Schooling for Children in Inter-State Border Areas

Visakhapatnam District in Andhra Pradesh
and
Koraput District in Orissa

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Section 1: Introduction

1.1 Focus of the Study

This study focuses on the educational experience of children living in interstate border areas. The work of NEG-FIRE partners in these areas revealed that these areas have unique problems which need to be highlighted through a systematic study of the area. Firstly, there are a range of factors which affect the quality of schooling provision. Access to schooling may still be a problem for children in these areas because they live in dispersed and remote settlements in forested and hilly terrain, and hence a school within easy access of every habitation may not be practical. Also, since these areas are on the border, they are far from the state capitals and hence likely to get less attention from education authorities when planning for new schools. In addition, their location (far from the state capitals and in forested terrain with Naxalite presence) means additional law and order problems, which makes setting up and running of government schools more difficult. Secondly, their location has implications for even maintaining quality in schools that have been set up – ensuring that good infrastructure and facilities are available and functional is difficult in remote and less-developed areas. Similarly, recruiting trained and qualified teachers who are willing to be posted in remote and politically unstable locations is also a challenge. The school is a government institution, and its functioning will be related to the accessibility and functioning of education authorities to which the school staff is accountable. The functioning of the education authorities in turn is related to the wider functioning of the government in that state / district / block. In terms of demand factors, communities in less-developed areas such as those living on the borders between states, and belonging to historically disadvantaged tribes, have less social and economic power to sustain their children's schooling.

In this study our focus is inter-state border areas between Andhra Pradesh and Orissa in the districts of Visakhapatnam and Koraput, respectively. The study focuses on access and quality of schooling provision at primary level in these areas. We have attempted to identify some of the factors which influence access and quality of schooling – primarily location disadvantage and language disadvantage, the latter occurring most strikingly to children from remote tribal communities. These issues affect supply and demand for education singly, and cumulatively.

1.2 Historical Developments Impacting Education in the Inter-State Border Areas

The border areas in this study are part of the Eastern Ghats. These forested hilly areas cover parts of Andhra Pradesh, western and southern Orissa, and Chhattisgarh. It is interesting that initially under British reign, the Orissa Andhra border region was part of Madras Presidency.[1] There were no geographical divisions. Much of the population were from similar ethnic backgrounds. These included tribals representing 45 ethnic communities from 3 racial and 4 linguistic groups (see Gowtham Shankar, 2005). These

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[1]See AP-online and Vishakhapatnam district (http://visakhapatnam.nic.in/district-profile.html).

tribal groups are among those classified as Scheduled Tribes by the Indian Constitution and recognized as historically disadvantaged.

In 1936, Orissa State was formed after a long struggle (see Sahoo, 2006) and Koraput was among the districts transferred to it. Visakhapatnam district remained a part of Madras Presidency. In 1956, Andhra Pradesh was constituted from it by merging all districts where Telugu is the majority language. Experts comment that tribal groups were not powerful enough in the fifties and sixties when states were being reorganised on linguistic lines to demand a tribal state.

Special provisions have been made under the Constitution to protect the Scheduled Tribes against exploitation. These include safeguards against land alienation[2] (certain tribal dominated areas classified as Scheduled Areas, the land in these areas cannot be transferred to non-tribals) and special provisions[3] for education of tribals (as linguistic minorities' tribal children should be educated in their mother tongue at primary school level). The first landmark protective legislation against land alienation was passed during the British rule, in the year 1917 (see Laxman Rao et al., 2006).

The Scheduled Tribes have had a history of being away from the mainstream. It is suggested that they retreated to remote and inaccessible areas when their land was being invaded by the Aryans. There is no history of formal education in tribal areas. The British administration themselves are reported to have had little to do with the tribal groups because of the remoteness of their settlements (Sujatha, 2000), though they had begun a process of indirect rule through feudal intermediaries (Laxman Rao et al., 2006). Christian missionaries established schools in some pockets. However, these were very limited initiatives and literacy in tribal areas remained negligible at the time of Independence. Post-Independence, efforts were made to bring tribal communities into the mainstream development paradigm, while being conscious of the need to protect their rights. Development planners, when drawing up successive Five Year Plans, realized that tribal groups needed supplementary schemes and financial allocations to make up for their history of economic and educational deprivation.

However the existence of these supplementary schemes led to the cutting of financial allocations made under other heads, and tribal education and development remained very poorly funded in the first few decades after Independence. In terms of education, only a few primary schools were set up. In these too, teacher absenteeism was rife (Ratnaiah, 1977 in Sujatha, 2000). Only households which had had exposure to the outside world thought it useful to enrol their children. Many were fearful of their culture being destroyed (Sachchidananda, 1967 in Sujatha, 2000). Literacy levels remained low.

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[2] In earlier times land alienation was found to occur through tribal interactions with moneylenders and traders, and this has continued in spite of Constitutional safeguards.
[3]Article 46 of the Constitution requires that the State promote the educational need of the weaker sections of the society (Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes). Article 350-A requires that there be adequate facilities for instruction in mother tongue at the Primary stage of education to children of Linguistic Minority groups. Children from tribal backgrounds have enormous problems in school because the medium of instruction is the official language of the state they are a part of, and these languages are very different from their home languages.

In Andhra and Orissa, there were efforts to set up ashram schools -- residential schools on the model of similar schools in Gujarat and Maharashtra. These schools offered free board and lodging as well as free textbooks, writing materials and uniforms. However, these were too few in comparison to what was needed. In Andhra these schools were accessed by the better off communities (Sujatha, 2000), and it is likely that the same happened in Orissa.A new approach was implemented after the Fifth Five Year Plan – the Tribal Sub-Plan Approach. The key objectives were to stop tribal exploitation, speed up their socioeconomic development, build their inner strength, and improve their organizational capability. The role of elementary education was accorded top priority under this. Special groups were set up from the mid seventies to push tribal education and development – sub-district groups (ITDA Integrated Tribal Development Agency) in tribal dominated blocks.

The National Policy on Education, 1986 also made some sound recommendations to promote tribal education, including the need to promote education in tribal languages.[4] Towards this end, bilingual primers were developed in the nineties in a few tribal languages under DPEP (District Primary Education Programme). It is now increasingly understood that "denigration of tribal languages amounts to denigration of tribal worldviews and knowledge" (Professor Neerja Shukla's presentation at the conference on multilingualism in Mysore in 2005, see Shukla, 2005). There is greater awareness of the fact that when tribal children cannot understand what the teacher is saying (due to the medium of instruction being the official language of the state), it destroys their chances of learning, leads to dropping out of school, and loss of self esteem in general. Under SSA (Sarva Shiksha Abhiyan),[5] and in the context of the 2005 National Curriculum Framework, states are being encouraged to take up MLE (multi lingual education) initiatives, which comprise an entire process through which a child transits gradually from schooling in their mother tongue in the initial years to schooling in the official language of the state.

However these are extremely difficult to implement. Indigenous languages don't have a script and are not widely spoken outside their community. There are also a large number of tribal languages. It is difficult to find trained teachers who speak these languages, and educated parents who can be resource persons. Indigenous languages may also have limited socioeconomic advantages, and little social status among educated persons. Experts have discussed (see Annexure III) that parents and teachers need to be made aware that MLE does not mean that the tribal language will substitute for the dominant language of the state, but that it will help children transition from a tribal language to the dominant language of the state. Steps taken by the state governments of Andhra Pradesh and Orissa to improve tribal education will be explored in separate sections for each state.

However, while education policies have attempted to promote education among tribal groups, the habitats and livelihoods of tribal populations have been under attack, and this has brought violence and instability into the lives of adults and children. This is in no way conducive to the schooling process. Tribals have lost their lands due to large-scale

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[4] The authors of a study on MLE in Keonjhar in Orissa comment that the Constitutional guarantee is based on a recognition of diversity which one doesn't see in practice (Cuadra et al., 2008). They stress that it is important to understand that MLE is just one instrument of social inclusion.

[5] DPEP and SSA have been very active in their efforts to bring all out of school children into school, and under this, their efforts have been to improve access and quality of schooling in tribal communities.

development projects such as the setting up of dams.[6] The rich natural resources of the Eastern Ghats have attracted both the government and private sector, with the mining industry causing the most damage (see Samata, n.d.). The government has facilitated the takeover of tribal lands through the setting up of public sector industries, through permitting private industries to be set up, and by disinvesting in the public sector industries in the area. Tribals now have to protect their land rights, their livelihoods and their culture from the might of the State, the same entity which is Constitutionally required to protect them (Laxman Rao et al., 2006). The experience of Andhra Pradesh in this context in illuminating, and we discuss this in some detail in the next section.

The Maoists have come in to support the tribals in their fight against the government, although it is suggested that they can offer no long term solution either (see Guha, 2007). The ensuing political unrest and instability has made it impossible for schools to function in many areas, and this has included districts in both Andhra and Orissa. Schools and teachers represent the government, and are hence targets of anti-government groups. In many places, schools have also been taken over to provide accommodation for security forces.

