three types: I:100; II: 50; III:50		100 (primary) 150 (upper primary and high school)				30 trainees per MSK

Source: Compiled from different sources listed in the Bibliography; @Scheme of Grant-in-aid to Voluntary and other Organizations Working for Scheduled Castes;

^ Scheme of Strengthening Education among Scheduled Tribe (ST) Girls in Low Literacy Districts @@ Scheme of Grant-In-Aid to Voluntary Organisations Working for the Welfare of Scheduled Tribes

^^ In operation since 1989-90 but revised and renamed in 2008 + Construction of Hostels for OBC Boys and Girls

*Mahila Samakhyas; ** Ministry of Human Resource Development; *** Ministry of Tribal Affairs & Ministry of Social Justice and Empowerment # 100 per cent funding for all AS in Union Territories and Construction of AS for boys in naxal areas while 50:50 share for other AS for boys, @ upto 16 crore in hilly areas/desert/islands



Formal Schools by Non-State Actors

A large number of non-state actors are running residential schools for girls. This includes both profit making private sector and non-profit sector run primarily by NGOs and funded by either the central/state government under grants-in-aid scheme or by some national or international foundations/development agency. The information on profit making private sector is nearly absent except for individual schools through their own websites if they have one. The information on non-profit sector is more relevant as they are catering to girls and boys from more deprived sections and have also played a part in influencing the state initiative. But the information available in this case is also very sketchy and uneven, and more importantly, barring some exceptions, is largely self-reported. Annexure IV provides some details sourced from respective websites for such initiatives but this list could be far from exhaustive.

These schools are also different in the sense that they have been guided by varying rationales and interests. Some like Spruthi is a residential school for mild and moderately mentally challenged children in Bangalore, Karnataka. Also, there are a number of schools meant for children of tribal families, e.g. Eklavya Parivartan Vidyalaya started by Vidhayak Sansad, an organisation that works for socio- economic development of tribals, women and other deprived sections, in Thane, Maharashtra , reaches out to girls from the Katkari tribe, largely the children of migrant workers (Vidhayak Sansad, not-dated).

Similarly, Adivasi Ashram Shala is a regular residential school that runs classes 1 to 9 for girls and boys from tribal families in Kamshet near Pune. Kedi Residential School for tribal girls in South Gujarat focuses on girls, who need extra help and facilitation to comprehend concepts/lessons. The girls are provided middle level schooling with residential facilities to prepare them for high school. (Kedi, not-dated).

Another organization, Navsarjan runs three residential schools in Gujarat to provide primary education for dalit children. (Navsarjan, not-dated). Aadharshila Residential School in Rajasthan caters to girls who had been married very young. These girls falling in the age group of 8-13 years are provided education from pre-primary up to middle school level, using alternative teaching methods (Prayas-Pratirodh Sansthan, not-dated).

Viveka Tribal Centre for Learning (VTCL) is a semi-residential school, based in Mysore district of Karnataka that aims to bring benefits of basic education to 450 children (primarily first generation learners) from surrounding tribal colonies. The school is affiliated with the State education department and has thus adopted Kannada as the medium of instruction (SVYM, various years).

2.4.2. Hostels attached to formal schools

(a) Scheme of Strengthening Education among Scheduled Tribe (ST) Girls in Low Literacy Districts: This special scheme was introduced by Ministry of Tribal Affairs (MTA) to strengthen education among tribal girls in low literacy districts in 2008. It gave preference to naxal affected areas as well as those inhabited by Primitive Tribal Groups (PTGs)(Gol, 2008b). The scheme envisages the running and maintenance of hostels linked with schools run under Sarva Shiksha Abhiyan or other schemes of education department. If such schooling facilities are not available within a 5 km radius, the scheme has provision for establishing a complete educational complex with residential and schooling facility. To encourage ST girls, the scheme has provision for tuitions, incentives and periodical awards after passing class VIII, X and XII.

The scheme, however, does not provide construction cost, but prescribes fixed financial norms. It envisages establishment of District Education Support Agency (DESA), which would be a non-government organization or a



federation of non-government organisations, to take over varied functions like ensuring 100 per cent enrolment, reducing drops outs, arrangement of preventive health education, monitoring the performance of NGOs, etc.

Based on the ST population (at least 25 per cent) and ST female literacy rate (below 35 per cent) criteria, 54 districts and 21 blocks (outside the districts) have been identified, for setting up hostels for ST girls (upper limit: 100 girls for primary, 150 girls for upper primary and secondary classes) (Gol, 2008b). Although the scheme is funded by the Centre, it is implemented by Voluntary Organisations or/and NGOs (based on approval on criterion laid out) (Gol 2008). In Gujarat, the hostels sanctioned for tribal girls under this plan are called Eklavya Girls Residential Schools (EGRS). Currently, there are 35 functional EGRS in Gujarat, run by the Gujarat State Tribal Development Residential Educational Institutions Society (GSTDREIS)(GoG, 2014)¹⁰.

(b) Babu Jagjivan Ram Chhatrawas Yojana (BJRCY): BJRCY is implemented by the Ministry of Social Justice and Empowerment with the primary objective of attracting the implementing agencies for undertaking hostel construction programme, especially for SC girls towards the broader vision of containment and reduction of their dropout rate. The Scheme aims to provide residential accommodation facilities to SC boys and girls studying in middle schools, higher secondary schools, colleges and Universities. The Scheme is implemented through the State Governments/Union Territory Administrations and the Central & State Universities/institutions. They are provided central assistance for fresh construction of hostel buildings and for expansion of the existing hostel facilities(Gol, 2008a).

(c) Construction of Hostels for OBC Boys and Girls - Dept. of Social Justice and Empowerment: The Scheme aims at providing

hostel facilities to students belonging to socially and educationally backward classes, especially from rural areas, to enable them to pursue secondary and higher education. State governments, Union Territory Administrations, Universities and NGOs with good track record are eligible for the grant. These are typically 100 seat hostels where 5 per cent seats are reserved for students with special needs. If a State/UT proposes three or more hostels per year, at least 1/3rd of the proposed number has to be for girls. The scheme has received an annual grant of Rs. 45 crore during 2010-14, and created additional hostel capacity for about two to four thousand students every year.

2.4.3. Accelerated Learning Programmes (ALP)

A number of organisations are running accelerated learning programmes in the country, especially for girls. The most well-known and documented ones are:

(a) Mahila Shikshan Kendra (MSK): The Mahila Samakhya (MS) programme was launched in 1988 in order to pursue the goals of the New Education Policy (1986) and the Programme of Action (1992) as a concrete programme for the education and empowerment of women in rural areas, particularly from socially and economically marginalised groups. Initially implemented as a pilot in 10 districts in three states, MS programme is now present in more than 20000 villages across ten states.

Mahila Shikshan Kendras (MSK), residential learning centres working under MS, offer an innovative and comprehensive educational programme for drop out and never enrolled girls / women. With its specially designed curriculum, girls/women are equipped, within eight to eleven months, to exercise their choice about their rights regarding

¹⁰ We tried to map the existence of hostels under this scheme across states but only found details in Gujarat. It is possible that they have been re-named at state levels (like in Gujarat, they are called EGRS).

getting back to mainstream schools, deciding appropriate age of their marriages and selecting their future vocations. The objectives of setting up MSKs are to provide rural poor women opportunities for learning in the shortest period, in a very conducive and safe environment, to create a pool of well trained, literate and motivated women who can become agents of change and leaders in their villages. Currently, 95 MSKs are functional in 121 districts (563 blocks) in the ten states where MS is functional (Gol, 2013a).

- (b) **Balika Shivirs** in Rajasthan (run by Urmul Jyoti Sansthan) offer an accelerated learning programme with residential facility, where girls from marginalised groups, who were either drop outs or had never attended school, are prepared to appear for class 5 exams in a span of 7 months. If these students do not get enrolled in a government school after passing this exam for whatever reasons, they attend another residential camp that prepares them for class 8 exams. Although the girls are not

charged any fee, parents pay one rupee per day for the 210 days of the camp or donate kitchen groceries and provisions to help Urmul meet the costs of the camp(URMUL, not-dated).

- (c) **Udaan (CARE)** runs residential accelerated learning camps in Uttar Pradesh to help out of school/never enrolled girls, aged 9-14 years, complete their primary education in 11 months. Every year a batch of 100 girls go through this programme and almost 90 per cent of them are then absorbed in mainstream schools. Because of its success, this model has been replicated in Bihar, Orissa and Haryana, with teachers being trained in participatory approaches (CARE, not-dated). The Udaan drew inspiration from MV Foundation, Lok Jumbish and Mahila Samakhya. The curriculum and transaction approach was unique to Udaan. These were developed keeping in mind the concerns of equity, social justice and quality of education as the core of the programme.

Table 6: Selected Residential education initiatives: Certain specific features

	Free of cost	Special training for teachers / personnel	Vocational courses inbuilt	Medical assessment	Single sex (S)/ Co-ed (C)
KGBV	√	?	√	√	S / C
JNV	√	√	X	√	C
EMRS	√	?	X	√	C
Ashram Shala	√	?	?	?	C / S
Spruthi	√	√	X	√	C
Eklavya Parivartan Vidyalaya	√	?	X	?	S
Adivasi Ashram Shala	?	?	X	?	C
Kedi	?	√	√	?	S
Navsarjan	?	?	X	?	C
Aadarshila	?	?	X	?	S
MSK	√	√	X	?	S
Balika Shivar	√	?	X	?	S
Udaan	?	√	X	?	S

√ - Yes; X - No; ? - Not Known

Source: Compiled from different scheme related documents



Table 6 provides specific information about these initiatives to the extent these could be accessed. The information gap exists for both State and NGO run programmes but the gaps are much more for the latter. While some of these initiatives are co-educational and some only for girls, the residential facilities are always separate for girls. The State sponsored programmes are much bigger in reach and coverage.

2.4.4. Bridge Courses

The most well-known name in running the bridge course is M V Foundation in Andhra Pradesh which is one of the pioneering forces behind the strategy by running residential bridge course for 9-14 year old rescued child labourers, better known as camps. These orientation camps equip them with the ability to read and write, readying them for age appropriate admission in the nearby government schools. Once the children are enrolled in formal schools, they also usually get admitted to the Social Welfare Hostels (M.V.Foundation, not-dated).

A number of other organisations such as Seva Mandir and Doosra Dashak in Rajasthan

and Nari Gunjan in Bihar, and many more in various other parts have also started running camps as a bridging strategy. The government programmes adopted this as an effective strategy and the RTE acknowledged this by including provisions for 'special training'. Sarva Shiksha Abhiyan organises three types of residential special training/courses to mainstream out-of-school-children and those never enrolled in age-appropriate classes in formal schools. There are 12-month, 6-month and 3-month special training courses organised, in association with different NGOs, usually during the summer months (MHRD--Gol, 2013).

The next section analyses the reach of these programmes. The focus now onwards is on formal full-time residential schools with some reference to the accelerated learning programmes. While both full formal schools and ALPs are schooling options, the bridge courses are more of a mobilization strategy, and hence not included in the analyses. However, some references have been made, if found relevant and important.

REACH AND COVERAGE OF RESIDENTIAL SCHOOLS FOR GIRLS



Reach and Coverage of Residential Schools for Girls

3.1. Coverage of Residential Schools

It is not easy to establish the reach and coverage of residential schools at all levels of school education. None of the national level reports provide this information. However, DISE and UDISE collect this data, but is not included in their national or state analytical reports. NUEPA provided us this data for 2013-14 on request. It reveals that the country has more than 34000 residential schools and they cover more than 9 million students. Out of this, nearly 4.3 million, i.e. about 48 per cent, are girls. This probably does not cover Model III KGBVs as they are just hostels and therefore girls are enrolled in a day school. The girls' share, however, remains the same at 48 per cent at all levels: elementary, secondary and higher secondary.

The data reveals that highest proportion of girls, nearly 42 per cent, are in private schools. Nearly the same percentage of girls is enrolled in government run /supported residential schools including Ashrams, Model schools and KGBVs. The share of private schools in total enrolment is the highest for higher secondary level (Table 7). Management wise distribution of enrolment shows that the highest proportion of girls are enrolled in Ashram schools (Government plus NGO run) followed by private unaided and then private aided schools (Table 8). At elementary level, girls in residential schools constitute about 2.8 per cent of the

total enrolment at that level – this proportion could go up to nearly 3 per cent or more if one takes those residing in hostels (Refer to Annexure III for the table).

UDISE data makes it clear that state governments are also funding a large number of residential schools, especially Ashram / other schools meant for tribal and dalit populations in states such as Odisha, Chhattisgarh, Andhra Pradesh, Madhya Pradesh and Uttar Pradesh. The number of private residential schools is high in Uttar Pradesh, Maharashtra and Madhya Pradesh (Annexure III). Management wise distribution shows that the number of both recognised and unrecognised residential madaras attended mainly by Muslim students is high in Uttar Pradesh, West Bengal, Bihar and Andhra Pradesh.

Maharashtra is the only state with large number of private aided residential schools. The number of unaided private schools is high in ST concentration states – this could be because of the presence of NGO run schools but needs to be confirmed (Annexure III). Central government perhaps refers to only JNVs and excludes Ashram schools but again, this needs to be confirmed. The data set in distribution needs to be interpreted with caution as a large number of entries that had not reported the management code have been merged with 'others'; this is subject to interpretation by those who are reporting (Annexure III).



Table 7: Number of Schools and Enrolment by Residential Type (2013-14)

Schools/Enrolment	Ashram (Govt)	Non Ashram (Govt)	Private	Others	KGBV	Model School	No response	Total
Number of Schools	8,024	6,544	12,112	3,813	2,246	157	1,454	34,350
Enrolment								
Elementary								
Total	12,54,856	8,96,077	24,29,906	6,37,308	3,20,638	27,560	1,56,225	57,22,570
Girls	6,30,423	4,24,442	10,46,136	2,87,626	2,74,193	12,737	72,956	27,48,513
Girls (% of Total)	50.24	47.37	43.05	45.13	85.51	46.22	46.70	48.03
Secondary								
Total	2,72,201	2,79,387	9,88,406	2,03,044	77,879	3,110	1,43,409	19,67,436
Girls	1,37,962	1,29,553	4,46,517	92,340	70,367	1,607	66,863	9,45,209
Girls (% of Total)	50.68	46.37	45.18	45.48	90.35	51.67	46.62	48.04
Higher Secondary								
Total	1,23,472	1,83,129	7,87,316	1,28,801	24,590	5,077	1,06,493	13,58,878
Girls	61,574	86,855	3,76,740	57,904	19,536	2,217	48,780	6,53,606
Girls (% of Total)	49.87	47.43	47.85	44.96	79.45	43.67	45.81	48.10
Total (Elementary + Secondary + Higher Secondary)								
Total	16,50,529	13,58,593	42,05,628	9,69,153	4,23,107	35,747	4,06,127	90,48,884
Girls	8,29,959	6,40,850	18,69,393	4,37,870	3,64,096	16,561	1,88,599	43,47,328
Girls (% of Total)	50.28	47.17	44.45	45.18	86.05	46.33	46.44	48.04

Source: UDISE 2013-14 (provided by NUEPA on request)

Scheme-wise information is available for the schemes sponsored by the Union Government but the detailing and periods of information do not match. The information is even more sketchy and inaccessible when it comes to state government funded schemes. Annexure I provides information captured through certain state government websites.

Karnataka has a scheme patterned on the line of JNV, named as Morarji Desai Memorial schools under which 395 residential schools are operational. The state also has another scheme called Kittur Chaennamma residential schools for SCs and STs under which 114 residential schools are sanctioned. Similarly, Uttar Pradesh has an Ashram Vidyalaya scheme for dalits, operational since the 1960s. Bihar and Rajasthan also have state government funded hostel schemes. Information becomes even scarcer when it comes to the functioning of these schools. It is rare to find any evaluation or feedback on the state government funded schools. Similarly, almost no information is

available on the functioning of residential schools in private sector. The information base is also weak for the NGO run schools and Madarsas. It is important to strengthen this base in order to have a complete picture of the spread, reach and impact. For instance, at present no comment can be made on residential madarsas for girls and also Ashram schools run for dalits in states like Uttar Pradesh. These are critical gaps that need to be filled.

Among the Union government funded schemes, KGBV (MHRD) is the largest programme in terms of the number of schools and the number of girls covered followed by the Ashramshalas (MTA), JNV (MHRD) and then the EMRS (MTA) in terms of the number of schools and enrolment. 3573 KGBVs are operational out of the 3609 sanctioned, reaching out to 366519 girls (Gol, 2013b). Out of these, 2290 LGBVS are Model I, 194 Model II and 1155 Model III. 941 Ashram schools were operational enrolling 1,36,611 students



(MTA 2014). There are 598 JNVs with 224659 students on roll as of March 2012¹¹ and 108 Eklavya Model Residential Schools (EMRS) in 22 states¹². 95 Mahila Shikshan Kendras exist in 121

districts of seven states across the country¹³. In comparison, the NGO run programmes have much limited reach and coverage (Table 8).

Table 8: Number of Schools and Enrolment by School Management (2013-2014)

Schools/Enrolment	Dept. of Education	Tribal/Social Welfare Dept	Local Body	Private Aided	Private Unaided	Others	Central Govt	Un-recognized	No Response	Madrassa/Waft Board	Madrassa Un-recognized	Total
Number of Schools	7,867	7,147	540	3,480	9,775	3,393	446	638	13	548	503	34,350
Enrolment												
Elementary												
Total	11,71,178	10,74,031	63,746	8,00,521	21,33,981	59,937	88,703	1,23,164	1,191	1,30,751	75,367	57,22,570
Girls	6,65,350	5,74,445	33,125	3,44,800	9,21,331	29,318	35,654	47,233	462	63,318	33,477	27,48,513
Girls (% of Total)	56.81	53.48	51.96	43.07	43.17	48.91	40.19	38.35	38.79	48.43	44.42	48.03
Secondary												
Total	2,49,243	2,00,769	5,314	3,22,554	5,46,146	5,50,316	52,015	6,620	2,477	13,947	18,035	19,67,436
Girls	1,47,498	1,16,496	2,823	1,44,516	2,37,089	2,55,269	19,879	2,499	1,598	8,044	9,498	9,45,209
Girls (% of Total)	59.18	58.02	53.12	44.80	43.41	46.39	38.22	37.75	64.51	57.68	52.66	48.04
Higher Secondary												
Total	1,38,041	60,207	1,619	2,63,001	4,11,713	4,21,389	35,746	1,437	2,352	7,686	15,687	13,58,878
Girls	73,469	33,741	420	1,24,408	1,92,653	2,01,187	14,117	508	1,381	3,995	7,727	6,53,606
Girls (% of Total)	53.22	56.04	25.94	47.30	46.79	47.74	39.49	35.35	58.72	51.98	49.26	48.10
Total (Elementary + Secondary + Higher Secondary)												
Total	15,58,462	13,35,007	70,679	13,86,076	30,91,840	10,31,642	1,76,464	1,31,221	6,020	1,52,384	1,09,089	90,48,884
Girls	8,86,317	7,24,682	36,368	6,13,724	13,51,073	4,85,774	69,650	50,240	3,441	75,357	50,702	43,47,328
Girls (% of Total)	56.87	54.28	51.46	44.28	43.70	47.09	39.47	38.29	57.16	49.45	46.48	48.04

Source: UDISE 2013-14 (provided by NUEPA on request)

Table 9: Coverage of selected residential schooling programmes for girls

Scheme/ Initiative	# of Schools / Institution	#of states covered	Total enrolment	Girls enrolment	Grades usually covered	Year of reference and Source
Formal Schools						
KGBV	3569	27	3,49,037	3,49,037	VI to VIII	2012-13, National Evaluation of KGBV, Gol
Ashram (MTA, Government of India)	941	15	1,36,111	68056*	III to X	2013; Ministry of Tribal Affairs, 2014
JNV	598	28 States; 6 UTs(2014)	2,24,659 (2012)	83,951 (2012)	VI to XII	2014, 2012 - http://www.nvshq.org/

¹¹ http://www.nvshq.org/display_page.php?page=Studentsper cent20Profile

¹² 2012-2013 Annual Report – Ministry of Tribal Affairs, pg.111

¹³ 2012-2013 Annual Report – Ministry of Human Resources and Development, pg.188



Scheme/ Initiative	# of Schools / Institution	#of states covered	Total enrolment	Girls enrolment	Grades usually covered	Year of reference and Source
EMRS	117	23	X	X	VI to XII	2013; Annual Report, Ministry of Tribal Affairs, 2013-2014
Spruthi	1	1	75	X	(6-14 years of age)	http://www.vidyaranya.org/?s=Spruthi
Eklavya Parivartan Vidyalaya	1	1	120	120	X	http://www.vidhayaksansad.org/edu_activities.htm
Adivasi Ashram Shala	1	1	425	270	I to IX	http://www.maharshikarve.ac.in/adivasi-ashram-shala.php
Navsarjan Residential Schools	3	1	X	X	I to X	http://navsarjan.org/navsarjanschools
Viveka Tribal Centre for Learning	1	1	425	214	I to X	2014-2015 collected during the site validation visit
Accelerated Learning Initiatives						
MSK	95	X	X	X	X	2012Annual Report, MHRD, 2012-2013
Balika Shivirs	X	1	About 1000 per year	About 1000 per year	girls prepared for class V and class VIII exams	http://www.urmul.org/?p=46
Udaan	3-5	4	300-500 in every batch	300-500 in every batch	girls prepared for class V	http://www.careindia.org/educational#1

**Estimated to be half of total enrolment, separately not available; X – information not available*

3.2. Reach and Access to girls from disadvantaged sections

An important question to understand is the reach, i.e. who these girls are. Are they really the most needy, belonging to the weaker section and disadvantaged groups? The answer is that in most cases the state sponsored programmes are reaching girls from socially and educationally backward groups and that is indeed a good indication. This is especially true for Ashram and KGBVs. Barring some exceptions, Ashram schools are meant almost entirely for adivasi and dalit children. Although data could not be made available for enrolment in EMRS, all girls enrolled in those schools have to be tribal. KGBVs are also well-represented in terms of dalit and adivasi girls. OBCs and girls from BPL families are also

well represented but their reach to Muslim girls has been less visible (Gol, 2013b). Site visits confirmed this trend though it was shared that particular Muslim groups included in OBC in respective states (as is the case in Rajasthan) are not counted as Muslims but as OBCs, and to that extent get under-reported (Table 10). This, however, would be a small percentage.

Girls constitute 37.4 per cent of total students in JNVs, and it is not clear how many of them are from which social groups. Lack of disaggregated information within girls is itself a sign of the issue being less important for this system. About 78 per cent of JNV students are rural. JNVs and EMRSs follow the process of selection tests, and it is possible that these lead to exclusion of girls from the most deprived sections. This could be especially true for JNVs where students from all social groups are



admitted and non-SC/ST students account for about 57 per cent of the total students. JNV has often been accused of feeding rural elite. The issue of elite capture has been raised even

in the context of KGBV where more powerful among the target groups have managed to gain reach at the cost of those who face real marginalisation.

Table 10: Representation of Girls from Socio-economic and other disadvantaged groups in Union Government funded State sector Residential schools

Scheme / Initiative	Total Girls enrolment	SC	ST	Muslim	OBC	BPL	CWSN	Year of reference and Source
Formal Schools								
KGBV	349037	106572 (30.53)	87224 (24.99)	26164 (7.50)	106483 (30.51)	22594 (6.47)	5123 (1.47)	2013, National Evaluation of KGBV, Govt of India
Ashram Schools (MTA)		NA		NA	NA	X	X	2013, Ministry of Tribal Affairs, Government of India
JNV [^]	83951	X	X	X	X	X	X	2012 - http://www.nvshq.org/
EMRS	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	

X – information not available; NA: Not Applicable

Figures in parenthesis show the respective percentage.

[^]Girls constitute 37.37 per cent of the total. The share of SC and ST students is 25 and 18 per cent respectively but the information on what percentages of girls belong to SC and ST groups is not available. 78 per cent of total students are rural in JNV.

Table 11: Students Enrolled in sample schools visited (August – October 2014)

Institution	Classes	Students Enrolled								Total
		Boys	Girls	Gen	SC	ST	OBC	Minority	CWSN	
Ashram School, Thadvai	III to X	0	581	0	0	581	0	0	0	581
JNV, Bangalore Rural	VI to XII	286	247	336	140	57	0	0	0	544*
KGBV Bodhgaya	VI to VIII	0	99	0	89	0	10	0	0	99
KGBV Bundu	VI to XII	0	232	6	19	154	53	0	0	232
KGBV Naamkumb	VI to XII	0	250	3	13	186	46	2	7	250
MSK, Gaya	ALP				38				1	38
VTCL	I to X	211	214			425				425
KGBV Tabizi, Ajmer, Rajasthan	VI to VIII		113		24	02	59	28		113

*(including 11 children of staff)

Except KGBVs, no school maintains any information on Children with Special Needs (CWSN). Only one school out of 8 institutions visited reported representation of children with special needs. These children were given rooms on the ground floor and were also assigned light duties. Some studies have raised the issue of location, especially in the case of Ashram schools. Sujatha (1990) found that there was no relation between literacy rates of a district and the provisioning of Ashram schools in Andhra Pradesh. She also observed that districts which had the highest concentration of tribal

population did not have requisite number of Ashram schools. . Lack of school mapping and political pressure in opening Ashram schools were the reasons attributed by her. Veerbhadranaika et al (2012) have remarked that Ashram schools were inadequate in reach, functioning and content. Based on a study in 9 states. NUEPA 2013 comments on the big average distance of Ashram schools.

An important aspect in terms of reach is how students are identified or selected for admission. As mentioned earlier, EMRS and



JNV follow the process of selection tests. Admission in JNVs is based on a selection test that follows multiple-choice format and the reservation criterion (75 per cent seats for rural, 25 per cent for urban, 30 per cent for girls, 12 per cent for SCs, 7 per cent for STs, and 3 per cent for CWSN). The JNV visited in Karnataka has 30 per cent of the students from BPL families and 70 per cent from APL families.

The admission process is not so well-defined and rigid in Ashram schools or KGBVs. The admission in the Thadvai Ashram school in Telangana is based on first come first served basis. The school does not admit non-tribal students. It also does not admit children of teachers who teach in the school. Once the seats are filled, the applicants are referred to other schools.

KGBVs visited in three states reported local mobilization and identification through either MS groups, Gram Panchayats (Bihar) or Mata Samitees (Jharkhand). In the MSK at Gaya (Bihar), the Cluster Resource Person and teachers come together every month to identify girls, block by block, for the ALP. KGBVs in Bihar also have been making efforts to consciously include physically challenged children through special camps.

An important critique of the KGBV identification process in recent times has been that the girls are not the real drop outs; they are artificially kept out of school for one year or so after reaching / completing class V to be eligible for admission to KGBV (GOI 2013, various JRM

reports). Andhra Pradesh KGBVs appear to be an exception where detailed micro planning was done to figure out which child would go to which educational facility. Although difficult to ascertain with full confidence, interactions with students in KGBVs during site visits suggested this observation to be largely true with some exceptions. Majority of girls could tell the names of the schools where they had attended grade V. The teachers in Jharkhand also reported experiencing a lot of pressure from local influential persons for admitting their wards. The institutions responsible for KGBV monitoring in states also confirmed that 'while KGBVs are full of those girls who were anyway going to local schools, the villages had still dropout girls'¹⁴.

The NGOs have demonstrated greater success in targeted identification mainly due to their long established bond with the communities. This has enabled them to reach specific still-unreached sections of the population. This could be true to some extent for MS run KGBVs as well, as evidenced in Bihar. What emerges in the end is that informal and intensive processes followed by some NGOs and also some KGBVs have led to identification of the most deserving but it is difficult to translate these into principles for scaled up programmes. On the other hand, though the selection processes followed by JNV and EMRS, and other similar models in the state, are clearly laid out and have ensured the reach to the broad, educationally disadvantaged groups (SC, ST, OBC, Muslims, residing in rural areas), the identification of the most needy has not often been ensured.

¹⁴ Shobhita Rajgopal, Professor, Institute of Development Studies, Jaipur, Rajasthan, Personal Interview held in October 2014

A stylized house icon composed of thick, light-yellow lines, positioned in the upper right quadrant of the page.

PHYSICAL, SOCIAL AND EMOTIONAL ENVIRONMENT



Physical, Social and Emotional Environment

Learning environment, both physical and emotional, as well as the space is critical for the well-being and learning in any educational institution. It acquires greater significance in a residential setting as it involves living together and the needs of the learners go beyond the usual classroom hours. The issues related to health, safety, opportunities for all-round physical and emotional development, and peer and teacher-child relationships become all the more important in residential settings, especially in the context of girls coming from disadvantaged and marginalised contexts.

‘When it comes to girls from very marginalised communities, the argument in favour of residential schools range from getting more time to study, access to proper nutrition and healthcare facilities to academic support from peers and teachers¹⁵. It implies that residential schools are expected to go beyond what these girls could have expected to receive even at their homes in terms of food, nutrition, care, academic support and opportunities to think and live differently. In other words, they must have access to an enabling and secure physical, social and emotional environment to be able to learn and grow in all respects.

4.1. Physical Infrastructure and access to Facilities

Most of the government schemes have clear norms and specifications for infrastructure facilities (Table 11). JNV and EMRS, with

much greater financial allocations for physical infrastructure, have much better norms than KGBV and Ashram schools. However, it is not necessary that all these norms translate into reality, and comply with specifications. And even when the norms are complied with, it is not necessary that these translate into creating an enabling environment for girls. This aspect has not received much attention in the available review and therefore the present analysis is limited to that extent. Information on infrastructure and facilities is largely anecdotal and descriptive around specific visits and observations. However, whatever information is available does not paint a very encouraging picture.

Although no formal evaluation is available, JNVs by and large seem to follow the norms in most places, as pointed out by most of the key informants interviewed. In JNVs, all teachers and staff, whether permanent or on contract, have to stay on the campus. Individual quarters for the staff have been provided. The site visit to one JNV in Karnataka confirmed these observations. Physical facilities seemed to pay special attention to the student health issues. All students had an individual cot, with a mosquito net. Teachers’ quarters were situated within a distance of 50 metres from the students’ dormitories allowing for easy supervision and accessibility. Bore well was the source of drinking water and Reverse Osmosis Plants were fixed in the dining hall and in the dormitories of both boys and girls. The school

¹⁵ Vimala Ramachandran (response to personal interview Questionnaire in writing); mail received on 15 August 2014



had laboratories and all other facilities that they are supposed to have. One teacher, positioned in a KGBV in Jharkhand, who herself had studied in a JNV in the same state, remarked:

‘the major difference in JNV and KGBV is that of physical infrastructure and facilities in the former being much better provided for’.

Table 12: Infrastructure norms for Government Residential Schools under different Schemes

Norms	KGBV	JNV	ERMS	Ashram
Building/Classrooms	Building for 50/100 girls	Yes	Sufficient number of classrooms	Yes
Boundary Wall	√	√	√	√
Drinking Water	√	√	√	√
Electric Installation	√	√	√	√
Uniform		√	√	
Library (Books and Teaching-Learning Materials)	√	√	√	√
School Bag		√		
Bedding	√	√		√
Teachers resource room		√	√	
Laboratories		√	√	
Recreation Room		√	√	
Sick Room		√	√	
Housing for teachers and warden		√	√	
Dormitories		√	√	
Warden Office		√	√	
Kitchen with storage	√	√	√	√
Rainwater harvesting		√	√	
Reliable sewage system			√	
Accessible infrastructure			√	

Source: Compiled from different schemes/programme documents

As against JNV, where the provisioning seems standardized across the country, the level, kind and condition of infrastructure facilities in Ashram schools appear to be uneven. ‘The situation is different in different states when it comes to Ashram schools and it depends largely on the attention and investment that a particular state government makes in Ashram Shalas¹⁶. National Commission for the Protection of Child Rights (NCPCR) noted that Ashram schools in Rajasthan suffered from lack of adequate teachers, operational toilets

and proper monitoring of children’s health (Singh, 2013). Panda (1996) observed that the inadequacy of basic amenities was very common among all tribal schools, including Ashram schools in Orissa. The need for proper sanitation facilities is one key recommendation emanating from review reports for Ashram Shalas.

An evaluation study of Ashram schools in Odisha, Madhya Pradesh, Chhattisgarh and Jharkhand, conducted by the Indian Institute

¹⁶ Vibha Puri Das, Former Secretary, Tribal Development Affairs, Government of India, Personal interview held at New Delhi in August 2014

of Public Administration (IIPA) during 2006-07, recommended that the number of Ashram schools needs to be increased based on demand, focusing on areas where children continue to be unenrolled, and their quality must be improved by providing adequate infrastructure. Poor access to toilets and water facilities were also noted during the site visit to Ashram school in Thadvai in Telangana.

In some Ashram Shalas, it was observed that the personal care products provided to students were of inferior quality. “Dangerous overcrowding” of students in some schools with inadequate personal space, due to lack of fixed norms on sharing rooms, was also noted.(Gol, 2013-2014). A recent evaluation of facilities in 9 states clearly found them wanting in terms of following the Right to Education (RTE) 2009 and infrastructure norms (NUEPA 2013). In an Ashram school (Girls) in Warangal (Telangana), a surprise inspection visit revealed that the Warden did not maintain medical records properly and that the number of students present was falsely mentioned as 499, while only 134 were present in the campus (Newswala, 2014). The Directorate of Evaluation in Gujarat noted that Ashram schools under the State’s Department of Tribal Affairs faced serious neglect, with only Rs. 600 being spent on food, clothing, stationary, etc. It also pointed out that 92 per cent of Ashram schools did not have security guards.

Although a large number of Ashram schools provide schooling to children in areas affected by Left Wing Extremism (LWE), there are no specific guidelines for infrastructure facilities in these schools. In the LWE affected areas, large numbers of children including girls are enrolled in residential schools. In Chhattisgarh itself, the State has provisioned for around 30,000 displaced children through this and other similar facilities. However, there are a number of issues that need urgent attention - physical facilities, basic water and sanitation, child protection, adult care, and supervision

of children in these camps. Although one acknowledges the difficulty of infrastructure development in the area, the need for a sensitive planning that ensures basic standards cannot be underscored enough. (Menon, 2010). International works in conflict areas have begun to specify norms for safe and protective learning environment for schools and other education facilities that can be referred to for guidance (INEE 2012).

KGBV Evaluation Study (Gol, 2009) observed that in many states, KGBVs were being run in rented spaces. Out of six sample states, four had very poor infrastructural facilities. In Assam, it was found that the government had rented a building where there were inadequate toilets and insufficient space. The study also reported that budgets provided for construction of building were insufficient in the states of Uttarakhand, Tripura and Jammu & Kashmir. A 2007 KGBV Evaluation observed that ‘the condition of the building, sanitation and availability of toilets and maintenance of buildings remain big issues’. Design inadequacies in the new buildings, for example, kitchen not being provided with storage facilities, platforms, chimney, absence of activity room for girls, libraries in the hostels, teachers’ rooms, labs, store rooms, etc. have been pointed out by evaluations(Gol, 2013b).