Andhra Pradesh

Andhra Pradesh, situated in southern India, came into being in 1956. Laxman Rao et al. offer a useful account of the developments in Andhra Pradesh with regard to state policy on tribal land, and the main points are outlined here. Although the government of Andhra Pradesh enacted the Andhra Pradesh Scheduled Areas Land Transfer Regulation in 1959 for the protection of tribal land, transfer of land to non-tribals continued.[7] More restrictive legislation was put in place in 1970. However during the nineties and the early part of the next decade, the state government (with the support of the central government) tried to push for changes in the legislation to allow land transfers between non-tribals.[8] Post 2004, the policy environment has changed to some extent. Three important national policies are being worked on.[9] However, tribal lands continue to be under attack with the state government trying to push through a number of irrigation projects, which involve submersion of forest areas and displacement of tribal villages. Tribals, being only a small and voiceless proportion of the population, do not have much political power in this state. Tribal Development Councils (TDCs) are reported to be easily co-opted by larger political groups.

Coming to education policy itself, Andhra Pradesh was the first to implement the Tribal Sub-Plan model by setting up the Integrated Tribal Development Agency (ITDA) in 1975 as an autonomous body, fully funded by the Tribal Welfare Department. In the late seventies, they expanded the number of ashram schools, but these could still cater only to a small proportion of the population. Families preferred to send boys to these residential

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[6] Among the better known are the dams in the Narmada Valley.
[7] The legislation was restrictive rather than proscriptive; working rules were not framed for the next 10 years.
[8] The landmark Supreme Court judgement in 1997 in favour of Samata, which had challenged the government's right to give mining leases to non-tribals, was a great setback to the government, and they tried to get the judgement revised and even struck down.
[9] These include a national policy on tribals, national policy on forest rights, and national rehabilitation policy.

schools, where food and accommodation were covered as also free textbooks and uniforms. Incentives such as free textbooks, uniforms, scholarships and cooked midday meals were also extended to non-residential primary schools. The ITDA contributed to greater awareness among the community about the schemes available and the potential benefits, leading to greater demand for education. In the mid-eighties, 3500 single teacher schools (Grihan Vikas Vidya Kendra or GVVK) for grades 1 and 2 were set up, employing only tribal teachers who had had at least 10 years of schooling, in remote villages. Availability of schools in every habitation continued to be a problem. It was decided to set up community schools,[10] in remote habitations that are poorly connected and where there is no other school. These community schools would be only for grades 1 and 2 and act as feeder schools to ashram schools.

These schools were to be owned by the community; managed by a Village Education Committee (VEC) appointed by the community; run in a structure provided by the community. Teachers would be recruited by the community, from the habitation itself with minimum 7 years of schooling and accountable to the VEC. Their salaries would be paid for by parents giving a small contribution each. The teachers would teach in the local language of the children, and special materials were to be developed for multi-grade teaching. These schools would also close in accordance with local festivals and local needs. It was believed that monitoring by the community would deal with the problem of teacher absenteeism, which was found to be high in the GVVK schools. ITDA would support these schools with a small grant and provide books and uniforms for the children like they do for formal schools.

The educated unemployed youth were very successful[11] in mobilizing the community to set up such schools. However, the schools ran into problems.[12] Since the jobs were not permanent and were low paid, many teachers moved on. The teachers negotiated to have the timings match those of formal schools. Enrolment was inflated because the salary of the teacher depended on the number of children enrolled. Worst of all, a study of learning achievement levels in different types of schools (Sujatha, 2000) found low achievements in community schools and single teacher schools compared to those of formal schools. This appeared to be related to the competence of the teacher in these schools who had had very little schooling and teacher training. This brings out the importance of schooling and training for teachers, and has considerable importance in the light of the widespread implementation of the Vidya Volunteer Scheme[13] in Andhra Pradesh.

In the last decade, single teacher schools and community schools have been upgraded to formal primary schools. Since the problem of access for children in remote habitations is an ongoing one, the state government has more recently put in place AIE (Alternative and Innovative Education) centres in some habitations. Additionally the MLE initiative was

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[10] APTDP, an externally funded Tribal Development Project was set up in the early 90s. This project appointed coordinators to mobilize the community around development issues. The idea of community schools came up through discussions.

[11] Beginning with 15 schools in the early 90s, they increased to 900 by 1998.

[12] The review of community schools (Sujatha, 2000) indicates that the community school model requires competent teachers, and a community with the capacity to participate in such a scheme. The way in which it was being implemented was just as a cost saving measure for the govt. It was opened even in habitations where formal schools can run.

[13] Under this scheme, local persons are recruited at low pay and on contract as teachers.

begun in AP in 2004, in 8 tribal languages[14] in 8 districts, one of which was Visakhapatnam.[15] Situated on the coastal belt of Andhra Pradesh, Visakhapatnam is among the 8 districts in Andhra Pradesh with a high tribal concentration. More than half of its total area is tribal dominated. This is the part of the district which lies in the eastern Ghats, and which lies on the border with Orissa.

Orissa

Orissa is in the eastern part of India and one-fourth of its population are Scheduled Tribes. Eight districts have a very high proportion of tribal communities, although there are tribals in all 30 districts in the state. As many as 118 blocks out of 314 blocks in the state have more than 50% tribal concentration. These have been designated as Tribal Sub Plan blocks, and given special financial allocations. Tribal education was given particular attention with the advent of DPEP.[16] Eight districts (which included Bolangir and Kalahandi) were DPEP Phase 1 and Phase 2 districts (Dec 1996 to June 2003). However, Koraput only came under DPEP as one of the eight Phase 3 districts (January 2001 to 2008). Koraput is one of the 8 districts[17] in Orissa with a high proportion of tribals.

Koraput is one of the KBK trio of districts (along with Bolangir and Kalahandi) in Orissa regarded as among the most backward districts by the Planning Commission. These 3 large districts were broken up into 8 smaller districts in 1992-3. Conditions of persistent crop failure, malnutrition, no access to basic services, and migration have been part of the lives of people living here (Daniel, 2009). Even though the KBK region was reportedly marked out for special programmes for development and poverty alleviation by the Centre and State in the period 1995-96 to 2001-02, it was found that financial allocations were much lower than suggested. Daniel writes that the Congress government attempted to woo voters with its promise of massive funding for the KBK region, while the BJD was more successful with its divide and rule policy under which the KBK region has been reorganized into 8 districts. In spite of the political initiatives, the people here continue to live in extreme poverty, as has been found by the various reviews of the KBK policy. In Orissa, too, tribal lands and livelihoods have been the target of the government and the private sector. Daniel suggests that the failure of development has "perhaps fuelled the emergence of the Maoist movement in this region", and both the central and state governments are now focusing on military strategies rather than on the development of the region.

Education indicators continue to be extremely low in Koraput. Koraput was also found to be among the 10 districts which were contributing more than 80% of the out of school children in the 6-14 age group (according to the Orissa Child Census, 2005 conducted by OPEPA). It has repeatedly been recognized that the lack of mother tongue education has contributed to low educational attainments among STs in Orissa, and particularly among girls who have little or no exposure to languages outside their immediate environments (KCI, 2008). To address this, the Government of Orissa and UNICEF initiated the MLE

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[14]The 8 tribal languages in which MLE materials have been developed in Telugu script are Adivasi Oriya, Banjara, Rajkoya (Gondi), Kolavar (Kolami), Konda, Koya, Kuvi and Saora.

[15] The others were Srikakulam, Vizianagaram, Khamman, Warangal, Adilabad, Kurnool and Nellore.

[16] See www.opepa.in

[17] The others are Gajapati, Kondhamal, Keonjhar, Malkangiri, Mayurbhanj, Rayagada, Sambalpur, and Sundergarh.

intervention in 2007. Koraput has not been among the districts in which such initiatives have been taken up. The Orissa MLE Status Report (NMRC, 2009) mentions that the implementation of MLE in Koraput requires a new model for a multi language classroom (where there are children from a number of tribes in the same school).

The MLE initiative was introduced in 2008 in 500 schools covering 10 tribal language groups[18] across the 8 tribal-dominated districts[19] of Orissa (Mohanty, 2009). A study (see Cuadra et al., 2008) of the MLE intervention in Keonjhar found that it gives the tribal community more space in the school system, and has had many positive impacts including an increase in enrolment and a reduced drop out rate; putting in place an inclusive child-centred policy; and increasing community awareness and participation in education. As the curriculum is based on Juang folklore and tradition, it has given the community a chance to take pride in its own culture and values. The weaknesses of the initiative include a shortage of qualified tribal teachers; limited funds for MLE; poor school infrastructure; and low community engagement in educational issues. It is suggested that the MLE initiative has to be consolidated even in the existing 500 schools before being extended further.

1.3 Comparing the States, Districts and Blocks based on Secondary Data

The two states of Andhra Pradesh and Orissa are tenth and eleventh respectively in terms of a ranking of Indian states according to a composite indicator, the Human Development Index. It is important to discuss these states in terms of other indicators as well (see Table 1.1). Andhra Pradesh has a much larger population than Orissa (76 million compared to 36 million, Census, 2001). Literacy levels in the two states are quite similar (61% in AP and 63% in Orissa, Census 2001), with high gender differentials (male literacy levels are 70% in AP and 75% in Orissa, and female literacy levels are 50% in both states).

Table 1.1 Andhra Pradesh and Orissa: Secondary-Data Based Comparison		
	Andhra Pradesh	**Orissa**
Population ('000)	76,210	36,805
% Literacy All Males Females	61 70 50	63 75 51
% rural population	73	85
ST Population ('000)	5,030	8,134
% ST Population	7	22
% ST literacy	37	37
Gross Enrolment Rate* (Classes 1-5) All Boys Girls	101 101 100	126 125 127

Source. *Selected Educational Statistics, 2007-08 for enrolment figures;
Census, 2001 for all other data.

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[18]The 10 languages in which MLE is taking place are: Saura, Kui, Juang, Bonda, Koya, Munda, Santali, Kuvi, Kishan, and Oram.
[19]See footnote 16 for a list of these districts.

The population in both states are both largely rural, with the proportion of rural population being slightly lower in Andhra (73%) compared to Orissa (85%). Scheduled Tribes form 7% of the population in Andhra compared to 22% in Orissa. Literacy among tribals is only 37% in both Andhra and Orissa, in both cases well below the state average. Enrolment rates in 2007-08 based on SES data collected by NCERT indicate that there is high enrolment at primary levels in both states, and that Orissa has a high proportion of overage / underage enrolment. It also indicates that there is little gender differential in enrolment at primary level in both Andhra and Orissa.

The two districts which border each other are very different in terms of development. Koraput district, is among the worst off in the state of Orissa (it is ranked 27th out of 30 districts based on a state-level computation of HDI[20] for its districts). Visakhapatnam district, is mid-range (15th out of 23) in the ranking of all Andhra districts based on a state-level computation of HDI for its districts.

Table 1.2 Visakhapatnam and Koraput: General Information		
	Visakhapatnam	**Koraput**
Population ('000)	3,832	1,181
% Literacy		
All	60	36
Male	70	47
Female	50	24
% rural population	40	83
% ST population	15	50
ST population ('000)	558	586
% ST literacy		
All	34	19
Male	46	29
Female	23	8

Source. Census, 2001.

These differences are reflected in a number of parameters (see Tables 1.1 and 1.2):

a. Literacy rates are 60% in Visakhapatnam and 36% in Koraput. Literacy rates in Visakhapatnam are close to the state average for Andhra; in the case of Koraput, literacy rates are far below the state average for Orissa.

b. The differences between Visakhapatnam and Koraput are very stark whether one compares male literacy rates (70% and 47%) or female literacy rates (50% and 24%).

c. Visakhapatnam district is highly urbanized compared to Koraput – the proportion of population who live in urban areas is 60% in Visakhapatnam and 17% in Koraput (Census, 2001).

d. Tribals in Visakhapatnam form only 15% of the population. They are concentrated in the blocks towards the border with Orissa. The villages on the border are more than 90% tribal. In contrast, tribals in Koraput district form as much as 50% of the

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[20]Each state calculates the HDI for each district following its own methodology. They differ widely between Orissa and Andhra Pradesh.

population. However, the border villages in Koraput are a mix of social groups[21] which include STs and SCs, OBCs and "general castes".

e. The literacy rate among tribals in Visakhapatnam is 34% (Census, 2001), close to the state average for tribal groups in Andhra (37%). While the literacy rate among STs for Orissa as a whole is 37%, the literacy rate among Scheduled Tribes in Koraput is as low as 19%.[22] Female literacy in Koraput was in single digits in 2001.

Secondary data on the schooling system in the 2 districts indicates that Visakhapatnam has better provision than Koraput (see Table 1.3). Strikingly different is the transition rate from primary to upper primary (90% in the former and only 54% in the latter). Enrolment figures indicate that there is a considerable divergence between GER and NER at primary level in both districts, indicating that there is a high proportion of overage/underage children enrolled in primary. The GER figure is very high for the Scheduled Tribes in Visakhapatnam indicating that a high proportion are enrolled at primary level, but also that a large proportion are overage/underage for their class.

Table 1.3 Visakhapatnam and Koraput: Comparing Status of Education at Primary Level		
	Visakhapatnam	**Koraput**
% single teacher schools (primary)	29	44
Pupil Teacher Ratio (Primary)	25	32
Retention rate (primary)	94	72
Transition Rate (primary to upper primary)	90	54
Gender parity index (primary)	0.99	0.97
GER (primary)	93	139
NER (primary)	76	100
GER (primary) among STs	145	NA

Source. DISE, 2007-08. GER figures for Scheduled Tribes are not available for Koraput.

While tribal children are a substantial proportion of enrolment in the primary stage in Visakhapatnam as a whole (28%); in Koraput the proportion is more than double that (58%) (see Table 1.4). In both districts, Scheduled Tribes are over-represented in primary school enrolment compared to their share in the population, indicating that they are bunched up at lower levels of schooling.

Table 1.4 Visakhapatnam and Koraput: Enrolment at Primary Level by Social Group		
	Visakhapatnam	**Koraput**
Enrolment (primary level)		
% ST	28	58
% SC	8	17
% OBC	39	6
% general castes	25	19
	100	100
Nos. enrolled in primary ('000s)	345	169

Source. DISE, 2007-08.

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[21] Classifications are not similar in the two states. Many of the groups who are classified as STs in Andhra are classified as SCs in Orissa.

[22] Literacy rate of tribals in neighbouring Malkangiri is still lower at 15%.

Schooling for Children in Inter-State Border Areas

For the purposes of the study, four blocks in Koraput (Nandapur, Pottangi, Simliguda and Lamptaput) and eight in Visakhapatnam (Dumbriguda, Araku, Chintapalli, G. K. Veedhi, Hukumpeta, Munchingiputtu, Pedabalayu and G. Madugula) were chosen purposively – the chosen blocks lay on the border between Orissa and Andhra Pradesh (see Map of the two districts with the surveyed blocks highlighted) and the partner organizations were familiar with the areas – an important criterion given the political insecurity in these areas.