The review and evaluation reports point out that despite similar allocations and norms, the actual situation pertaining to physical infrastructure, space and facilities is uneven in different states and there are variations even within the same state (Jha, Saxena, & C.V.Baxi, 2001; Tögel, 2013). This was evident in the site visits as well. While toilets existed in all KGBVs, running water was an issue in KGBVs visited in Gaya in Bihar, Ranchi in Jharkhand and Ajmer in Rajasthan. The reasons varied from faulty design and seepage, to paucity of water. KGBV in Bundu block in Ranchi was not moving to the new building because of the water related issues.



Addition of hostels for girls in grades IX and X to KGBV hostels in many states either under RMSA or as the state initiative without commensurate funding, has also adversely affected the ratio of facilities to users in KGBVs. This was reported by the KGBV evaluation (GOI 2013) and confirmed during site visits. Jharkhand, which has excellent collaboration with RMSA, as the state government has provided funds for adding grades IX to XII and building additional hostel facilities, also provided an example where KGBV girls are suffering because of no clear additional allocations for recurrent expenditure for additional number of girls. Site visits to two KGBVs showed that girls were sharing beds and the higher grades girls were given preference in the use of beds, as a result of which the girls in grades VI to VIII had to sleep on the floor.

The evaluations studies as well as site visits have raised issues related to cleanliness and hygiene. The first KGBV national evaluation (GOI 2009) had identified cleanliness/hygiene as a significant issue in Uttarakhand. It was found out that there was improper ventilation, spaces were cramped and the situation was further exacerbated by shortage of toilets and difficulties in accessing water. The evaluation team observed that in one KGBV in Chhattisgarh, girls were going to the nearby pond to take bath and wash clothes. Many girls were having gastro-intestinal problems. In West Bengal and Tripura, sanitary towels were not being supplied to the girls and menstrual hygiene was not given adequate attention. The lack of adequate storage facility was also reported. Site visits also suggested that there is variation across schools and cleanliness is an issue in places where teacher supervision is poor.

Wide variations exist in terms of space, infrastructure and access to facilities in the NGO run programmes. Local terrain and topography, resource availability and management, all these put together determine

the type of infrastructure. Programmes like Kedi Residential School for Tribal Girls provide exclusive class rooms whereas most others, especially those offering accelerated learning programmes use the dormitory space for both living and teaching.

A study based on visit to Balika Shikshan Shivirs in Rajasthan observed that considerable variation existed in terms of facilities and security, cleanliness and overall environment for learning. (V. Ramachandran, Pal, M. and Mahajan, V, 2004). The site visit to VTCL (Mysore, Karnataka) revealed that the school had separate well-designed and well-built classrooms and living spaces though cleanliness remained an issue. Pillows and mattresses meant for children did not have any covers, and storage appeared to be an issue. However, purified drinking water was available in both school and hostel premises. at VTCL Many states face power shortage and that also impacts access to water. The site visits suggested that most schools had generators. One good practice observed was the use of solar lighting facility in the KGBV in Bodhgaya (Bihar) and the provision for solar lamps to girls for studying in the night in the KGBVs in Jharkhand.

Libraries are an important facility, if used properly, for determining the quality of learning. As evident from Table 12, schools under all schemes have provisions for libraries and those having grades IX and above also have provisions for laboratories. However, the libraries vary from a collection of books locked up in an almirah that is rarely opened, to creative use of books and resources to facilitate learning (GOI 2009, GOI 2013, Site visits). Among the schools visited, VLTC was the only school where the library was used actively and creatively. The libraries either remained unused or used for very limited purposes in the remaining schools / institutions. The section on curricular and evaluation approaches discusses this aspect at greater length.

4.2. Health, Food and Nutrition

The practice of periodic health checks is common to most residential schooling programmes. JNVs and KGBVs appear to be more regular in organizing periodic health checks and taking remedial steps. Site visits confirmed that most schools maintained a first aid kit along with medicines used in common cold and fever, and had some system of having a doctor on call. This was true for schools in both State and non-State sectors, as well as for those running full time schools or imparting accelerated learning courses. However, it was also observed that some schools were prompt while others were lax in making alternative arrangements in case the normal arrangements face any limitation. For instance, in KGBV Bodhgaya (Bihar) where a doctor from the local PHC used to visit the school every month, but had not visited since November 2013, no alternative arrangement was made till July 2014.

In contrast, health of students has emerged as a major concern in Ashram schools. A PIL in Maharashtra (Nambiar, 2013) had noted that posts of staff meant to ensure good health for students in Ashram schools remained unfilled even 15 years after the posts were created. Similar observations were made by the evaluation team for Ashram Shalas (Gol, 2013-2014). Death of 793 tribal students over the last decade in Maharashtra alone was attributed to negligence by staff in Ashram schools. Snake bites, scorpion bites, fever and illnesses have been cited as main reasons for these deaths. Parliamentary Standing Committee report 2014 has taken special note of this. The committee also observed that sub-standard food and inferior quality personal products were being provided to students in some schools.

Nutritious food is even more important than health care when it comes to girls' overall

growth and health. It is especially important as majority of the girls come from disadvantaged situations and are likely to have suffered from various deficiencies. In this context, an incident narrated by one key informant pertaining to one child withdrawn from an Ashram school in MP is worth reporting: the mother said she withdrew her son from Ashram school because 'the child was getting used to eating two meals everyday and this could pose a problem for the family who would not be able to afford the same in post-school years.'¹⁷

KGBV evaluation teams visiting different states in 2013 came across students (most of whom were from socially and economically disadvantaged sections of society) who complained of persistent hunger and inadequacy of food. The evaluation also provides a possible explanation in terms of the low per child maintenance cost of Rs 900 per month (revised since then), which is also used to provide meals for the teaching and non-teaching staff members, affecting the quantum of food available for children. Many evaluation team members expressed concern and shock at the situation they encountered in some of the KGBVs visited – there was an instance where girls were beaten up for complaining that they were hungry, or where children were not given any lunch because the Mid-Day Meal (MDM) was not provided on some days (like sports day) in the school (Gol, 2013b).

The issue of sub-standard food being served at Ashram schools was raised by the Standing Committee (GOI 2013-14) and low budgetary allocation is reported to be one of the reasons. In a study by Gayatri Agayya Jakkan (2014) on JNVs in Maharashtra, it was found that 70 per cent of the students were not satisfied by the nutrition of food provided in their schools. This is noteworthy as JNVs have the best per student allocation for food among all such schemes. In contrast, the programmes like Udaan and Kedi residential schools for tribal

¹⁷ Sharada Jain, Sandhan personal Interview held in October 2014.



children are reported to have given special emphasis on providing balanced and nutritious food to girls.

While the review reports have generally been critical on the task of providing adequate and nutritious food, the site visits and key informant interviews largely portrayed a positive picture, albeit with some exceptions. In all the institutions visited, food was served according to the pre-decided chart. Staff and students ate the same food in the common dining hall. Milk was served daily in all schools and the food served was simple yet nutritious in most cases. Most schools have tried to integrate local nutritious food in the menu, e.g., chana-gur, sprouts with jagery, being provided every day in both KGBVs and MSKs in Bihar and Jharkhand. Sprout sambhar and multigrain rotis, rice and coconut chutney were served to students in VTLC, Karnataka on the day of the visit. The divergence between observations can be taken as reflective of the wide variations that exist when it comes to the quality and quantity of food being served in schools.

Students in all the schools visited, said that 'food' was one item that they liked most. It was fairly evident that children were happy with both the quality and quantity of food in most places. Complaints pertaining to inadequacy of food provided, came up only in one KGBV during site visits where some girls pointed out that they remained hungry longer as 'a particular cook does not respond to their requests and yell at them for everything'. It is possible that children themselves view food as 'good' because what they get is more regular and 'better' than what they usually get in their homes though the quantity and quality is not always adequate going by defined nutritional standards.

Sports and exercises, being important for good health, are regular activities in KGBVs, though not necessarily so in Ashram schools or JNVs. For instance, the Directorate of Evaluation in

Gujarat observed that Ashram schools did not have any extra-curricular activities like sports or science fairs. (Dave, 2012). The site visit to Ashram school in Telangana, however, contradicted this, as girls reported easy access to sports facilities, and the same were part of their daily routine. Girls were taught tae kwon do (for self-defence) and yoga in classes VI and VII in the JNV that was visited in Karnataka but these classes were being outsourced as this was not part of the JNV system. These were being funded and managed through the Parents Teachers Council. Children were taught yoga and meditation at VTCL (Mysore, Karnataka).

Focus on sports and regular exercises is much more visible in KGBVs, though the emphasis varies from place to place. Going by site visits, the emphasis appeared to be much more on sports, both in terms of daily routine and participation in district / state level meets in Bihar and Jharkhand as compared to Rajasthan. KGBV girls are majorly represented in district, and state teams in Jharkhand. Bihar cited the lack of funds as a major impediment for sending girls to sports meet at different levels. Girls in KGBVs and MSKs in these two states reported enthusiastically about the daily sports routine of morning and evening which they rigorously followed and hugely enjoyed.

Emphasis on yoga, regular exercises and sports in KGBVs, wherever existent, has its roots in MS and a number of other NGO led Accelerated Learning programmes (ALP). MS uses these for realizing self-worth and the importance of enjoyment for women who had never experienced it, nor had any time for themselves. Udaan (CARE) uses sports for strengthening skills of team work, strategic decision making and also breaking gender stereotypes (Jha, J and Gulati, K. 2004). When girls learn cycling and play football in areas where this is otherwise not common, it helps a great deal in breaking the gender perceptions about what is feminine and what is masculine.

4.3. Safety and Security

Safety and security of girls, and also of boys, emerges as a major concern in residential schools. Despite the fact that many cases of abuse and incidents of harassment do not even get reported, newspaper reports have often carried stories of abuses in residential schools in all parts of the country. Almost all evaluation reports refer to this as a neglected and serious issue. The latest KGBV Evaluation (Gol, 2013b) observed 'that many KGBVs visited had male staff members living inside or have unrestricted

access to the hostel and even to the rooms occupied by the students'. There was one case where men from a local CRPF camp were focusing flashlights into the hostel, and another case where district/block officials came in and out of the hostel at all times, and yet another case where the NGO coordinator of the project lived inside KGBV (he was neither a warden, nor a teacher or a guard). In one instance, there was a men's club on the road opposite a KGBV. The girls were frightened by the loud noise of drunken men outside their hostel after dark' (Gol, 2013b).

Table 13: Sex-wise distribution of teachers and non-teaching staff in institutions visited

Institution	Teachers		Non-teaching staff		Total	Residing in school
	Male	Female	Male	Female		
Ashram School, Thadvai, Warangal, Telangana	14	17	6	10	47	15 11F + 4M
KGBV Bodhgaya, Gaya, Bihar	0	6	0	4	10	6 (all female)
KGBV Bundu, Ranchi, Jharkhand*	1	4	3	7	19	5 4F + 1M
KGBV Naamkumb, Ranchi, Jharkhand*	2	3	3	5	20	4 (all female)
KGBV Tazibi, Ajmer Rajasthan		6	1	3	10	9 8F and 1M
MSK, Gaya, Bihar	0	1	0	3	4	all
JNV Doddaballapur, Karnataka	20	9	9	5	43	all
VTCL, Mysore, Karnataka	18	5	13	0	36	13 5F + 8M

* These schools have been extended to grades 12th. Therefore they have seven classes from grade VI to XII. The secondary sections are almost entirely taught by guest teachers, who are usually retired teachers from Government schools.

Presence of males in all-girls' residential schools has been raised as a safety concern by many. Panda (1996) pointed out that the number of male teachers in Odisha's Ashram schools outnumbered female teachers. Similarly, male teachers far outnumber female teachers in JNV and VTCL visited in Karnataka, but the number of females was higher for Ashram school visited in Telangana. VLTC shared their concern regarding difficulty of locating well-qualified women teachers, and therefore they are now hiring girls who have passed out of their own school and D.Ed college.

Complete absence of safety and security norms for Ashram schools was pointed out as a critical issue in a consultation organized by National Commission for Protection of Child Rights (NCPCR, 2014). In Maharashtra, death of a 12 year old girl in an Ashram school under inexplicable circumstances had prompted a complete check of all the Ashram schools in the state (Sonawala, 2013). Ashram Schools' review committee recommended that teachers/wardens/hostel superintendents, especially for schools in naxal-affected areas, need to be imparted proper training and sensitisation.



As stated earlier, snake bites and scorpion bites have also been reported, bringing attention to the lack of safety norms in these institutions. Even in the elite JNVs, cases of sexual harassment have been reported of (Tol, 2014). The documentation for NGO run initiatives are either silent or critical of the existing arrangements when it comes to the issue of safety and security of girls. Since majority of these are located either in small, rented spaces or in NGO premises, the situation varies from place to place.

Field observations from the site visits confirmed that though some institutions are more thoughtful in planning for safety and security, safety related concerns did not appear to be a priority. JNV emerged as the only scheme with definite system for addressing the safety and security related concerns. During the site visit it was found that the JNV Doddaballapur (Karnataka) follows a system of 14-point safety protocol that includes monthly fumigation in the campus, regulated entry at the gates, locking dormitory during the day and school building during the night, nominating counselors to counsel emotionally disturbed children and monthly updating of children's medical records (Jawahar Navodaya Vidyalaya, 2014). Monthly compliance report is also prepared on the same. There have been no cases of missing children from this school. One teacher is deputed on alert (Master on Duty – MoD) on rotational basis to oversee safety concerns. However, a recent study undertaken to review the need and the nature of counselling services required in JNVs, highlights how the concern with safety converts itself into strong 'discipline' oriented approach, which further complicates the matters as it fails to develop a culture of 'responsibility and trust' (UNFPA 2014).

All KGBVs have guards. Bihar and Jharkhand have armed women guards whereas Rajasthan

has male guards. They are reported to be often walking in the living premises for no reasons in some KGBVs¹⁸. The MSK in Bihar also had only armed women guards. Having a women guard is a conscious decision taken for a variety of reasons: 'there is no difference in one armed man or woman, a man can also only do as much as a woman can in a situation that demands quick response. But the presence of a woman as a guard helps in avoiding other possibilities of abuse or harassment, and also helps in countering the gender stereotype'¹⁹.

All schools including KGBVs visited had the rest rooms on the same floor, meaning girls do not have to walk far in the night, but in some cases these were not functional due to water related issues; this confirmed the observations made by the evaluation team (GOI 2013). Students are taught self-defence techniques (such as Judo and Karate) and safety practices in Bihar and Jharkhand. The MS influence on KGBV was obvious in the choices made in these two states. MS in Bihar has been known for its emphasis on training women for self-defence. These KGBVs are run by MS in Bihar and though these are run by SSA in Jharkhand, MS has played an important role in the training of teachers and wardens.

All site-visit schools follow the norm of having gates locked at particular hours. Jharkhand also faces the Naxal issue but KGBVs have apparently never faced any problem. Girls in KGBV in Jharkhand are also trained to use fire-extinguisher. One particular KGBV located in a building with open terrace faced the problem of some boys trying to enter the premise through the terrace; this was resisted by students and teachers by simply chasing them away! The girls also reported an incident of a girl running away from one KGBV. But none of these has led to any systemic effort in developing and following a safety protocol anywhere.

¹⁸ Shobhita Rajgopal, Personal Interview held in October 2014

¹⁹ Urmila, Personal Interview held in August 2014

VTCL (Mysore, Karnataka) deputed four teachers every day on a rotational basis to oversee all arrangements including those for security. Rest-rooms are built next to the dormitories. Though there is no prescribed protocol for safety, children are taught safe practices including the handling of equipments such as fire extinguishers and solar fencing. No school included in site-visits had emergency staircases. Snake bites and scorpion bites are common in forest / tribal areas. One girl had dropped out due to fear of recurrence of scorpion bite in one KGBV in Jharkhand. But this has not been taken seriously. Such incidents appeared to be common in Ashram schools but JNVs did not report any such incident.

It is important to mention in this context that residential schools are emerging as a safe place for girls in the extremist movement, i.e., naxalite areas. This was clear during site visits in both Bihar and Jharkhand, where these KGBVs are located in such areas. Interestingly, the teachers and other staff also feel that they are safe, as they have the support of all: the naxalites, the police, and the communities. It was reported that the district administration in West Singhbhum (Jharkhand) had decided to open Ashram schools in the Maoist affected Saranda-Porahat region to prevent children from poor households joining the rebel groups (Sridhar, 2014). This was also confirmed that 'the state governments in other Naxalite states such as Chhattisgarh, Maharashtra, Odisha also view this as an appropriate intervention for the reasons of safety'²⁰.

4.4. Day-to-day living for Students and Teachers

How particular physical facilities, health norms, food and safety measures covert themselves into the daily life of a resident, and how these experiences aid learning in a residential setting,

is what defines the living experience of a learner. Residential schools were advocated for the most marginalised girls for 'the possibility and potential for providing diverse learning opportunities, having fun with the peer group and experiences of joy and excitement to counter the experiences of disadvantaged lives and opening up avenues for aspirations, dreams and resolves'²¹.

Whether the day to day management practices allow for diverse learning opportunities in a joyous environment or not is the question that needs to be answered in this case. The literature suggests that KGBVs and NGO-led initiatives are relatively better in having management practices in a manner that learning becomes integrated to the whole living experience as compared to Ashram schools where the management is reported to be poor or JNVs where the management is too rigid. The site visits confirmed this.

Bal Sansad/Children's Parliament/ children committee was a common phenomenon in KGBVs and VTCL that ensured participation of children in administering the school. Different groups of children are either elected or selected, and made responsible, usually on rotation basis, for different duties such as cleaning, gardening, kitchen help, issuing books in the library, monitoring health, sports, etc. These are also the forums where children get to discuss issues concerning them and then represent them to the teachers, wardens or Principals. However, variation were observed in terms of how well and effectively this is done; this got reflected in the general cleanliness observed in the schools, the use of library and sports facilities, and in children's responses to various questions. A mess committee with representation of students and teachers exist in the JNV that was visited. No such committee existed in the Ashram school visited in Telangana.

²⁰ Vibha Puri Das, Personal Interview held in August 2014

²¹ Sharda Jain (from the personal interview held on 27.10.2014)



An important concern in the context of engaging children in managing the school is whether this is a means of educating children through diverse experiences and improving their self confidence in the process, or these are simple means of involving children in work and hampering their education by taking away their study or play times. The difference is thin and it is easy for such activities to slip into a situation that is exploitative rather than empowering.

A related question is whether all girls are involved in all kinds of tasks or girls from particular social groups (e.g., dalits) are engaged in cleanliness and so on. The evidence is thin but what emerges is that NGO run programmes running one or very few schools have been successful in making these experiences rigorous yet enjoyable and inspiring (Jha and Gulati 2004, Ramachandran 2004, Ranganathan and Singh, 2012). The situation widely varies in large programmes like KGBVs. Real caution, sensitisation and a deep understanding of inclusion as well as feminist ideologies is needed to understand situations dealing with girls coming from sections that have faced discrimination for centuries (GOI 2013, Kumar and Gupta 2008, AIAMAM 2014). A linked question in the co-educational setting would relate to distribution of tasks between girls and boys. Not much evidence is available from the literature; however, during site visit to JNVs it was noticed that both girls and boys were given the responsibilities such as cleaning the classroom in rotation.

An important debate regarding residential schooling of children at early age, points to the undesirability of making children leave their home and parents at an early age. 'In general, residential schools may not always be a good idea because it involves living away from home and in an environment that may not always be culturally sensitive to students'²². Almost all documentations and evaluations have referred

to 'the problem faced in getting girls adjusted to the new life in the initial phase'. The site visits revealed that active support from older girls coupled with sensitive handling by teachers / wardens/ principals help in overcoming this. This implies that teachers need to have the skills of a counsellor and pre-supposes an engaging and trusting relationship between teachers and students. Teacher training in programmes like Udaan have integrated these elements in their teacher development approaches (Ranganathan and Singh 2012) but it is not necessarily the case with all schemes.

While teachers/managers in all institutions visited including KGBVs, JNVs, MSKs and VTLC showed greater appreciation of this need and a sensitive approach in handling the issue, it was not clear if they have had any particular training or exposure in dealing with this issue in a professional manner. Some JNV documents mentioned planning for special efforts to reach out to students who are 'emotionally unstable' but it is not evident how it is done. There is no systematic support available even in Ashram schools to enable children to overcome emotional issues. This could also be an important reason for children dropping out but one cannot say with certainty in the absence of clear evidences. Nevertheless, it is clear that teachers are seldom well-trained to deal with all the issues faced by young children; this being especially a cause of concern for Ashram schools as they often start at primary level and therefore get much younger children who remain away from their families.

A related issue is that of girls dropping out before completion of the course. It is not possible to have definite data on drop outs but the site visits indicated that every school experiences discontinuation of at least one or two, in some cases more, girls every year. Marriage was the most common reason, followed by lack of persuasion from parents to send their children back after vacations. In the

²² Vimala Ramachandran, Personal Interview



case of VTCL (Mysore, Karnataka), if children stay back at home after vacation, teachers go and bring them back to school; this is a budgeted activity every year. Similarly, children who go missing from the premises due to non interest are also followed up and brought back to school. Such provisions do not exist elsewhere though teachers in KGBVs and MSKs do talk to parents in their monthly visits.

Lack of interest, migration, home sickness, and fear of incidents like snake / scorpion bites are also the reasons for dropping out. Drop outs from MSK and KGBV in Bihar were also reported to be due to ill health or death of a family member. The need for care work at home is also a common reason for girls' withdrawal from schools, even in non-residential settings.

Lack of opportunities for post elementary education in KGBVs is a common reason why children drop out (GOI 2013, Site visits). The RMSA's efforts to build hostels for girls enrolled in secondary schools in the KGBV premises has helped in addressing this issue to some extent but it has led to various other issues of managing (GOI 2013). As stated earlier, in Jharkhand, where the state has extended the KGBV school itself to higher grades and provided additional funds for building and other school facilities such as library and laboratory, the girls in lower grades are being forced to share the living arrangements.

Two other issues, somewhat related to the day-to-day experience of the girls are: (i) whether the concentration of girls from the same or similar communities lead to ghettoization and therefore further marginalisation, (ii) whether single sex settings are leading to a particular kind of socialisation that further reinforces the prevalent gender images and roles.

'If we carefully look at the demographic profile of KGBV students, we realise that they already have a vast resource of diverse experiences. There are several communities within the large umbrella of SCs. Similarly, the differences

in tribal groups of the same area are a demographically accepted fact. The cultural beliefs of religious minorities are greatly different from other two groups. The inherent plurality of OBCs is evident from the term and it indicates diversity in the experiences of the girls coming from that background (Kumar and Gupta 2008)'. The site visits also lent weight to the argument that KGBVs are not really leading to any kind of ghettoization; in fact it was clear that girls from different communities were able to be friends and in the process were breaking a number of prevalent social barriers.

Available literature does not delve much into the issue of single sex space in the context of residential schooling. However, a number of NGOs and MS staff articulated the rationale of developing a sense of collective identity and the ability to critically examine gender roles among girls, but this was not necessarily true for all teachers including those positioned in the MS run KGBVs.

MSK and KGBV teachers in Bihar, however, had a better understanding of the importance of a gender perspective as compared to teachers in other institutions. As we will discuss later, prevalence of gender stereotyped vocational courses in single-sex environment are also leading to reinforcement of prevalent gender images in some cases. What emerges, therefore, is that how single space is used is more important in shaping the images than the fact that the school is single-sex or not. Co-education is perceived as a safety risk in Ashram schools and JNVs because of the possible sexual attractions; the JNVs visited even discourage interactions between boys and girls. This attitude and approach had adversely affected the learning and empowerment potentials of Ashram and JNV schools- this will be discussed at a later stage.

On the whole, despite certain limitations and challenges, students in most sites that were visited expressed joy and happiness about being able to play every day, and loved their time spent with peers in singing, dancing and



gardening. Also, both students and teachers expressed the experience of independently living and managing as empowering. And teachers identified the enhanced self-confidence and changed self-image as the biggest change that they have noticed in children. This was more visible in KGBVs and VTLC as compared to other sites visited. This confirms the observations made earlier that the residential setting itself generates experiences that are valuable for girls from marginalised groups as they are not likely to have those otherwise.

However, it is important to add that this does not preclude the fact that the day-to-day experiences can be made much more enriching; while the girls in JNVs had access to better facilities, but the focus on building independent and changed gender perception was missing. On the other hand, the girls in KGBVs had minimal of facilities but there was greater emphasis on self-dependent. This issue will be discussed in greater detail at a later stage.

The Teachers

The principals, wardens and teachers have a major responsibility of managing the day to day affair of a residential school. The responsibilities are huge and the demand on their time is big. The duties start early in the morning and end at night when students go to bed. The responsibilities include maintenance of hostel security, mess, administrative tasks, teaching and overseeing personal hygiene of the residents, cleaning of the premises, gardening, sports, supervising teaching in post school hours, and so on. A number of studies on Ashram schools and KGBVs have suggested that all these leave very little time to prepare for their lessons or work on new teaching-learning materials (Panda (1996), GOI 2013, NUEPA 2013). During site visits, teachers in all schools complained about not being able to give any time to their own families or any other pursuit.

Table 14: Number, Qualifications and Salaries for teachers in Site-Institutions

	Ashram school, Thadvai, Telangana	JNV, Bangalore Rural, Karnataka	KGBV Gaya (M III)	KGBV, Bundu, Jharkhand	KGBV Naamkumb, Jharkhand	KGBV Ajmer, Rajasthan	VTCL, Mysore, Karnataka	MSK, Gaya, Bihar
Number of students	581	544[^]	99	232	250	113	425	38
No. of teachers	31	29	3	9	12	6	23	2
Permanent teachers	11	25	0	0	0	2	15	0
Contract teachers	10	4	3	5 + 4 [#]	4 + 9 [#]	4	7	2
Teachers Graduate	X	29	3	5	4	6	X	1
Teachers with PG	X	22	0	3	4	5	X	0
Teachers with B.Ed.	X	8	1	3	4	6	X	1
Salary Permanent	14,850 -39,590	40,000 -55,000				27000		NA
Salary Contract	X	X	6,000 - 11,000	8,000 - 16,000	10,500 -17,000	6500- 9000	6,000 - 25,000	5000

[^]including 11 children of staff

^{*} from among the 4 permanent teachers who participated in the focus group discussion

[#]guest teachers. The secondary classes are run almost entirely by hiring guest teachers in KGBV Jharkhand (numbers indicated separately). They are usually paid 150 per day (handle two classes per day)

X: Information not provided. The principals in both Ashram school and VTLC did not provide the teacher wise details but claimed that all teachers at all levels fulfill the norms of having basic educational and professional requirements at respective stages.

In this context, it becomes important to examine the norms for appointment and payments. If the number of teachers is large, the burden can be shared more efficiently and if the payments are adequate, it could help in keeping the motivation levels high. Unfortunately, there are wide variations across schemes, and JNVs and EMRS are much better provided for as compared to KGBVs. A comparative perusal of norms shows this inequality, and the site visits confirmed this variation. Even Ashram schools appear to be well-provided for in terms of the number of both teaching and non-teaching staff (Table 13) as compared to KGBVs.

KGBVs (Model I) are handled by five to six teachers who have all the responsibilities of teaching as well as managing everything else including additional supervisor studies, sports, food, health, gardening, reporting, parents contact, security and so on. The work load is high and the compensations are extremely low. Repeated national KGBV evaluations have highlighted this issue. Although the situation varies from state to state, but the situation remains worrying in most places except states like Karnataka where regular teachers are being placed in KGBVs. The teachers in the KGBVs (including model III where there are only 3 teachers) visited are working for a monthly salary of 6000-11000 for the last six to eight years. They receive no other benefit and have no protection: no paid or earned leave, no paid maternity leave, no health benefit. This undoubtedly adversely affects their motivation.

KGBVs in Bihar are facing a particular problem; because of a legal case, teachers had not received their salary for the last seven months at the time of the site visit.²³ In Jharkhand, the teachers clearly expressed their unwillingness to take up the additional responsibility of warden, as it 'amounts to a lot of additional

workload and dealing with political interference in admissions without any support from the system'.

Teachers' salaries are also low in the NGO sector. CARE supported Udaan pays between Rs. 6,000-18,000 per month depending upon seniority. The teachers at VTCL were paid according to the number of years of experience and their performance that is continually supervised by the Head Master and the School Manager. But, the performance appraisal criteria were not very clear. Their salaries ranged between 6,000 and 25,000. The teachers teaching Science, Mathematics and English were paid more than those teaching other subjects like Kannada, Hindi and the Social Sciences. The rationale for this difference was not explained though this could probably be due to lack of availability of well-qualified teachers in those areas. However, it ends up in privileging these subjects and it also got reflected in students' aspirations. Barring a few, all students, both boys and girls interacted with (grade IX) in VTCL expressed their desire to be either a doctor or an engineer.

Concern for their own children's study also looms large on teachers' minds. The field interactions suggested that a number of teachers leave behind their own children with relatives and suffer from a sense of guilt for not being 'responsible mothers'. A number of them also keep their young kids with themselves and although there is no formal provision, this seemed to be a good practice in terms of teachers being more relaxed, but at the same time, in the absence of any institutional arrangement or help, it prevented these teachers from taking additional responsibilities, e.g., of a warden. The absence of private living space for teachers also emerged as an issue which has also been highlighted earlier by evaluation reports.

²³ All except a few KGBVs (Model III – only hostel) are run by Mahila Samakhya in Bihar. The case apparently relates to the recruitment process by Mahila Samakhya where the emphasis is much more on the understanding of the local context, languages and women's issues, and the process of recruitment was through identification of persons rather than a public announcement through an advertisement. This was reported by teachers and Mahila Samakhya personnel.



JNVs are best placed in terms of teacher provisioning; by virtue of being central government institutions. Following Central Board of School Examinations (CBSE) norms, they have more qualified and higher paid staff at all levels. Although they felt burdened with non-academic duties and found the life in the campus as monotonous (Gayatri Agayya Jakkan (2014), it was only in JNV that the teachers were given incentives to handle the additional responsibilities. They were also given special allowances in terms of holidaying. Unlike all other schools visited, including the NGO run VTLC, teachers at JNVs had no worries about their children's education as they could be admitted in those very schools, without any admission test. This reflects a careful planning

and response to teachers' needs - an essential element for maintaining their motivation and accountability. Though some concerns have been expressed in terms of having a large number of contract teachers, Gayatri Agayya Jakkan (2014) finds that most of the teachers of JNVs in Maharashtra were Post Graduate Trained teachers recruited on a contractual basis. This does not seem to be universally true (4 out of 29 teachers were on contract in the JNV visited in Karnataka) and this arrangement helps them to have adequate number of teachers to deal with time the recruitment process takes. EMRS follows most of the JNV norms though details are not accessible in the public domain.



LEARNING, EMPOWERMENT AND INFLUENCE



Learning, Empowerment and Influence

The need for a comprehensive curriculum for girls from most marginalised sections has been articulated clearly in the context of MSK and other similar initiatives. Integration of gender perspectives in content areas and delivery processes, taking note of the social, economic and cultural experiences, differentiates it from other initiatives. International experiences delving into such aspects as male underachievement in school education has also pointed out the need for integrating gender perspective in all curriculums, for boys as well as those who do not necessarily come from the most marginalised sections. (Jha and Kelleher, 2006).

The space and possibility for integrating gender perspectives leading to empowerment and more equal gender relations are greater in residential schools, simply because children are also living here together. They have, therefore, more time available as also the potential for learning about diverse experiences of various kinds. An important aspect of residential schools is 'to create a transformative experience for girls where they move from a life of subsistence to a life of leisure, care and nurturance'²⁴. The depth and diversity of learning experiences is what is cited as the unique selling point - USP - by votaries of residential school as a desirable choice for girls' education and empowerment.

5.1. Teaching-Learning and Evaluation Approaches

As pointed out earlier, information on different schemes and initiatives is uneven, which acts as a limitation in having a clear and comprehensive understanding of the approaches present therein, and therefore, the analysis remains limited to that extent. Having said that, what the analysis suggests is that while KGBVs, by design, have a diversified and comprehensive learning curriculum that integrates empowerment with subject learning, the same is not true for either Ashram schools or JNVs. What emerges is that though the delivery is widely varied in case of KGBVs, it is not anywhere close to its potential, the conceptualization itself is leading to an empowering experience for girls in some places despite poor provisioning and poor delivery.

In contrast, despite the lack of articulation of having a comprehensive curriculum focusing on transformation, significantly better provisioning in JNVs has the potential for creating an empowering experience for girls, though it is severely limited because of the lack of a guiding framework and heavy emphasis on 'discipline'. Ashram schools suffer on both counts: they have neither the advantage of better provisioning nor there has been any articulation of clear education goals for girls,

²⁴ DiptaBhog, Personal Interview held in August 2014



or for boys, coming from socio-economic disadvantaged and often physically isolated sections of the society. In addition, students in Ashram schools also face alienation because of insensitive imposition of the 'mainstream' language, cultural norms and ethos.

Residential schools are a microcosm of the larger school system, and they mirror the same quality related issues as other schools. The KGBV evaluations reinforce this observation. KGBV Evaluation (Gol, 2007) observed that in most states the teaching, learning and assessment processes remained textbook oriented and not very different from formal schools. The report observed that KGBVs largely were not utilising the residential context creatively for learning 'by integrating the non-academic with the academic'. It was observed that even in cases where the state had developed a bridge course that was in use in other programmes, the course was not used in KGBVs.

The teachers were also not offered in-service training or orientation in assessment, classroom teaching methodologies or accelerated learning techniques. In particular, the evaluation expressed concern that even highly innovative and empowering approach of Mahila Samakhyas was filtered in KGBVs run by MS in Karnataka. Similar observations were made again by the 2009 national evaluation report. Kumar (2008) argued that KGBVs use 'the same curricula which has no vision or understanding of girls' life and the role of education in their growth'. He observes that this 'indifference to pedagogic issues' is a serious impediment in the success of KGBV's reach and impact.

The KGBV Evaluation undertaken in 2013 observed that the vocational courses and classroom transactions were gender stereotypical and lacked professional planning (Gol, 2013b). The NCERT study on KGBVs in Uttar Pradesh reported that only MS run KGBVs had vocational courses that questioned prevailing gender stereotypes (motor repairing,

book binding, cycle repairing, self-defence, etc.); others were mainly limited to tailoring (NCERT, 2010). Site visits largely confirmed this observation and also suggested an increased tendency towards centralization, therefore adversely affecting local ideas and freedom.

In MS administered KGBVs in Bihar, MS personnel used to decide what vocational training should be given but that has undergone a change as the state has decided to outsource this component to BBOSS (Bihar Board of Open School and Examination). This means that, now, it is life skills for class VI, sewing for class VII, and computers for class VIII in all KGBVs, whether run by MS or KGBV. In MSK, Bihar where the choice of course is in the hands of MS, the training is usually on vocations with greater potential for enterprise such as painting, dye making, tailoring, soap making and so on.