The Study Area in Visakhapatnam, Andhra Pradesh
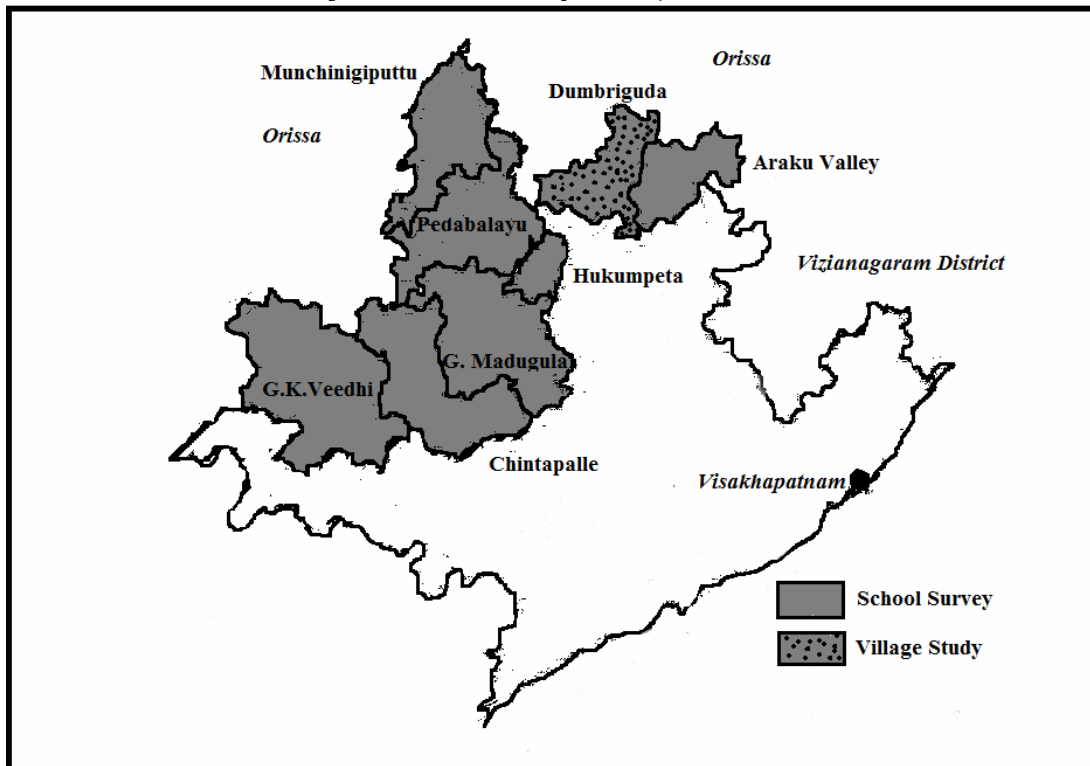
The Study Area in Koraput, Orissa
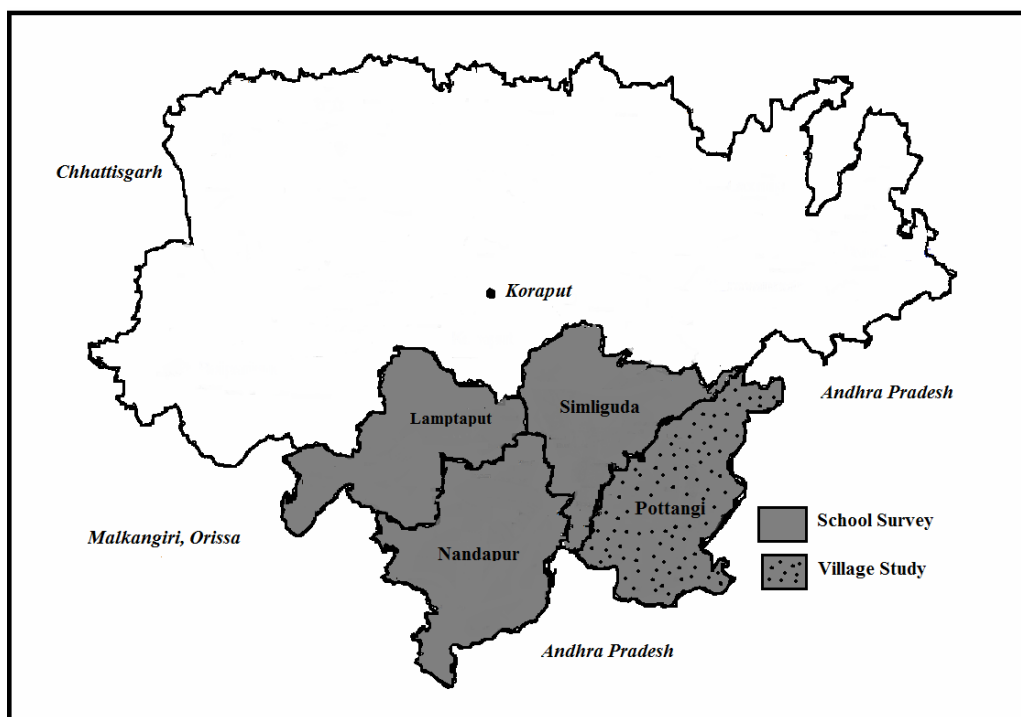
Information collected on the surveyed blocks in the two states from secondary data is presented in Tables 1.5 and 1.6. It shows the number of schools (2008-09) in each of the blocks which were part of the school survey and the proportion of different types of schools opened since 1980, as well as the number of residential schools being run in the surveyed blocks.

Table 1.5 Schools in Surveyed Blocks in Vishakapatnam, Andhra Pradesh (2008-09)

Blocks	Department of Education				Tribal Welfare Department			
	Primary		Upper Primary		Primary		Upper Primary	
	Number of schools	No. of residential schools	Number of schools	No. of residential schools	Number of schools	No. of residential schools	Number of schools	No. of residential schools
Dumbriguda	12	0	6	0	44	1	3	2
Araku	12	0	1	0	56	1	2	1
Chintapalli	9	1	8	0	64	1	3	2
G.K.Veedi	2	0	5	0	57	3	8	0
Hukumpeta	6	0	1	0	58	0	3	3
Munchingputtu	5	0	5	0	69	3	2	1
Pedabalayu	7	0	3	0	62	2	4	4
G.Madugula	0	0	4	0	74	1	4	4
Total	53	1	33	0	484	12	29	17
% of schools set up after 1980	17%		6%		90%		38%	

In these blocks in Visakhapatnam, the bulk of schools are run by the Tribal Welfare Department (see Table 1.5). And 90% of primary and 38% of upper primary schools being run by the TWD have been set up in the last 30 years. This is the Department which has been very active in these blocks. The DoE was running a little less than one tenth of all primary schools. These were all non-residential schools. The TWD was running mostly non-residential schools with some residential schools – there were 12 residential primary schools and 17 residential upper primary schools in the 8 blocks.

Table 1.6 shows us school provision in the border blocks of Koraput. It confirms the fact that in the last 30 years, the Department of Education has been more active in opening schools compared to the Tribal Welfare Department. And mainly primary schools have been opened – the upper primary schools were established earlier – except for Lamtaput block. The proportion of schools under the TWD in these blocks is extremely small (the ratio of TWD schools to DoE schools is approximately 1:17 at primary level and 1: 13 at upper primary level). Both the DoE and TWD are running residential and non-residential schools. The DoE is running 28 residential upper primary schools in these blocks; the TWD is running as many as 29 residential primary schools in these blocks.

Table 1.6 Schools in Surveyed Blocks in Koraput District, Orissa (2008-09)							
Blocks	Department Of Education				Tribal Welfare Department			
	Primary		Upper Primary		Primary		Upper Primary	
	Number of schools	No. of residential schools	Number of schools	No. of residential schools	Number of schools	No. of residential schools	Number of schools	No. of residential schools
Lamtaput	94	0	35	11	6	6	0	0
Nandpur	132	4	35	9	16	15	2	1
Pottangi	117	0	44	3	5	2	6	5
Simliguda	92	0	28	5	6	6	4	4
All	435	4	142	28	33	29	12	10
% of schools set up after 1980	47%		34%		None		17%	

Source: District Information System of Education (DISE).

Summing up we find that the histories of education in the two states of AP and Orissa are quite different. The situation in the 2 neighbouring districts of Visakhapatnam and Koraput is also very different. On the one hand, this is not surprising since Visakhapatnam is on the coast, and in fact a major port, while Koraput is landlocked and relatively underdeveloped. However, the situation in the border areas could have more similarities, since the physical environment in terms of terrain is similar, as also the social background of the people who live in these remote areas. Secondary data on the blocks indicates that there are a large number of primary and upper primary schools on both sides of the border. However, it is the TWD which is more active on the Andhra side of the border and the Department of Education which is more active on the Orissa side of the border.

1.4 Main Components of the Study

School Survey

A survey of schooling facilities was conducted in thirty villages selected randomly from the purposively chosen blocks mentioned above (4 in Koraput and 8 in Visakhapatnam). This constituted Phase I of the study.

Selection of villages from the randomly generated lists proved to be a challenge, especially in Orissa, due to the investigators' worries about safety. Very few villages from the first list could be used for Orissa (even a fourth replacement list had to be generated). Sample villages which had educational inputs from NEG partners or other NGOs were also excluded.

The selected villages in Visakhapatnam and Koraput had very different social compositions. The Visakhapatnam villages were predominantly tribal: 28 villages had more than 75% ST population (see Table 1.7). Only 14 of the 30 villages in Koraput had more than 75% of the population who were ST. The others were more mixed. Nevertheless, 19 of the 30 villages (close to two-thirds) had more than half the population who were tribal.

Table 1.7 Extent of Tribal Population in Surveyed Villages		
% of ST population	No. of villages in Visakhapatnam, AP	No. of villages in Koraput, Koraput, Orissa
0-25	0	4
25-50	1	7
50-75	1	5
75-100	28	14
Total	30	30

Source: Census of India, 2001

Village Studies

The school survey was followed by a month-long study of schooling in three villages in each district (one week in each village). The village studies were planned to supplement the overview of schooling obtained through the quantitative survey in Phase 1 with some in-depth understanding of factors which affect access and quality of schooling in the inter-state border areas of Andhra Pradesh and Orissa. The village studies took place in February 2010, and constituted Phase II of the research.

The entire study seeks to probe the locational disadvantages for children studying in inter-state border areas. In the village studies, we took this further. We selected villages with variations in levels of accessibility to get a range of schooling experiences for children. Three villages were selected from Dumbriguda block in Visakhapatnam district, Andhra Pradesh and three from Pottangi block in Koraput district, Orissa. These blocks were also part of the Phase 1 survey (see the Maps of the surveyed blocks in the two states which shows Dumbriguda and Pottangi highlighted among the other blocks surveyed only in Phase 1).

1.5 Methodological Issues

School Survey

This phase used primarily quantitative survey methods. A detailed survey of all education facilities with primary grades was conducted in 30 randomly selected villages to collect data on the quality and provision of primary schooling for children in these areas and the gaps therein. The survey was done collaboratively with NEG partners – Nature in Visakhapatnam and SOVA in Koraput. Stratified random sampling was used to select the villages.

Many of the villages in these blocks were very small in size – more like habitations rather than villages. We used the village census of 2001 as the sampling frame. Villages below the population size of 200 were not considered– partly because the population in such villages was a small proportion of the district total, and partly because it would not have been logistically possible to complete the study within the stipulated time frame. It was also less likely that these villages would have a primary school. Six villages were chosen in the population range of 200 to 500 and remaining 24 from villages above population size 500, again keeping in mind the proportion of population in these two groups of villages. Lahiri's method of random sampling (probability proportional to size) was used

for the two groups of villages so that the sample villages were of various sizes and could be representative of the block.

Villages with a larger population size of 500 and above, in this case, did not necessarily mean that they were easily accessible and developed. Most villages in the sample blocks had several scattered hamlets. Usually there was one centrally located tola or hamlet with easier access to different facilities – but the village school also catered to other small and remote hamlets. In many cases it was not possible to reach even the central tola on public transport, or even by jeep.

In the villages, all schools with primary classes were surveyed. There was a questionnaire for collecting school details, to be filled in through interviews with the head teacher or a senior teacher, in the absence of a head teacher. All teachers, including the head teacher, were also interviewed. School observation sheets were used to capture the school environment and teaching activities on the unannounced visit. Details of the village economy and facilities were also collected using a coded village questionnaire.

The schools which were closed were not surveyed. Unfortunately, in both states, this meant that no information on alternate schools (with only classes 1 and 2 – AIE Centres) could be collected, since these were found closed. School holidays for festivals, though technically supposed to be for one or two days, were occasions for family visits and journeys for both students and teachers – this resulted in closed schools or sparse attendance. The fieldwork period had therefore to be extended to complete the school survey – as it could be done only on days the schools remained open.

Village Studies

The selection of 3 villages in each block was done on the basis of distance from pakka road (as provided by Census, 2001) and in collaboration with the local research teams. A range of research tools were used. These include tools to get information on the village as a whole and tools to get information on schooling in that village.

The following tools were used to collect general information on the village:
1. Village maps – useful to understand the village, the social groups, the location of the more and less powerful groups, the location of the school and other institutions. These provide good insights into access and quality of schooling.
2. Village questionnaires.
3. Interviews with key informants to get insights into problems of the village, including schooling

The following tools were used to gather information on schooling. These tools included those that were used at school and those that were used with parents and children in households. There were also tools used to discuss schooling with groups of adolescent boys and girls.

(a) At the School

1. Observation of school activity: inside the classroom and outside – insights into the functioning of the school (whether teachers present; if present, whether teaching or

not; if teaching, types of methods used; children's activities in the school; whether midday meal is served; quality of meal).

2. Interviews with head-teacher and each teacher present in the school.

(b) From the School to Households

1. Households of 20 children randomly selected from the school register. 2 components:
    I.   Interviews with parents and children to gain insights into keenness for schooling; pressures of work; quality of schooling experience
    II.   Tests of all children in 6-14 age group -- To get learning outcomes data on all children in these households
2. Tracking 10 of these 20 randomly-selected children – whether present in school, if not why -- to gain insights into nominal enrolment; regularity of attendance; strength of attendance register; and causes for absence.

(c) In the Village

Focus group discussions with adolescents in the 14-17 age group: To get information on children's schooling experience from an older, more articulate age group

The report has five sections. The findings from the study in Andhra Pradesh are presented in the first two sections, and for Orissa in the next two sections, and a discussion of both in the concluding section.

<u>**Section 2: School Survey in Andhra Pradesh**</u>
<u>**(Selected Blocks, Visakhapatnam District)**</u>

2.1 Introduction

The purpose of this section is to shed light on the access and quality of government schools that provide primary education on the Andhra Pradesh side of the border. As discussed in the previous section, we surveyed schools within 30 randomly-selected revenue villages[23] in 8 blocks in Visakhapatnam district, located towards the border shared with Koraput district, Orissa. Most of the villages in our sample were not very accessible. The quality of the roads leading to the villages were poor. There was no access to regular and frequent public transportation.[24]

The livelihoods of the people in these villages came from cultivation, collecting forest produce, and agricultural and non-agricultural labour. Adults did migrate for opportunities to earn, but it was relatively limited, and generally within Andhra itself. Several government schemes were in operation: NREGS, IKP and IAY. The villages were mostly electrified and had access to hand-pumps and piped water in the village.

The villages in our sample were relatively small in size (less than 150 households). All had at least one school with primary classes. The more accessible villages had more than one school within the village, in some cases even up to the secondary level. The average time taken (walking) to get to the nearest government upper primary school was 45 minutes, and to the nearest government secondary school was an hour.

Most schools were located at the end or in one corner of the village. On an average, schools were also small in size and they comprised of 1-2 buildings, with each building made up of 1 room and a verandah. The school would often border fields or forest area. In the case of non-residential primary schools, children generally came from within the village itself. If not, they generally came from the hamlets which were located around 2 kms away.

2.1.1 Details of Schools in the Sample

Overall, we surveyed a total of 43 schools, which include 31 non-residential government primary schools (GPS), 4 non-residential government upper primary schools (GUPS), 7 ashram schools (residential) and 1 Alternative and Innovative Education centre (AIE). The 31 primary schools include classes 1 to 5; the 4 upper primary schools are all include classes 1-7. Of the 7 ashram schools, two have only primary classes (1-5); one has primary and upper primary classes (1-7), and the remaining have classes from 3 to 7. Further, 5 of the ashram schools were only for boys, 1 was for girls only and 1 was for both girls and boys.

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[23] A 'revenue village' typically comprises of several '*tolas*' or '*hamlets*' i.e. smaller villages. For the purposes of this report the entire village will be treated as a single unit for the presentation of data and will be referred to as '*village*' only.

[24] Only 37% of the villages in our sample reported having bus-stops within the village itself. There were private jeeps that worked as 'taxis' in the area. These jeeps were reported to be expensive, unreliable, crowded and take more time than necessary.

2.1.2 AIE Centres

AIE centres are set up as part of a policy measure that addresses the unique challenges of living in this region which is especially hilly with difficult terrain. These schools have only one teacher to teach classes 1 and 2. When children reach class 3, they are expected to shift from the AIE centres and enrol at the main village school. Children enrolled in classes 1 and 2 are extremely young and vulnerable to the dangers of travelling over the difficult terrain. Therefore, in cases where tolas of a village are spread across a large area, AIE centres are set up within the tolas that do not have schools. At this point it is important to mention the absence of functioning AIE centres within our survey areas. We visited 4 villages that were reported to have AIE centres within their hamlets, but which were closed on the day of our survey. By making enquiries with the villagers, we learnt that these centres had not functioned for at least last 6 months. Observations on the infrastructure have revealed that the AIE centre buildings were of very poor quality.

2.1.3 School Management

The majority of the government primary schools we visited were set up by the Andhra Pradesh Tribal Welfare Department (TWD) (Table 2.1). Overall, 45% of the schools across our sample were set up by the Tribal Welfare Department. Furthermore, most of the schools (44%) were set up after the year 1986. The rest were partly under local bodies and partly under the Department of Education.

Table 2.1 School Management				
School Type	Dept. of Education	TWD	Local Body	Total
AIE	-	-	1	1
GPS	9	15	7	31
GUPS	1	1	2	4
Ashram	-	7	-	7
Total	10	23	10	43

Source: CORD-NEG School Survey, 2009-10

2.2 Details of Student Enrolment and Teacher Appointments

2.2.1 Student Enrolment in Sample Schools

More than half the schools surveyed were small to medium in size. The remaining were large and almost all these schools were residential.

Enrolment in the primary schools was low, with 22 out of the 34 schools surveyed displaying enrolment levels less than 50 (Table 2.2). In comparison, enrolment levels in upper primary schools were such that they were medium-sized schools (51-100 children). Within Ashram schools enrolment was the largest, with 7 schools having more than 100 students enrolled. Ashram schools were reported to be in great demand[25] both because they offer better quality education than the non-residential schools and because they

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[25] Based on informal discussions at village level and on Focus Group Discussions with adolescents.

cover not only all costs associated with schooling but also the child's board and lodging. Ashram schools are also reported to be in short supply.[26]

Table 2.2 Distribution of Schools by Enrolment in Primary Classes			
Enrolment in primary classes	No. of schools		
	GPS	GUPS	All schools
<= 50	22	0	22
51 – 100	9	3	12
101 – 150	0	4(4)	4(4)
>150	3(2)	2(1)	5(3)
Total no. of schools	34	9	43

Source: CORD-NEG School Survey, 2009-10.
Note: The number of residential schools is given in brackets.

On the whole, we found an average enrolment of 74 students in the primary section of our sample schools. Out of 43 schools, 36 were coeducational, and within them enrolment of boys and girls were quite similar. However, the point to be noted here is that, among the remaining schools, 5 were for boys and 2 were for girls only. This may be one reason for girls' enrolment being only 41% of the total enrolment, when one considers total enrolment of all 43 surveyed schools. This large gap indicates that there are many girls in this area who are out-of-school.