In Rajasthan, vocational component in KGBVs has been linked with National Institute of Open Schooling (NIOS) whereby all KGBVs serve as AVI (accredited vocational institution). While it is a welcome step as it ensures certification, it also limits the choice of courses and runs the risk of gender stereotyping if not countered consciously. The KGBV in Tabizi, Ajmer ran courses in tailoring and beautician's, and both teachers and students reported satisfaction with the way these teachers came regularly and taught with interest.

However, interactions with the girls suggested that they were not looking at any of these critically and it was clear that nobody, either their own teachers or the vocation course teachers or the resource persons from the NGO that acted as support institution, had engaged them on these issues from a gender perspective. This meant that these courses further strengthened some of the existing notions such as 'girls must look beautiful' and also introduced new ideas that could have undesirable consequences, e.g., 'one has to trim the eyebrows to look beautiful'. On the other hand, the state has taken another step

of providing a set of three computers and a computer teacher to each KGBV in Rajasthan, which is a welcome step, and has been received very well by girls.

KGBV evaluations have expressed concern about learning issues in Model III. 'The situation in most of the Model III KGBVs was quite alarming – as there was little teaching learning happening in the attached schools. The girls were, therefore, entirely dependent on the tutors in the KGBV, who were often very inadequately qualified. In some cases the tutors were not able to handle the load. They had to effectively teach the entire curriculum to the students. In many KGBVs, tutors were not competent to teach mathematics and science. In some instances, teachers from the government upper primary schools were engaged as tutors and were also on the rolls of the KGBVs' (GoI, 2013b).

The site visits presented a similar, yet a little different picture reflecting that the situation is really diverse, and the choice of site can make a difference in the observation. The upper primary school where the KGBV Bodhgaya girls were enrolled came across as a school where teachers were well-qualified and came regularly; they could analyse the profile of their students and acknowledged that supervised teaching in KGBV makes those girls perform better than those who come from outside. The girls in all KGBVs visited could read Hindi well and had basic mathematical abilities.

Balgopalan (2014) raises the issue of KGBVs using the same textbooks which were prepared by the States for government schools without giving attention to the fact that the girls had earlier dropped out from that system, and coming across same books again could intimidate them. A recent KGBV evaluation also made specific recommendations for including multilingual teaching, paying urgent attention to the bridging stage, and innovative, interactive and child-centered teaching methods and material. Need for computer education, trained computer teachers and well equipped libraries were also observed.

Nevertheless, despite the challenges, the fact remains that girls in KGBVs reported higher level of learning than others, as observed by most JRM reports. For instance, the 19th JRM (SSA, 2013) places on record that students living in KGBV hostels fared better than their peers in regular schools. The report gives credit to additional academic support, a stress free environment, provision of appropriate time and space to study, and opportunity to learn from peers as key factors contributing to the success of these students. Sandhan (2014) has also documented the impact which Project Based Learning can make through holistic education. Allowing the girls to understand the utilisation and application of information from various sources, and teachers' role as facilitators in the process also enables them to hone their social and intellectual skills, in addition to academic skills.

Sujatha (1990), Panda (1996) and NUEPA (2013) emphasise the importance of having teachers in Ashram schools, from among the tribal groups because of their cultural connect, sense of belonging and aspirations of tribal children. In Kerala, the tribal students were forced to use Malayalam as against their dialect, which eventually led to drop outs in the school (Kakkoth, 2012). The Parliamentary Standing Committee recommended that tribal teachers from the same community should be recruited while special training should be imparted to non-tribal teachers to help them relate to tribal language, culture and behavioural patterns.

In this context, Kakkoth (2012) recommends that educational planning demands 'cultural ecological approach' with localized decision making that ensured community's participation so that the content must boost their cultural norms rather than belittling them. Veerbhadranika et al (2012) also second this thought as they find that there is total lack of innovative pedagogy in Ashram schools that could help in retaining the positive ethos of the tribal culture and simultaneously create space for the tribal children to be able to relate to the larger world.



Sujatha (1990) and NUEPA (2013) mention about the need to adopt appropriate pedagogy to make curriculum in the Ashram schools relevant for the tribal children, highlighting the need for orienting the curriculum to the tribal life and milieu. Most teachers were non-tribal in the Ashram schools visited in Telangana, but language was not an issue for communication between teachers and students as both spoke Telugu. However, the site visits suggested that the issue of language or the medium of instruction could be an area of concern elsewhere, especially in JNVs. Girls in their interactions with the visiting team to JNV, Mysore identified the medium of instruction as a challenge. NUEPA (2013) cites the examples of two states, Andhra Pradesh and Odisha, adopting the multilingual education as a solution to the issue of children coming from varied backgrounds and having different home languages.

The way vocational or crafts education is organized in Ashram schools is also an area of concern. In Andhra Pradesh, Sujatha (1990) found that though there were classes or periods for work experience or socially useful productive work, the importance of crafts was not realized in these schools. Panda (1996) also laments the lack of vocational education in the Ashram schools in Andhra Pradesh and Rajasthan. In Bihar, too, it was observed that no training was given in arts, crafts or trades in Ashram schools. The Directorate of Evaluation in Gujarat observed that Ashram schools did not have any extra-curricular activities like sports, science fairs, etc. (Dave, 2012). In contrast, NGO run schools such as VTLC give high importance to vocational and craft education. VTLC also sponsors their students' attachment to vocational training institutions.

All KGBVs and Ashram schools follow the respective State Examination Boards prescribed syllabus. This is also true for most NGO run schools including VTLC. However, JNVs follow

CBSE curriculum and the practice of classroom teaching which is preceded by detailed planning and preparatory activities. They also have provision of remedial and supervised tutoring based on internal evaluations. Highly qualified teachers who compulsorily reside in schools, are responsible for these classes as well. Detailed planning is also undertaken for activities related to sports, art education, NCC, Scouts and Guide, security, etc. Some regions develop detailed guidelines for their tests and continuous evaluations. The presence of separate Music teacher, Art teacher and Sports teacher facilitates detailed planning for, training on and participation in activities related to music, art, theater, local performing arts and sports²⁵.

SUPW (Socially Useful Productive Work) is also part of the curriculum in JNVs; gardening was the chosen activity in the JNV, Mysore (site visit). All these help in creating an enabling environment and fostering an all-round development among students, but it needs further inquiry in the shape of well-designed researches and evaluations to know how much of this translates into empowerment and widening of opportunities. The available research, undertaken in the context of examining the counselling services in JNVs, points out to a situation where strict disciplining, reporting to parents and suspension are perceived as the solutions for issues related with adolescence, gender and sexuality; but the notions of positive discipline, sensitive counseling and supportive relationships are either non-existent or weak (UNFPA 2014).

At the secondary and senior secondary levels in the Ashram schools, students face paucity of teachers for particular streams, especially Sciences and Commerce. This is also the case in KGBVs in Jharkhand that have been extended to class XII. For overcoming this situation, JNV has found a solution by

²⁵ Information based on random search of school websites for 4 schools in different regions and a regional Cluster meeting downloaded from the websites.

developing particular streams in one school in the neighborhood and allowing students to migrate, depending on the seats available, i.e., one school in one cluster develops the science stream, while the other could develop humanities or commerce. But, no such arrangement has been reported for Ashram schools or any other school system.

Access to books, other teaching learning materials coupled with the time and opportunities to use those, and capacity to creatively plan and integrate such use in teaching also determines the quality and depth of learning experiences. As stated earlier, although some books are available in the libraries of all KGBVs, it is a limited stock and its use is also very limited. A study conducted on KGBVs in two districts of Bihar (AIDMAM, 2014) reported that students expressed the need to have access to a larger set of books. JNVs have a full-fledged library available but how creatively it is used is not known. In contrast, the use of library was regular and enabling in VLTC.

Inadequacy of teaching aids, text books and other teaching learning materials is a serious cause for concern in Ashram schools (Panda, 1996).

These schools do not use any prescribed textbooks till class IV. Teachers develop their own learning materials for students. The school follows an unstructured curriculum till class IV, a semi structured curriculum from class V to VII, and then an integrated curriculum prescribed by the Government of Karnataka for higher classes. Children are taught to appreciate their culture and also the value of accepting those of others²⁶. The TLM used includes computer, audio-visual aids, radio, TV, projector, posters, cards and magazines. The focus is on encouraging children to question, reflect and form collective identity.

NGO run schools and NGO supported schools also emphasise well-planned exposure visits to various sites (post office, bank etc.) or a nearby historical city or a cinema for watching a film (VTCL site visit, Sandhan supported KGBV Ajmer site visit, Ranganathan, 2005). In VTCL, the activities like nature camps and exposure visits were used as aid to children's learning.

Sandhan, a known education resource agency in Rajasthan, supported well-planned activities of watching a film or an exposure trip to nearby city and using the activity 'for development of a multi-level teaching strategy, creation of learning environment that adopts multi-level teaching techniques, use of multiple texts, library, addressing health issues and creative aspects such as music, dance, drawing, theatre as a part of the curriculum' (Sandhan 2012).

CARE supported Udaan (ALP) and the KGBVs in Gujarat for which it works as a resource agency, also adopts similar strategy. The KGBVs in Bihar and Jharkhand also reported taking girls out for such visits to historical places, planetarium and zoo. But they also expressed the resource constraint with no separate allocation for such trips as a barrier for organising those.

Box 1: Watching Mary Kom: An exciting experience

All girls in KGBV, Tazibi, Ajmer in Rajasthan went to see the film Mary Kom, made on the life of weight lifter from the North-Eastern region of India. Before going to watch the film, they were engaged in several activities: collecting information about Mary Kom, about the North East, about Priyanka Chopra who acts as Mary Kom; trying to understand how a film is appreciated, what aesthetics is and so on. After watching the film, they had discussions and prepared a report that had the narratives of their experience, information about Mary Kom and the North East, their opinion about the film and the aspirations drawn from the film.

Source: CBPS Site visit, (Oct 2014)

²⁶ Bala, Personal Interview, September 2014



KGBVs and Ashram schools visited use textbooks and a few additional materials as teaching aids. The teachers in the JNV visited were allowed to spend three afternoons every week on preparing TLM, without any extra responsibilities coming in the way. Discussions on academic matters, activities and co-curricular activities are extensively discussed during staff meetings. Department wise staff meetings were also held to facilitate the process.

In MSK Gaya (Bihar), teachers prepared TLM using different materials available around the campus with the help of girls. Group learning is focused more with girls divided into groups depending on their levels of learning. Based on the monthly assessment and reported growth, groups are changed or shuffled. Special trainers are also invited to educate the girls on special topics such as vermin compost, tailoring, dance, karate and reproductive health. Legal studies are imparted to older women, with a specific focus on dowry, registering complaints at the police station, female feticide, child marriage and domestic violence etc.

Despite low motivation and routine activities that characterises MSKs in many places, the emphasis on women's empowerment was visible in the MSK visited. KGBVs in Bihar and Jharkhand are using a life skill package, known as Udaan, which has similar elements and the girls everywhere described as 'very enjoyable and educating'.

In a nutshell, JNVs follow a rigid but well planned approach to teaching and co-curricular activities where the gender and empowerment related issues have no place. whereas the emphasis on such issues is high in the KGBV but the implementation quality is highly varied and academic rigour is either absent or weak.

One overarching issue that the KGBV evaluation team (GOI 2013) highlighted is that no-detention policy should not mean no

learning and no assessment. There is also no clarity on the kind or frequency of assessments done in KGBVs. This differs from district to district and also from state to state. In some of the KGBVs visited, the team noticed that KGBV teachers did not understand the concept of learning outcomes.

In the schools visited for validation, it was observed that regular tests (weekly, monthly, term-wise and annual) are the main mode of assessments and evaluation for students and the marks obtained in these tests form the basis for promotion. JNVs and Ashram schools mentioned that Continuous Comprehensive Evaluation (CCE) was being followed, but the probing revealed that CCE was primarily in the form of periodic tests. They have segregated their evaluation into formative and summative assessments. While JNVs conduct tests for both types of assessment (with 30 minutes of activity-based evaluation integrated in the formative assessment), Ashram schools conduct formative assessment through homework and project work. They also have weekly, periodic and annual examinations for summative evaluations.

It was observed that KGBV teachers have not received any specific training for CCE. Though they reported using a variety of methods for assessing progress, it did not come out of any clear evaluation approach. VTLC indicated a wide range of activities such as quizzes, Question & Answer sessions, projects, and surveys that they utilise for evaluation; this, out of all schools visited, emerged as the best example of CCE. MSK also mentioned about grouping of girls with similar learning charts and integrating evaluation aspects in lessons itself. However, lack of requisite training in CCE, rigid school evaluation systems (e.g. indicating marks for formative assessments based on activities/projects) and lack of initiative to upgrade to newer models of evaluations/assessments also affect the quality of learning as promotions based on written tests promote rote learning.

The residential settings are expected to explore different potentials of different girls, and nurture them while appreciating the difference, but this was not visible anywhere. Teachers need a very different kind of training to be able to question their own experiences of subordination at personal, educational and professional spaces, and to develop the competence to identify and appreciate the differences, and nurture those.

5.2. Teacher Training and School Support

Teacher training for teachers in residential schools, especially to fulfill the role of full time mentors, has to be different from that for the day schools. This becomes even more challenging when it comes to gender perception and developing a deeper understanding of equality and equity related issues. A perusal of literature as well as site visits revealed the absence of a comprehensive teacher training strategy except in JNVs where teacher training programmes are arranged by the Navodaya Vidyalaya Samiti (NVS)²⁷ which is an autonomous organization under the Department of School Education & Literacy, MHRD.

Under this programme, teachers are given 21-day induction training on joining. Trainings are organized even during holidays and all teachers attend at least one training every year. Training for teachers is given at the regional, cluster and national levels by the Navodaya Leadership Institutes in every region. In addition, the Samiti also collaborates with other leading institutions such as NCERT and the IIMs to organise training for teachers in JNVs (Kumar and Gupta 2008). Teachers were appreciative of 'classroom management, content enrichment, nature therapy and de-stressing sessions' that were part of these trainings.

National Policy of Education (NPE) 1986 and the Programme for Action Plan, 1992 has accorded priority for establishment of Ashram schools on a large scale. Policy documents favouring Ashram schools expected these schools to develop a cadre of teachers who are much more aware of the local culture, language, traditions, resources, knowledge, and therefore would understand the pedagogic and developmental requirements of tribal children. But these expectations have not been fully met in reality, though some efforts have definitely been made.

NUEPA 2013 reports that on an average, only about one third teachers in Ashram schools in most states (except in Maharashtra) had received any training on local culture and history. Although majority of teachers reported using local examples in their teaching, one has to interpret the self-reporting with caution. It is not an issue of receiving one-time training but a deeper understanding of respecting diverse cultural practices in the pedagogical practices. The available information does not indicate the presence of any such example in Ashram schools, not even in Eklavya Model Residential School.

Mukhopadhyay's (2005) review of eight Eklavya Model Residential Schools in the states of Gujarat, Karnataka, Rajasthan and West Bengal indicates that 'there was little or no localisation with attention to either content and teaching-learning approaches or to the management of the institutions. As with other government schools, the EMRS were sites for routinised teaching-learning in the conventional classroom methods, but with inadequately trained teachers and poorly paid or part-time principals. In his conclusion, Mukhopadhyay indicates that these EMRS now suffer from 'loss of vision resulting in the trivialization of a beautiful concept into ordinariness, losing the meaning of 'model' school for others to emulate.' (Veerbhadrar naika et al (2012))

²⁷ JNVs are run by the Navodaya Vidyalaya Samiti (NVS), which is an autonomous body under the MHRD. NVS has established 8 regions across India that administer and monitor JNVs in their jurisdiction. For instance, the regional office in Chandigarh administers and monitors JNVs in Punjab, Himachal Pradesh, Jammu & Kashmir and Chandigarh.



Teacher training process for KGBV teachers also lacks a clear approach. Successive JRM and KGBV evaluation reports have pointed out the need for having a definite and comprehensive teacher development strategy, especially in view of the fact that 'these children come to school with varied experiences and different learning levels' (KGBV Evaluation, 2007).

All India Dalit Mahila Adhikar Manch (2014), based on a study of two districts in Bihar, observed instances of discrimination against SC girls, and opined that 'to undo years of socialization that ingrains values of subordination amongst Dalit girls, a highly trained and sensitive cadre of teachers is required'. The limited capacity of DIETs in imparting the needed training has also been highlighted by different sources (All India Dalit Mahila Adhikar Manch, 2014; Kumar and Gupta, 2008; GOI, 2013).

Site visits revealed an absence of a clear training strategy based on definite philosophy and goals. Training programmes remain an unconnected series of activities. Often, they are even irregular and unpredictable. They largely depend on SSA's teacher training plans that do not necessarily take the specific needs of residential schools into account. Those with B.Ed. degrees had exposure to certain elements such as the use of Blackboard or some degree of child psychology but these alone are not adequate. The site visits revealed that KGBV teachers in Bihar had not received any training for the last three years, whereas those in Jharkhand had not received any training in the last one year.

While the government programmes largely appear to be fighting the issues related with scale and bureaucracy, some NGOs appear to have developed more comprehensive strategies. Ramchandran (2004) cites the example of teacher training in Doosra Dashak, a short residential programme for four months, to stress the importance of

training girls' residential school teachers in a holistic manner. "Four to six full time trainers are given the responsibility for initial teacher training as well as numerous follow-up trainings. Half of these trainers are females. Special training is organized for trainers with the help of Sandhan. It is observed that there is a remarkable difference in participants' capabilities and attitude. There is a deeper understanding of gender issues that helps increase gender sensitivity amongst participants".

At VTCL, teachers are sent to the tribal colonies to learn and understand tribal life, so that they can imbibe tribal values in the process of teaching. VTCL also follows a policy of allocating seven per cent of working days in an academic year for teacher training.

In some cases, NGOs have successfully been transferred to state programmes such as KGBV. GOI 2013 appreciates CARE's role as a resource agency and working closely with the SSA for training of KGBV teachers and classroom monitoring. CARE borrowed from its experience of Udaan where engagement with teachers has been a continuous process, and the teacher development strategy includes a range of activities starting from village visits to discussions on gender and equity issues, training on content and use of computer, and supportive monitoring.

Sandhan's support to selected KGBVs in Rajasthan has also helped in widening the teachers' understanding of varied pedagogical tools. Mahila Samakhya and MSK's training strategy has also impacted KGBV teacher training, especially in states where MS is managing the latter but the approach is largely ad-hoc and lacks the continuous engagement with issues of gender, learning and empowerment.

It has also been noticed that the school support system is weak for residential schools. KGBVs are not linked with CRCs and BRCs in most places. This is true even for states where



KGBVs are managed by SSA, and not by MS or NGOs. Gol (2013b) reported that in states where KGBVs were implemented by NGOs or MS, there was weak coordination between the State SSA and these institutions. In states like Bihar, MS organizes meetings of KGBV teachers but such opportunities are also shrinking with increased SSA control and emphasis on homogenous approach²⁸.

Since Ashram schools are managed and administered by different departments in different states, there is no homogenous system of teacher development. In the case of schools supported by the central government, states are responsible for running/ administering Ashram schools and they are required to submit physical and financial progress reports to the Ministry of Tribal Affairs. The emphasis on teacher development seems to be either missing or low.

There is a District level Vigilance and Monitoring Committee constituted by the Ministry of Rural Development that also reviews all programmes of the Ministry of Tribal Affairs. While lack of adequate staff restricted the number of field visits by the state officials, states have hardly explored the possibility of engaging parents/community members/ village Panchayats in the monitoring process at the village level (Gol, 2013-2014). The focus here is much more on fulfillment of physical and teacher norms rather than on teacher development, as these gaps are high in Ashram schools.

JNV is the only school system to follow a process of academic audit. This is an annual audit of school activities conducted by a team comprising two to three Principals from the neighbouring JNVs, an Educationist from the State Government and an Officer from the Regional Office. The team reviews in totality the activities conducted through the day. Beginning with the review of morning routine

activities, cultural programmes, sports activities, class room activities, lab activities, scouts/ guides programmes, every activity is reviewed by the team.

5.3. Influences beyond academics and schooling

Although a large number of self-reported information and anecdotal reports exist listing the impact of residential schooling programmes on girls' own self-image and aspirations, their successful negotiation for continued schooling, wider social environment, and the community's social and gender related perceptions and practices, detailed and scientific evidences are largely missing, especially for formal residential schooling programmes. Balika Shiksha Shivar and Udaan are better researched among the ALPs. Both these programmes that have been running for more than a decade, though small in scale, have been credited with success in not only getting back a good number of girls to schooling but also generating their commitment to continue with their post primary education. Ramachandran 2004 notes that, but for the upper primary school availability close to their residences, a larger number of girls would not have continued their schooling.

In a situation where there is hardly any clear evidence of impact on learning and empowerment, Udaan emerges as one programme that has been studied more systematically using diverse and innovative ways (Ranganathan and Jaimini, 2005; Ranganathan and Singh 2012). The impact study of Udaan (CARE-India, 2013) reveals that Udaan curricular and transactional practices have provided a strong base which helped in enriching the cognitive abilities and equipping the girls with psycho-social skills that they

²⁸ As emerged from site visits in Bihar



need in their life to negotiate their space, take decisions of their life and emerge as future leaders. The impact study of Udaan (CARE-India, 2013) reveals that the daily activities have equipped girls with psycho-social skills that they need in their life to negotiate their space, take decisions of their life and emerge as future leaders. Similarly, Ramachandran 2004 also documents the positive impact of residential ALPs on girls' negotiation skills and aspirations.

Udaan's strategy of community mobilisation through four phases (awareness, participation, involvement and ownership) has been very effective in involving community members for changing the community's perception on several gender and equity related issues, and also for monitoring the progress of the girls. Beginning with awareness promotion on education of girls through different means, tools like mapping and FGDs are used to facilitate interaction with key stake holders in the community. These interactions also help the implementing team, which also often includes teachers, in understanding the prevalent perceptions and stereotypes in the community.

Community seminars are organised where several activities related to gender identity and unequal relations are arranged with the parents and community members; in addition, they are also invited to assess and review the progress of girls. These seminars have helped in developing greater appreciation of changes that they see in their girls (e.g., questioning, aspirations, negotiation, and other skills) and inculcated a sense of ownership among the community members. Udaan also reports an upward shift in the average marriage age of girls in the main target villages, but this needs to be examined more carefully. A number of NGOs running residential schools for girls report engaging the community members at all levels and has promoted an attitudinal change towards the education of girl children from their communities (Ekalavya Parivartan Vidyalaya, Vidhyaka Sansad).

M.V. Foundation is another well-known case where community mobilisation has been used alongside education of rescued child labourers in influencing the practice of child labour. They worked with key stake holders, especially those who employ children at work and parents who send children for work, and use the means of felicitating them in public to declare their outfit – shop or residential apartments or other establishments – being declared child labour free. This puts a moral responsibility on them not to employ children again. 'The involvement of gram panchayats in tracking children and also monitoring the classroom practices and learning outcomes of children has also been useful and accepted by the teachers' (M.V.Foundation, not-dated)

Another example of influences exists in VTCL where a couple of their girl students completed their senior secondary and D.Ed. degrees and came back as teachers to the same residential school where they had studied. A number of such examples exist in Udaan area where they have joined the government schooling system as teachers. Similarly, KGBVs in Bihar also reported a number of examples where the girls graduating from KGBV have completed their further studies and are engaged as teachers or trainers in education sector itself. During site visits, we met one such girl at KGBV Bodhgaya, where she was involved in acting as a resource person for life-skill training, funded by UNICEF, and another in VTLC where a school graduate was working as a teacher.

KGBVs allow parents to come and meet their wards once a month and the occasion is used to interact with parents on a number of issues, though the main focus is on the girls' retention and progress. A common issue is that of marriage: convincing parents not to get their daughters married before they complete their education. This was an issue that all site schools reported as a major challenge.

Girls in all these schools expressed their keen resolve not to get married before they



turn 18, and were well-aware of the legal provisions of minimum marriage age. One KGBV in Jharkhand also reported discussing adolescence related issues with parents. These are, however, not necessarily planned interactions with parents. VTLC, on the other hand, uses its monthly meetings with parents for some planned inputs as well. For instance, they organise training on opening bank accounts for parents, in the course of monthly meetings, and later also help them manage their accounts.

Ashram Shalas and JNVs view these parents' meetings more as a means of improving the school functioning. JNVs have School Management Committees, Vidyalaya Education

Committees, and a system of grievance box where even anonymous letters are considered and the issues addressed. Panda (1996) in his study on Ashram schools in Odisha, notes that 'the schools which are located in tribal areas are neither able to function as other urban schools nor able to function as full-fledged schools for tribals, by taking into account the community, their habitat, culture, economy, festivals and rituals, thereby becoming a part of the tribal community'. He also noted that communities never engaged the school in any of their festivals or cultural events; indicating that the communities are not accepting these institutions as part of their own social milieu.



BUDGET AND EXPENDITURE: NORMS AND PATTERNS



Budget and Expenditure: Norms and Patterns

6.1. Budgets and Norms for different Schemes

Lack of availability of the budget and expenditure data in public domain poses serious limitation to any meaningful analysis. That also explains near absence of any expenditure analysis of residential schools in the past, though a reference to inadequacy of budgets has been made many a time. The budgetary norms for the programmes are not easily available and the actual budget allocations by State/Centre are even more difficult to obtain. This is especially true for one of the largest programmes for residential schooling, i.e., Ashram Schools. Different kinds of Ashram school schemes exist in different states and the information available on cost norms and budget is either incomplete or unclear or non-existent, as it is part of a broader funding for tribal / dalit development. We have attempted here a comparative analysis focusing on norms and patterns rather than on the size and trends of expenditure.

Kumar and Gupta (2008) undertook the exercise of comparing per capita costs for target groups under KGBVs and JNVs, and found the former to be much less under each budget head

(Table 16). They also pointed out that it was not only the lower per unit cost that mattered but also the fact that the kind of detailed planning that exists for JNV costing is not visible in the KGBV costing. A basic cost-expenditure analysis of different government schemes depict that JNVs have the highest budget allocations and per-child expenditure norms despite the fact that they serve a very small proportion of the relevant age-group population. For instance, in 2003, JNVs received more than 40 per cent of the Central Government's outlay on secondary education, yet served less than one per cent of students in classes IX-XII (G. Sharma, 2012; Tögel, 2013).

Veerbhadranaika et al (2012) points out that the amounts allocated for Ashram Shalas are generally low in most states. In Maharashtra, the government allocates Rs. 750 per month as cost per child (of which Rs. 500 is for the direct expenses of the child and Rs 250 factored as administrative expenses). That the amount allocated per child is based on close calculations that make for provisioning the minimum is evident from the following chart (Table 15) which lays out details of daily dietary allocations for children in an Ashramshala in Odisha. (Veerbhadranaika et al 2012)

Table 15: Monthly dietary expenses of a boarder-student from an Ashramshala in Salaguda, Odisha

S.No.	Details of Materials	Quantity per time	No. of times	Price per kg	Amount per day
1	Rice	250g	2	Rs. 2.00	Rs. 1.00
2	Dal	40g	2	Rs. 46.00	Rs. 3.68
3	Vegetables	133g	2	Rs. 10	Rs. 2.66
4	Oil	15g		Rs. 66	Rs. 0.99
5	Salt & Fuel				Rs.25.00 per month
6	Fish/ Mutton/ Egg		Weekly once		Rs.30.00 per month
7	Breakfast/ tiffin				Rs. 2.00
Total dietary expenses per month = Rs. 365.00 per student					

Source: Reproduced from Veerbhadranaika.P et al (2012)



Table 16: Budgets of KGBVs and JNVs

Budget Head	KGBV School with Hostel for 100 girls and Staff (Sanctioned Amount)	NVs (240 Students and Staff) (Sanctioned Amount)
Construction	Rs. 38,75,000 building + boundary wall + boring/hand pump, electricity. Unit cost - Rs. 38,750	Rs. 12,00,00,000 in two phases 14 classrooms, library, staff room, principal and vice principal's rooms, labs, three dorms, 23 teachers' quarters, kitchen and dining hall, play field, water, sewerage, electricity, internal road. Unit cost - Rs. 5,00,000
Equipment	Rs. 3,00,000 furniture and kitchen equipment	Rs. 6,75,000 furniture, laboratory-equipment, other equipments
Bedding	Non-recurring: Rs 75,000 Recurring: Rs. 40,000 (details are not given). Unit cost - Rs. 400	Non-recurring: Rs. 1,29,600 Recurring: Rs. 1,56,000 mattress, quilt, bed sheets, pillow, pillow cover, khes, mosquito net, two towels. Unit cost - Rs 650
School Uniform	No separate provision	Summer - unit cost - Rs. 1,250 Winter - unit cost - Rs. 1,550
Maintenance	Rs. 40,000 per annum (details are not given) Unit cost - Rs. 400	Rs. 1,56,000 per annum bathing and washing soaps, tooth paste, tooth brush, shoe polish, hair cutting, washing and ironing, hair oil. Unit cost - Rs. 650
Medical care/Contingencies	Rs. 75,000 per annum no provisions for a doctor (details are not given) Unit cost - Rs. 750	Rs. 2,54,800 per annum medical expenses, travel allowance expenses and a doctor for nine months. Unit cost - Rs 1,117
<i>The figures in this table have been calculated on the basis of annual report of Navodaya Vidyalaya Samiti, 2006-07 and Revised Guidelines for Implementation of KGBVs with effect from April 1, 2008, issued by the Ministry of Human Resource and Development.</i>		

Source: Reproduced from Kumar and Gupta, EPW, 2008

Table 17: Comparison of Budget Norms for selected residential schooling programmes

Norms	JNV	KGBV	Ashram Shala (AP)	VTCL	MSK	Udaan
Food	1,200 per student per month for 9 months; 1,800 for those in hard and difficult situations (terrains).	900 per child per month for maintenance which also covered food expenses	750 per child per month for classes 3 to 7; 850 per child per month for classes 8 to 10	627.02 per child per month	1,020 per child per month	1,255,741 for boarding and lodging for 2014 batch, i.e., 1255.74 per student per month
Toiletries/Health-Hygiene items	1,000 per student per year (about 83 for a month)	no separate provision	50 per child per month for boys 75 per child per month for girls	42.73 per child per month	Not available	66,550, i.e. 633.81 per student for the 2013-2014 batch of 105 students
Uniforms/dresses	2,000 per student per year	no separate provision	Not available	1131.53 per child per year	720 per child	no separate provision
TLM/Text books/Stationery	400 per student per year for text books 1,400 (covers stationery, travel, medical, CBSE fees, etc.) and 300 for school bags to be provided in classes VI, IX and XI	600 per child per year in Model I 300 per child per year in Model II & III	Not available	976.12 per child per year (Including laboratory materials for high school)	780 per child per batch	63,392, i.e. 603.73 per student for the 2013-2014 batch of 105 students
Medical/Contingency	Rs 1,117 per student per year*	750 per child per year	Not available	111.65 per child per year	18,000 per batch, i.e. 514.28 per child	11,550, i.e. 110 per student for the 2013-2014 batch of 105 students

Norms	JNV	KGBV	Ashram Shala (AP)	VTCL	MSK	Udaan
Sports	200 per student per year	No separate provision	Not available	228.74 per child per year	No separate provision	10,000, i.e. 95.23 per student for the 2013-2014 batch of 105 students
Library	Not available	3500 per child per year in Model I 6000 per child per year in Model II & III	10,000 from RMSA every year since 2014	163.49 per child per year	6,000 per batch, i.e. 171.43 per child	10,000, i.e. 95.23 per student for the 2013-2014 batch of 105 students
Preparatory camps/ Induction camps	Not available	150 per child per year in Model I 100 per child per year in Model I & II	Not available	No separate provision	Not available	7640, i.e. 72.76 for the 2013-2014 batch of 105 students
Follow up of past trainees	no separate provision	No separate provision	Not available	12,980 per year	15,000 per batch	22,260
Community Seminar	Not mentioned	No separate provision	No separate provision		no separate provision	15,750
Co-curricular/ Extracurricular/ study tour/ exposure visit	100 per student per year	No separate provision	Not available	672.21 per child per year	20,000 per batch, i.e. 571.42 per child	42,000
Vocational (incl. salary for trainer)	Not mentioned	500 per child per year in Model I 600 per child per year in Model II & III	Not available	No separate provision	25,000 per batch, i.e. 714.28 per child	No separate provision

Sources:

1. JNVs – JNV - annexure of a letter from the District Collector to the School Principal, quoting JNV norms, in practise currently (2014). Except for medical expenses taken from Kumar and Gupta 2008.
2. KGBVs – Revised Guidelines for implementation of Kasturba Gandhi BalikaVidyalayas (KGBVs), with effect from April 2008.
3. Ashram Shala - Procedures of the Commissioner of School Education and Ex-Officio Director, RMSA, A.P, Hyderabad, dt 12.02.2014; G.O.MS. No. 39 Social Welfare Department - Enhancement of Diet Charges for all boarders in Government SC, ST, BC, Disabled, Women and Child Welfare, Minority Welfare and A.P Residential Educational Institutions Society Hostels, Residential Schools and Other Institutions - Orders - Issued; dt 7.12.2012
4. VTCL – budget and enrolment details for the year 2013-2014; per child cost has been calculated for 2013-2014, when the total number of students enrolled was 412.5.
5. MSK - MSK Bihar, Budget Norms, in practise currently (2014)
6. Udaan – UP budget for 2013-2014, CARE-India.

We updated and extended the comparison of norms for recurrent expenditure in five different schemes: three formal school systems and two ALPs, one in state and one in non-state sector. It clearly emerges that JNV has the highest per student norms in most cases (Table 17). KGBV has the lowest allocation for food and maintenance, and no separate provision for sports, co-curricular activities and excursions. This goes against the very basic

concept of KGBVs as the ALPs that contributed to the evolution of KGBV model, have such provisions.

VTCL, MSK and Udaan have separate allocations for co-curricular activities; VTCL and Udaan also have allocations for sports, and in addition Udaan has allocation for the community seminar. These three also have separate provisions for spending on follow-up activities with the students who have



completed the course. These reflect a more comprehensive planning and budgeting as against what exist in KGBVs. The MTA funded Ashram schools also have very poor budget norms when compared with the JNVs. Most NGO funded residential schools have budgets in the range of about Rs.12000 to 25000 per student per year. Out of these, VTCL is the only one that collects a nominal fee of Rs 10 per month from non-resident children, and Rs. 15 to 20 from resident students.

Funds allocated for food in KGBV were reported to be inadequate in some of the states visited by the national evaluation 2013. One concern pointed out by the latest KGBV evaluation report is the multiplicity in interpretation of norms and provisions. For instance, "the maintenance amount of Rs 900/- per girl per month is either used fully for boarding costs or is partly used for boarding costs and partly for meeting cost of toiletries and other requirements of the girls. The stipend of Rs 50/- per month is also used for different purposes – (i) as a direct cash benefit to the girls (ii) for procuring stationery and other items that the girls may require (iii) for activities that girls undertake such as exposure/ educational visits, picnics etc."(Gol, 2013b). Unlike JNV which follows a practice of adjusting norms based on price index once every two years, KGBV does not have any such assured periodic revisions.