Looking at class-wise enrolment levels from Table 2.3, we see that average enrolment remains roughly the same (as in primary schools between classes 1 and 4) or follows a downward trend (in the upper primary schools) as one moves from class 1 to class 5. Secondary data information from DISE[27] at the district level shows a prominent decline in enrolment in primary classes. In contrast, the ashram schools in our sample show a spurt in average enrolments in classes 3, 4 and 5. Parents and children prefer to study in local schools in the early years. This is one reason why single teacher schools under GVVK and later community schools were set up in remote villages. Both were begun with the idea of being only for grades 1 and 2, possibly to act as feeder schools for the residential schools.

Table 2.3: Class wise Enrolment in Schools			
Numbers enrolled in:	Primary Schools	Upper Primary Schools	Ashram Schools
Class 1	11	26	15
Class 2	11	21	11
Class 3	11	17	53
Class 4	10	17	52
Class 5	8	14	57

Source: CORD-NEG School Survey, 2009-10

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[26]Samata's report to the Scheduled Areas and Scheduled Tribes Commission, see Samata (b, not dated).
[27] District Information System of Education (DISE).

2.2.2 Teachers in Sample Schools:

Across the schools we surveyed, the average teacher appointment per school is 3. The primary schools have an average of 2 teachers, upper primary and ashram schools are larger and have an average of 5 and 6 teachers respectively. The pupil teacher ratio for the schools (23:1) indicated that they were within the prescribed limit.[28]

Figure 2.4 below shows the proportions of teachers of different type in our sample. The teachers were predominantly male (78% of all teachers). Recruitment of contract teachers as opposed to permanent teachers is a common practice in all states. The same strategy is seen in Andhra Pradesh where, post 2003, teacher recruitments have generally been only contract teachers. About one-third of the teachers (37%) are contract, while the remaining two-third is permanent teachers. From Figure 2.4 we can see that permanent male teachers are more than half the share of all teachers (52%), while permanent female teachers are just 11% of all teachers. Even among contract teachers, though the policy prioritizes female teacher recruitment, the larger proportion is male (among the 37% of contract teachers, 26% are male and 11% are female). A possible reason for this finding could be a shortage of educated females willing to be posted in these difficult areas.[29] In terms of social background of the teachers, we found that most of the teachers we interviewed were from tribal backgrounds, like their students.
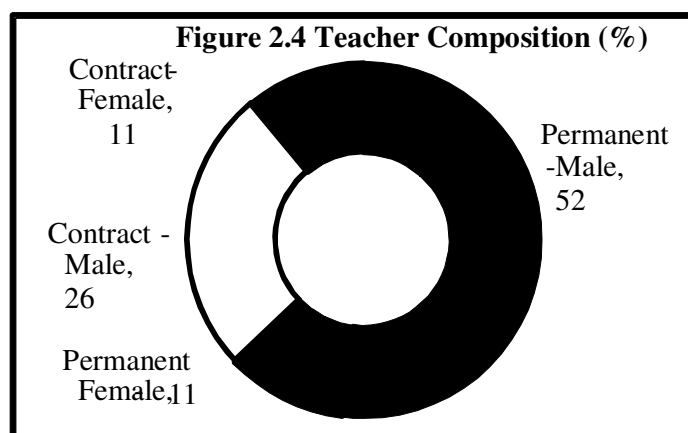
Source: CORD-NEG School Survey, 2009-10

One objective of recruiting contract teachers locally was to reduce the level of teacher absenteeism in these villages spread across difficult terrain. This is discussed in some detail in section 4.3 which compares absenteeism among permanent and contract teachers, particularly in the light of their place of residence.

2.2.3 Differences in Profile of Permanent and Contract Teachers

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[28] The prescribed PTR as laid out under the Right to Education Act is 30:1.
[29] Women have the additional burden of their own household chores which include childcare. Women are also more vulnerable in remote areas.

Contract teachers were much younger than permanent teachers, as 89% of contract teachers and 28% of permanent teachers were below the age of 30. The bulk of permanent teachers (68%) were in the age group 31-50 years.

Educational qualifications are sometimes reduced for contract teachers in remote locations. There was 1 contract teacher who had not completed class 10, and 2 who had only completed class 10. There were also 2 permanent teachers who had only completed class 10. In earlier periods, this was accepted as a sufficient qualification for teachers. In general, permanent teachers were found to be better qualified than the contract teachers. From Table 2.5, we can see that 75% of permanent teachers in our sample reported to be graduates and above. The proportion of contract teachers who have completed graduation or more was also high at 58%. This is surprising considering the average salary of the contract teachers was as low as Rs 2266, a fraction of the average salary of permanent teachers (Rs 15,954). One possibility for highly qualified persons taking up the job of contract teachers appears to be the hope that they will be regularised after two years and be put on the same grade are permanent teachers (see Annexure 1). It also indicates that there are no better employment opportunities in the area. Nearly one-fourth of all teachers interviewed said this was the reason they became teachers.

Table 2.5 Educational Qualifications			
Proportion of teachers who have completed:	Permanent	Contract	All
Less than Class 10	0	3	1
Class 10	4	5	4
Class 12	21	34	27
Graduation	54	53	53
Post-graduation	21	5	15
Total	100	100	100

Source: CORD-NEG School Survey, 2009-2010
Note. Based on 56 permanent teachers and 38 contract teachers interviewed.

Table 2.6 Teacher Training - Permanent and Contract Teachers*			
Proportion (%) of teachers with:	Permanent	Contract	All
Teacher education qualifications	98	26	68
CT/Dip. Ed./others	66	10	42
Degree Training (B.Ed.)	32	16	26
Any in-service training in 2008-9	91	60	79
In-service training (ever received) on:			
Teaching tribal children	11	13	12
Multigrade teaching	27	5	18

Source: CORD-NEG School Survey, 2009-10

The critical difference between contract and permanent teachers is in proportions of those with teacher education qualifications (JBT / CT / Dip. Ed. / B. Ed.). From Table 2.6, we see that 98% of permanent teachers had received such training compared to only 26% of contract teachers. Teachers could have done such courses as pre-service training or through distance education. Pre-service training is not mandatory for contract teachers. Local persons are preferred (so that they face less problems with commuting to and from school, and so as to reduce cultural and linguistic gaps between teacher and students), even if it means a drop in eligibility requirements.

In terms of levels of in-service training, from Table 2.6 we see that 91% of the permanent teachers and 60% of the contract teachers had been given in-service training in the previous year (April 2008-March 2009). These were reported to be primarily about improving learning (LEP Learning Enhancement Programme). Teachers varied in the numbers of days they reported that they had been trained in the LEP initiative. Some trainings were for 3 days, some for 6 days, some had had one training programme, and some had had more. This is likely to have led to differences in the degree to which they could effectively implement these initiatives. For a discussion of teacher training programmes on improving learning in the last five years, see Box on Teacher Training Programmes on Learning Enhancement in Andhra Pradesh.

Teachers were also asked if they had had any special training on how to teach tribal children or on multi-grade teaching. Only 12% of teachers had received training on how to teach tribal children. Although nearly all the enrolled children and the teachers are from tribal backgrounds, the teachers were predominantly from 3 tribal groups -- Valmiki, Baghata and Kondadora communities. They would also benefit from greater awareness of problems faced by children from less-advantaged tribal groups, and from current research on how these children's schooling experience can be made more positive. Training to teach multi grades is also crucial in the context of the fact that 49% schools in the sample were functioning as single-teacher schools on the day of the team's unannounced visit to the school. While 27% of permanent teachers had had such training, this was true for only 5% of contract teachers. Clearly, the extent of in-service training is quite inadequate. As to the effectiveness of these programmes, it is possible that those who have had in-service training use better teaching methods. However, there was an overall lack of interactive teaching methods, as well as little use of teaching learning materials, observed in the classroom. This is discussed in some detail in section 2.4.4.

In terms of average years of teaching experience, there was a wide gap between permanent teachers (11 years) and contract teachers (3 years). With regard to teaching experience at the present school, the gap between them was not very high. Permanent teachers have a transferable job, and had been teaching at the present school for 3 years on average. The contract teachers are usually posted in one school – they were found to have been teaching in the sample schools for 2 years on average.

Teacher Training Programmes* for Learning Enhancement in Andhra Pradesh

Andhra Pradesh has conducted a number of learning enhancement programmes under SSA. In 2005-06 it began the CLIP initiative (Children's Language Improvement Programme). CLIP focused on primary classes. The core competencies it targeted were reading, writing, addition, subtraction, multiplication, division. A special reading period was introduced in school. The school library was strengthened with children's literature. Classrooms and schools were graded on the basis of children's performance.

CLAPS (Children's Learning Acceleration Programme for Sustainability) is a programme built on the achievements of CLIP, under which children's basic skills in literacy and numeracy were strengthened. The focus of CLAPS is to achieve subject specific competencies in languages (Telugu, Hindi and English), Mathematics, Social Studies and Science. In Telugu, the children will develop skills in Fluent Reading and Reading Comprehension; and Self Expression through Writing. In Hindi, they will learn to speak. In English, they will learn to read fluently and speak. Mathematics skills to be developed include Oral Mathematics / Mental Mathematics; and Solving of Written Problems. In Social Studies, the initiative will focus on building Conceptual Understanding; and on Mapping Skills. In Science, it will be building Conceptual Understanding; Doing Experiments; and Drawing Pictures and Labelling. CLAPS has been implemented from 2006-07 to 2008-09.

LEP (Learning Enhancement Programme) in Andhra Pradesh has been implemented in 2009-10 and builds on the experience of schools in implementing CLIP and CLAPS. Each subject has 4 competencies. These competencies are based on the National Curriculum Framework, 2005. As in CLIP and CLAPS, the teachers grade the schools. Under LEP, teachers have to give children subject-wise gradings also.

*It is difficult to get consistent and accurate information on these in-service training programmes from government and other websites. The number of schemes and some amount of overlapping between them appeared to make it difficult for teachers to understand what was expected from them.

Sources:
http://web.gnowledge.org/episteme3/pro_pdfs/39-binay.pdf
http://www.educationforallinindia.com/10thJRM-SSA-July-2009.pdf
http://ssa.ap.nic.in/C_CLAPS_2006_07.pdf
http://apteachers.yolasite.com/lep.php

2.3 Evidence of a Functional System

The school system seemed to be functioning well on several parameters.

2.3.1 Schools Open and Functioning throughout Scheduled Time

Most school timings were from 9:00 am to 3:30 pm. Investigators generally arrived at the school 1 hour after its official opening time and stayed till the closing time. We found that almost all the schools were open on arrival and they remained open the entire day.

Teaching generally continued throughout the school day and for most schools it stopped only 15 minutes before the closing time. Our observations of classroom activities before and after the serving of the midday meal show that in 91% of the schools there was teaching before and after the mid-day meal (Refer to Figure 2.16a).

2.3.2 Close to Four-Fifths of Teachers in School

In terms of attendance levels of all teachers, it was found that 77% of recruited teachers were present. The remaining 23%, who were not in school, were mainly 'on leave'. There were also instances of teachers not being in school, for both school and non-school related government duties. Some teachers were absent because they were on deputation to another school.

These figures for proportions of teachers reported to be in school are very similar to what was found by the PROBE survey of 1996[30] and the PROBE Revisited survey of 2006[31] of rural schools in the states of Rajasthan and pre-divided Bihar, MP and UP.

While there is scope for improvement and we discuss this again in the section on challenges facing the system, the figures for absence of teachers could be expected to be higher than average since the surveyed blocks in Visakhapatnam district suffer from several disadvantages – they are remote, they lie on the border that Andhra Pradesh shares with the less-developed district of Koraput in Orissa, and they are inhabited mainly by historically marginalised tribal groups.

2.3.3 Majority of Schools had One or More Teachers Actively Teaching

At the time of an unannounced visit to each school, it was found that there were 5 cases (out of 43) in which not a single teacher was teaching. In other words, at least one teacher was teaching in the remaining 88% of the schools in our sample on arrival. While acknowledging that there is still considerable scope for improvement, this high figure does indicate a functional schooling system in these border areas.

Information on activities of individual teachers at the time of the team's unannounced visit was also noted by the investigators. It was found that 66% of the teachers were actively teaching, and another 15% were doing administrative work (see Table 2.7). In some schools it appeared that the team was expected.[32] In these schools, the proportion of teachers doing active teaching were a little higher (69%) and those doing administrative work a little lower (9%). Head-teachers themselves were found to be actively teaching in 37% of the schools.

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[30] See PROBE Team (1999).

[31] Preliminary findings have been presented in "Report Card", *Frontline*, March 2009.

[32] As most schools were located at the corner of the village, teachers sometimes came to know of the arrival of investigators from other villagers well before the survey team actually arrived on the school premises.

Table 2.7 Teaching Activity (as Observed by the Investigators on Arrival)	
Proportion of teachers engaged in:	Percent
Active teaching	66
Administrative work	15
Supervising children, not teaching	8
Midday meal related activities / Prayer	3
Other	8

Source: CORD-NEG School Survey, 2009-10
Note: Observations were made for 98 teachers

2.3.4 Class 1 Students were given Attention in Three Fourth of the Schools

In most of the schools, class 1 students were sitting as part of a much larger group, which consisted of students from higher classes. On arrival, our investigators found that in 74% of the schools, children in class 1 (always part of a larger group) were actively engaged in some supervised learning activity (see Table 2.8). The activity included listening to the teacher, writing, and reciting alphabets and numbers. This is a characteristic that one must appreciate because many field surveys have found class 1 children being neglected. However investigators noted that here too there were cases, where within the group, the teacher focused his/her time more on the older children rather than class 1.

Table 2.8 Learning Activity of Students (Observed by the Investigators on Arrival)		
Schools in which the class 1 children's group were:	**No. of schools**	**Percent**
Listening to the teacher	10	24
Writing	12	29
Reciting alphabets and numbers	2	5
Doing rote learning and written work	4	10
Listening to the teacher and doing written work	3	7
Supervised learning activity	**31**	**74**
In class, doing nothing	5	12
Not in class, unsupervised	6	14
No learning activity	**11**	**26**

Source: CORD-NEG School Survey, 2009-10
Note: Based on observations in 42 schools

2.3.5 Nearly All Schools had a Functional Midday Meal Scheme

Almost all the schools reported a functioning MDM scheme (95%). On the day of the survey, the investigators observed the meal being served in 40 out of the 43 schools (91%) (see Table 2.9). This was the aspect of the schools that functioned the best.

The investigators observed that in many schools, meals were generally prepared by women from the self-help groups (SHGs) within the village. In these cases the meal was prepared at the homes of the SHG members. They would then bring it to school shortly before it was due to be served. The investigators also found that in instances that the meal was not prepared at the homes of an SHG member it was cooked on the school premises either by an SHG member or an appointed person from the village. In these particular instances, the cooking was done in make-shift kitchens within the school premises. The system functioned well. In 7% of the schools teachers did report that mid-day meal preparations disrupted classroom activity or interfered with their regular duties, but this is in contrast to findings in other field surveys where teachers' complaints about the midday meal scheme are far more widespread.

The meal was generally served at noon. Teachers would often supervise the distribution of the meal. In most schools, investigators observed the children arranging themselves in a circle after washing their plates and their hands with water that they carried in plastic bottles from home, or from the nearest hand pump/water-source. They would patiently wait as the meal was served to them. After the meal had been distributed, children would recite a short prayer before eating. In 84% of the schools that were observed, children ate the meal on the school premises itself. After the meal, the eating area was cleaned and according to investigators' reports, this was generally done by the students themselves.

The main contents of the meal across all the schools included rice, dal or sambar and a few vegetables. The quantity of rice was adequate, but sometimes the investigators felt that the accompanying dal or vegetable portions were not. Therefore, it is possible that the nutritional benefits of the meal may not have been adequate.

After the meal, the children would disperse and play amongst themselves for about an hour. Generally the mid-day meal and the recess that followed would end by 13:00, and not disrupt teaching time. The entire process seemed to run like clockwork. Rarely did the research team feel that the organisation and distribution of the meal was staged. They said that children seamlessly organised themselves, washed up before and after the meal, stayed in school to eat, and ate the food with relish. In 93% of the schools no students left after the mid-day meal had been served and in 90% of the schools teaching continued after the mid-day meal.[33] All these factors are a contrast to what is happening in many schools across India.

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[33] In 1 school though none of the students left after the mid-day meal was over, teaching activity did not take place post the meal.

Table 2.9: Functionality of Midday Meal	
Proportion of schools where:	Percent
(Headmaster said)	
School had a functional MDM	95%
All children ate the MDM	84%
MDM interfered with teaching	7%
(Investigators observed)	
Midday meal was functional	91%
*Proportion of schools in which the MDM was observed in which:	
Children washed hands before the meal	83%
Eating area was cleaned before the MDM	85%
Eating area was cleaned after the MDM	90%
Majority of the children stayed after eating the meal	93%
Teaching continued after MDM	90%

Source: CORD-NEG School Survey, 2010
*Note: Based on observations in 42 schools.

2.4 Challenges

We began with mentioning how schools were open the whole day, and teaching learning activities took place on arrival and after the midday meal. However, this picture is less rosy than it appears on the following counts.

2.4.1 Improving Student Attendance levels

Maintaining regular attendance in school is an important challenge. From Table 2.10, we see that there was a prominent gap between student enrolment and student attendance. Across all the schools surveyed, only 68% of enrolled students were reported to be present (from the register), on the day of the survey. The positive feature of the Andhra schools is that reported attendance closely matched actual attendance -- based on the team's physical counts, we found that 65% of the enrolled children were actually in school on the day of survey. The 7 Ashram schools showed some divergence between recorded attendance and actual attendance.