The difference in the norms gets reflected in a crude estimation of per student expenditure for

three kinds of schools: JNV, KGBV and Udaan. This turns out to be the lowest for KGBV and the highest for JNV; per student expenditure in Udaan is nearly twice the amount spent in KGBV, and per student expenditure for JNV is more than five times higher than that of KGBV.

Even if one excludes expenditure on community seminar and follow up activities, per student expenditure in Udaan remains higher than that in KGBV. High expenditure in JNV is due to higher expenditure on almost all heads: more qualified and better paid teachers, better infrastructural facilities, and higher norms for food, sports, medical and co-curricular activities. KGBV budget includes allocations for vocational training that JNV does not. Even these vocational skills, as discussed earlier, are usually low-end and gender stereotypical ones; they reinforce rather than question prevalent gender images. Emphasis on vocational skills, especially in early years at upper primary stage, is welcome if this helps in making the girls more self-reliant and independent, but not if it is at the cost of academic rigour. The emphasis on vocational skills at a very young age coupled with lack of focus on ensuring high quality education in KGBVs as against high investment on academic rigour in JNVs, which is meant for both boys and girls from all socio-economic sections, can indeed be interpreted as deliberate neglect of girls from poor, disadvantaged and marginalised groups.

Table 18: Per Student Expenditure for selected residential schooling schemes: A rough estimate

School Type	Total Expenses (Rs. In lakh)	Total students	Per student annual expenditure (Rs.)	Reference Year
JNV	1,57,336	2,24,659	70,033.25	2011-12
KGBV	47,482.53	3,49,037	13,603.87	2012-13
Udaan	28.19349	105	26,851.00	2013-14

Source: Same as Tables 16 and 17. CARE UP Udaan Budget for Udaan expenses.

Table 19: Annual Expenditure in Jawahar Navodaya Vidyalayas (Rs in Crore)

Year	Plan	Non-Plan	Total
2007-08	920.7	197.2	1,117.9
2008-09	1,208.36	273.39	1,481.75
2009-10	1,311.32	362.94	1,674.26
2010-11	1,311.04	387.72	1,698.76
2011-12	1,141.6	431.76	1,573.36

Source: http://www.nvshq.org/display_page.php?page=Budgetper cent20andper cent20Accounts; 30.06.2014

Table 20: Funds Released for KGBV 2008-09 to 2013-14 (Rs. in lakhs)

Year	Gol Release	State Release	Total
2008-09	60,819.37	25,479.07	86,298.44
2009-10	25,126.22	17,048.49	42,174.71
2010-11	24,246.33	16,091.97	40,338.30
2011-12	46,939.79	13,179.74	60,119.53
2012-13	31,544.92	15,937.61	47,482.53
2013-14	13,558.31	8,876.26	22,434.57

Source: Reproduced from National Evaluation of KGBVs (Gol, 2013b)

The Government of India spends nearly 1,600 crores annually on JNV, which is an entirely union government funded scheme (Table 18). As against this, the allocations have been smaller and much more erratic for the KGBV, which support a much higher number of schools (Table 18). KGBV is a centrally sponsored scheme with 65:35 sharing pattern between Centre and states. However, an area of concern for KGBVs has been the low utilisation rate. For instance, the average utilisation rate for the country as a whole against total allocation was only 45 per cent in 2011-12 (Annexure II). The utilisation rates were as low as nine and four per cent in Gujarat and

Haryana respectively, followed by about 25 percent in Bihar.

The irony is that KGBVs report paucity of funds to carry out activities, while allocations remain unused due to a variety of procedural and bureaucratic reasons. GOI 2013 noted various reasons for the flow of funds being slow: delay in submission of utilisation certificates by the states, delay in contributing state shares and the way in which states distributed funds received from Gol between various components. The evaluation has also been critical of financial control resting in the hands of District SSA office and lamented on the weak system of audits.

Table 21: Sharing pattern between central and state governments for Ashram Schools established with support of the Union ministry of Tribal Affairs

Year	Gol Release
Girls' Ashram Schools in the States	100 per cent Central assistance
Boys' Ashram Schools in naxal affected areas	100 per cent Central assistance
Boys' Ashram Schools in other areas	50:50 sharing pattern between Centre and the respective State
Ashram Schools in Union Territories (irrespective of being girls' or boys')	100 per cent Central assistance provided

Source: Working of Ashram Schools in Tribal Areas, (Gol, 2013-2014).



The information on budget and expenditure for Ashram and other residential schools coming from Social and Tribal Welfare departments is incomplete as bulk of this comes from state governments. **Attachment I** gives some idea about funds for this purpose in some states. Even the central government fund is divided under different schemes and it is difficult to separate the one meant for residential schools alone.

Ashram Schools in Tribal Sub Plan areas partly draw their funds from the Ministry of Tribal Affairs, which has been allocating funds in the range of Rs. 40 to 75 crore annually, for establishment of Ashram schools. The fund sharing pattern for Ashram schools established under this scheme are shown in Table 21. If any state is unable to meet its share for the establishment of Ashram schools, 'any MP/ MLA can provide the state's share from his/her MPLADS/MLALADS funds'. Additionally, financial assistance in the pattern of 50:50 is being provided for non-recurring items of expenditure like furniture and library books. Studies have recommended that the Centre should finance the recurring costs, as the burden on the states has led to poor management, lack of basic facilities and acute shortage of teachers among others. Review Committee (Gol, 2013-2014) has also noted that states were unable to run Ashram schools well due to the lack of sufficient funds.

The Ministry of Tribal Affairs finances EMRS in the states under Article 275(1) of the Indian Constitution. The funds under this Article are allocated to states to assist their efforts in promoting the welfare of STs, or improving the level of administration of Scheduled Areas, in the said State. Since implementation of the RTE, EMRSs are required to follow the prescribed norms for establishing school buildings; other specifics in terms of layout and structure are provided in the guidelines

updated in 2010 (Gol, 2010b). But the budget figures provide only the total sum allocated under this Article; the break up for the schemes that are supported through these funds is not available in public domain. The guidelines estimate the non-recurring cost for a school complex at Rs 12 crore (this can go up to Rs 16 crore in hilly areas; additional expenses must be borne by the State governments) and recurring cost per child at Rs 42,000.

The funding sources for residential schools include the governments (union and state), private agencies, national and international foundations. It is not possible to have the proportional distribution of these sources but state government and private sources are funding higher number of schools; it is not clear whether this also amounts to higher level of funding.

The process of preparing the budget was entirely norm based in all government programmes with little or no flexibility for schools to plan differently. In contrast, the NGO run schools such as CARE supported Udaan and VTLC report greater flexibility in bringing in new activities and involving teachers in their planning. Those KGBVs that have managed to access additional funds through collaboration with other agencies (e.g., Sandhan in Rajasthan) have exercised some freedom in planning additional activities by using those funds (e.g., an exposure trip to Agra by KGBVs supported by Sandhan in Ajmer district). These funds are additional, and this implies that it is important to have access to some untied funds to be able to plan creatively and bring greater rigour to the learning process. Although the very presence of scale makes it necessary to have norms and processes, it is possible to have an in-built space to untied funds for allowing flexibility at school level. It is also possible to build norms in a more thoughtful manner so that, by design, greater rigour is built-in.



SOME GOOD PRACTICES AND EMERGENT PRINCIPLES



Some Good Practices and Emergent Principles

Residential school programmes across the country have indeed thrown a number of challenges and concerns, but alongside several good practices have also emerged showing enough promise for their adoption and adaptation, both in India and elsewhere, especially in developing countries with similar contexts. This section analyses these practices using the same framework of inquiry that has guided the research.

However, a word of caution here is about the authenticity of results because lack of external or rigorous evaluations in most cases makes it difficult to establish the claims made; self-reported claims are not necessarily untrue but it is difficult to establish their veracity. The analysis presented here is mindful of this reality and the focus is on practices that have either been validated through evaluation or have been commented positively by diverse and multiple sources.

7.1. Reach: How to overcome 'elite capture'

Considering that residential schools are relatively high-cost exercises, especially in a situation where the differences between day-schools and residential schools are wide, and the demand for alternative allocations within the school sector is also high, it becomes imperative to ensure that residential schools are reaching the most needy and deserving. As stated earlier, the issue of 'elite capture' has often been raised in the context of JNV and KGBV meaning that these are not necessarily

getting the most needy; those who are more 'powerful' get the access. In that context, some of the practices that seem to ensure better targeting are identified as good practices.

Some NGOs have identified specific communities and worked only for them. For instance, Eklavya Parivartan Vidyalaya is a residential school, initiated by the organisation named Vidhayak Sansad, where girls, only from Katkari tribal community in rural areas of Thane district (Maharashtra), are admitted. Girls from this community work mostly as a balgi (caretaker for younger siblings or the landlord's children), or as gowari (cattle herder). The reports suggest that these girls have not only become literate, but also aware of their rights as citizens, as a result of the residential schooling.

Another example is that of the residential school programme of Nari Gunjan in Bihar that works with adolescent girls from Musahar community. This community is categorised as Mahadalit, the lowest within the already low Dalit community. Victims of untouchability, acute deprivation, discrimination, exploitation, violence and sexual harassment, their struggle for survival makes education a lesser priority for girls in this community. But, once admitted in Nari Gunjan residential school, these girls take part in a well orchestrated schedule incorporating education, exercise, fun and lessons about living a healthy and more fulfilling life. This is how, focusing on one or two known deprived groups ensures reach to the most needy.



Certain MSKs and Mahila Samakhya run KGBVs have also attempted to focus on specific groups. For instance, MSKs in Bihar focused on physically challenged girls, and identified a number of such girls in a particular year. The training also focused on the issues related to those girls in that year.

MS run KGBVs in a number of states have also used their own network to zero in on more deprived communities within the block, and then convince the parents to send the girls using the means of women collectives. MS run KGBVs in Andhra Pradesh have used detailed micro planning to identify the drop outs. A number of evaluations have pointed out that the representation of drop-outs and more needy ones is better in MS run KGBVs. This reinforces that focusing on one or two communities / specific groups helps.

However, the operationalization of such an approach presupposes the presence of a localised network with deep penetration and credibility in the area: mahila samooch (women's collectives) in case of MS and NGOs' own relationship and groups in their areas of work make such an approach possible. Those eager to borrow the good practice should also be mindful of this precondition.

Largely, state run programmes find it difficult to have such networks. In such a case, objective norms as part of the policy help in acting as filters against 'elite capture' to an extent. For instance, focusing on drop-outs in KGBV and locating those only in educationally backward blocks are such measures. But there is a need to go beyond that: one way could be to make it compulsory to identify the group for which the female educational status is the lowest in the particular block for filling at least half the seats. This could be, for instance, Meos (Muslims) in Mewat areas of Rajasthan and Mithuwa (SC) in parts of Bihar, Kols (ST) in parts of Madhya Pradesh and Upparas (OBC) in parts of Karnataka. What is implied here is that such an exercise would

help overcome the limitation of the broad categories of communities such as SC, ST, OBC and Muslim, and the elite capture from within these communities.

7.2. Teaching, learning and curriculum: ensuring both academic rigour and empowerment

Ensuring both academic rigour and building-in experiences that help girls overcome their socialization as well as allows them to develop an alternative world view, fills them with aspirations of a transformed life and gives them confidence to explore the opportunities. This is an important objective of residential schools for girls coming from deprived contexts. MSKs and to an extent MS run KGBVs in some states have been successful in instilling the elements of empowerment, but have sometimes been questioned on the issue of academic rigour.

On the other hand, some government run programmes, such as JNVs and also NGO run programmes/schools such as VTLC, have been relatively more focused on academics but lacked the emphasis on addressing gender issues and relations. NGOs such as Nirantar, and the programmes like Udaan and to an extent Doosra Dashak, have relatively been better credited with combining the two though certain academic elements have been identified as being weak.

A perusal of all programmes put together throws the following principles and practices as being critical for success; some can be integrated at policy level while others are a matter of institutional shifts and more creative planning for implementation:

- a. **Integrated curriculum planning with consideration for both academics and empowerment:** It is very clear that unless these are planned and executed in an integrated manner, both remain



weak. For instance, Udaan curriculum integrated Social Learning as a subject alongside Language, Mathematics and Environmental Science, and developed those in close contact with each other; one was not delinked from the other e.g. if water as a theme was covered in Social Learning, it was not repeated in EVS in the same manner. While in Social Learning, the discussions went around sources of water, its use, distribution and access with various socio-economic-religious-gender dimensions, EVS piggybacked by introducing some elements of its constitution, purity and related aspects. Language made use of this by taking examples from the same theme for its exercises of communications and Mathematics too included problems that could be linked to water. This allowed faster learning in all the subjects while also building a perspective that takes various dimensions of inequality into account; water is not only an issue of science but also of society and with skewed access.

Nirantar and MSKs offer examples of good practices such as using girls/women's life histories and narratives to build various skills especially around Language while helping them realise about the exploitation and abuses that they have been facing and building a collective understanding of these trends in the society. However, these are not possible without a careful curriculum planning where the objectives have a clear transformatory focus. In this context, it is important to point out what is not a good practice: the JNV experience clearly shows that too much focus on discipline and penalties can be counter-productive, and hence avoidable. Use of sports such as football in Udaan and self-defence techniques in MSK and KGBVs, even though at times, routinized, have helped in breaking gender stereotypes and raising their self-esteem.

b. Building non-gender-stereotypical

vocational skill: MSKs and some KGBVs have introduced skill development courses in areas that are otherwise not commonly offered to girls: mechanic, plumbing, etc. These are important areas as they provide income generating skills while at the same time break the gender stereotypes. Using the advantage of additional time available in residential schools, there is potential to introduce skill-development but it is important to ensure that the choice of skills does not reinforce the stereotypes. The KGBV tie-up with NIOS for vocational training is a good practice as it leads to certification but it has limitations of promoting skills that could reinforce stereotypes.

c. Creative use of library, exposure trips and inter-school competition:

Creative use of known teaching – learning experiences such as the use of library, exposure trips and inter-school competitions to strengthen learning and generate greater confidence among students emerged as an important distinguishing feature; how these processes are planned and carried out determines whether it is a good practice or not; some NGO and NGO supported programmes supply examples of good practices. Mere presence of library is not enough but planning particular activities around that (e.g., quiz on women achievers whose biographies are available in the library in Udaan) ensures reinforcement of academic learning as well as opens up new ideas and aspirations. Similarly, visit to a historical place could be an enjoyable activity, but a carefully planned one such as those used by Sandhan in Rajasthan (watching a film made on a celebrated athlete or a travel to historical town Agra) where a number of reflective and interactive exercises (discussions, preparing project reports) follow add to the academic learning and to confidence/aspiration building. Similarly,



Inter-school competitions have been used for promoting and showcasing individual as well as group skills, and boosting confidence. What is important here is that all these are planned and integrated clearly to the dual curricular objectives.

d. Teacher training and support -- well-planned and reflective of the integrated curriculum planning:

Another good practice that emerged as a precondition to success is well-planned and well-conceived teacher training strategies, largely visible in NGO run and supported programmes (e.g., Udaan, Doosra Dashak, Shivar). The experiences suggest that it also helps to have both men and women trainers. Certain common principles that emerge are:

- (i) teacher training should be continuous and evolving rather than one time and fixed; experiences show that teachers were better equipped in places where a group of trainers interacted frequently with teachers and the training focused on both pre-planned contents and issues that teachers wanted to discuss. If required, they changed the training plan to address the teachers' needs;
- (ii) the content should include academics, empowerment/relational and management aspects as all these are critical in a residential school;
- (iii) one of the best ways of training teachers is to have the training processes (organisation, classroom interactions, activities, interpersonal relation between the trainer and teachers, etc.) indicative of what is expected from teachers in the school, e.g., if trainers are very hierarchical in their behavior with teachers, the teachers cannot be non-hierarchical in their classrooms, and

- (iv) teachers who understand the contexts of girls make better teachers; a number of NGOs and also MS run KGBVs make teachers visit the areas from where the girls are coming to the residential school and then reflect on the observations; it helps them to understand the context and in establishing a relationship with both parents and students.

e. Qualified and trained teachers: The study clearly shows that though a well-conceived and planned teacher training is very helpful, it goes only that far; there is no substitute for academically and professionally qualified teachers. The NGO and KGBV experiences established that despite good training and support, teachers were facing constraints in content areas especially at post class III level. This was found true for Udaan as well as for KGBV; this observation has earlier been made about community teachers in general. Here, the norm of having qualified and trained teachers only helps in maintaining the clear focus on academic rigour; this is one good practice that emerged from State run school systems such as JNV. In short, residential schools need both: , and not one or the other: professionally qualified teachers and a well-planned and executed teacher training plan.

f. Bridging materials and approaches: A number of NGO programmes and KGBVs use bridging materials and allocate time for organising intensive bridge classes, before the students are prepared to enter the designated grades. This helps those children who had dropped out and had not completed a level or have faced gaps in schooling.

7.3. Management: Ensuring effective management and using management experiences for enhancing learning

Management practices that have clearly emerged as good practices include:

- a. **Involving children in school-management through well-planned processes and structure:** This is a common and very useful exercise that most schools follow, albeit, in different ways. A number of students committees are constituted either through election or allocation of various duties (library, cleaning, food, health, sports, etc.) and the responsibilities are usually rotated. The effectiveness varies, but the practice is universally acknowledged as important in contributing to the child's learning, promoting equality-related values and in managing the school better.

Elections help in inculcating the sense of responsibility and democratic values, besides a better understanding of democracy as an institution. Rotation is also important and if managed well, it ensures that all children get an opportunity to get involved in all kinds of jobs; also plays a role in breaking social barriers (e.g., upper caste children cleaning toilets and lower caste children managing the library). In co-educational institutions, rotation helps in breaking the gender stereotypes.

- b. **Presence of clear norms for infrastructure, food and other entitlements based on established standards:** Presence of infrastructure, food and other entitlements based on established standards and requirements e.g., good nutrition for adolescent girls in JNVs has helped in maintaining the quality of their life. This is a policy initiative and hence not subject to variation and varied interpretation. It is important to add here that presence of such norms and standards

does not necessarily mean promotion of homogeneity, just as presence of freedom of speech does not mean that anyone can say anything or same thing. In the same manner, presence of nutritional standards based food norms does not mean everyone is served the same food, for example, if JNV in Karnataka chooses to serve Ragi, a commonly eaten nutritious cereal there, the JNV in Punjab chooses to serve wheat. What it ensures is that students everywhere get a minimum of nutritional requirements and there is no compromise on that.

- c. **Presence of some free time in daily timetable:** MSKs, a number of NGO programmes like Shivir and Udaan, and KGBVs ensure that girls have some free time on their hands in the daily timetable. This free time is used for chitchat, , dancing, playing, etc., and helps in forming relationships, besides discussing various issues that aspire them and also develop a collective identity. These are critical for empowerment, while their absence can lead to frustration and repressed emotions, as is apparently in the case of some JNVs.

7.4. Engaging with and Influencing the Community

Most of the NGO run and supported programmes maintain close ties with parents and communities. A common practice is to have monthly parents meeting. One good practice followed by VTLC and Udaan is to send teachers to the villages from where the students are expected to come. This builds confidence among parents, in addition to making teachers more aware of the students' contexts. Another good practice followed by Udaan is to organise community seminars where some of the games and activities meant for children are modified for adults so that parents can also participate. Some activities are meant for everyone, while some are meant only for men and some for women.



The objective is to expose the parents and the community to some of the schooling processes, and also to challenge some of the existing gender norms so that they also start reflecting on these issues. It has helped them in better understanding the changes seen in their girls, and more supportive of the girls' demands for further education and postponement of marriage.

7.5. Ensuring Adequate Costs for all Relevant Activities

Assuming that investments in residential schooling is effective if it is reaching the most

needy girls and they have access to all the facilities and services based on acceptable standards, the cost norms of JNV appears to be as a good practice in terms of details and allocations. In terms of attention to activities with a perspective of providing long term support to students, one good practice followed by Udaan and VTLC is to have clear allocations for follow up activities. This is important as these two programmes have reported how these activities assisted students in continuing with their education and also in negotiating with their parents.

The following table highlights good practices, as explained in this chapter:

Table 22: An overview of Good Practices

S. No.	Criterion	Indicators	Nature of Good Practice	Programme	Impact
1.	Reach	(a) Representation of girls from marginalised communities	(i) Enrolment of girls from the most marginalised communities	(1) KGBVs (managed by Mahila Samakhya) (2) Eklavya Parivartan Vidyalaya (3) Nari Gunjan	Ensuring access to education to girls from the most needy sections of the communities
2.	Curriculum /Teaching Learning	(a) Ensuring both academic rigour and empowerment	(i) Support from Resource Agencies for academic support across various KGBVs 1	(1) Sandhan (Rajasthan) (2) CARE India (Uttar Pradesh and Gujarat) (3) Mahila Samkhya (Bihar) (4) Nirantar (Uttar Pradesh)	Promotes use of library books, development of newsletters, organization of games and exposure visits in teaching and learning; support and train teachers and SSA functionaries in assessment of students' learning competencies, development and adoption of a multi-level teaching strategy, use of multiple texts, library, addressing health issues and creative aspects such as music, dance, drawing, theatre as a part of the curriculum
			(ii) Inter-KGBV competitions 1	(1) KGBVs (e.g., Himachal Pradesh, Jharkhand)	Contributes to confidence-building and acts as a platform to showcase individual and group skills
			(iii) Special bridging materials and supplementary workbooks designed	(1) KGBVs (e.g., Andhra Pradesh, Gujarat)	Acts as accelerated learning for dropped-out girls
			(iv) Integrated curriculum planning	(1) Udaan (2) MSK (3) Nirantar	Udaan curriculum integrated Social Learning as a subject. Nirantar and MSKs offer good examples of practices such as using girls/women's own life histories and narratives to build various skills.

S. No.	Criterion	Indicators	Nature of Good Practice	Programme	Impact
			(v) Non-stereotypical vocational training	(1) MSK (2) Selected KGBVs	MSKs and some KGBVs have introduced skill development courses in areas that are otherwise not commonly offered to girls: mechanic, plumbing, etc. The KGBV tie-up with NIOS for vocational training.
			(vi) Teacher Training and support	(1) NGO-run and supported programmes (2) MS-run KGBV	Teachers who understand the contexts of girls make better teachers.
			(vii) Qualified and trained teachers	(1) JNV	Qualified and trained teachers helps in maintaining the clear focus on academic rigour.
3.	Management	(a) Using management experiences for enhancing learning	(a) Involving children in school-management through well planned process and structure	Common in both state and NGO run schools	A number of students committees are constituted either through election or allocation for various purposes (library, cleaning, food, health, sports, etc.) and the responsibilities are usually rotated.
			(ii) Presence of clear norms for infrastructure, food and other entitlements based on established standards	(1) JNV	It ensures is that students everywhere get a minimum of nutritional requirements.
			(iii) Provision of Computers and Solar Panels ¹	(1) KGBVs in Rajasthan	Encourages computer-aided learning and ensures consistent supply of electricity
			(iv) Making their own sanitary napkins	(1) KGBVs in Andhra Pradesh	Reinforces values of hygiene and develops vocational skills
			(i) Kitchen management by girls	(1) Udaan	Builds managerial and leadership skills as well as ensures nutrition awareness and ownership of the programme
			(ii) Presence of some free time in daily timetable	(1) MSK (2) Udaan (3) Shivir	Used for chatting, dancing, playing and facilitates friendships and discussing various issues.
		(b) Safety and Security	(i) Safe toilet and bathing facilities: pit, flush or open field toilets and close door, temporary makeshift space to open spaces for bathing	(1) Udaan (2) MV Foundation (3) Doosra Dashak (4) Mahila Shikshan Kendra (5) Some KGBVs (6) JNVs	Enhances knowledge and practice of cleanliness, hygiene and builds confidence



S. No.	Criterion	Indicators	Nature of Good Practice	Programme	Impact
4.	Influence	(a) Transforming influence on community	(i) Local upper primary school Parents' Teachers Association managing the associated KGBV	(1) KGBVs in Madhya Pradesh	Reflects the community engagement and commitment towards girls education
			(ii) Visible changes in girls' personality led to changes in perspectives of family and community members	(1) Udaan	Many social changes, like a reduction in family size, more patronage to girls education, enhancement in the age of marriage for girls, resistance to dowry in some cases, women now being more expressive and outspoken etc. were also attributed to the Udaan impact. The importance of cleanliness and leading an organised life were also perceived as significant family learning from Udaan.
		(b) Influence on girls	(i) Gender orientation and perspective on holistic education	(1) Balika Shikshan Shivar (2) Udaan (3) Mahila Shikshan Kendra (4) VTLC	Influences empowerment of girls
5.	Cost effectiveness	(a) Adequate costs assigned for different activities	(i) Adequate costs for various academic, sports and extra-curricular activities is assigned	(1) JNV (2) Udaan (3) VTLC	Core requirement for the overall development of the girls

A stylized house icon composed of thick, light yellow lines, positioned in the upper right quadrant of the page. It features a simple triangular roof and two vertical pillars supporting a horizontal base.

INTERNATIONAL EXPERIENCES OF RESIDENTIAL SCHOOLING



International Experiences of Residential Schooling

In many Western countries, boarding schools for indigenous ethnic groups were viewed as a place where students (e.g., Native Americans in what is now the United States and the Aborigines in Australia) would be institutionalized and ultimately lose their ethnic identity and heritage; in other words a means to civilize them. This was heavily critiqued and the experience till date makes people view residential schooling with suspicion. However, this is changing with the emergence of newer models and the developing world is increasingly viewing this as a strategy for empowerment and inclusion. This section presents a review of some such initiatives; the information is based entirely on the materials accessible through web search and, hence, there is a possibility of this not being exhaustive. The focus is on the developing world i.e. Asia and Africa.

8.1. Examples from Asia

Many countries in Asia send poor and disempowered children living in remote areas to boarding schools in order to build their capacities and to subsequently lift them out of the shambles of poverty. For one reason or the other, lack of transportation for students to commute between school and home, or fear from violence, kidnap, rape, torture, especially for the girl child, are all part of many such reasons for establishing boarding schools.

8.1.1. Vietnam

Vietnam has made considerable progress towards improving girls' access to education,

with almost half of the students in both primary and secondary education being female (ADB, 2007). However, disparities in the quality and accessibility of schooling persist in rural and mountainous regions, especially among ethnic minority girls and women. Some of the key factors that limit access to education opportunities are physical distance to schools, language and cultural barriers, financial constraints, unsuitability of the curriculum to local needs, and the low value placed on education because of a perceived lack of relevance, especially for girls, who in some areas are expected to marry at a young age. The government of Vietnam has worked with the Asian Development Bank (ADB) to ensure that girls' education is prioritized and that girls overcome the barriers that impede their education. In this regard, ADB helped the government of Vietnam design the 'Lower Secondary Education for the Most Disadvantaged Regions Project' aimed at prioritizing the girl child education in the country.

Intervention: The Asian Development Bank's Lower Secondary Education for the Most Disadvantaged Regions Project was an intervention to promote girls education in Vietnam (ADB, 2007). Approved in 2007, the project aimed at improving the net enrolment rate in lower secondary education, particularly for ethnic minorities and girls through its boarding school initiative, in 103 of the most disadvantaged districts in 17 targeted provinces (ADB, 2007). The report shows that boarding facilities has helped increased girls' access to lower secondary schools. The



construction of schools and classrooms in remote areas provided opportunities for girls to enroll in secondary schools closer to their homes, without having to travel far and worry about their safety. In areas where students still have to travel far to reach their schools, one of the strategies for improving girls' and minorities' access to education was the establishment of boarding schools.

By 2007, as many as 656 girls (45.5 per cent out of a total of 1442 students) were staying in newly-built, semi-boarding facilities. The report also shows that Lao Cai province has exceeded the target, with 200 girls (62.5 per cent) out of 320 students staying in newly-built dormitories. Schools are also demonstrating self-initiated gender-responsive management practices, such as allocation to girls of new boarding spaces and toilets that are near teachers' rooms, so as to enhance their safety (ADB, 2007).

Impact: Though the project addressed several issues impeding girls' education, the semi-boarding facilities for girls has been the most pivotal in contributing to girls' education. Girls residing in boarding facilities have shown tremendous improvements in their overall learning achievements. In semi-boarding facilities, especially those in mountainous and remote areas, girls are now becoming empowered through education and much more encouraged to go to school because of the safety and girl-friendly environment of boarding schools.

As the study shows, conversation with parents indicates positive attitudinal change towards secondary education for daughters, and increasing acceptance of semi-boarding for girls which they see as essential for empowerment and education of their female children.. Mothers explained that educated women who speak Vietnamese are less dominated by men in families, and viewed education as important for their daughters. Some parent-teacher associations (PTAs) are proactively mobilizing community support for families with daughters at risk of drop-out (ADB, 2007).

8.1.2. Nepal

Nepal shares with India a caste system in which discrimination is still a fact of everyday life. Its population of 28 million includes more than 100 ethnic groups, nearly as many languages, and 60 castes and sub-castes (Whelpton, 2005). Caste and gender remain the major barriers to education. Dalit girls and other girls from indigenous families are unlikely to go to school or complete primary education. Nepal is also one of the poorest countries in the world with a high level of class differences and female marginalization and exclusion. In Nepal, keeping girls in school after puberty is a daunting challenge for mothers. As such, girls' education has never been a priority for many families. Often they are needed to work in the fields and at home (Reynolds, 2011). One research shows that there are several barriers (socio-cultural, economic, psychological, etc.) to girls' education in terms of enrolment, retention and learning in Nepal (UNESCO & Bista, 2004):

- (i) **Socio-cultural barriers:** Social and cultural beliefs, practices and attitudes often do not favour girls in their pursuit of education to the same extent as boys. Discriminatory values and norms against girls and women are deeply rooted in Nepali culture and society. The incidence of poverty is acute in rural areas, where the majority of the population lives.
- (ii) **Economic barriers:** Poverty discourages families from sending their children to school. Schooling requires a substantial commitment of time and resources, as well as sacrifices related to household production.
- (iii) **Psychological barriers:** Schools are not always girl-friendly. They do not protect girls' privacy and safety and do not meet cultural expectations. As girls become older, having separate latrine facilities in school is essential. Most schools in Nepal do not provide separate latrine arrangements for girls. The studies also seem to suggest that where private toilet

facilities are not available at school, the majority of young girls, especially at the secondary level, do not attend school during menstruation.

(iv) Barriers caused by poor teaching-learning conditions in schools: Public schools in Nepal are not properly managed. Teachers are not qualified, dedicated and motivated. Teacher absenteeism is very high. Teachers do not always show up at school. In most schools, a physical learning atmosphere is lacking. Instruction is not stimulating. Public schools are perceived to provide irrelevant and low quality education. Parents see the school curriculum as being too theoretical at least for the rural poor.

Intervention: The Asian Development Bank (ADB) designed the Secondary Education Support Project, Co-financed by the Danish International Development Agency and the Government of Nepal to address these daunting challenges affecting girl child education in Nepal. According to the Bank's report, the project built 190 secondary schools in Nepal's poorest districts, added 200 classrooms to existing schools, and developed new textbooks and other training materials designed to make the curriculum more relevant and responsive to current market needs. In addition, 60,000 student scholarships were awarded, two-thirds of which went to girls from poor backgrounds, dalits or 'untouchables', and minorities. Student hostels in mountainous and other high-poverty areas were provided to address issues of distance and safety. Ten "feeder hostels" were built in poor areas to accommodate girls attending any secondary school in the area while seven existing girls' hostels in mountainous areas were renovated (ADB, 2013). All of which were in furtherance to the project's aim of prioritizing girls education and empowerment. In the boarding facilities, especially those boarding facilities in

mountainous regions of the country, special gender specific programmes were formulated and organized to mainstream girls into economic activities. The girls are been taught by mostly female teachers who also serve as role models. Some of the girls took training in animal husbandry, cooking, art and crafting, etc. to improve their social and economic development.

Impact: Essentially, the boarding facilities for these girls provided a space for girls to intermingle and share their experiences and thoughts. They were able to freely articulate their views on matters that affect them in their respective communities and at home. The girls who attended these boarding facilities did not just receive academic education but also skills training that could enhance their path to a sustained livelihood. Quite interestingly, in communities where the project built boarding facilities, the outcome of girls' retention, enrolment and promotion far exceeded their male counterpart as opposed to communities where there were no boarding facilities. Though on a very small scale, the report shows that there are changes in the way girls and women are perceived in communities with semi-boarding schools.

In one village, most of the girls, many of whom are adolescent, have opted to start up their own income generating activities based on the skill sets acquired under the programme (ADB, 2013). For example, in Parsa district where one of the project's boarding facility is situated, the promotion rate of girls increased to 84.3 percent, from 56.6 percent, leading to around 28 percent growth on promotion..) Furthermore, qualifications standards for teachers were established to maintain quality of teaching. Scholarships for management training were also provided to female teachers from disadvantaged communities while special rental allowances were arranged for teachers to stay nearer to the school.



8.2. African Experiences in Residential Schooling for girls

8.2.1. Kenya

Several countries in East Africa have set up special boarding schools, some specifically targeting girls. In Kenya, Christian denominations controlled nearly 75 percent of schools as late as 1955 (Kratli, 2001). During 1970s, Kenya set up the Remote Areas Boarding Programme (RABP) to provide education through low-cost boarding schools. However, these schools got flooded by non-poor students, and the poor and indigenous communities were left out.

Other factors that contributed to low participation by poor students included insecurity and armed conflict as well as school expenses. The same study shows that many boarding schools suffered also from poor living conditions, lack of adequate water, lack of safeguards to protect the safety of children, particularly girls, and overcrowding. However, there are many communities that desire the expansion of boarding schools and are more directly involved in the promotion of education. There are some boarding schools for girls in Kenya that have large enrolments, although the overall impact on education is low (Kratli, 2001).

All the same, the government of Kenya, along with some international organisations, is trying to accelerate girls' education and empowerment in a fight to reduce poverty and improve national growth and development. In this regard, the Forum for African Women Educationalists' (FAWE), has established two Centres of Excellence for girls, in Kenya.

Intervention by FAWE: FAWE adopted Tuseme philosophy (Tuseme is a Swahili word, meaning "let's speak out") in Centers of Excellence (COE) as a way for girls to identify factors that lead to their social and academic marginalization and to be actively involved in finding solutions. It is a process meant to train girls to express their views openly on matters

that affect their personal, academic, and social development, and to learn to actively take part in finding solutions to those matters (FAWE, 2006).

Tuseme utilizes a human rights-based approach to promote inclusive and persuasive gender responsive discourse in girls' education. According to Mlama (2005), Tuseme is "designed to enable girls to understand the gender construct of the society they live in, identify and analyse the emergent problems and how they hinder their academic and social development, speak out about the problems, and take action to solve them" (Mlama, 2005).

The Tuseme intervention comprises a holistic package that addresses constraints emanating from the community and the school. The package includes interventions targeting parents, community leaders and community members, teachers, school management, and girls, as well as Ministry of Education officials at the local, district, regional and national level. The overall intention of Tuseme intervention is to transform the school and surrounding community into an environment, which is physically, academically and socially gender responsive.

Impact: The COE serves as a safe haven for girls from different backgrounds, including those rescued from pre-arranged marriages and female genital mutilation. For poor, nomadic communities with entrenched practices of early marriages and poor community support for girls education, the Centre has maintained high retention of girls, rescued 52 girls from early marriage, 12 of whom are reconciled with their families. Girls school results have improved from 65 per cent to 85 per cent, local chiefs participate in workshops and are actively involved in advocacy for girls' education.

In the wake of such achievements, the government of Kenya has requested FAWE to replicate its Centre of Excellence project in two other districts, Athwana, and Meru (Diaw, 2008).



In these Centers, guidance and counseling desks have been established and various workshops and training are undertaken to impart life skills such as leadership, assertiveness, decision making, and critical thinking. As a result of this, girls' empowerment is visible through improved academic performance. In Kajido district, for example, the average scores on national exams improved from 66 per cent in 2000 to 75 per cent in 2002. In 1997, 67 per cent girls passed, while in 2001 the number went up to 85 per cent. By 2003, 100 per cent of the girls from Kajido COE went to secondary school (FAWE, 2006).

In a study conducted by Ongaga and Ombonga (2012), the Centres of Excellence have used existing Ministry of Education structures to support its activities. At the national level, a focal point has been appointed to deal with the Centres of Excellence as stipulated in the Memorandum of Agreement that is signed between FAWE and the Ministry of Education. The Ministry of Education has been involved at the region, district and local levels as a stakeholder in COE activities and processes. The local administration, chiefs and village leaders, have also proved to be very helpful in supporting these Centers of Excellence, and have demonstrated the political will to support girls' education in their areas (Ongaga & Ombonga, 2012).

8.2.2. Rwanda

In Rwanda, 97 per cent of girls go to primary school, but less than 13 per cent attend upper secondary school. Since these Secondary schools have very limited capacity, only those with the highest test scores are able to attend. Even a bright girl who is qualified to be admitted to upper secondary school, may face obstacles to success and graduation, including household responsibilities and safety concerns (Huggins & Randell, 2007). Societal effects of girls receiving education are very many: increased educational opportunities positively affect their economic earnings and productivity

as they reach adulthood, improve their as well as their children's health, and help in ending the cycle of poverty (Diaw, 2008).

The traditional perception of women's role in African societies still presents a challenge to girls' education in Rwanda. But, as a strategic focus for any developing country, the government has managed to prioritize and promote women education in the country. Gashora Girls Academy, a government aided boarding girls' school, is helping to breach the gender gap in Rwanda and also improve girls' education in order to enhance their wellbeing and give them a voice and space to participate in nation building.

Intervention: By virtue of the academy's focus, girls are the main stakeholders that the academy is trying to reach. A variety of activities are designed to empower them to effectively participate in education and development. Designing a curriculum that addresses the ground realities, and investing in extracurricular activities that set the tone for girls' independence and empowerment, has been the academy's priority. The institution's focus on girls as a target audience has helped to ensure that attention is paid to the problems that affect girls, while also benefitting the entire school community. The Gashora Girls Academy approach has also ensured that all girls are part and parcel of the empowerment processes on a continual basis. On this note, the academy has helped in educating and empowering Rwandan girls by encouraging them to continue their education even after secondary levels through its girls' boarding school initiative that emphasizes gender equity and social justice for girls' empowerment.

Impact: As a result of Gashora academy intervention, it is believed that the Gashora sector has seen tremendous change in girls' participation and empowerment. RGI (2010) report shows that the academy has a 83 per cent improvement in O-level national exams as compared to 0.2 per cent before the programme, 99 per cent reduction in sexual



harassment, and 86 per cent improvement in end-of-year school exams as compared to 37 per cent before the academy's intervention. Also, girls are more assertive and responsive to societal issues that impede their access to education and are more aware of their rights (RGI, 2010). Furthermore, girls now participate in community programmes and help proficiently in their homes without any coercion. In addition to offering high quality college-prep academics, the Gashora Girls Academy is focused on addressing the needs of the "whole girl" and eliminating the impediments that exist to her receiving education. The girls are provided mental and emotional support, access to healthcare, and a supportive learning environment with optimal conditions for assuring their future success.

8.2.3. *Malawi*

In Malawi, educational inequalities for women are driving factors for early marriage, pregnancy, relative poverty for women, and increasing underdevelopment of entire communities. Access to quality education goes hand in hand with the skills and information necessary to translate education into positive life opportunities. The government of Malawi lacks adequate resources to invest in girls' education and at the fringes where government education is provided; girls' education is not adequately prioritized. This has led to several NGOs taking on different approaches to help empower girls. Advancing Girls' Education in Africa (AGEAfrica) is an international NGO contributing to empowerment and education of girls through its residential schooling system. Its focus and core objectives are to improve secondary school completion rates, increase girls' capacity to self-advocate and develop as leaders, and improve post-secondary transitions (AGEAfrica, 2010).

In Malawi, no high school education is free. In sub-Saharan Africa, boys earn more on the labour market, and a girl's future is still seen as her ability to marry. A girls' likelihood

of attending and staying in school depends largely on:

- Her ability to pay for not just school fees, but also the associated costs of education (uniforms, exam fees, supplies).
- Her ability to get to school (often girls travel 6-8 miles one way).
- Her ability to avoid pregnancy and access to accurate information about her own sexual and reproductive health
- Her ability to self-advocate for her choices, and avoid early marriage and family pressure to drop out.
- Her access to information about post-secondary opportunities and career guidance information.
- Her access to educated female role models (AGEAfrica, 2010).

Intervention and Impact: AGEAfrica's three-pronged approach enables disadvantaged young women to attend and finish secondary school and to pursue opportunities beyond high school by equipping them with all the resources, knowledge, and awareness they need to succeed. Through its scholarships, extra-curricular activities, and post-secondary support strategies, the organization addresses the most prevalent causes of drop out of girls through its boarding school initiative. As a result of the institution's strategies of enhancing education for young Malawian girls, early marriages are getting delayed, with 39 per cent of AGE alumnae getting married at a median age of 20 years, compared to 85.8 per cent of women who were married at a median age of 18, reducing early childbirth by age 20; only 17 per cent of AGE students are mothers, compared to 65 per cent of 20-year-old women in Malawi who were childbearing.

Also, 88 per cent of AGE students finish all four years of secondary school, compared to just 8 per cent nationwide, thus improving post-secondary transitions. 74 per cent of AGEAfrica's alumnae are pursuing higher education, have wage-based employment,

or are engaged in small businesses that put their income well above the poverty line (>\$2/day); and finally, on serving as leaders and role models, nearly 90 per cent of AGE participants feel they are a role model in their village, an increase from 65 per cent who felt this way before participating. Almost 100 per cent said they now feel comfortable standing up to their families, compared to just 20 per cent who felt this way before (USAID, 2010).

The following matrix provides a bird's eye view of the programmes and their impact. What

emerges from this review is that residential schools for girls have served as a means for empowerment and education in many deprived and unsafe contexts but it has also been facing many challenges in terms of attracting teachers and trainers, maintaining an effective curriculum, keeping girls in school, and allotment of adequate budget from national and state governments. Since these are funded mainly through external aid in most countries, the issue of adequate and sustained funding is a major issue.

Table 23: Mapping International Experiences of Residential Schooling for girls

Country	Programme	Year	Objectives	Activities	Reach	Impact	Good Practices
Pan-Africa	Centres of Excellence by Forum for African Women Educationalists' (FAWE)	1999	To provide gender responsive schools that offer quality education and pay attention to the physical, academic and social dimensions of both girls' and boys' education	(i) Gender-responsive school management and pedagogy (ii) Sexual maturation management programme targeting girls	Burkina Faso, Chad, Comoros, The Gambia, Guinea, Kenya, Madagascar, Namibia, Rwanda, Tanzania, Togo, Uganda, Zambia and Zanzibar	(i) Improvement in girls' performance (ii) Involvement of local chiefs in advocacy for girls' education	(a) Training of girls to express their views openly on matters that affect their personal, academic, and social development and find solutions for the same (Tuseme philosophy) (b) Use of existing Ministries of Education structures to support its activities
Rwanda (Africa)	Gashora Girls' Academy	2011	To breach gender gap in Rwanda and to improve girls' education	(i) Curriculum designed with components on ground realities (ii) Focus on extracurricular activities	Capacity for 270 girls for a given year	(i) Improvements in national level examination (ii) Assertive and aware of their rights	(a) High quality college-prep academics (b) Access to healthcare
Malawi (Africa)	Advancing Girls' Education in Africa's residential schools	2009	To improve access to resources and support to girls in selected government schools	(i) Focus on extra-curricular activities (ii) Scholarships (iii) Tertiary transition programme	Between 2009 and 2013, it has served 2170 girls through their three components	(i) Delaying early marriages and child births (ii) Improved secondary school completion and post-secondary transitions	(a) Sexual and reproductive health education (b) Leadership training and career guidance

Note: * Lower Secondary is equivalent to upper primary grades in India (Class 6 – Class 8)



CONCLUSION AND SUGGESTIONS



Conclusion and Suggestions

Residential schooling has emerged as a major system of providing school education in India. Established in nearly all parts of the country, and these schools access their funds from different sources, including Union and state governments, private agencies and international foundations. The exact distribution of funding sources and their proportional share is not known though the state governments and private agencies emerge as major players in terms of the number of schools they support. This review based analysis is largely limited to residential schools in government and NGO sectors. A detailed inquiry is further limited to a few yet critical schemes of residential schools that serve girls using public funds. The gaps in information, data and credible evaluations are big, pointing to an urgent need for taking major steps for streamlining this issue. Unless this issue is addressed properly, the knowledge base is going to remain poor, and the analyses weak and tentative.

9.1. Major Conclusions

Types of residential schools

Nearly three per cent of girls²⁹ total enrolment at elementary level is in residential schools. Though these schools have been established all over India, their concentration is higher in states with high ST, SC and Muslim population. A mapping of existing residential schools reveals that they have largely evolved out of the four main trajectories, and therefore can be grouped under four categories:

- (i) **Boarding schools focusing on academic excellence:** The number of unaided private residential schools with affiliation to several boards including international ones, and charging high fee is reported to have gone up in recent years, though there is no definite data available. DISE data indicates towards this sector being much larger than what is believed to be, but it needs further investigation and validation. JNV and EMRS are publicly funded schemes based on this philosophy but aimed at reaching children who otherwise do not have access to such schools; rural children from all social and economic groups in case of JNV, and tribal girls and boys in case EMRS. These are well-funded schools with major allocations from respective ministries in the Union Government and cover a small proportion of children, and even smaller proportion of girls, enrolled in residential schools.
- (ii) **Residential schools in the 'Ashram' tradition:** These schools are meant largely for ST and SC children, and are run by both State and private sectors, including NGOs. Schools run by NGOs are funded either by various Grants-in-aid schemes of union and state governments, or other sources including national and international foundations / agencies, or both. Ashram schools in NGO/private sector are varied in their orientation and at one end include those experimenting with the learning and evaluation approaches while at the other end, include those that are mainly

²⁹ Please refer to the table in Annexure III for calculations



guided by the objective of bringing the tribals under the Hindu fold. There are also a large number of Ashram schools which are funded by both union and state governments. The number of schools and enrolment in this category is highest among all residential schools. Ashram schools have also emerged as an important and fast growing strategy for 'safe and secure places' for children, especially girls in conflict areas, i.e., naxalite areas.

(iii) Residential schools / Accelerated Learning programmes for girls from deprived sections and contexts:

A number of such programmes exist in both non-state and state sectors. The number of institutions is very small in the non-State sector, though they have been instrumental in influencing the models and policy in the public sector. Their funding is from various sources: the governments, International NGOs, and private national and international foundations. KGBV is the public sector scheme in this category. By design, it is aimed at reaching the 'most marginalised', largely drop out girls from SC, ST, OBC and Muslim communities. The number of such schools / facilities and the enrolment of girls there is higher than that in JNV, but lower than that of Ashrams.

(iv) Madarsas: There are a large number of residential madarsas in states with high Muslim concentration. These include both recognized and unrecognized ones. While the former are obliged to use the prescribed curriculum of a recognised school board, in addition to the religious teaching, it is not necessary for the latter, which can remain confined to religious teaching. Recognised madarsas can access public funds through grants in aid schemes of Union and state governments, while unrecognized Madarsas access their funding through the grants-in-aid schemes, as well as national and international foundations. The enrolment

is high in certain areas, and girls constitute about 45 per cent of total enrolment in the madarsas.

Reaching girls from disadvantaged sections

All types of residential schools mentioned above are reaching girls, the reach obviously being most pronounced in the KGBVs and other institutions started with the intention of reaching girls. The representation of educationally backward communities, namely, SC, ST and OBCs, is also high in KGBVs though the representation of another educationally backward group, Muslim, is not high and remains an area of concern. Another area of concern is that though the girls are coming from these educationally backward communities, they are not necessarily from the most deprived sections. These communities are themselves not homogenous, and therefore, the more affluent and resourceful among those are perhaps more successful in accessing KGBVs, which offer completely free education along with free lodging and boarding facilities.

Incidences of artificially creating a 'dropout' situation by deliberately forcing girls to stay away from schooling, to be eligible for KGBV, have apparently been high and common. This is not a new trend; a large number of affirmative action strategies, including scholarships, reservation of seats in educational institutions and government jobs, have also been observed to be cornered by better informed and better resourced, i.e., elite capture.

The responsibility of developing clear mechanisms and processes to ensure that the schemes reach the intended target rests with the policy planners and programme implementers. It is also important to realise that at the ground level where everyone is deprived and power relationships are unequal, it is not easy for schools to separate 'the most deprived'. It is, therefore, important to build



‘filters’ that are more reliable and easy to implement rather than blame the schools for ‘faulty application’ of criteria for identification. There are examples of NGOs and MS run schools that have successfully evolved ways to identify the most needy, and lessons can be learnt from them for devising ways to counter the ‘elite capture’ being witnessed elsewhere.

Ashram schools by definition are meant for tribals and dalits, and hence the girls in these schools are also from these communities. Girls’ representation is close to half in enrolment in these schools, which is better than that in JNV. Girls constitute about 37 percent of total enrolment in JNVs, but what percentage of this comes from SC, ST or Muslim communities is not known.³⁰ A coherent public policy would expect the same rationale to be extended to similar schemes: if residential schooling is viewed as a good policy option to reach girls from deprived communities, the same should be reflected in all State funded schemes. By that logic, JNVs should have high reservation for girls, and within that for SC, ST and Muslim girls. This is neither the case nor a point of discussion. JNVs are viewed as a means for providing high-quality education through centres of excellence in rural areas, while KGBVs have evolved out of a commitment for reaching out the equity goal to most marginalised girls. The fact that the excellence and equity goals are inseparable in education is not visible in the conceptualisation of schemes for residential schooling in India.

For Excellence or For Equity; not for both excellence and equity

The funding norms and provisions for different publicly funded residential schooling schemes are very different from each other, and this reflects the lack of appreciation for equity and excellence goals to be embedded in each other, rather than be viewed as separate and

distinct from each other. The quality of life and learning in residential schools is highly dependent on the physical facilities, food, safety measures, quality of teachers and the teacher-child relationship. How sports, leisure and co-curricular activities are managed, and integrated, and how academic rigour is ensured in both academic and vocational streams determine the quality of extended and diverse learning opportunities that make residential schooling a more effective strategy. All these, in turn, are dependent on adequate financial allocations and provisions for all such activities that strengthen the learning experiences.

What emerges is that not only the cost and budget norms for per child spending are much higher in JNVs as compared to Ashram schools or KGBVs but also that the provisions for certain aspects such as excursions and travel, something that can enhance the learning experiences, are absent in the latter two. Budget norms for food, medical and other basic necessities are also lower in KGBVs and Ashram schools. Per Student Expenditure in JNVs is high because teachers in JNVs are highly qualified and highly paid in comparison to both Ashram and KGBV schools. The salary levels in KGBVs vary from one state to the other, but in most cases they are much lower than what teachers usually receive in state schools, Ashram schools or in JNVs. Various other norms including those for teachers in Ashram schools are also not uniform across the states. EMRSs are, however, an exception to Ashram schools as they are modeled after JNVs.

Difference in cost and budget norms clearly establishes the difference with which different strategies are viewed and treated. Schemes like KGBVs and Ashram schools aim at the equity goal, but neglect the quality or excellence, and hence the provisions are minimal. KGBVs

³⁰ Sex wise and Social Group wise distribution of enrolment is available. But neither social group wise distribution of girls nor sex wise distribution of SC and ST enrolment is available in public domain.



and Ashram schools are, therefore, successful in giving educational opportunities to girls and boys from disadvantaged groups, and perhaps offer better living conditions in terms of food, sports and leisure as compared to what they would have received at home, these are still not adequate in providing a full range of opportunities that would ensure better quality of life, and greater rigour in learning experiences. The norms for food and other related needs should, indeed, be based on standards defined for age appropriate nutritional and developmental needs, which is obviously not the case here. Varied norms imply that the policy itself under-privileges girls, and more so when they are from disadvantaged sections.

The budget norms for KGBVs have their origin in the norms and practices followed by residential accelerated learning courses. These programmes in both State and NGO sectors, with their limited resources, were trying to establish the need and justification for a new curricular approach based on feminist philosophy and using residential spaces away from home to create alternative living and learning experiences. What is interesting, however, is that while KGBVs are losing their emphasis on feminist thoughts and processes, the cost norms have stayed. Similarly, there is no evidence of using the gender responsive processes and thoughts to inform other already-existing programmes of residential schooling such as Ashram schools or JNVs.

Whether safe, secure and enabling

All residential schools have provisions for pucca buildings and basic facilities but available feedback emphasises the need for improving access to clean drinking water and sanitation facilities, and increased attention to safety and security, especially in the context of KGBVs and Ashram schools. JNV is the only system with the presence of a safety protocol, but in absence of any evaluation, it is difficult to comment on the real practice. Going by media

reports in different states, safety of girls is an important issue in Ashram schools. The need for a detailed and clear protocol on safety and security is essential for residential school for girls. It is even more important for Ashram schools in conflict zones.

The daily life and the whole school environment, despite the issues related with low-budgets for food, sanitation and limited resources, has turned out to be somewhat enabling in KGBVs because of the very design and relationships. The experience of living together with peers, space for sports, play, excursions, leisure, music, dance and access to nutritious food and other facilities have kindled aspirations and desires for further education. Teacher student relationship also appears to be caring and has enabled trust. This may not be universally true but by all accounts seems to be largely true to a varying degree. The available information on JNVs indicates towards a very strict, rigid focus on discipline that makes the teacher child relationship also somewhat distant and not necessarily based on trust. Information is very sporadic for Ashram schools, making it difficult to come to any conclusion.

Despite variations across schools and management, it is true that all residential schools have (i) provided access to diverse means of learning experiences, and (ii) extended study hours. Free from their domestic responsibilities and expectations, girls in residential settings experience opening up of a different world for them. It is important to point out that gendered images and expectations are so strong that girls from all contexts and communities may face similar pressures and restrictions, but the residential schools help in giving them an alternative way of living. Evaluations of several programmes including KGBV, Balika Shivar and Udaan have highlighted the role of residential schools in ensuring regular study hours, sports and free time for girls, which they usually do not have in their homes. Validation visits to various schools also confirmed this.



Learning and Empowerment of girls: unclear and uneven

The evidence on the exact impact of residential schools on girls' learning and empowerment is thin, especially when it comes to large, publicly funded schemes. Sporadic evidence that is available indicates an uneven situation. The evidence base is, however, stronger for accelerated learning programmes such as Udaan and Shivirs, and the impact on both cognitive and psycho-social empowerment has been found to be strong. The pedagogical approach adopted by Udaan and Balika Shivar has intertwined learner-centered pedagogy and gender issues. This approach helps girls learn at an age appropriate pace, and, through projects and socially relevant issues, also develop reflective thinking. The approach also cultivates a number of other competencies like, decision making, coordination, planning, communicating and leadership. The approach seems to have contributed significantly to the empowerment of young girls. Evaluations have, however, raised concerns about higher level mathematics in Udaan, attributing it to poor content knowledge among teachers, who are generally less qualified and lacking professional qualification. This shows that learner centered pedagogy and clear gender focus alone are not enough to compensate the absence of content knowledge.

Although KGBV evolved out of success of ALPs, the curricular and transactional practices do not come across as, as intense and clearly defined as they are for the ALPs. On the contrary, the types of vocational courses conducted in most KGBVs, and the way these are executed without any questioning, indicate absence of any clear focus on developing alternative gender norms and perceptions through transformational experiences. Poorly paid, poorly trained and poorly provided for teachers with heavy teaching and non-teaching responsibilities in KGBVs generally translate into absence of academic rigour. No doubt, there are exceptions, but exceptions do not

make the norms. There is, however, some difference between MS run and SSA run KGBVs in some states where the focus on developing an alternative gender image is more visible than in the former. It is also important to add that despite these criticisms, KGBVs have been often been also credited with being better than average public school in terms of girls learning as well as empowerment levels.

There is no systematic study available on assessing learning and empowerment levels of girls in Ashram schools and JNVs. However, the very design and provisioning of JNV focuses on academic excellence, and, therefore, the focus on academic performance is very high. Whatever limited evidences are available, they point out that girls have access to highly qualified teachers who are well paid, well-trained and cared for. However, an overt focus on psycho-social empowerment and transformed gender image is lacking here. It is difficult to make a general comment about individual schools run by NGOs for tribal and dalit students, but a perusal of practices suggests a lack of focus on gender issues in some cases.

The scale makes schemes rigid and diffused in focus

Considering that the schemes differ widely in size and scale in – ranging from one to several hundred schools, it is difficult to comment on the impact of size and scale on the quality of delivery. However, what comes across clearly is that large scale initiatives are far more rigid and lack creativity in small scale programmes. To some extent, this happens in view of the need for uniform norm and practices, but high degree of centralising tendencies and bureaucratic control make the situation worse. It is possible to build accountability norms such that it ensures certain degree of homogeneity but also allows the teachers/managers at the school level an agency to act and facilitates independent action. The trends that are visible from the thin evidence base suggest the



contrary: the schemes are becoming more rigid and centralized over time. This needs to be checked.

In this context, the experiences of those associated with both small and large scale programmes indicate that even large scale programmes which are more creative and mindful of pre-conditions in the beginning, slowly become routinized and rigid. For instance, KGBV's initiation was accompanied by a series of workshops organised by the Union government at various levels to orient the functionaries on the founding principles and preconditions, and how to translate these into practice, but slowly, with change of functionaries at all levels, this awareness got lost, as no mechanism was developed by respective states to retain, transfer and regenerate this knowledge.³¹ This difference is also visible in the feedback and observations that emerge from the KGBV evaluations at two stages: 2007 and 2013.

Whether single sex or co-educational: what is more conducive?

Some international evidences indicate that single sex schooling experiences have potential for strong gender training, but it can either reinforce or counter the prevalent gender practices depending on the curricular and transactional focus. The evidences also indicate that single-sex space could be used effectively for boys to help them develop alternative masculine images without being defensive as could be the case in the presence of opposite sex (Jha and Kelleher 2006). The ALPs and KGBVs are also conceptualized around the idea of using the single sex space to develop a common identity and also use the notion of a collective to question the existing gender relations. A school need not be single-sex; single-sex opportunities or spaces can be created even in co-educational schools.

However, no such effort or engagement has been reported or was visible in Ashram Shalas, JNVs or other NGO run schools. On the contrary, co-educational residential schools seem to be completely engrossed by the pressure of 'managing the discipline so that boys and girls do not get close to each other'.

This aspect has also not been analysed by many researchers in India. Discussions with various stakeholders showed the difference of opinion in this regard: while some highlighted the need for creating co-educational spaces for 'allowing better appreciation of each other's needs, some thought it could be a nightmare in view of 'adolescence preoccupation with sexual desires'.

Whether residential schooling is at all desirable at a tender age

The debate on whether residential schooling is desirable at a young age remains inconclusive; there is overwhelming evidence to show that it is better for children at a very early age to stay with their parents. In case of girls from deprived situations, it may be a good option at post-primary stage because of various reasons, but then it needs a sensitive handling and teachers need specialized training. This is not necessarily visible. It is especially a matter of concern for Ashram schools where children start coming from grade III, and at times, even grade I. The idea whether it is better to start Ashram schools from grade VI could also be examined.

Whether residential schooling is a cost-effective means of reaching the most deprived girls

Residential schooling, if designed and provided with adequate facilities, is indeed a more costly option than non-residential schooling for the simple reason that it includes living costs as well. The public policy choice between residential and non-residential schooling is to

³¹ Based on reflections shared during Panel Discussion held in New Delhi in January 2015



be determined by their established or potential effectiveness. All available evidences indicate that residential schooling is an important strategy for reaching girls in deprived situations for a variety of reasons: it compensates the living and schooling costs to the family, provides safer environment as it avoids travel to school and risks therein, and has the potential for greater attention to studies by making her free from household chores. But the more important one is to provide her with a transformational experience of alternative socialisation – this is something that is very difficult to make possible in a non-residential set up. If one takes all these factors into account, the rationale for public investment in residential schools for girls can be fully justified. Nevertheless, it is important to create more evidences in support of these arguments, and also ensure that residential school strategy in its design, conceptualization and provisioning is actually geared towards this transformational goal. At present, it is not necessarily so and therefore the public spending becomes questionable unless the schemes are reformed.

9.2. Major Suggestions and Pointers for Future Research

9.2.1. Strengthening Data and Information Base

The first and the most important need in the context of understanding the role of residential schools in education and empowerment of girls as well as that of other educationally backward groups is to develop a comprehensive data and information base. This involves two steps:

1. **Creating a Bank of all existing information available from diverse sources** by collecting information pertaining to all schemes and initiatives that fund and support residential schools in any form. Details of spread and coverage, funding norms, expenditure patterns, all need to be collected and processed in a user friendly manner along with details

of sources, and placed in the public domain. The right to information becomes much more meaningful if accompanied by voluntary disclosure of information on issues that are important for public policy related discussions and choices. This Bank could also include the existing documentations and evaluations of all related programmes including those on ALPs.

2. **Integrating clear data points in the existing education database:** It is important to view data pertaining to residential schools as critical as others, and the database should facilitate disaggregated analysis. NUEPA collects separate data under UDISE but does not include it in its analytical reports. Though the very presence and accessibility of this data has helped in understanding the spread and reach better, it would be further helpful if this data is also cleaned and included in the analytical reports. It would be much better if the data is collected and analysed against same parameters for all levels: elementary, secondary and senior secondary.

It is also important to include schools in the private sector. Although DISE is already including private sector schools, one is not sure how exhaustive this inclusion is. This needs to be made compulsory, and if necessary the government should take necessary steps to make it mandatory for private schools including those run by NGOs and other entities, to open itself for national database. The principle of accountability should not have any exception.

9.2.2. Funding and Supporting Research and Evaluative Studies

The absence of a credible evidence base for residential schooling is one of the weakest links in undertaking any meaningful analysis. Credible evidences can be created only when high-quality, well-designed research and evaluation studies are carried out. Reliable research and evaluations are as important for



formulating policy decisions as for adding to the knowledge base. The need for carrying out formal evaluations of schemes such as JNVs, Ashram schools and KGBVs, following experimental and quasi experimental designs and using innovative methods, is urgent. A comparative, field based research on different kinds of residential schools for their philosophy, functioning, budgeting, reach and impact on learning and empowerment, covering a few Indian states, would be of immediate use and relevance. Gender can be an important marker for such a research.

Development partners can play an important role by helping augment this knowledge base while the Union and state governments should also take initiatives for compulsory periodic evaluations of this knowledge base. Absence of research and evaluation studies makes it difficult to either reject or accept the existing public investment on residential schools.

9.2.3. Need for a Vision and a Comprehensive Policy on Residential Schools

At present, there is no clear vision and comprehensive policy on residential schools backed by any clear thought and rationale. Different schemes emerged at different points of time and followed different trajectories of evolution. It is important to take a look, review, reflect and develop a comprehensive policy based on clear conceptual framework. The policy should also be able to provide clear pointers towards essential elements and non-negotiable features of any residential schooling programme: this can then act as a guide for the state and private players and help in developing their schemes and initiatives accordingly.

The vision and the policy on residential schools in India must take the gender, and other equity concerns, in addition to the issue of efficiency and effectiveness into

consideration. Also important is to break the equity-excellence dichotomy: any education which does not develop a critical thinking perspective to break the prevalent notions and practices of inequality cannot be 'excellent', and any education that does not enable high levels of learning cannot be 'transformative' in its impact. The policy must, therefore, be drafted in a manner that it counters the social privileging of male, upper caste, higher economic groups and disciplines such as sciences and mathematics. If all female teachers teaching in an all-female school received one-fifth of the salary of regular teachers, or if a science teacher alone has access to study leave, it reinforces rather than questions the existing social biases. Such programmes cannot generate transformative educational experiences. A good policy is the one which has in-built parameters to discourage such practices.

9.2.4. Interim Institutional Measures

A number of institutional measures, outline below, can contribute in the policy-making exercise for residential schools:

- a. Defining Essential Quality Parameters for safe, secure, enabling and social environments:** No generic protocol or guidelines exist on standards for residential schools in India; every scheme has its own guidelines. Every document talks about quality and monitoring but none defines quality or gives indicators of quality in terms of infrastructure and social environment of residential schools. It would help to develop a set of protocol and essential parameters that can serve as a ready reckoner for all relevant purposes.³² A negative list of what are the unacceptable practices with in-built redressal provisions should also

³² The global INEE has a handbook that recommends standards for Access, Safety and Protective Learning Environment, Quality Learning and Teacher Management; this could be helpful in developing such standards.



be developed as part of the guidelines for essential, built or social environment. For instance, opening of inmates for any kind of medical / clinical experiment should not only be disallowed, but violations should attract severe punitive measures. This is an extreme example but there are a number of other practices that are more common and makes girls vulnerable, and therefore need to be stopped, e.g., access of men to girls' residential areas without clear permission and purpose, and sending girls for sports / cultural programmes, unaccompanied. A list can be drawn using research and evaluation reports.

Parameters for social environment can also include information on ways and means of enlarging 'empowering' experiences by integrating curricular objectives with living experiences. This would also mean the need for maintaining coherence between these goals and the choice of vocational courses and also transactional methods.

- b. Reviewing budgeting and institutional norms based on universally accepted principles across schemes and removing the anomalies:** This is an essential step towards a comprehensive policy for residential schooling. Such review followed by removal of anomalies would help in raising the morale and give a clear signal about policy objectives. The new norms must follow universally accepted standards, i.e., same food norms based on nutritional and developmental needs of students of all residential schools.

In this context it is important to allay the fears that presence of a unique vision or standardisation of norms could be detrimental to experimentation and would lead to homogenisation. Presence of a guiding framework that ensures basic rights of students and teachers should not be seen as an effort to homogenise. Similarly, widely unequal norms and practices cannot

be promoted in the name of diversity. For instance, the presence of universal right to food does not mean everyone has to eat the same food; it ensures that everyone gets adequate food and desired nutrition. Likewise, it is possible to build accountability norms for residential schools to ensure certain degree of equality, but these should also facilitate the teachers/ managers at the school level taking independent action.

- c. Developing definite criteria for filtering those who are not necessarily educationally deprived for accessing publicly funded residential school schemes:** Taking a cue from the experiences of NGOs and MS, it is important to build filters to avoid 'elite capture'. These filters could be a mix of policy and delivery level measures. One example of a definite policy is to make it mandatory to concentrate on one or two 'most backward' communities within dalit, Adivasi, OBC and Muslim groups, in particular locations, as discussed earlier in detail. A delivery level mechanism could be to link identification of students through micro planning or gram sabhas.
- d. Ensuring higher proportion of girls in well-funded schemes such as JNVs:** A coherent public policy would expect the same rationale to be extended to similar schemes i.e. if residential schooling is viewed as a good policy option to reach girls from deprived communities, the same should be reflected in all State funded schemes. Hence, JNVs should have higher reservation for girls and within that, for SC, ST and Muslim girls.
- e. Comprehensive monitoring and incentivising progress in critical areas.** What is being monitored and through what processes, are extremely critical elements for determining what receives greater attention at the implementation level. This



is absolutely crucial for the programmes that are running on scale.³³ For instance, if JNVs are being monitored mainly on the basis of students' performance in class X examinations, the management is obviously going to put maximum emphasis on having a high pass rates, and have high percentage of higher achievers. If the top management decides that empowerment aspects will also be monitored, and incentivises it by including that in school management/teacher performance records, this would indeed get greater attention. Therefore, the presence of a clear communication plan with adequate budgeting, and monitoring plan with clear indicators that include processes as well, must accompany the policy for respective schemes. The choice of strategic indicators and having in-built incentive mechanisms for performance on those indicators should help in bringing the focus on empowerment.

- f. Facilitating cross learning among schools / schemes and enhancing the influence:** Although some level of cross learning has taken place in programmes like Mahila Samakhyas and ALPs through informed schemes like KGBVs, the level of sharing and cross learning is low. The teachers and administrators of different kinds of residential schools rarely get together to discuss, share and learn from each other. The presence of formal mechanisms for facilitating such exercises periodically could help all concerned. However, such an exercise is not easy, as these are also part of a hierarchy, and these hierarchies must be softened before any meaningful dialogue takes place. This is not easy but also not impossible if the approach is well-designed and honest. Removal of existing anomalies or

at least reducing the existing gaps in the provisioning and budgeting norms will help in softening the hierarchies to some extent.

Cooperation and exchange of experiences, concerns and solutions can also help in enhancing the influence of these schools operational under various schemes. Schools located close to each other can allow each other the use of certain facilities. For instance, the girls in a KGBV can benefit by using a laboratory in a JNV or an Ashram school for some specific purposes. Similarly, joint community programmes can be arranged for mobilization and support for some common concerns and influence certain practices. For instance, community seminars, modeled on the Udaan experience, can focus on having some gender and equity related exercises for parents, and also facilitate community monitoring of students' learning levels.

g. International exchange and learning:

Cross learning can be facilitated across many other levels: sharing of international experiences through appropriate platforms is one such means. For instance, the experiences from Vietnam, Nepal or Kenya could be relevant for improving the schemes in India. The choice of exchange could be preceded with a detailed inquiry and analysis of the programme to determine its relevance. Indian schemes can also benefit by knowing more about Gender Responsive Management practices in African countries. Kenya's human rights-based approach to promote inclusive and persuasive gender responsive discourse in girls' education could also be a good model for replication. Similarly, other countries can learn from some of the good practices that exist in various programmes in India.

³³ Based on reflections shared during Panel Discussion held in New Delhi in January 2015



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ANNEXURES



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ANNEXURE I: Different Residential School Schemes Funded by State Governments

1. Ashram Schools in Rajasthan:

Tribal Area Development Department, Government of Rajasthan has established a number of Ashram Schools for tribal boys and girls in five identified districts in the state. Apart from the residential schools, hostels for students from scheduled caste community has also been established to facilitate upper primary and secondary education for those who do not have access to schools closer to their habitations.

Table 1: Capacity and Enrolment for Ashram Schools funded by Government of Rajasthan, 2012-13:

District	Boys		Girls		Total		SC Hostels		
	Capacity	Enrolment	Capacity	Enrolment	Capacity	Enrolment	Boys	Girls	Total
Banswara	1725	1725	950	900	2675	2625	25	14	39
Dungarpur	2030	2023	800	800	2830	2823	31	10	41
Udaipur	2005	1952	1410	1352	3415	3304	36	24	60
Pratapgarh	1430	1409	1020	1010	2450	2419	21	18	39
Abu Road	615	615	300	211	915	826	8	3	11
Total	7805	7724	4480	4273	12285	11997	121	69	190

Source: http://tad.rajasthan.gov.in/PDFs/tsp_2012-13.pdf; (last access: 12 November 2014)

2. Residential Schools and Hostels in Bihar

Government of Bihar has set-up residential schools for SC/ST/OBC boys and girls. Students seeking admission either contact the respective school's Head Master/Mistress or the District Welfare Officer of the District. Information on admissions is disseminated through leading newspapers during the beginning of every academic year.

Table 2: Details of Residential Schools for SC/ST/OBC students by Bihar Government (not-dated)

Residential Schools for	Number
SC boys	30
SC girls	21
ST boys/girls	15
OBC girls	12
Total	78

Source: <http://gov.bih.nic.in/Welfare.htm> (last accessed on 10.11.2014)

3. State Government's initiatives for residential schools in Karnataka

Government of Karnataka introduced Morarji Desai Residential Schools in 1996-97, along the lines of Central Government's Jawahar Navodaya Vidyalayas. An MDRS usually have a strength of 250 students (both boys and girls equally represented), studying in classes 6 to 10. MDRS cater to SC, ST, OBC and other minorities. State government has also started Kittur Rani Chennamma Residential Schools (KRCRS), meant for students from SC and ST community.



Table 3: Sanctioned MDRS and KRCRS in Karnataka, 2010-11

Category	Sanctioned MDRS	Sanctioned KRCRS
SC	152	82
ST	33	32
BC	130	
Minority	48	
Others	32	
Total	395	114

Source: <http://kreis.kar.nic.in/yearNcaterorywiseschooldetails.pdf> - last access on 10.11.2014

4. Ashram Vidyalaya – Uttar Pradesh

Ashram Schools in Uttar Pradesh were established for children from SC community since 1960-1970. These schools provide free boarding, lodging, education, clothes, food and other amenities for the children. There are 67 Ashram Schools operational (all co-ed), out of the 80 sanctioned with a capacity of 26,525 providing education till class 12 (Uttar Pradesh Annual Plan 2011-12, Wrap up Meeting, 20 June 2011;

<http://planningcommission.gov.in/plans/stateplan/present/uttarpradesh.pdf>; last access 14 November 2014)

5. Orissa: Hostels, residential schools and education complexes

a. Establishment of Hostels for Boys and Girls in the State:

Hostel facilities for ST students, studying in the non-residential schools (run by Education and SC/ST Departments) away from their homes is being provided by the Odisha government. Below are the details for the same:

Table 4: Total sanctioned and capacity of Hostels for SC/ST, 2012-13

Total sanctioned	5,375
Total capacity	4.05 lakh
Girls benefitting from this scheme	3.13 lakh

Source: Annual Report 2012-2013; ST & SC Development, Minorities and Backward Classes Welfare Development, Govt of Odisha

As per the Annual report for SC & ST Development, Minorities and Backward Classes Welfare Department (2012-13), the government is planning to establish another 500 hostels each of 100 capacities @ Rs. 1.2 crore per hostel within next 5 years, which will cater 50,000 ST students. However, the timeline for this has not been specified. The following are some details of the hostels managed under SC & ST Development Department:

Table 5: Hostels under ST & SC Development Department, 2012-13

Primary School Hostels (in ITDA Blocks)	1,548
Primary School Hostels for ST Boys and Girls in KBK districts*	400
ST Girls' and Boys' Hostels (2007-2012)	2007-08 – 1004 completed 2009-10 – 959 completed out of 1,328 sanctioned 2010-11 – 25 completed out of 65 sanctioned 2011-12 – 211 completed out of 1,000 sanctioned
Hostel for SC girls and boys	468 (existing) & 25 under construction
*KBK: Kalahandi-Balangir-Koraput districts	

Source: Annual Report 2012-2013; ST & SC Development, Minorities and Backward Classes Welfare Development, Govt of Odisha



b. Residential Schools:

Odisha government has funded 5 Residential Sevashrams and 19 Educational Complexes in primitive tribal group areas. The Annual Report for the SC & ST Development Department indicates that most of the schools managed by the department are either residential in nature or have additional residential facilities.

ANNEXURE II: State/Region-wise Distribution of Formal Residential Schools Established Under Central Schemes

1. Ashram Schools

States	No. Sanctioned	No. Completed
Andhra Pradesh	78	41
Chhattisgarh	134	73
Gujarat	164	154
Goa	1	0
Jharkhand	2	0
Karnataka	19	17
Kerala	11	7
Madhya Pradesh	242	172
Maharashtra	87	87
Orissa	82	52
Rajasthan	9	0
Tripura	19	3
Uttarakhand	12	10
Uttar Pradesh	2	0
India	862	616

Source: Working of Ashram Schools in Tribal Areas, Ministry of Tribal Affairs, 2014

2. Eklavya Model Residential Schools as on 31 March 2014

States	Functional EMRS
Andhra Pradesh	10
Arunachal Pradesh	1
Assam	1
Chhattisgarh	11
Gujarat	15
Himachal Pradesh	1
Jammu & Kashmir	0
Jharkhand	4
Karnataka	4
Kerala	2
Madhya Pradesh	20
Maharashtra	4
Manipur	2
Mizoram	2



States	Functional EMRS
Nagaland	3
Odisha	13
Rajasthan	9
Sikkim	2
Tamil Nadu	2
Tripura	2
Uttar Pradesh	1
Uttarakhand	1
West Bengal	7
India	117

Source: MoTA Annual Report, 2013-2014

3. Number of Jawahar Navodaya Vidyalayas as on 01 October 2014

Region	States	No. of JNVs
Bhopal	Madhya Pradesh	50
	Chhattisgarh	17
	Orissa	31
Chandigarh	Punjab	21
	Himachal Pradesh	12
	Jammu & Kashmir	18
	Chandigarh UT	1
Hyderabad	Andhra Pradesh	24
	Karnataka	28
	Kerala	14
	Puducherry UT	4
	Andaman & Nicobar Islands UT	2
	Lakshadweep UT	1
Jaipur	Rajasthan	34
	Haryana	20
	Delhi	2
Lucknow	Uttar Pradesh	71
	Uttarakhand	13
Patna	Bihar	39
	Jharkhand	24
	West Bengal	18
Pune	Maharashtra	33
	Gujarat	26
	Goa	2
	Daman & Diu UT	2
	Dadra & Nagar Haveli UT	1
Shillong	Meghalaya	8
	Manipur	11
	Mizoram	8
	Arunachal Pradesh	16



Region	States	No. of JNVs
	Nagaland	11
	Tripura	4
	Sikkim	4
	Assam	28
	INDIA	598

Source: http://www.nvshq.org/display_page.php?page=Organisational%20Structure – last access on 07.11.2014

4. Kasturba Gandhi Balika Vidyalaya

States	KGBVs operational
Andhra Pradesh	743
Arunachal Pradesh	48
Assam	56
Bihar	529
Chhattisgarh	93
Dadar & Nagar Haveli	1
Gujarat	89
Haryana	9
Himachal Pradesh	10
Jammu & Kashmir	97
Jharkhand	203
Karnataka	71
Madhya Pradesh	207
Maharashtra	43
Manipur	11
Meghalaya	10
Mizoram	1
Nagaland	11
Odisha	182
Punjab	22
Rajasthan	200
Sikkim	1
Tamil Nadu	61
Tripura	9
Uttar Pradesh	746
Uttarakhand	28
West Bengal	92
India	3,573

Source: Reproduced from National KGBV Evaluation, 2013



ANNEXURE III: State-wise DISE Tables for Residential Schools

All tables in this Annexure were compiled from DISE Raw Data 2013-14, shared by NUEPA on special request. UDISE collects data about residential schools but does not report it in any of their publications.

1. State-wise Number of Residential Schools by Management

State/UT	Education Dept	Tribal/ Social Welfare Dept	Local Body	Private Aided	Private Un-aided	Others	Central Govt	Not recognised	No Res-ponse	Mad-arsa	Madrassa Un-recog-nized	Total
ANDAMAN & NICOBAR ISLANDS	1	0	0	0	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	3
ANDHRA PRADESH	695	1,060	46	16	509	55	20	21	0	1	68	2,491
ARUNACHAL PRADESH	321	3	0	7	213	8	11	5	0	0	0	568
ASSAM	32	3	0	3	70	14	10	6	0	0	31	169
BIHAR	386	13	6	10	88	78	15	76	0	87	5	764
CHANDIGARH	1	0	0	1	3	0	1	0	0	0	0	6
CHHATTISGARH	53	1,282	11	74	200	118	17	0	0	23	4	1,782
DADRA & NAGAR HAVELI	1	0	0	3	1	1	1	0	0	0	0	7
DAMAN & DIU	3	0	0	0	0	0	2	0	0	0	0	5
GOA	7	0	0	12	1	0	2	0	1	0	0	23
GUJARAT	2	690	42	45	338	563	22	0	0	0	0	1,702
HARYANA	10	0	0	2	21	3	9	0	0	0	0	45
HIMACHAL PRADESH	18	3	0	0	69	1	13	0	0	0	1	105
JAMMU AND KASHMIR	80	0	0	0	16	8	18	0	0	0	0	122
JHARKHAND	250	22	0	23	77	15	22	252	0	9	37	707
KARNATAKA	114	537	1	58	557	228	22	0	0	2	6	1,525
KERALA	28	20	0	42	98	4	13	29	0	0	0	234
LAKSHADWEEP	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	1
MADHYA PRADESH	621	1,143	2	84	1,410	83	41	0	0	90	2	3,476
MAHARASHTRA	6	599	93	1,754	722	489	31	34	0	28	31	3,787
MANIPUR	15	4	0	2	81	21	8	10	0	1	0	142
MEGHALAYA	89	0	0	46	46	29	6	2	0	0	0	218
MIZORAM	2	0	1	3	15	40	4	0	0	0	4	69
NAGALAND	7	1	0	0	61	4	5	0	0	0	0	78
ODISHA	1,201	1,271	0	137	283	50	35	107	0	0	0	3,084
PONDICHERRY	0	2	0	0	6	0	4	0	0	0	0	12
PUNJAB	15	1	1	1	57	35	15	1	0	0	1	127
RAJASTHAN	481	32	237	0	622	45	16	5	0	46	3	1,487
SIKKIM	1	48	2	2	61	2	6	0	0	0	0	122
TAMIL NADU	13	284	15	120	329	1	1	3	0	0	0	766
TRIPURA	17	10	0	1	37	1	4	1	0	7	0	78
UTTAR PRADESH	2,630	56	61	979	2,992	1,470	48	1	11	225	223	8,696
UTTARANCHAL	58	19	3	23	178	23	13	3	0	11	1	332
WEST BENGAL	709	44	19	32	612	4	10	82	1	18	86	1,617
INDIA	7,867	7,147	540	3,480	9,775	3,393	446	638	13	548	503	34,350



2. State wise number of Residential Schools

State/UT	Ashram (Govt)	Non Ashram (Govt)	Private	Others	KGBV	Model School	No response	Total
ANDAMAN & NICOBAR ISLAND	0	1	1	1	0	0	0	3
ANDHRA PRADESH	835	237	551	170	597	88	13	2,491
ARUNACHAL PRADESH	53	222	188	69	30	0	6	568
ASSAM	6	5	58	59	26	0	15	169
BIHAR	111	200	182	207	24	0	40	764
CHANDIGARH	0	3	3	0	0	0	0	6
CHHATTISGARH	904	385	226	60	80	11	116	1,782
DADRA & NAGAR HAVELI	1	0	2	2	1	0	1	7
DAMAN & DIU	2	0	0	2	0	0	1	5
GOA	3	3	7	8	0	0	2	23
GUJARAT	576	349	454	220	86	14	3	1,702
HARYANA	3	5	20	5	11	1	0	45
HIMACHAL PRADESH	9	20	54	19	1	0	2	105
JAMMU AND KASHMIR	11	10	20	11	67	3	0	122
JHARKHAND	29	46	329	56	204	9	34	707
KARNATAKA	289	312	342	371	72	8	131	1,525
KERALA	28	25	88	75	0	4	14	234
LAKSHADWEEP	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	1
MADHYA PRADESH	1,221	825	1,239	115	73	3	0	3,476
MAHARASHTRA	642	228	2,301	501	40	4	71	3,787
MANIPUR	1	14	76	35	10	1	5	142
MEGHALAYA	18	20	89	67	11	0	13	218
MIZORAM	6	0	14	23	5	0	21	69
NAGALAND	3	3	47	21	0	0	4	78
ODISHA	1,450	848	412	151	151	1	71	3,084
PONDICHERRY	1	3	4	2	0	0	2	12
PUNJAB	10	7	80	11	10	1	8	127
RAJASTHAN	88	1,101	147	26	39	0	86	1,487
SIKKIM	18	14	49	33	1	0	7	122
TAMIL NADU	92	193	293	122	62	4	0	766
TRIPURA	12	14	31	13	2	0	6	78
UTTAR PRADESH	1,378	1,050	4,115	796	592	2	763	8,696
UTTARANCHAL	34	44	152	81	3	0	18	332
WEST BENGAL	190	356	538	481	48	3	1	1,617
INDIA	8,024	6,544	12,112	3,813	2,246	157	1,454	34,350

3. Enrolment in Elementary Classes (Class I to VIII) of Residential School, by School Management Type

State/Union Territories	Education Dept		Tribal/ Social Welfare Dept		Local Body		Private Aided		Private Un-aided		Others		Central Govt		Not recognised		No Res- ponse		Mad-arsa		Madrasa Un- recog-nized		Total	
	B	G	B	G	B	G	B	G	B	G	B	G	B	G	B	G	B	G	B	G	B	G	B	G
ANDAMAN & NICOBAR ISLAND	88	72	0	0	0	0	0	0	152	130	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	240	202
ANDHRA PRADESH	28,289	69,523	82,954	1,24,967	3,070	2,650	543	608	53,986	33,034	212	333	2,917	1,736	1,433	908	0	0	60	0	3,218	1,998	1,76,682	2,35,757
ARUNACHAL PRADESH	17,290	19,501	262	199	0	0	531	589	20,922	15,458	0	0	673	587	157	133	0	0	0	0	0	0	39,835	36,467
ASSAM	234	1,468	168	115	0	0	288	163	9,549	5,450	0	29	930	658	379	233	0	0	0	0	2,261	380	13,809	8,496
BIHAR	64,429	63,980	1,516	1,080	767	392	3,804	2,109	14,930	8,350	0	0	2,845	1,695	10,738	5,328	0	0	14,563	14,566	620	803	1,14,212	98,303
CHANDIGARH	575	457	0	0	0	0	64	36	1,721	1,142	0	0	139	78	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	2,499	1,713
CHHATTISGARH	2,078	2,196	54,589	50,502	571	130	5,614	5,572	21,345	15,330	245	157	2,017	1,402	0	0	0	0	1,493	783	226	42	88,178	76,114
DADRA & NAGAR HAVELI	0	39	0	0	0	0	535	315	111	77	0	0	99	73	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	745	504
DAMAN & DIU	163	133	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	137	109	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	300	242
GOA	205	167	0	0	0	0	1,073	1,009	20	23	0	0	167	159	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1,465	1,358
GUJARAT	119	134	48,243	38,056	4,292	5,435	3,892	2,396	56,291	31,164	104	6,179	3,434	1,842	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1,16,375	85,206
HARYANA	0	672	0	0	0	0	436	305	6,036	2,990	238	227	1,034	643	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	7,744	4,837
HIMACHAL PRADESH	329	554	139	45	0	0	0	0	9,729	7,113	0	0	1,578	1,006	0	0	0	0	0	0	37	0	11,812	8,718
JAMMU AND KASHMIR	409	3,453	0	0	0	0	0	0	2,732	2,052	314	51	1,589	949	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	5,044	6,505
JHARKHAND	2,281	21,160	1,598	1,160	0	0	5,526	4,869	30,194	18,397	227	142	3,454	2,159	36,178	23,104	0	0	1,286	1,064	3,759	1,128	84,503	73,183
KARNATAKA	2,138	9,365	28,913	32,733	119	0	8,208	3,268	58,137	39,426	3,322	2,100	3,340	2,187	0	0	0	0	0	0	46	155	1,04,223	89,234
KERALA	1,030	910	1,600	1,170	0	0	2,436	2,562	22,721	19,203	53	49	1,616	1,137	1,853	1,385	0	0	0	0	0	0	31,309	26,416
LAKSHADWEEP	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	25	34	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	25	34
MADHYA PRADESH	22,998	32,148	29,586	40,845	112	101	6,024	5,601	1,66,490	1,23,654	522	610	7,028	4,884	0	0	0	0	5,148	5,179	146	74	2,38,054	2,13,096
MAHARASHTRA	550	18	78,372	72,641	4,225	7,677	2,38,782	1,55,544	69,108	32,902	14,260	8,659	4,054	2,354	2,357	1,364	0	0	999	1,001	1,074	1,224	4,13,781	2,83,384
MANIPUR	835	787	134	134	0	0	34	48	14,878	13,243	415	1,239	1,115	588	835	672	0	0	0	70	0	0	18,246	16,781
MEGHALAYA	2,589	4,253	0	0	0	0	1,844	2,680	3,535	3,772	0	0	558	474	49	40	0	0	0	0	0	0	8,575	11,219
MIZORAM	95	73	0	0	69	64	101	56	1,038	865	171	202	163	166	0	0	0	0	0	0	299	209	1,936	1,635
NAGALAND	266	178	64	52	0	0	0	0	8,761	7,509	0	0	259	238	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	9,350	7,977
ODISHA	1,13,020	1,06,307	1,42,833	1,89,447	0	0	7,854	6,597	29,984	21,064	2,343	1,738	3,621	2,760	15,866	10,127	0	0	0	0	0	0	3,15,521	3,38,040
PONDICHERRY	0	0	30	26	0	0	0	0	529	364	0	0	295	319	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	854	709
PUNJAB	722	2,614	26	22	43	42	196	0	10,762	7,072	3,468	2,310	1,579	1,212	55	29	0	0	0	0	0	68	16,851	13,369
RAJASTHAN	17,914	28,898	2,141	1,154	7,014	7,893	0	0	70,434	45,092	105	238	2,217	1,134	197	116	0	0	2,596	1,552	38	49	1,02,656	86,126
SIKKIM	137	143	1,203	22	44	0	587	1,242	4,003	3,280	37	0	475	663	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	6,486	5,350
TAMIL NADU	691	542	12,264	11,432	318	354	19,885	21,245	61,368	45,419	0	0	108	101	148	60	0	0	0	0	0	0	94,782	79,153
TRIPURA	1,288	1,484	722	668	0	0	515	0	6,125	4,524	87	57	505	300	44	34	0	0	930	309	0	0	10,216	7,376
UTTAR PRADESH	95,277	1,58,534	9,311	5,523	8,635	7,388	1,43,221	1,25,646	3,97,576	3,70,881	4,032	4,740	2,555	2,723	188	73	729	462	34,482	33,377	24,385	23,352	7,20,391	7,32,699



State/Union Territories	Education Dept		Tribal/ Social Welfare Dept		Local Body		Private Aided		Private Un-aided		Others		Central Govt		Not recognised		No Res- ponse		Mad-arsa		Madrasa Un- recog-nized		Total	
	B	G	B	G	B	G	B	G	B	G	B	G	B	G	B	G	B	G	B	G	B	G	B	G
UTTARANCHAL	1,618	1,566	824	571	439	174	995	331	23,490	15,253	235	229	1,820	1,014	281	192	0	0	2,055	1,753	99	98	31,856	21,181
WEST BENGAL	1,28,171	1,34,021	2,094	1,881	903	825	2,733	2,009	35,993	27,098	229	29	703	270	5,173	3,435	0	0	3,821	3,664	5,682	3,897	1,85,502	1,77,129
INDIA	5,05,828	6,65,350	4,99,586	5,74,445	30,621	33,125	4,55,721	3,44,800	12,12,650	9,21,331	30,619	29,318	53,049	35,654	75,931	47,233	729	462	67,433	63,318	41,890	33,477	29,74,057	27,48,513

B: Enrolment for Boys; G: Enrolment for Girls

4. Enrolment in Secondary Classes (Class IX – X) of Residential School, by School Management Type

State/Union Territories	Department of Education		Tribal/Social Welfare Dept		Local Body		Private Aided		Private Unaided		Others		Central Govt		Unrecognized		No response		Madrasa/Waft Board		Madrasa Unrecognized		Total	
	B	G	B	G	B	G	B	G	B	G	B	G	B	G	B	G	B	G	B	G	B	G	B	G
ANDAMAN & NICOBAR ISLAND	49	38	0	0	0	0	0	0	35	24	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	84	62
ANDHRA PRADESH	10,449	27,956	27,408	53,349	1,093	869	0	54	14,051	8,100	25	27	1,990	1,072	72	56	0	0	0	0	0	0	55,088	91,483
ARUNACHAL PRADESH	4,108	3,603	149	85	0	0	65	76	1,376	1,286	1,551	1,629	420	382	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	7,669	7,061
ASSAM	7	4	30	20	0	0	178	124	1,533	945	720	776	765	408	38	12	0	0	0	0	0	24	3,271	2,313
BIHAR	1,183	1,029	228	273	0	0	1,460	307	1,262	851	25,035	18,944	1,471	779	333	148	0	0	3,247	5,170	339	655	34,558	28,156
CHANDIGARH	179	148	0	0	0	0	13	10	442	252	0	0	88	64	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	722	474
CHHATTISGARH	131	148	1,162	697	0	0	202	961	3,929	2,365	11,062	10,929	1,204	751	0	0	0	0	0	0	191	99	17,881	15,950
DADRA & NAGAR HAVELI	0	0	0	0	0	0	117	61	0	0	203	161	73	50	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	393	272
DAMAN & DIU	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	94	73	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	94	73
GOA	67	73	0	0	0	0	231	250	0	0	0	0	138	145	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	436	468
GUJARAT	89	70	1,237	3,279	0	0	599	221	15,051	5,361	35,686	28,645	1,925	968	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	54,587	38,544
HARYANA	0	288	0	0	0	0	574	314	1,867	917	213	113	807	437	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	3,461	2,069
HIMACHAL PRADESH	256	624	64	30	0	0	0	0	2,753	1,636	71	52	1,123	673	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	4,267	3,015
JAMMU AND KASHMIR	168	69	0	0	0	0	0	0	732	577	185	105	953	552	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	2,038	1,303
JHARKHAND	1,755	16,298	610	338	0	0	1,080	1,430	8,660	5,089	2,692	1,369	1,741	864	2,465	1,409	0	0	0	0	105	28	19,108	26,825
KARNATAKA	187	132	11,719	14,310	79	0	1,734	641	6,898	4,217	6,181	4,257	1,999	1,251	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	28,797	24,808
KERALA	622	377	596	435	0	0	1,548	1,562	5,329	4,239	0	0	1,122	765	106	91	0	0	0	0	0	0	9,323	7,469
LAKSHADWEEP	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	26	32	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	26	32
MADHYA PRADESH	0	0	0	0	0	0	1,116	422	28,930	19,603	5,420	3,940	3,139	2,077	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	38,605	26,042
MAHARASHTRA	267	7	18,758	17,049	347	1,518	41,784	21,454	11,953	4,031	27,565	14,262	2,870	1,643	101	40	0	0	8	0	10	57	1,03,663	60,061
MANIPUR	111	130	14	16	0	0	0	0	3,178	2,660	298	262	727	388	34	31	0	0	0	0	0	0	4,362	3,487
MEGHALAYA	233	459	0	0	0	0	181	448	945	1,598	1,029	1,020	380	278	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	2,768	3,803
MIZORAM	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	636	519	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	636	519
NAGALAND	31	26	0	0	0	0	0	0	1,438	1,277	45	50	99	76	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1,613	1,429
ODISHA	11,765	11,160	16,466	22,754	0	0	6,565	5,943	5,413	4,227	408	474	2,219	1,578	733	651	0	0	0	0	0	0	43,569	46,787

State/Union Territories	Department of Education		Tribal/Social Welfare Dept		Local Body		Private Aided		Private Unaided		Others		Central Govt		Unrecognized		No response		Madrasa/Waif Board		Madrasa Unrecognized		Total	
	B	G	B	G	B	G	B	G	B	G	B	G	B	G	B	G	B	G	B	G	B	G	B	G
PONDICHERY	0	0	27	15	0	0	0	0	24	19	0	0	255	202	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	306	236
	493	2,053	1	6	0	0	169	0	2,333	1,535	958	605	1,049	855	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	5,003	5,054
RAJASTHAN	6,314	6,078	1,228	609	0	0	0	0	19,853	10,829	3,177	2,762	1,619	768	0	0	0	0	91	98	0	75	32,282	21,219
SIKKIM	152	94	0	0	0	0	135	431	584	456	9	1	311	315	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1,191	1,297
TAMIL NADU	696	505	2,507	2,149	11	1	12,968	16,279	24,213	13,362	3	1	19	28	10	5	0	0	0	0	0	0	40,427	32,330
TRIPURA	301	257	196	253	0	0	174	0	418	322	33	25	316	206	0	0	0	0	46	2	0	0	1,484	1,065
UTTAR PRADESH	12,557	19,155	1,299	400	961	435	1,06,123	93,286	1,38,978	1,36,773	1,70,183	1,63,249	1,752	1,572	0	0	879	1,598	860	784	7,866	8,371	4,41,458	4,25,623
UTTARANCHAL	871	796	306	127	0	0	812	109	5,121	3,056	1,596	1,092	1,009	483	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	9,715	5,663
WEST BENGAL	48,704	55,921	268	302	0	0	210	133	1,758	1,482	63	0	433	144	229	56	0	0	1,651	1,990	26	189	53,342	60,217
INDIA	1,01,745	1,47,498	84,273	1,16,496	2,491	2,823	1,78,038	1,44,516	3,09,057	2,37,089	2,95,047	2,55,269	32,136	19,879	4,121	2,499	879	1,598	5,903	8,044	8,537	9,498	10,22,227	9,45,209

B3: Enrolment for Boys; G: Enrolment for Girls

5. Enrolment in Higher Secondary Classes (Class XI – XII) of Residential School, by School Management Type

[illegible]

State/Union Territories	Ashram (Govt)		Non Ashram (Govt)		Private		Others		KGBV		Model School		No response		Total	
	B	G	B	G	B	G	B	G	B	G	B	G	B	G	B	G
DAMAN & DIU	109	96	0	0	0	0	137	109	0	0	0	0	54	37	300	242
GOA	191	158	25	25	487	523	621	546	0	0	0	0	141	106	1,465	1,358
GUJARAT	36,464	28,105	16,335	13,601	46,363	22,884	15,782	12,677	336	7,099	864	778	231	62	1,16,375	85,206
HARYANA	164	98	680	368	6,179	3,256	598	366	123	749	0	0	0	0	7,744	4,837
HIMACHAL PRADESH	413	253	1,192	1,354	7,520	5,640	2,569	1,326	64	96	0	0	54	49	11,812	8,718
JAMMU AND KASHMIR	464	367	736	323	2,794	2,038	816	524	0	3,058	234	195	0	0	5,044	6,505
JHARKHAND	2,382	1,282	4,648	4,016	66,551	40,067	6,132	4,377	44	19,472	360	219	4,386	3,750	84,503	73,183
KARNATAKA	14,716	14,320	24,770	22,643	29,507	16,795	30,213	23,837	250	7,429	429	711	4,338	3,499	1,04,223	89,234
KERALA	2,514	1,848	1,831	1,543	13,592	12,057	12,085	9,893	0	0	277	213	1,010	862	31,309	26,416
LAKSHADWEEP	0	0	25	34	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	25	34
MADHYA PRADESH	45,639	50,131	43,500	41,433	1,38,664	1,02,555	6,838	5,700	3,257	13,156	156	121	0	0	2,38,054	2,13,096
MAHARASHTRA	79,939	70,033	16,236	9,985	2,60,831	1,55,928	51,791	39,420	0	3,926	104	71	4,880	4,021	4,13,781	2,83,384
MANIPUR	106	90	650	640	13,043	11,450	4,049	3,230	53	942	52	44	293	385	18,246	16,781
MEGHALAYA	483	1,540	546	629	3,755	4,904	3,328	3,189	119	612	0	0	344	345	8,575	11,219
MIZORAM	201	156	0	0	732	617	928	786	0	0	0	0	75	76	1,936	1,635
NAGALAND	76	80	316	300	6,255	5,260	2,510	2,202	0	0	0	0	193	135	9,350	7,977
ODISHA	1,59,405	1,99,071	78,712	65,635	44,163	31,253	12,823	9,522	15,971	28,896	102	93	4,345	3,570	3,15,521	3,38,040
PONDICHERY	6	0	174	193	473	304	145	152	0	0	0	0	56	60	854	709
PUNJAB	525	503	811	407	12,985	8,676	1,485	1,061	364	2,343	274	0	407	379	16,851	13,369
RAJASTHAN	3,922	4,275	75,902	60,363	17,774	13,662	1,748	805	10	3,779	0	0	3,300	3,242	1,02,656	86,126
SIKKIM	635	248	508	337	3,812	3,884	1,395	626	0	193	0	0	136	62	6,486	5,350
TAMIL NADU	4,028	3,548	9,839	9,507	65,312	51,091	15,214	10,280	148	4,421	241	306	0	0	94,782	79,153
TRIPURA	854	726	1,214	1,199	4,410	3,144	3,259	1,713	315	402	0	0	164	192	10,216	7,376
UTTAR PRADESH	1,05,419	98,689	57,230	57,434	4,48,728	4,20,136	55,897	52,487	1,413	56,060	48	147	51,656	47,746	7,20,391	7,32,699
UTTARANCHAL	1,630	1,058	1,813	1,484	18,679	12,435	8,752	5,238	301	527	0	0	681	439	31,856	21,181
WEST BENGAL	24,674	21,223	58,383	46,400	34,060	27,390	53,382	47,739	14,837	34,268	166	109	0	0	1,85,502	1,77,129
INDIA	6,24,433	6,30,423	4,71,635	4,24,442	13,83,770	10,46,136	3,49,682	2,87,626	46,445	2,74,193	14,823	12,737	83,269	72,956	29,74,057	27,48,513

B: Enrolment for Boys; G: Enrolment for Girls



7. Enrolment in Secondary Classes (Class IX – X) in Residential Schools

State/Union Territories	Ashram (Govt)		Non Ashram (Govt)		Private		Others		KGBV		Model School		No response		Total	
	B	G	B	G	B	G	B	G	B	G	B	G	B	G	B	G
ANDAMAN & NICOBAR ISLAND	0	0	49	38	35	24	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	84	62
ANDHRA PRADESH	25,802	32,242	11,805	16,142	13,157	7,788	4,202	4,022	0	31,152	122	137	0	0	55,088	91,483
ARUNACHAL PRADESH	459	334	3,805	3,439	1,845	1,621	1,026	961	0	192	0	0	534	514	7,669	7,061
ASSAM	341	233	120	63	1,396	729	439	358	0	0	0	0	975	930	3,271	2,313
BIHAR	7,512	5,733	7,281	5,999	5,374	4,820	5,288	5,176	0	0	0	0	9,103	6,428	34,558	28,156
CHANDIGARH	0	0	280	222	442	252	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	722	474
CHHATTISGARH	1,968	1,685	1,643	1,968	4,327	3,924	1,593	1,096	12	18	97	53	8,241	7,206	17,881	15,950
DADRA & NAGAR HAVELI	73	50	0	0	0	0	117	61	0	0	0	0	203	161	393	272
DAMAN & DIU	0	0	0	0	0	0	94	73	0	0	0	0	0	0	94	73
GOA	103	108	0	0	75	92	191	195	0	0	0	0	67	73	436	468
GUJARAT	5,595	4,194	12,003	10,337	26,532	15,590	9,760	7,677	0	42	422	704	275	0	54,587	38,544
HARYANA	186	86	359	196	2,325	1,217	426	222	99	340	66	8	0	0	3,461	2,069
HIMACHAL PRADESH	215	157	561	891	2,412	1,450	1,004	450	75	67	0	0	0	0	4,267	3,015
JAMMU AND KASHMIR	254	176	504	175	732	577	416	314	0	0	132	61	0	0	2,038	1,303
JHARKHAND	859	556	3,524	960	12,394	6,968	1,224	576	0	16,268	0	0	1,107	1,497	19,108	26,825
KARNATAKA	3,948	4,318	8,247	7,710	4,845	3,003	10,489	8,533	76	166	204	383	988	695	28,797	24,808
KERALA	1,475	866	813	554	2,848	2,894	3,464	2,538	0	0	101	108	622	509	9,323	7,469
LAKSHADWEEP	0	0	26	32	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	26	32
MADHYA PRADESH	4,788	3,230	5,208	4,124	26,530	17,450	2,079	1,238	0	0	0	0	0	0	38,605	26,042
MAHARASHTRA	18,479	15,705	5,352	2,365	61,465	27,904	16,814	11,536	0	1,617	17	17	1,536	917	1,03,663	60,061
MANIPUR	0	0	269	159	2,983	2,520	1,068	753	8	24	0	0	34	31	4,362	3,487
MEGHALAYA	140	273	184	189	1,157	2,093	811	899	92	62	0	0	384	287	2,768	3,803
MIZORAM	0	0	0	0	179	122	0	45	74	78	0	0	383	274	636	519
NAGALAND	49	41	64	59	1,143	1,010	342	310	0	0	0	0	15	9	1,613	1,429
ODISHA	18,656	24,113	10,367	9,175	9,319	8,134	3,351	2,630	537	1,355	61	60	1,278	1,320	43,569	46,787
PONDICHERRY	0	0	166	128	24	19	116	89	0	0	0	0	0	0	306	236
PUNJAB	307	299	523	260	3,145	2,234	591	448	280	1,813	157	0	0	0	5,003	5,054
RAJASTHAN	2,338	1,351	21,094	13,874	6,979	4,767	1,537	966	0	57	0	0	334	204	32,282	21,219
SIKKIM	198	149	221	211	657	815	112	121	0	0	0	0	3	1	1,191	1,297

State/Union Territories	Ashram (Govt)		Non Ashram (Govt)		Private		Others		KGBV		Model School		No response		Total	
	B	G	B	G	B	G	B	G	B	G	B	G	B	G	B	G
MADHYA PRADESH	3,023	1,934	2,109	2,692	17,279	11,309	1,709	1,045	0	0	0	0	0	0	24,120	16,980
MAHARASHTRA	9,564	7,642	8,201	6,605	40,922	22,348	11,398	7,527	0	0	0	0	1,252	961	71,337	45,083
MANIPUR	0	0	94	96	2,298	1,643	484	425	0	0	0	0	0	0	2,876	2,164
MEGHALAYA	131	185	100	132	257	1,202	359	855	73	69	0	0	86	62	1,006	2,505
MIZORAM	0	0	0	0	171	210	0	0	115	63	0	0	302	271	588	544
NAGALAND	35	32	0	0	1,440	993	61	66	0	0	0	0	0	0	1,536	1,091
ODISHA	1,448	1,179	362	253	224	130	403	248	0	0	66	66	0	0	2,503	1,876
PONDICHERY	0	0	72	60	0	0	154	77	0	0	0	0	0	0	226	137
PUNJAB	188	210	377	277	3,814	4,313	419	362	771	2,124	580	0	0	0	6,149	7,286
RAJASTHAN	2,317	1,049	16,109	9,927	8,482	6,331	2,257	1,865	0	0	0	0	86	94	29,251	19,266
SIKKIM	241	140	165	225	254	632	36	50	0	0	0	0	0	0	696	1,047
TAMIL NADU	903	1,187	2,002	2,889	33,137	37,609	7,452	4,486	0	0	122	53	0	0	43,616	46,224
TRIPURA	175	98	54	71	0	0	471	301	0	0	0	0	0	0	700	470
UTTAR PRADESH	20,402	23,264	23,937	20,234	2,30,545	2,28,277	15,898	16,830	93	481	0	0	40,836	34,563	3,31,711	3,23,649
UTTARANCHAL	374	253	526	340	3,962	2,262	1,999	1,275	71	50	0	0	195	270	7,127	4,450
WEST BENGAL	5,698	4,332	16,296	12,349	1,883	1,674	9,908	8,064	3,826	6,027	58	53	0	0	37,669	32,499
INDIA	61,898	61,574	96,274	86,855	4,10,576	3,76,740	70,897	57,904	5,054	19,536	2,860	2,217	57,713	48,780	7,05,272	6,53,606

B: Enrolment for Boys; G: Enrolment for Girls

States	Overall Girls Enrolment for 2013-14		Total Girls Enrolment in Elementary		Enrolment for Girls in Residential Schools in 2013-14		% of Girls Enrolled in Residential Schools	
	Class I - V	Class VI - VIII						
A & N Islands	15,656	9,572	25,228		202		0.80	
Andhra Pradesh	35,01,104	18,99,826	54,00,930		2,35,757		4.37	
Arunachal Pradesh	1,10,189	50,047	1,60,236		36,467		22.76	
Assam	19,93,116	9,25,393	29,18,509		8,496		0.29	
Bihar	74,30,617	31,39,734	1,05,70,351		98,303		0.93	
Chandigarh	45,650	28,140	73,790		1,713		2.32	
Chhattisgarh	14,31,436	8,21,937	22,53,373		76,114		3.38	
Dadra & Nagar Haveli	16,705	10,618	27,323		504		1.84	
Daman & Diu	8,288	4,624	12,912		242		1.87	
Delhi	8,49,458	5,16,021	13,65,479		Data not available			

States	Overall Girls Enrolment for 2013-14		Total Girls Enrolment in Elementary	Enrolment for Girls in Residential Schools in 2013-14	% of Girls Enrolled in Residential Schools
	Class I - V	Class VI - VIII			
Goa	58,929	35,533	94,462	1,358	1.44
Gujarat	27,69,479	14,81,079	42,50,558	85,206	2.00
Haryana	11,49,036	6,49,324	17,98,360	4,837	0.27
Himachal Pradesh	2,85,077	1,74,361	4,59,438	8,718	1.90
Jammu & Kashmir	5,83,067	2,92,908	8,75,975	6,505	0.74
Jharkhand	22,45,081	10,21,475	32,66,556	73,183	2.24
Karnataka	25,89,624	14,30,283	40,19,907	89,234	2.22
Kerala	12,10,731	7,87,573	19,98,304	26,416	1.32
Lakshadweep	2,266	1,878	4,144	34	0.82
Madhya Pradesh	45,67,940	24,85,534	70,53,474	2,13,096	3.02
Maharashtra	47,93,970	27,70,079	75,64,049	2,83,384	3.75
Manipur	1,97,032	76,572	2,73,604	16,781	6.13
Meghalaya	2,64,495	1,11,588	3,76,083	11,219	2.98
Mizoram	72,161	33,171	1,05,332	1,635	1.55
Nagaland	1,40,065	62,632	2,02,697	7,977	3.94
Odisha	20,65,810	10,29,207	30,95,017	3,38,040	10.92
Puducherry	51,960	32,709	84,669	709	0.84
Punjab	11,63,030	6,31,714	17,94,744	13,369	0.74
Rajasthan	39,10,467	17,39,554	56,50,021	86,126	1.52
Sikkim	35,251	23,648	58,899	5,350	9.08
Tamil Nadu	28,06,994	17,66,001	45,72,995	79,153	1.73
Tripura	1,89,482	99,807	2,89,289	7,376	2.55
Uttar Pradesh	1,26,04,978	54,02,397	1,80,07,375	7,32,699	4.07
Uttarakhand	5,28,383	2,82,411	8,10,794	21,181	2.61
West Bengal	41,49,336	25,16,553	66,65,889	1,77,129	2.66
INDIA	6,38,36,863	3,23,43,903	9,61,80,766	27,48,513	2.86



ANNEXURE IV: Profile of Some Residential Schooling Initiatives by NGOs

(Includes those for which information is either available on the website, or could be obtained through direct interaction)

1. *“Spruthi” Residential School for Mentally Retarded Children*

Vidyaranya Education & Development Society (VEDS) has been executing a programme called “Spruthi” Residential School for Mentally Retarded children. There are 68 children in the school which is staffed with 5 trained teachers and 3 helpers. The children get various services such as education, free note books, and uniforms, etc. In addition, the organization has also been conducting medical assessment for these mentally challenged children annually.

Genesis/History/Context & Organization Profile:

Vidyaranya Education and Development Society (VEDS) is located at Mandur, Bangalore East Taluk of Bangalore Urban District. It is a non-profit making and secular development organization which was started by like-minded people in 1991. It is registered under Karnataka Societies Registration Act 1960 and also with Ministry of Home Affairs and possesses 12A & 80G. VEDS has grown to the heights of success by rendering its services to poor women, children, aged, and disabled, etc in Bangalore Urban, Bangalore Rural and Hassan Districts. VEDS began its education initiative with an objective to help downtrodden and needy so that they can also step up with everyone. VEDS’s team of hard working staff not only helps the focus groups but also pays complete personal attention to their each and every need in order to make them stand on their own feet.

Management Structures: Information not available

Geographical Outreach: Bangalore, Hassan and Chikkaballarpur districts in Karnataka

Contact: M C Ramesh Mandur, (Via) Virgonagar, Bangalore East Taluk,- 560049, Phone - 80-28470731/ 09343207349; <http://www.vidyaranya.in>

2. *Eklavya Parivartan Vidyalaya - Educating first-generation girls*

Vidhayak Sansad (VS) was established in 1979 to support the development of marginalised communities in rural Maharashtra. The organization provides a comprehensive education to girls who would otherwise have limited or no access to schooling. Thane District near Mumbai has a large population of poor tribal families. Among them is the extremely underdeveloped Katkari tribe. Many families of this tribe migrate seasonally, which means that their children, especially girls, never see a classroom. The girls commonly work as a balgi (caretaker for younger siblings or a landlord’s children) and a gowari (cattle herder). Poverty is so acute that parents must take the help of their children to survive. Child marriage is also widely practiced among this community. Vidhayak Sansad established the Eklavya Parivartan Vidyalaya residential school to offer girls from this community the rare opportunity to become literate and aware of their rights as citizens and as women.

Genesis/History/Context & Organization Profile

Vidhayak Sansad considers it unacceptable that sixty-one years after independence elementary education does not reach every Indian child. Its current education programs therefore aim to reach those with the least access to schooling: the children of migrant workers, tribal girls and teenagers who have dropped out or never attended school. These educational initiatives are intended to serve as models for the state government to emulate on a wider scale. VS also works with children in Thane district to run the Bal Sanghatana, an organization managed by young people that runs evening study and play centres at the village level. The organization is active in working with government officials and village committees to ensure schools function properly. The Mahatma Phule Education Guarantee Scheme, a government programme that provides education to the children of migrant workers and other deprived students, was established through a campaign with its allied organizations. Today this programme serves nearly 500,000 students in Maharashtra. The Vasti School Scheme, a government residential school programme for students from remote areas, has also been implemented through the intervention of VS. The scheme now benefits 200,000 children. Tribals have been exploited for generations because of their illiteracy. But the challenge in breaking this cycle is the grinding poverty that requires every member of the family, young and old, to work. This is why the free, residential education offered by Eklavya Parivartan Vidyalaya is so important. It contributes significantly to the socio-economic empowerment of the most deprived and neglected tribal communities.

In all of Thane District there is only one primary residential school and two secondary residential schools run by the government exclusively for girls. One important reason for this is that parents are not ready to trust institutions with their young daughters. Vidhayak Sansad's residential school is possible because the organization has earned the trust of tribals in Thane District during its over 25 years of working with them. Currently 120 girls aged 6-16 from the Katkari tribe live at Vidhayak Sansad's campus in Usgaon where they not only study, but also learn singing, dancing, painting and karate.

Contact: Vidhayak Sansad, At Usgaon Dongri, Post: Bhatane, Taluka Vasai, District Thane , Pin 401 303, India.

Phone - +91 95250 257 0016 - vsusgaon@bom7.vsnl.net.in

3. Balika Shivirs - Residential Girls' Education/vocational training Camps

Urmul Jyoti Sansthan

Urmul Jyoti Sansthan was formally registered as a society under Rajasthan Societies Registration Act, 1958 in February 1996. The organization owes its origin to Urmul Rural Health Research and Development Trust which was founded by Shri Sanjay Ghosh in 1986. The trust was working in the desert districts of Bikaner, Jodhpur, Jaisalmer, Barmer, Churu and Nagaur for programs like healthcare facilities, education, drought relief, water conservation and also weaving and handicraft.

Broad Objectives:

- To ensure openness and transparency in our own practices
- To raise awareness on development issues among vulnerable groups of people



- To involve people in the development process and enable them to take responsibility for their own development
- To encourage the spirit of openness in the govt. development process
- To undertake development projects in partnership with other organizations and groups of vulnerable people. Our priorities will be adolescent girls' education, eye care, healthcare and good governance
- Co-operate with, and influence the government machinery as and when required for the benefit of vulnerable groups of people
- Create opportunities for health care, education, agriculture and livelihood for women and marginalised sections
- To establish good governance by making proper use and implementation of RTI, NREGA etc

Balika Shivirs

Balika Shivirs (Residential Girls' Education/vocational training Camps) Residential Girls' Education camps at Mukam, Nokha enrol children in the age group 9 to 15 years particularly those from remote areas and with no schools nearby and those belonging to the poor and deprived sections of the society. Most of these girls have never been to a school-now too old for admission in a government school and some are dropouts. In a short span of 7 months they are readied to sit for their Class V exams which are conducted and supervised by officials deputed by the Block Officer. On passing these exams the girls are provided with official certificates.

Learning in these camps is an integrated affair. Students are not rushed through with their curricula and it is ensured that apart from book learning other skills and extracurricular activities are included in the daily routine of the students. Once the girls have completed 7 months and passed their exams they are then enrolled in the government schools in Class VI. However there are those who are unable to pursue education for various familial reasons and return home. One reason is the lack of middle schools and lack of female teachers in the villages. These and other such girls are then provided with the opportunity to attend another camp, this time to sit for their Class VIII exams. This camp is similar to the earlier camp.

The shivirs have also commenced coaching classes for girls wanting to sit for their Class 8th and 10th board exams. Being a matriculate can change a lot in the life of an ordinary rural woman. Trained female teachers live with the girls in the camp.

Key Facts/Achievements

- A total of 21 Shivirs have been completed till 2008 – 09
- A total of 2241 girls have passed out from Balika Shivirs between 1999 – 2009
- 45% of girls who passed out from Shivirs have been enrolled in government schools
- 480 girls have passed out from the coaching camps for class VIII
- 30 girls have passed from the coaching camps for class X initiated in 2007-08
- 547 girls have been enabled with vocational training since 2003

- The Shivirs have an outreach in over 50 villages
- More than 90% of girls who appeared for class V formal exams have passed
- Pass rate for girls appearing for class VIII exams is over 70

Contact: Urmul Jyoti Sansthan, Nokha, Bikaner, Rajasthan, India-334803, Phone NOs: 01531-220595(O), 0151-2233953(R), chetanram2009@gmail.com.

4. Nari Gunjan's Hostel for Girls - Removing Exclusion Through Education

Nari Gunjan is a non-profit, non-governmental organization, unaffiliated with any religious group. It provides education, literacy, vocational training, healthcare, advocacy and life skills for girls/women who are part of the Dalit community ("the Untouchables"), and living in the state of Bihar. These girls/women fall into the lowest rung of India's caste ladder and are known as the "Musahars" ("rat-eaters"). The Musahars are landless and asset less; yet their livelihoods depend on agricultural work. Their literacy rate is abysmally low (only 0.9%). Until now, little attention has been paid to their education, health, or sanitation. Nari Gunjan helps these girls/women grow in a way they never thought possible.

Profile of Girls:

The girls/women of the Dalit community who are the direct beneficiaries of Nari Gunjan are called the "Musahars" because they catch and eat rats. Being an excluded community, they are victims of untouchability, face frequent and damaging discrimination and are casualties of exploitation, violence, sexual harassment and are unable to defend themselves in these situations.

Overview

Nari Gunjan runs over 50 educational centres for Musahar Girls. Here, they are provided with the education that was once unavailable to them. They also are taught vocational skills, proper health care, personal hygiene and encouraged to be children and just have fun. Approximately 100 girls from these centres are selected to then live in a hostel, located in Prerna Chatravas, for further studies. This is an unbelievable opportunity for these girls to live a full life, continue their education and stay in a clean and supportive environment.

Life at Nari Gunjan Hostel

While staying at Nari Gunjan's hostel, the girls take part in a regimented schedule incorporating education, exercise, fun and lessons about living a healthy, clean lifestyle. As part of their daily routine, the girls wake up at 5:30 am for exercise and take on lessons in activities like karate. They return to the hostel to bathe before eating a healthy breakfast at 8:00 am. Learning the importance of hygiene is a big part of the girls' education. Due to dire financial circumstances, until coming to the centres, the girls only bathed occasionally, walked with bare feet and did not wear clean clothes. However, once at the centre, the girls are provided clean clothes and taught the importance of living a hygienic lifestyle. After breakfast, between 9:00 and 10:00 a.m., the girls have an hour for studying and reading the newspaper. School and classes go on from 10:00 am to 4:00 pm. The girls learn to read, write and do basic math. These are skills they would never have if Nari Gunjan was not there to teach them. After school, the girls have the chance to just be



children, and play games such as soccer, hopscotch and jump rope. Without Nari Gunjan, many would be working in the fields. Dinner is at 8:30 pm, at which time the girls get the ultimate luxury, T.V. time! At 10:00 p.m., the girls go to bed and have a restful sleep in a bed, which in itself is luxury for all.

5. Kedi Residential School for Tribal Girls

Kaivalya Trust is a group of friends talented in various fields of life. The group aspires to provide a supportive and conducive environment that would benefit the Adivasis of Dharampur Taluka [Dist. Valsad, South Gujarat] to progress educationally, economically, socially and thus to bridge the wide gap between rural-urban society. With this view the trust organizes talks, seminars, workshops, camps and teachers training activities.

Kaivalya Trust has worked in the education field since it began in 1999, working with families of young girl students who were chronically missing school for several reasons. Sporadically and distantly located High Schools lead to many dropouts. Hostel facilities are extremely scarce. Today Kedi School for Tribal Girls operates a range of programs to achieve the goal of getting all kids into and through college successfully.

KT operates middle-school programs with residential facility to help kids get ready for High-school, after-school programs to assist their academic achievement, to address the centrepiece of a child's educational life and to expand its ability to ensure that Kedi students are prepared to enter and excel in college.

Core Philosophy:

The core philosophy of Kedi Residential School is to provide relevant formal education along with vocational training system which can prepare them to work and live in their own villages. Thus, to use literacy as a vehicle of social mobility and as a method for increasing market value for employment. The ability to take independent decision and the desire to take personal responsibility are the major objectives of education.

Area Profile:

The catchments area, Dharampur and Kaparada Taluks, are pronounced backward areas. 95% of its total population inhabits hamlets which are located more than 3 to 5 kilometres away from each other. There are some Primary Schools and only 3 to 4 High Schools in the vicinity around Dharampur.

Education:

Based on this philosophy, using alternative inter-active teaching methods, the school follows Gujarat State School Board curriculum. All the students appear for the final Board Examinations.

Self-Reliance:

In order to help them become self-reliant, along with education, KT provides vocational guidance. It will help make their families economically more self-sufficient. Such vocational skills will enhance their self-confidence, self-esteem and help develop independent personality.

Vocational Training:

During the courses of four years, KT offers them following vocational training. Students learn about different types of soils, various crops, disease of plants and their treatments, cross breed seeds, grafting, types of fertilizers, water and soil testing, proper storage of food grains, awareness of harmful effects of chemical fertilizer and pesticides.

- Nursery - Prepare saplings, drip irrigation, landscape design, wormy culture, green house, grafting, and use of natural fertilizer.
- Food Products - Various Pickles, Use of Solar Cooker for daily cooking and to prepare Dried Fruits Based Products, Milk Products, Herbs Drying, Assortment of Snacks and Mukhavas.
- Craft and Bamboo Products - Decorative items for events decoration, handy crafts and encouragement to local folk arts as well as basic carpentry, construction skills, appliance repair and use of various basic tools.
- Machine and Hand Embroidery: Jerdoshi and hand embroidery stitching.
- Cutting and stitching - Cutting and stitching variety of dresses, Bags, Hand Bags and Soft Toys Making
- Computer - Provide basic working knowledge of MS Office - Word, Excel, and Power Point as well as basic graphic programs.
- Marketing - also provided hands on marketing training for their products.

Contact: Kedi Residential School for Tribal Girls, Kaivalya Trust, Kaivalya, Bungalow, Sai Baba Temple Road, Tithal 396006, Dist. Valsad, Gujarat, India.

Phone: Pankaj/Aparna - +91 9979496352, aparna.kadikar@gmail.com

6. Navsarjan Schools

Navsarjan Trust runs 3 residential schools near Ahmedabad in Gujarat specially catering to Dalit children living in the surrounding communities. In 2012-2013, these co-educational residential schools housed 322 children from grades 5 through 8. The Dalit children face harsh social and economic discrimination in the local government schools and communities. These schools impart not only academic education in a safe supportive environment but also essential life skills such as non-discrimination and equality. Also, these schools epitomize simplicity and function. For example, for every school, Navsarjan uses modular buildings for different purposes at different times of the day. The same area is used as a mess hall in the morning, class room during the day and dormitory at night.

About Organization

Navsarjan is a grassroots organization dedicated to ensure human rights for all. Its mission is to eliminate discrimination based on untouchability practices. It also campaigns for equality of status and opportunities to all, regardless of caste, class or gender, and ensure prevalence of the rule of law. Navsarjan is one of the largest grassroots organizations in Gujarat, active in more than 3,000 villages, as well as in major Gujarat cities. A field staff of about 80 women and men — most



of whom come from the communities in which they work — keep Navsarjan in tune with the needs of the people. Our outreach is spread out across India. They are associated with national and international platforms and networks. Navsarjan works to strengthen the movement for equality, and believes that energy for all such movements must come from within the oppressed, marginalised communities.

Navsarjan Schools:

In order to empower some of Gujarat's most disempowered children, Navsarjan has established three primary boarding schools in rural Gujarat: Katariya, Rayka and Sami. Plans are currently being finalized for the fourth school in the border of Surendranagar and Rajkot Districts, where discrimination against Dalits in school is particularly vicious, and a fifth school in Gandhinagar District, Kalol Taluka, where the level of education of Dalits is very low, and child marriage is still practiced. The schools serve hundreds of students, and employ teachers from the local community, trained by Navsarjan. Each school uses Ecosan systems for its water and toilet needs.

The areas around the Katariya, Rayka and Sami schools are rife with discrimination. The Navsarjan primary schools give Dalit children a shot at real education that they would otherwise not have. About half of the students who come to the primary schools in 5th standard cannot properly read or write—even after five years of government schooling. Though this gap presents a challenge to the teachers (as there is a large difference in educational level within one class), after a few months at the schools, nearly all students can read and write, and they catch up quickly.

The core of the schools' identity is equality, both in terms of caste and gender. Unity is emphasized instead of division, and there is no activity that boys do which girls are not encouraged to do. In addition to emphasizing Dalit unity and total gender equality, the schools provide a quality education to children who would otherwise either be enrolled in poor-quality government schools, or have dropped out; many of the students come from schools in which they experienced discrimination for being Dalits.

The long term goals for setting up model schools by Navsarjan are:

- After 10 years, the children will become leaders of the Dalit movement.
- The children will not feel that they were born in a lower caste. The girl children will demand higher education from their parents instead of getting married at a young age.
- The boys will not feel embarrassed to do tasks like sweeping, washing clothes, preparing chapatti (Indian bread) or cutting vegetables.
- The children will demystify the myths based on caste and gender discrimination.
- The children will confidently demand their rights at school and in the villages.
- The children will sing the songs of Dalit empowerment, and read and internalize the ideology of Dr. Ambedkar, the Dalit leader and framer of the Indian Constitution.
- The children will ensure gender equity within their families and dignity for their mothers.
- The children will strive to ensure the eradication of all forms of discrimination based on caste and gender.

Purpose

The dropout rate of children in government schools who come from the Dalit community (often treated as a lower and outcast group) was highest in grades 5 through 8. At this tender age, the Dalit children started to recognize the caste-based discrimination and dropped out of school to avoid being mistreated by upper class students and teachers. Moreover, many parents are agricultural or migrant labourers, who migrate every season for agricultural work, taking their children with them for additional labour. To retain these children in schools, Navsarjan started 3 residential schools in Gujarat to provide primary education (5th to 8th grades), lodging and food. These schools were initially built with the help of the community funds, whereas the operational expenses are covered by student contributions, Navsarjan's own funds, and external aid agencies.

Contact: Sanand Bavla Road, Village Nani Devti, Taluka Sanand, Ahmedabad – 380007, Phone - +91-79-65443745, <http://www.navsarjan.org>

7. Mitraniketan – a non-profit residential school in Kerala

Mitraniketan's aim is to give disadvantaged children a chance to get proper education. Most of the boarding school pupils (1st – 10th form) come from the tribal District of Wayanad – about 600 km to the mountainous north of Kerala. Mitraniketan has two hostels, a girls' hostel and a boys' hostel, and the school offers three daily meals to these pupils.

The school consists of small open-air class-rooms scattered around the campus. One can get the impression that these "huts" are a bit primitive. But they are mistaken. In the moist climate of Southern India these "airy" buildings are extremely comfortable. There will always be a breath of air, so it does not get too hot in the summer.

Most of the students at Mitraniketan come from the District of Wayanad – the tribal area in the North of Kerala where people still struggle to support their families. Consequently the parents of these children are unable to pay for their children's board and education, and so the school is dependent on donations. A full year's expenses for a student, including tuition, educational materials, room and board, clothing etc., are only \$250.

Self-sufficiency

The Mitraniketan community is self-sufficient with vegetables and fruit and has lately started to grow rice in some of their fields. They have also built some bio-gas plants. But the big problem is the irregularity of rainfall. There is lot of rain in the rainy season, while the rest of the year is very dry. Therefore attempts are being made to store water to get maximum benefit of water in the dry season. In 2012 a project, called ECO-Campus, was initiated at Mitraniketan. The programme will run till 2014 and the aim is to invest time and money in the following fields:

- To build bio-gas plants
- To harvest rainwater and store it in tanks
- To plant more fruit trees
- To enlarge wells and ponds in order to store more water
- To produce more fodder for the animals



Contact: Mitraniketan Mitraniketan Post Velland, Thiruvananthapuram, India – 695 543, Phone: 0472-2882045/0472-2882680 Fax: 0472 2882045, Web: www.mitraniketan.org

8. Prayas - Pratirodh Sansthan's Aadharshila – Residential School for Girls In Chittorgarh, Rajasthan

Project Description

The project aims to provide basic literacy, pre-primary up to middle school education, for girls through alternative education techniques. Aadharshila is a unique experiment rooted in belief that women are the change makers in the society and education of girl child will create a generational effect that will better our society at large. It is equally bold intervention for educating girls is a taboo in this caste polarized & orthodox society. Besides, child marriage is a common practice in the region. Pratirodh Sansthan is protesting against the status quo. Aadharshila is no ordinary school; it acts a bridge school that attempts to get girl children access to Government Schools. In span of four years, Aadharshila School has reached over 50 girls between the age of 8-13 years, almost all of them married young and never been to any school before.

Organization Description

Lok Shikshan Sansthan (LSS) was begun in 1999 with the aim of empowering the disadvantaged demographics of the Chittorgarh region of Rajasthan. This area is wrought with problems associated with poverty. Literacy rates remain abysmally low, bonded labour is common, women are subject to discrimination in all areas of life, and the prejudice against tribes and lower castes is so strong that there is little opportunity for upward social mobility. Lok Shikshan was established to respond to these problems in a variety of ways, from forming self-help groups for women and youth, to educating girls about their rights as women to helping to release bonded labourers. More importantly, though, Lok Shikshan acts as a resource when rights are violated; i.e. in land disputes, securing government benefits, organizing workers to demand minimum wage, etc. In these cases LSS provides legal assistance, helps with media and policy advocacy, networks with related associations, and organizes protests and dharnas. LSS primarily relies on the staff's familiarity with villagers and an in-depth knowledge of the area to accomplish its goals. More than just correcting the injustice that occurs in the area, LSS aims to empower people to respond to problems on their own.

LSS is now called Pratirodh Sansthan and also works on:

- Tribal land disputes
- Economic empowerment through women's self-help groups and other micro-finance programmes.
- Establishment of various training programmes for community development.
- General dissemination of knowledge of legal and government structures, right to education.
- Employment issues, i.e. bonded labour, minimum wage
- Securing government poverty relief and health benefits



Some observation from the field visit (Teesta):

- Residential school for girls in Amarpura village, Bhadesar block, 25 kms away from Chittorgarh
- School is running well, for the first 5 months. Teaching methods are very similar to that of Seva Mandir's.
- They also keep a working document that has information of girls.
- Major accomplishment is getting an enrolment of 80 girls at the beginning, and 55 were still with the school during the visit (end February 2009)
- The teachers who run the school live across from the hostel itself
- The girls talk very confidently, seem very comfortable and friendly with the teachers and are happy there
- The girls are interested in reading story books etc. Within 3 months a lot has been achieved

Contact: B-8, Bapu Nagar, Semnathi, Chittorgarh, Rajasthan – 312025, Phone – 91-147-2243788
loksikshan@rediffmail.com

9. Seva Mandir, Udaipur, Rajasthan - Residential Learning Camps: Improving educational opportunities for the most disadvantaged children in tribal and rural village settings

Seva Mandir has been operating Learning Camps since 2001. The purpose of these residential camps is to enable 200 children between the age of 6-12 years who do not attend formal schooling to attend these camps in order to learn to read and write independently and with comprehension. Since 2001, three camps of 60 days each have been conducted every year, with each child being encouraged to attend all three camps. The camps take place on the outskirts of Udaipur and children are collected from their homes by organised transport, taken to the camps and once they are over, they are taken back to their familial villages.

The children participating in the camp come from poor villages in remote parts of the province which are largely inhabited by tribal people. Some children may have access to a school but many do not attend for reasons such as responsibility for domestic chores, migration or because of poor quality of education in government schools leading to parents feel that there is little value in their attendance. For those who do attend government schools, attendance is low and dropout rates are high. Seva Mandir's Learning Camps provide such children with an opportunity to acquire the basic skills of reading and writing through intensive learning. In the past the camps have been successful in ensuring that children become fully literate, and inspired parents to enrol their children in schools afterwards.

The philosophy inspiring this approach is that each child is an intelligent being and learns best when allowed to explore, think and reason for themselves. Seva Mandir seeks to build on the child's existing knowledge and aptitude for learning, and the camps are structured in a way that allows for children to work both individually and in groups to read, write, speak and reason on their own.



The difference a learning camp can make

After the completion of all of the previous Learning Camps, contact has been maintained with students. Since the inception of the camps, 57% of children who had never been enrolled in regular school before were enrolled after attending a learning camp. The skills benefit not only the children but their families and the villages in which they live. Further educational opportunities present themselves, and the children are far more likely to go onto a better job that will help to improve their standard of living. The teachers chosen are known for their enthusiasm and knowledge and love for education.

The future

Going forward, Seva Mandir also plans to award scholarships to children who after completion of the Learning Camps, enrol and consistently attend a regular school. Since many children are unable to attend school due to economic constraints, it is hoped that once they have been prepared for schooling, thanks to the learning camps, a financial incentive will sufficiently motivate the children and their parents in sending and retaining the child in a regular school where the fundamentals acquired at the Learning Camps can be built upon.

Contact: Seva Mandir, Old Fatehpura Udaipur, Rajasthan, India 313004, Email: info@sevamandir.org, Phone: +91 294 2451041, Fax: +91 294 2450947

10. Adivasi Ashram Shala - Maharshi Karve Stree Shikshan Samstha, (MKSSS) Pune, Maharashtra

Maharshi Karve Stree Shikshan Samstha, (MKSSS) Pune runs Adivasi Ashram Shala (Residential School for the Tribals) at Kamshet, near Pune. It is meant for the Adivasis living in the remote areas all over Maharashtra. 'Adivasi' are the tribal people who live in the far-flung areas, far away from the rural areas. These tribes exist in nearly in all the districts of Maharashtra for whom this school serves as a boon. Education is made available for both, the girls and the boys coming from these communities.

MKSSS, Pune has invested a sizeable amount for the construction of school and hostel building for these students at Kamshet. Hon. Smt. Lata Mangeskar has extended substantial charity through her "Member-of-Parliament Funds" for the construction of hostel & school building. MKSSS strives for the further development of the students in multiple ways.

The school runs classes from I to IX for both girls and boys. At present, 270 girls and 155 boys, altogether 425 students are taking education in this Ashram Shala. The teaching and non-teaching staff, comprising of more than 15 members, cohesively work to make the dream of complete literacy come true. MKSSS, Pune plans to extend the amenities of the school facilitating the girls to complete their education till class X from the same school.

Parents of these Adivasi students belong to the very low income group and cannot afford the day-to-day expenses of their wards. As per the government policy, Government of Maharashtra pays approximately Rs. 500/- per student per month to meet their tuition and food expenses. The other expenses are incurred by the Institution itself.

Adivasi Ashram Shala was previously run by Adishakti Trust in village Pangoli, Tal Maval, District Pune. It was on 18th April 2008 that Maharshi Karve Stree Shikshan Samstha (MKSSS) took

over this Ashram Shala from Adishakti Trust, to run it more contentedly. MKSSS, Pune has been successful in broadening the horizons for these students thereafter.

<http://www.maharshikarve.ac.in/satara-campus.php>

11. *Shiksha Bharati - Holistic and Innovative Education for Tribal Girls*

Background: Tribal communities in India's North-eastern states possess a wealth of natural resources and traditional knowledge. But they also suffer from instability, illiteracy and poverty. The girls from this region often have little opportunity to receive quality education in their home states. IDRF (India Development and Relief Fund) has partnered with Shiksha Bharati to provide innovative and holistic education for these underprivileged girls through a unique residential programme. The programme enables mainstream education for tribal girls at a nationally-recognized school in Uttar Pradesh and empowers them with all-round life skills. The Shiksha Bharati curriculum combines academics with physical, moral, spiritual and cultural development. The school produces young women who are bold, confident and ready to tackle the challenges facing their communities. This programme aims to educate and prepare these girls to return to their community as advocates for women's empowerment and education.

IDRF provided guidance and financial support to Shiksha Bharati to construct a dorm for these students; today the dorm is as an integral part of their education. The dorm includes a media room, library, game room and room for judo practice. These young women also build livelihood skills on site; they make handicrafts, study medicine in a herbal garden, and manage a dairy with 20 cows.

IDRF's support in expanding the school's athletic fields has benefited all the students, as they win new accolades in sports. A Shiksha Bharati student recently won the national judo competition, while 13 of her classmates won first prize in a national yoga competition. On the academic front, Shiksha Bharati students are performing exceptionally well, earning competitive scores in the nation's rigorous board exams. Recent tribal graduates of the school have returned to the Northeast where they teach local girls, breaking the cycle of social isolation and poverty in their communities. Other tribal alumnae are pursuing higher education or working in social services.

Warmed by the progress and success of the students, IDRF has joined hands with Shiksha Bharati to establish an endowment fund to accommodate more tribal students. While Shiksha Bharati will cover their tuition, the endowment fund will cover the girls' boarding and lodging, in perpetuity.

Location: Hapur, Uttar Pradesh (programme site); serving girls from far northeast

Contact: India Development and Relief Fund, 5821 Mossrock Drive, North Bethesda, MD 20852-3238, USA

Phone: +1 301-704-0032 (available 10:30 am to 5:30 pm M-F) info@idrf.org

12. *Doosara Dashak (DD)*

Doosra Dashak is a project for the holistic education of adolescents aged 11-20. The programme aims at leadership development among adolescents to enable them to play a role in the process of social transformation. Doosra Dashak was started in 2001, with Sir Dorabji Tata Trust as the major funding agency. It is being implemented in 9 blocks of 7 districts in Rajasthan.



Objectives

With reference to persons of 11-20 age group, DD aims to channelize immense energy of these young boys and girls towards community development and nation building. DD programme works with the following objectives:

- To meet their basic learning needs and to relate learning to life, work and environment;
- To equip them for adolescence and family life through improvement in their understanding of issues in health/reproductive health and making them aware about HIV /AIDS;
- To create an awareness about the underlying causes of socio-economic and gender inequality;
- To cater livelihood related issues by enhancing vocational and life skills;
- To harness their energies for nation building through creation of cadres who may provide educated, informed and responsible leadership;
- To create a cadre of adolescents to work towards securing people's rights and to steadfastly pursue the constitutional postulates of national integration, democracy and secularism;
- To employ science and technology for improving the lives of the people.

Residential Schools

Through its experiences with the MV Foundation in Hyderabad and Lok Jumbish in Rajasthan, Doosra Dashak was exposed to the concept of educational residential programs for its participants. For the first few years of Doosra Dashak, the residential programs were not emphasized as much as other styles of learning, however, in 2005 Doosra Dashak redrew the curriculum for the residential camps. A deliberate effort was made in Doosra Dashak to draw learners from different religion and caste backgrounds to enable them to overcome age-old prejudices and begin educational courses through the residential camps. In 2005, the new curriculum stressed the importance of the residential camps and created them into an effective method for the participants to receive an integrated and holistic education.

Intensive Training of Staff

In view of the importance of the residential education programs, Doosra Dashak decided to create a cadre of full-time trainers, who were graduates with good academic records, and almost all had earlier experience as trainers. Intensive training was provided to them along with shorter courses on specific subjects. Trainers were expected to undertake a review at the end of each day. This served as an opportunity to assess the trainers' progress as well as problems faced in the transacting aspects of the curriculum.

4-month Residential Camps

The most important intervention strategy in Doosra Dashak is to organise 4-month residential camps. These camps serve the following purpose:

- a) As an induction strategy:** Residential camps help adolescents get acquainted with the philosophy and principles of DD. Our participants are viewed as Doosra Dashak ambassadors and therefore we make sure that they completely understand and inculcate DD's values to set exemplary behaviour.

b) As a “bridge course”: 4-month camps are a contribution to our country’s educational development. These serve as a bridge course where the participants aged 11-13 years become eligible for lateral admissions in schools. These camps can also be seen as mode of alternate education as rigorous follow-up sessions are conducted with participants to enable them to retain, reinforce and enhance qualification. Four to six full time trainers are given the responsibility for initial training as well as numerous follow-up trainings. Half of these trainers are females. Special training is organized for trainers with the help of Sandhan. The residential camp attempts to build the whole course around the subject such as Language, mathematics, social awareness, life-skills, health and hygiene, science and gender.

Adolescents: From Beneficiaries to Participants

DD programs have a transformational impact on the personality of adolescent persons. The most important aspect of the process is the residential education programme, which is integrated and holistic. As a result of living together, not only with other adolescent persons but also with teachers, the trainees of the residential camps overcome the prejudices affecting their behaviour about religion and caste, and they acquire an attitude of sensitivity towards women. After their residential education these persons have access to programs of continuing education; younger persons enter school and others can make use of library or science centre or benefit from open middle school.

Some indicators of change

The manner in which the DD processes impact adolescent persons can be best seen in their personal and family life, in their involvement with DD work and as role models. As a result of emphasis on life skills these persons acquire social skills, thinking and analytical skills and negotiation skills. Boys as well as girls are seen discussing with parents about the need for delayed marriage. Much of the work of DD is shouldered by these trained participants. They serve as volunteers in libraries, Gyan Vigyan Kendras and in the micro-planning exercises. Selection of new candidates for residential training programs is often left to the older participants, who also undertake community contact in villages where DD is to be extended. For their self-confidence, the sensitive style of their behaviour towards women, their willingness to serve the community and for their determination to continue their learning, they serve as role models for other adolescents.

Priority is given to building of women’s organizations and their proper trainings so that they are able to discuss and fight against gender violence. Collectives of women have played an important role in enabling adolescent girls to participate in residential training programs and in providing support to them when they return to their homes after training.

The Doosra Dashak programme is focused on educational and developmental needs of adolescents and preparing them to play a major role in social transformation. Given the criticality of this age group for the future of our country, programs made for them need to be holistic, based on adolescents’ predicament and taking into account the various facets of their personality and needs. There is no denying the fact that the treatment which adolescents, especially girls, receive from larger society requires serious introspection. Life of adolescent girls symbolises life of a ‘second grade citizen’ who is expected to start preparation for the role of an - adult woman soon after reaching the age of adolescence. They are taken out of school; there are restrictions on their mobility and high expectations to contribute to the household chores.



It is assumed that education would help in reducing inequalities by enhancing people's capacity to think and reflect on given roles and expectations. In reality education becomes yet another tool to perpetuate and widen gender inequalities and sanctions discrimination in a subtle manner. The subordination and discrimination suffered by girls in the family and society are prevalent in schools. Indeed, male as well as female teachers reinforce patriarchy. As a result, the atmosphere of passive learning in schools affects girls more severely than boys. This situation calls for serious attention.

13. *Atma Amar Jyoti Residential School for Blind Girls, Gwalior, Madhya Pradesh*

India Foundation supports Atma Amar Jyoti Residential Blind Girls School (with over 40 Blind Girls) in Gwalior, Madhya Pradesh, India. This School gives the girls the opportunity to have an education and a successful fulfilling life. These girls would have no chance for a future without the care and support of this comprehensive and effective school. The girls go to regular schools and study with normal children. When they come back from the public school, the teachers at the residential school help them with their homework. Some of the blind girls have excelled in competing with other children in their classes. The girls are also taught music, weaving, yoga and gardening. Every effort is being made to make them successful and contributing citizens in the society.

Genesis

India Foundation (IF) for Children Education and Care, Inc. is a non-profit organization dedicated to eliminating poverty through education in India. IF was founded in 2006 in the USA, by an enthusiastic group of Indian-Americans, who passionately believed in the goal of bringing social and economic transformation in India through education. Our focus is on educating poor children with emphasis on elementary education to eliminate poverty.

Education Strategy:

Education is one of the most important drivers of India's social and economic development. Higher levels of literacy lead to greater economic output, higher employment levels, better health, better social structures and higher standards of living. Specifically, the impact of educating girls and women has been shown to result in rapid improvements in family planning, nutrition, health and income.

14. *Udaan – Residential Education programme for Girls*

CARE's Girls' Education Programme (GEP) has been in operation for over 10 years and plays a vital role in achieving CARE's long term goal of reaching out to 2 million women, girls, and other marginalised people to enhance their abilities to exercise greater choice in personal and public spheres by 2014. GEP seeks to improve opportunities for girls and women through their increased participation in formal and alternative education systems.

GEP builds upon innovative pilot projects and strategic partnerships that have made important improvements in access to and quality of education for girls, especially among poor, marginalised and vulnerable girls. Realising that there are multi-tiered bottlenecks around issues of access, availability and quality of education, the programme, in partnership with the government of India, addresses the problems on many levels, including both within the formal school system and through a number of alternative approaches to schooling.

Udaan Residential Education programme

Udaan, meaning flight is an accelerated learning camp especially designed to help marginalised adolescent girls who never enrolled in school. Many may have also dropped out of school and the project is designed to help them complete their primary education within 11 months. This is achieved with the help of teachers trained in participatory approaches. It teaches girls to develop a broader world view and provides a forum for critically examining social issues.

Udaan (Flight) school was piloted in Uttar Pradesh in the year 1999 in the district of Hardoi, through an accelerated learning model, for older out-of-school girls, aged 9-14, which allows students to complete primary school in 11 months in a residential setting. Of the girls who have been enrolled in this residential bridge programme in each of the last nine years, 98 percent stayed through the year, 95 percent graduated by passing the government's grade-5 examination, 80 percent enrolled in grade 6 to continue their education in formal schools and 30 percent of the first class went on to complete grade 7. Udaan school in Uttar Pradesh has currently the eleventh batch of girls who are going to pass out of the school into mainstream formal schools.

Udaan has not only made a difference for the girls who enroll, it has also helped bring about a positive change in families' views of girls' education. The organization's main activities include curriculum preparation, identification of appropriate teachers, training of teachers, and a follow up programme for students who have completed the course. Every year a batch of 100 girls from the most marginalised areas completes the course, and approximately 90 percent are mainstreamed into formal education. A special curriculum developed by UDAAN has been acknowledged by the education department and has played key role in its replication in other states. Entry into the programme is based on a needs assessment conducted in six blocks of Hardoi District. The government syllabus is followed and teachers adopt a holistic approach to learning, using physical activity, dance, music, art and crafts to involve the girls in their own learning. Parents and community members are educated on the value of the girls' education and the negative impact of early marriage on their livelihood.

Till date 12 batches of around 100 girls each have successfully graduated from Udaan in Hardoi and moved on to the upper primary education and higher studies. The success of this model has been replicated by CARE in another state, Orissa, in one of its tribal dominated districts, Mayurbhanj which targets the most disadvantaged tribal girls residing in remote inaccessible habitations. Lessons from Udaan have informed CARE India's work vis a vis other government's scheme. CARE has also now initiated Udaan in Bihar and Haryana states.

15. MV Foundation

Established in 1981, the Mamidipudi Venkatarangaiya Foundation (MVF) began as a research institution on issues relating to social transformation. Today, the Foundation is building the capacities of community in rural and urban areas for abolition of child labour by universalising social education. It uses an "area-based" approach instead of a target based approach. The area based approach concentrates on protecting the rights of every child and ensuring all of them attend full-time formal education. It draws plans for children to withdraw from work and prepare them to be integrated into schools. Schemes were also designed to ensure that children are retained in school and will continue to do so without any disruption.

At the outset MVF considers all children in the age group of 5-14 who are out-of-schools as child-labourers. Thus for MVF, child-labourers are those who are engaged in hazardous as well as



non-hazardous works: who are employed on wages and who work without getting paid; who are employed by others and who work at home or who contribute to family enterprise or cultivation; who work as apprentices acquiring skills and receiving on-job training with artisan parents and even those who don't do any work and are just idle.

The MVF adopts a two pronged strategy to remove child-labourers from work. For the 5-8 year olds, the MVF strategy is to get them enrolled in the local government schools. The 9-14 year olds are first identified through non-formal education centres. Contacts are established with their parents and after intensive motivation-drive, these children are withdrawn from their respective works and trained for three to four months in a residential educational orientation camp. By the end of this residential camp, the hitherto totally illiterate children acquire the ability to read and write and can now join classes III or IV of formal schools and get admitted into social welfare hostels.

Withdrawing a child from work is only half the battle. The next and most important phase is to prepare the child to enter the world of full-time education. Recognising that a child of eight or nine years of age with no schooling whatsoever could be too uncomfortable or embarrassed to remain in a class of five and six year olds, the MVF developed Bridge Schools which now lie at the heart of their work in bringing children from work to school. Children stay at the camps for a period of two to eighteen months. Upon completion, children move into the national school system at a level and ability appropriate to their age.

One fact that has ensured children can remain in school is that their withdrawal from the labour market has had a very positive impact on the bargaining power of their families and other rural labourers. There has been an increase in wages for women, conditions for contract labour have improved, there has been an increase in the demand for adult labour and most surprisingly, there has been a positive change in employers' attitudes towards Child Labour.

ANNEXURE V: List of Key Informants Interviewed

1. Vimala Ramachandaran, Professor, National University of Educational Planning and Administration (NUEPA), New Delhi
2. Vibha Puri Das, Former Secretary, Department of Tribal Affairs, Government of India
3. Dr. Sarada Jain, Director, Sandhan, Jaipur, Rajasthan
4. Shobhita Rajgopal, Professor, Institute of Development Studies, Jaipur, Rajasthan
5. Urmila, Formerly in Mahila Samakhya Bihar
6. Dipta Bhog, Nirantar, New Delhi
7. Dr. R. Balasubramaniam, Viveka Tribal Centre for Learning, Mysore, Karnataka
8. Rahul Singh, State Project Director, Sarva Shiksha Abhiyan, Bihar
9. Ms. Savitri, Integrated Tribal Development Agency, Department of Tribal Welfare, Government of Telangana, Warangal, Telangana
10. S. Balgopalan, NCERT, New Delhi

ANNEXURE VI: Report on National Workshops

1. National Workshop held in Bangalore on 05 December 2014

Centre for Budget and Policy Studies (CBPS) organised a two-day seminar titled “Public Policy and Expenditure: Some Recent Studies”. On the first day, Dr. Shantha Sinha (Founding Chairperson, National Commission for the Protection of Child Rights) released the CBPS/UNICEF report titled “Public Expenditure on Children in Karnataka” in the presence of Ms. Ruth Leano (UNICEF Representative, Andhra Pradesh and Karnataka Office), Mr. ISN Prasad (Principal Secretary, Department of Finance, Government of Karnataka) and Dr. Jyotsna Jha (Director, CBPS). Taking forward from the report, Prof. Shantha Sinha, in her keynote address, raised many concerns in the context of planning for children. A panel discussion on the issue of public expenditure on children followed thereafter. The panellists included eminent scholars working in the field of education and child rights. They were: Ms Nandana Reddy (The Concerned for Working Children); Prof. Chiranjib Sen (Azim Premji University, Bangalore) and Prof. Shyam Menon (Ambedkar University, New Delhi). After the inaugural session, CBPS presented some of its recent studies related to working conditions of teachers and different modes of decentralisation through own source revenue for GPs, a centrally sponsored scheme and impact of women GP Adhyakshas. Each of these presentations was followed by open discussion.

On the second day, there was a dedicated half-day seminar focussing on the issue of residential schooling as a strategy for girls’ education and empowerment. The minutes for the same are given below.

Session on Issue of Residential Schooling Strategies for Girls’ Education and Empowerment: The Missing Links

Presenter: Dr. Jyotsna Jha, Director, CBPS

Chair: Dr. Shalini Rajneesh, Principal Secretary, Department of Backward Classes Welfare, Government of Karnataka

Discussants:

Namita Ranganathan, Professor, Delhi University

Vanadana Mahajan, National Resource Group, Mahila Samakhya

Umesh Aaradhya, Chairperson, Karnataka State Commission for Protection of Child Rights

The session started with CBPS presentation by Dr. Jyotsna Jha (Director, CBPS). This was based on a recently conducted review-based study on residential schooling strategies for girls from disadvantaged sections (i.e. focussing on government and NGO initiatives/schemes/programmes). One of the major findings of the study was that there is no clear and comprehensive policy for norms and practices across different schemes related to residential schooling for girls. There also is lack of data in the public domain. DISE raw data used to derive current scenario regarding enrolment also had coding/cleaning issues. Major highlights of the presentation were:

1. There are three parallel trajectories with respect to residential schools: Boarding Schools for excellence (Private Boarding Schools, Jawahar Navodaya Vidyalaya (JNV)), Residential Schools



to break isolation of exclusive groups (Ashram Schools (AS), Harijan Vidyalayas, SC/ST Hostel Schemes) and Residential programmes to build a collective identity and enable learning through empowerment (Kasturba Gandhi Balika Vidyalaya (KGBV), Accelerated Learning Programmes (ALP) like Mahila Shikshan Kendra (MSK), Nirantar, CARE-Udaan; and Residential Bridge Courses like MVF, Namma Bhoomi, Doosra Dashak and government run bridge courses).

2. Residential schools: either for excellence or for equity; not for excellence and equity (with few exceptions).
3. Norms: Infrastructure norms defined for most government schemes/programmes. For NGO-run programmes, there is a variation in the norms. JNV is the only programme with a safety protocol. Safety and security of girls is a major concern in others, especially with no protocol on male members' presence and access. Norms related to health related aspects (nutritious food, health check-ups) appear to be more regular in KGBVs and JNV and a major concern in Ashram Schools. Focus on sports, yoga, self-defence and exercise is much more visible in KGBVs, to some extent in JNV and uneven in Ashram Schools. Udaan and MSK use sports as a means of counter-socialisation.
4. There is weak evidence base for learning and empowerment of girls in these schools. ALPs have intertwined learner-centric pedagogy and gender issues. Although KGBV evolved out of success of ALPs, the curricular and transactional practices do not come across as, as intense and clearly defined as they are for the ALPs (e.g., choice and delivery of vocational courses). Poorly paid, poorly trained and poorly provided for teachers with heavy teaching and non-teaching responsibilities in KGBV generally translate themselves into absence of academic rigour. The daily life and the whole school environment, despite the issues related with low-budgets for food, sanitation and limited resources, has turned out to be somewhat enabling in KGBV because of the very design and relationships. Sporadic evidences point out the experience in Ashram schools as 'disempowering' as they negate and ridicule local culture, language and practices. The very design and provisioning of JNV focuses on academic excellence and limited evidences point out to that girls have access to highly qualified teachers who are well paid, well-trained and cared for; but an overt focus on psycho-social empowerment and transformed gender image appears to be lacking in JNV. It is difficult to make a general comment about individual schools run by NGOs for tribal and dalit students. A perusal of practices suggests a lack of focus on gender issues in most cases.
5. Despite variations across schools and management, what is true for all residential schools is that it has made (i) access to diverse means of learning experiences, and (ii) extended study hours a reality for girls.
6. Some observations included: Whether single sex or co-educational: what is more conducive? Limited evidence suggests it helps girls in getting out of their isolation, forming a collective identity and building aspirations. Whether residential (and also perhaps boys) schooling is at all desirable at a tender age? Desirable for girls in deprived contexts at post primary stage. Whether residential schooling is a cost-effective means of reaching the most deprived girls? Cost effective if the schooling provides a transformative experience. Whether 'exclusivity' (dalit / adivasis) helps? We did not explore this much but some evidences suggest 'labelling' when it comes to hostels alone; needs further probing.



7. Suggestions that emerged from the study:

- i. Strengthening data and information base from diverse sources.
- ii. Integrating clear data points in the existing education database (DISE and SEMIS-UDISE); including private sector.
- iii. The need for a Comprehensive Policy on residential schools backed by any clear thought and rationale.
- iv. Funding and supporting Research and Evaluation studies: critical for creating credible evidences.
- v. Interim Institutional Measures that can be undertaken: Defining Essential Quality Parameters for built and social environments, Review of budget and institutional norms across schemes and removing the anomalies, Facilitating cross learning among schools / schemes and enhancing the influence, International exchange and learning.

Chairing the session, Dr. Shalini Rajneesh (Principal Secretary, Backward Classes Welfare Department, GoK) stated that Karnataka government has issued an order for hiring female staff for girls residential schools. However, the process of re-deployment of male staff from these schools and recruitment of female staff takes time. Sharing her field experience, she mentioned that nutrition levels and amount to be spent on food is pre-fixed however prices are not. Hence, schools find it difficult to cope with such situations when soaring prices are not matched by the government with increase in funds/allowances to be spent on food to maintain the same nutritional levels. She mentioned that the GoK is trying to connect with National Employment Scheme for computer education in residential schools. However, she noted merit of students admitted under these schemes had fallen after their enrolment.

The presentation was followed by panel discussion with Prof. Namita Ranganathan (Delhi University), Ms. Vandana Mahajan (National Resource Group, Mahila Samakhya) and Mr. Umesh Aaradhya (Chairperson, Karnataka State Commission for Protection of Child Rights) as panellists.

Prof. Ranganathan commended the study by saying it is probably the first study to bring together different kinds of residential schooling initiatives for girls and provide a sharp analysis. She then highlighted the following points:

1. Jawahar Navodaya Vidyalaya (JNV), with a selection test, gives an impression that it works only on building cognitive and academic skills.
2. We need a vision document that can inform the spectrum of residential schools, beginning with the goals in education. Girls must be looked at from the lens of human development.
3. Residential schools are a base for 3 very important things:
 - a) Social and cultural capital that can equip girls for life.
 - b) Learning is visible and invisible, so subliminal learning is very critical in a residential school.
 - c) Residential school is a base for re-socialisation.
4. Realisation of an expansive role encourages teachers while the feeling of being unvalued demotivates them, leading to emotional burn out.



5. Problems related to sexuality, psycho-social development and career building is a reality in JNVs. Udaan girls come across as empowered girls but they face problems when they go to secondary schools. There are issues in both the models.
6. Teacher training: teacher is the most significant person, especially in a residential school. Induction and in-service training is essential. Expansive role definition helps to acknowledge the significant role of these teachers.
7. Ultimate goal of residential schools is: inclusion and effective members of society. Leadership is interwoven in the schooling pattern. Psycho-socio problems in JNV; Udaan – mainstream issue is catching up; “Girls need to be looked at through her human development life span.”

Ms. Vandana Mahajan, the second discussant, stressed upon the following:

1. No protocols on safety in MSKs but the environment itself is so safe. May be, looking at ‘why so safe’ can give us some answers in developing a protocol. Culture of commitment and trust between the parties has led to success despite shortcomings in terms of infrastructure.
2. Learning and Empowerment viewed in isolation affects equity. Girls’ education in the framework of equity and empowerment needs to be looked at.
3. Individual and collective identity, aspirations for future, dreams beyond slotted gender roles are encourages features.
4. Arts and humanities are the only option available to about 90% of the girls from residential schools. There are limited options with non-arts stream.
5. Sense of solidarity given in these spaces must be built upon to feed into the larger discourse on gender education.
6. Residential schools offer space for intensive social engineering -- Scope for innovation is huge in residential schools. But, we must resist from the agenda of standardisation or scaling up. Every school must be seen in the context of that particular community.
7. Residential schools run by private religious and caste groups are huge in number.
8. Missing links
 - a. Confusion of interdisciplinary approach, as in the overall debate on education. So, residential schools mirror ills of the larger education system. Issues of equity and excellence also represent the chaos of the larger schooling system.
 - b. Despite RTE, SSA, prioritisation for core constituencies is a battle to be taken further.
 - c. Very important to look for strategies for higher education, as there is a huge cohort of girls from residential schools wanting to study further.

Mr. Aaradhya mentioned that non-adherence to norms, especially for toilets, is one of the major reasons for girls dropping out of schools. He also stressed that there are child rights violations in Aashram and Madrassa schools.

Before the session was open for discussion, Jyotsna Jha concluded that often diversity presupposes equality but government justifies unequal norms on the basis of diversity. Also, as per DISE raw data, states like Uttar Pradesh, Bihar, West Bengal and Assam have a large number of residential madarsaas, publicly funded, with large enrolment of girls.



CBPS had invited comments from the selected scholars, government officials and organisations working with residential schooling for girls across the country. Those who spoke included the following:

- a) Mohammed Mohsin, Commissioner of Public Instruction, GoK
- b) Archana Mehendale, Tata Institute of Social Sciences
- c) Suman Sachdeva, Technical Director (Education), CARE India
- d) Akhila, R.V. Educational Consortium
- e) Mary Punnoose, Prajayatna
- f) Prashanthi, State Project Director, Mahila Samakhya Andhra Pradesh and Telangana
- g) Amrutavalli, State Project Director, Mahila Samakhya Karnataka
- h) Kavitha, Assistant State Project Director, Mahila Samakhya Karnataka
- i) Ranjana Sinha, Assistant State Project Coordinator, Mahila Samakhya Bihar
- j) G.V.S.R. Prasad, Sahaj Education Consultancy, Jharkhand

Main pointers from the discussion are listed below:

1. Residential Schools have offered a platform for re-socialisation for children from the marginalised communities. However, in the process of re-socialisation children get alienated from their culture, emulating common practices in the institutions that are not often corroborated with the local culture. Whether this leads to erosion of inherent culture needs a detailed examination. Not being able to communicate in mother tongue (local dialect), especially in the case of tribal residential schools does raise concerns of child rights in these residential schools.
2. Providing ample space for social engineering and innovation, residential schools should also be warned against standardisation or scaling up. They must be attuned to the context of the community they work for.
3. Residential schools, as a whole gamut of institutions with multiple players, do not find a mention in our education policies. Nor are there a characteristic set of norms to govern their operation across the country. This being the macro picture, there is certainly a need for a regulatory framework that flows from a vision document, clearly pronouncing the intent for social change. Given the diversity of needs and approaches required to meet them, it is very crucial for the said regulatory framework to imbibe diversity and flexibility (e.g.: periodic revision of unit costs in tandem with price rise) so that inequity in residential schools due to differences in basic norms can be checked.
4. The discussion on excellence versus equity that emerged from the study indicates that residential schools also mirror ills that are affecting the system of education on the whole. E.g.: problems with attendance rates, lack of clarity on interdisciplinary approach, etc.
5. While mobilising girls for admission in residential schools, it becomes equally significant to mobilise parents and communities, so that the educative experience does not meet an abrupt end. Gender sensitisation should equip the communities to take their girls' education forward. This means that the reception of girls from residential schools must be looked at and



mainstreaming should not be restricted to schools. Strategies have to be inbuilt to mainstream children from residential schools in the communities too.

6. The experience of the models discussed show evidences of girls' developing individual and collective identity, dreaming beyond preset gender roles. But, how does one relate to residential schools as a strategy for girls needs to be broached further. Arts and humanities are the only options for 90 per cent of the girls from residential schools. With a huge cohort of girls with new aspirations for future coming out of residential schools every year, there is direct implication on the provision of higher education to a large number of students. As residential schools do not provide a complete schooling (covering all classes), mainstreaming them in schools is a challenge. With ALPs, age appropriate admission to higher classes becomes difficult as girls of 14 - 16 years are prepared to face exams of class 5/7 equivalency only. In the absence of a continuum leading girls from preliminary classes to higher education, there is a critical need to look at girls from the lens of human development.
7. A comparative analysis of the different models reveals that learning and empowerment are viewed in isolation and this impacts equity adversely. Therefore, girls' education must be looked at from the framework of equity and empowerment.
8. Inclusion is a serious issue that needs to be addressed strategically. With CWSN and Muslim girls finding less representation, and KGBV becoming a brand in itself resulting in artificial drop outs, the innards of reaching to the specific target groups must be analysed.
9. Teachers play a very critical role in residential schools, therefore it is important to develop a clear definition on the role of teachers. Training for teachers and wardens must be revamped in the context of equity and empowerment, specially girls, so that they can better implement the system. Presently, training for teachers in residential institutions (Eg. KGBVs) is done separately, having nothing to do with training programmes organised at multiple levels by the State Education Departments. This has no rationale.
10. Despite shortcomings in terms of infrastructure and logistics, MSKs have been successful in ensuring safety of the girls. The culture of commitment, trust between the stake holders involved and the practice of peer monitoring through girls' committees in the centres have been the key contributing factors. JNVs have an internal committee to look into matters of violence/abuse against children. This could be instituted in other models too.
11. Issues of homosexuality and psychosocial aspects are a concern in single sex schools.
12. There is a need to capture psychological and anthropological evidence on the impact trainings in residential schools can have on the character of girls in residential schools. Creative expression of girls facilitated through various programmes in the ALPs can be replicated in other models too. Life skills education must be planned beyond the conventional vocational education provided in these schools.
13. What we understand by attainment in residential schools and empowerment of boys and girls must be re-examined, and clearly laid out. This also requires a perusal of changes envisaged through the system of residential schools and what has been achieved in this front so far.
14. Need for availability of data on residential schools in the public domain.

The seminar concluded with a vote of thanks to funders, discussants and panellists, audience, venue and CBPS staff.



2. Report of National Workshop held in New Delhi on 07 January 2015

Centre for Budget and Policy Studies (CBPS) Bangalore, in association with CARE India, New Delhi organised a half-day workshop around the theme “Colloquium on Girls Education and Empowerment”.

The presentation, made by Dr. Jyotsna Jha, Centre for Budget and Policy Studies (CBPS) delved into questions such as whether residential schools cover significant number of girls from disadvantaged sections, and whether it provides a meaningful schooling and alternative socialization experiences through organized living away from home, this review-based research study presentation highlighted the need for having a vision and a comprehensive policy to guide and inform the formulation as well as the implementation of schemes. The presentation also indicated that although a lot of potential for cross learning exists, any sign of cross learning among schemes are absent as different publicly funded schemes have evolved differently and continue to follow different trajectories. The presentation pointed out an equity – excellence dichotomy, as some schemes such as Jawahar Navodaya Vidyalaya (JNV) focuses on excellence with minimum attention to the issue of empowerment and psycho-social needs of students, and some others such as Kasturba Gandhi Balika Vidyalayas (KGBV) focuses on the issues of empowerment but does not stress the academic rigour at the desired level. The lack of data and information in the public domain also emerges as a major issue restricting the scope of the research in this area.

Questions regarding scaling up of success-stories, learning achievements of JNV students, aspects of social and emotional environment, ability to cope with curriculum, gendered dimension in discipline and artificial drop-outs were raised. Observations regarding non-functional and non-existing toilets in many KGBVs were also made.

This was followed by a panel discussion chaired by Dr. Venita Kaul, Professor, Ambedkar University, New Delhi. The panellists included:

1. Vibha Puri Das, Former Secretary, Department of Tribal Affairs, Government of India
2. Vimala Ramachandran, Professor, National University of Educational Planning and Administration (NUEPA), New Delhi
3. Amit Kaushik, Director, Education and Skill Development, IPE Global, New Delhi
4. Sarojini Ganju Thakur, Former Additional Chief Secretary, Himachal Pradesh
5. Amrita Mishra Bundela, Ministry of Human Resource Development, Government of India.

The issue of scaling up was first raised. Prof. Vimala mentioned that for scaling-up any initiative, two critical aspects are: (i) what concept about the programme and its founding principles are communicated to the field officials/personnel; and (ii) what aspects are monitored. She mentioned that during scaling-up intensive orientation of on-field personnel is conducted, which is viable for smaller programmes. During scaling up, only financial, governance and other norms are explained but these orientations were not very intensive. With respect to KGBVs, she mentioned that during 2007-08, intensive orientation of on-field personnel was conducted, which showed positive impact with respect to health and curriculum. This was also reflected in the evaluation. However, during the KGBV evaluation in 2013, those who were managing the programme at the field level did not have an understanding of the idea behind the programme. They were not oriented towards the principles guiding the inception of the programme, which was also reflected in indicators for health and curriculum delivery. She mentioned that States need to take responsibility to ensure



that intensive orientation is being conducted so that those implementing the programme at the grass roots level understand the principles and ideas behind the development of the programme as well as ensure co-ordination between departments for such programmes.

She highlighted that it is important to understand what is being monitored in a programme. In smaller programmes, it is easier to monitor all aspects. When questioned about why effective communication was not practiced during orientation, she mentioned that agency of individual officers is critical for effective communication – noncommunicable is embedded in the system. However, specific budgets are also not provided for communication. In the Parliamentary Standing Committee report for Ashram Shalas (AS), there is no data and no budget for bringing all schools together for sharing/communication between the schools. In the JNV budgets, there is ample budget but it lacks gender equity dimensions since sensitisation as an activity was not mentioned in the budgets, hence not conducted. Additional budget for the communication is needed.

After 2008, MHRD made it mandatory for the Plan Approval Board (PAB) meetings to be initiated with KGBV evaluation meetings. The last evaluation indicated four things: (i) No men: compliance was ensured; (ii) Increase in salary: this was tried through MHRD; (iii) Regular monitoring: status update of KGBVs come from 5-7 questions from the National Evaluations; and, (iv) Expansion: KGBVs used as hostels for secondary schools. She ended with a request to MHRD to analyse a sample of KGBVs.

Responding to the issue of non-coordination between departments, Sarojini Thakur mentioned that there exists an obsession with numbers and quantitative outputs. Emphasis on process is not given while finance department need to be sensitive towards non-quantifiable outputs as well. She explained that there is a lack of established institutional mechanisms with people working in their own domain/territory which leads to lack of co-ordination amongst departments. However, it is not often like this --- when the top officials display a commitment for co-ordination, then it is facilitated. But, this is not incentivised within the system and is heavily dependent upon the individualistic style of leadership.

Questioning the intra-department co-ordination, Amit Kaushik, raised the aspect of different norms within departments. He mentioned that there has to be political will and initiative from individuals. However, when clear quantifiable outcomes are outlined, which demands coordination, then it gets facilitated by the system. He gave the example of conceptualisation of Rashtriya Madhyamik Shiksha Abhiyan (RMSA) which was framed without discussing the learnings from Sarva Shiksha Abhiyan (SSA). Similarly, he pointed out that JNV and KGBV are under different departments within MHRD. JNV was started after the National Education Policy 1986 while KGBV was conceptualised after the National Programme for Education of Girls for Elementary Level (NPGEL). However, these programmes were designed without sharing of norms. He highlighted that the challenge was to design precise norms while ensuring freedom to work within a norm. He gave the example of District Primary Education Programme (DPEP), which indicated the ceiling for expenditure per district while the districts could design their own initiatives within the given budgetary ceiling. But, this is not being practised anymore – norms are very precise with no flexibility.

Responding to the question of definition, data and co-ordination with respect to the Department of Tribal Affairs, Vibha Puri Das mentioned that for the Tribal Affairs Department, tribal girls form the bottom of the heap. She mentioned that issues related to tribal communities are under articulated, under referenced with no prioritising. Policy aspect in the department is very weak and schemes lack a holistic approach. Eklavya Model Residential Schools (ERMS) was a patronage institution, funded by Article 275 (1) and not through an education grant. Policy dimension is



strongly needed across departments – tribal affairs, human resource development, social justice and empowerment, Sarva Shiksha Abhiyan (SSA). Tribal Affairs department wanted to copy SSA interventions without customising it.

Responding to all the issues raised in the discussion earlier, Ankita Bundela responded that there is a list of “urgent” things that need immediate attention with the department. She pointed out that all JRM reports are taken very seriously – some of their recommendations are long and short term. They often juggle between data. There has been emphasis on convergence and coordination within schemes, ministries and states. For example: earlier for 5 programmes, 5 different PAB meetings were organised at state level. In 2013, integration of RMSA was conducted led to convergence and saved double allocation of resources. Schemes have also been revised – with respect to civil works; labs are given for schools for vocational training. This saved Rs. 25 lakhs per school. Uncluttering is being conducted as we speak. Inter-programme convergence is also being undertaken – PAB meetings for SSA and RMSA are held together. Earlier we had an issue of differential data, duplication of salary, duplication of teacher education. Now, DISE and SEMIS is being integrated, called UDISE, which ensures uniformity in data. Norms are prescriptive and states are given the flexibility.

When questioned about retrogressive norms in SSA from DPEP (in terms of financial norms in the former while only financial ceiling in the latter), she responded that states often request the centre to refrain from intervening in matters that are in the concurrent list. The Ministry has recommended a remuneration of Rs 25,000 for vocational teachers. But the states have to undertake this initiative. Jyotsna, at this juncture, also mentioned that there is no uniformity in the labelling of teachers at different teachers – para, contract, regular, honorary etc.

Sarojini, when asked about single sex or coeducational residential schools, responded that it is dependent upon the different stages of learning. For adolescent girls, it depends upon the sensitisation of the teachers. She gave the example of Bhutan – where girls did better in single-sex schools. She highlighted that girls not necessarily need separate spaces but separate streams. She also pointed out that even boys need to tackle the “stereotypes” as well, which are more evident in single-sex environments. She mentioned one of her studies, where she looked at the learning achievements of girls in a school – comparing the achievements of the day scholar girls to those who were in the attached residential school. She found that those in the residential schools performed better as compared to their counterparts, who were day-scholars. She pointed out few issues that need to be addressed --- sensitisation of teachers, gender stereotyping of vocational training, safety and security in rural residential schools and nutrition, with adequate budget for the same.

With respect to special training, Amit was asked whether the system is making it too complex by institutionalising special training. He mentioned that as per the Act, special training or bridge courses are responsibility of the school. It is not possible for the union to mandate a list and not allow flexibility. Sarojini, again, emphasised the need for communication of changes in policy and the reasons for the change to the field level implementing officials, without which the true essence of the policy change is lost. Adding to this, Vibha mentioned that policy at grassroots level also needs to be emphasised upon. Policy and accountability aspects need to more refined and communicated to the field level.

The panel discussion was followed by closing remarks by Sunil Mitra, Knowledge Partnership Programme Lead and Musa Muhammed, CEO CARE-India and final vote of thanks from CARE India and CBPS.







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