Table 2.10: Comparing Enrolment and Attendance				
	Average enrolment	Average marked present	Proportion of students attending (by register)	Proportion of students attending (by observation)
GPS	51	37	69%	66%
GUPS	95	64	63%	63%
Ashram	173	124	66%	59%
Total	74	53	68%	65%

Source: CORD-NEG School Survey, 2009-10
Note: Based on 31 primary schools, 4 upper primary schools and 7 Ashram schools.

The problem of improving attendance levels remains. Teachers reported that student irregularity is a major obstacle to delivering quality education. Children were mainly irregular during the festival months of December and January. In general, the work pressure in households and parents' lack of interest in education were thought to be the main reasons for children's irregularity in school. It is possible that work pressures on children are so high that even if parents are keen to educate their children, they would find it difficult to send them. Better functioning schools are also likely to draw parents and children to school.

The gap between enrolment and attendance may well reflect that children have dropped out of school altogether. However, capturing dropout rates is difficult because students' names are rarely cut off from the school register. In some cases, the teachers themselves admitted this. The motive behind this could be so that the school can continue to receive funding for different aspects of school management or rations for the mid-day meal at the same level.[34] The village studies (see Section B) were useful to probe the issue of whether children were only nominally enrolled.

2.4.2 Inadequate Physical Infrastructure Impacts School Functioning

The team found an average of 3 rooms per school for 5 grades. Therefore, it is clear that the available infrastructure is only able to accommodate multi-grade teaching. The findings from our observations of class-room seating arrangements confirmed this -- groups of students from different classes were found sitting in the same room. In 10 schools, children from all primary sections sat in one large group only. In the other schools, classes 1, 2 and 3 sat together. Teachers were seen to teach several grades by shifting between groups. Two teachers were also seen to simultaneously teach their respective groups (consisting of more than one grade) in the same room.

Further, proper maintenance was lacking in the surveyed schools. Our investigators reported the conditions of the classrooms. Findings based on these observations have been presented in Table 2.11.

Table 2.11 Conditions of Classrooms				
Number of rooms that were:	GPS	GUPS	Ashram schools	Total
Unusable	1	1	2	4 (4%)
In need of repair	33	5	9	47 (45%)
In good condition	23	6	24	53 (51%)
Total Rooms	57	11	35	105

Source: CORD-NEG School Survey, 2009-10

We see that only half of all the classrooms were in good condition. Close to half of the classrooms required considerable repair.[35] A small proportion of the classrooms was unusable. From our investigators we understood that even if a school had classrooms in

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[34] In the second phase of our study, we conducted a child-tracking experiment to capture drop-outs and nominal-enrolments. The results from this study reveal cases of dropping out.

[35]Repairs included – fixing leaky roofs, repairing damaged flooring, plastering walls, replacing doors and windows.

good condition, they would also have rooms that required minor repair work at least (see Box).

Access to Schools of Very Uneven Quality

In one village in Dumbriguda block, 6 schools have been established to serve the different hamlets. But they were of uneven quality. 3 of them were barely functioning in the absence of a school building. One had been completely shut down six months earlier. No teachers had been appointed and students had to shift to a different school. In the second school (AIE), the volunteer teacher was teaching from her home and the other teacher was coming only twice a week. In the third one, teaching was taking place in the open space of the so called school premises, in the absence of any infrastructure. The other 3 schools were functional but lacked very basic amenities such as doors, proper flooring, plastered walls, toilets and drinking water. At least one teacher was absent in these 3 schools, and 2 were functioning with a single teacher on the day of the survey. It was reported that students were absent on a regular basis. The midday meal, a well implemented programme in other villages was served in only one school.

Table 2.12 presents findings on some basic infrastructure in the schools. Only 12% had a boundary wall. The rest were prone to interruptions from outside. Less than half (44%) had a playground, and these were all schools with primary sections.

Table 2.12: Infrastructure in the Sample Schools				
No. of Schools with:	All	Primary schools	Upper primary schools	Ashram schools
Ramp	5	4	1	0
Boundary wall	5	2	0	3
Playground	19	14	2	3
Total schools surveyed	43	31	4	7

Source: CORD-NEG School Survey, 2009-10

Table 2.13 shows the proportion of facilities that were available and functional. In more than half the surveyed villages, piped water was the main source of drinking water. Despite this, only 43% of the schools reported that drinking water facilities were available within the school, and in even fewer schools (29%) was it found to be functional. Even though almost all the villages were electrified only 17% of the sample schools had electricity available. Similarly while 69% had toilet facilities, they were functional in only 12% of the schools. Blackboards were the only facilities that were available and functional across all school categories. We also see that non-ashram school facilities were especially poor and were far below the required standard.

Table 2.13: Infrastructural Facilities in Primary and Upper Primary Schools								
	All		GPS		GUPS		Ashram	
	Available	Functional	Available	Functional	Available	Functional	Available	Functional
Blackboard	42	42	31	31	4	4	7	7
Drinking water	18	12	11	6	2	1	5	5
Toilet	29	5	22	3	2	0	5	2
Electric lights	7	7	1	1	0	-	6	6
Electric fans	1	1	0	-	0	-	1	1

Source: CORD-NEG School Survey, 2009-10
Note: Based on 31 primary, 4 upper primary and 7 Ashram schools.

Clearly some follow-up is required to ensure that schools have these basic facilities and that they are functional. The lack of functioning drinking water and toilet facilities on the school premises are a hindrance to classroom activity. Investigators observed prolonged absences of the students from the classroom, when they wanted to avail of these facilities.

2.4.3   Need for Reduction in Teacher Absenteeism.

On the day of survey, we found that 23% of all the teachers appointed were absent from school. This indicates that teacher absenteeism was fairly high on the day of survey. Further, absenteeism is higher amongst permanent teachers as seen from Figure 2.14. Contract teacher absenteeism was 13 percentage points lower than permanent teachers.

Figure 2.14 Teacher Absenteeism (in Percent)
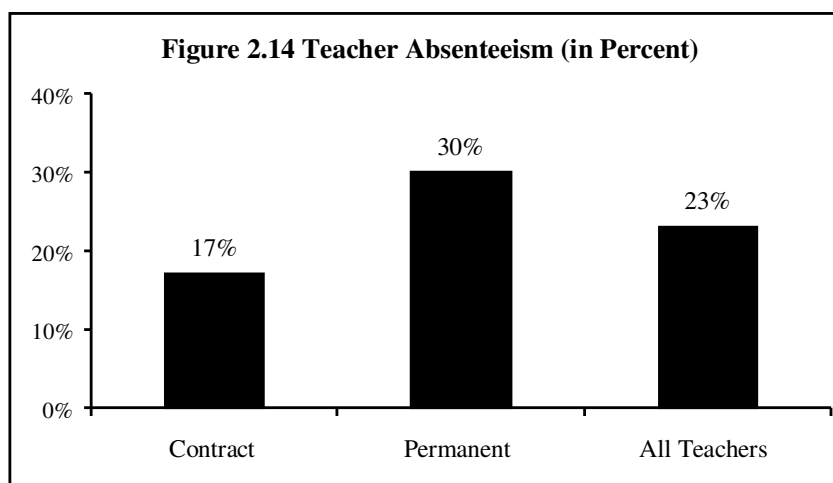
Source: CORD-NEG School Survey, 2009-10

From Table 2.15 we see that 95% of the contract teachers interviewed lived within the same village as the school they were appointed in. Therefore, commuting time to school was very little. In comparison, only 57% of the permanent teachers lived within the same village as the school, and their average commuting distance to school was 4 kms. The usual norm for recruiting a contract teacher is that the person should be a local resident. This was expected to solve teacher absenteeism problems in remote areas as a local

teacher will have no problem in accessing the school. From our survey findings we see that recruiting contract teachers had a positive effect on teacher attendance.

Table 2.15: Accessibility of Schools: Permanent and Contract Teachers			
	Permanent	Contract	All
% of teachers living in the same village as school	57	95	72
Avg. distance from school to residence (kms)	4	1	3
Avg time taken to reach school from residence (mins)	20	11	17

Source: CORD-NEG School Survey, 2009-10

The above findings could be partly responsible for the gap between permanent and contract teacher attendance at school. The contract teachers had potentially less reason for frequent absenteeism. Further, one-third of the permanent teachers were married but lived away from their spouses and families. This kind of living situation has the potential to adversely impact the teacher's attendance at school as the teacher may extend their visits to their families beyond official holidays or permitted leave.

The problem of absenteeism among permanent teachers needs to be tackled through better monitoring. However, at least some permanent teachers were not in school due to the demands placed on them by the education management authorities within the area. In several schools, head-teachers were reported as being away on school related duties, and several permanent teachers were sent to other schools on deputation. The management system needs to be strengthened to enable all teachers to come to school on school days.

2.4.4   Need for Interactive Teaching Learning Activities

The research team observed classroom activities of the group of students which included class 1. It found that most commonly, teachers in the period before the midday meal would read out from the text book (60%) and the students would subsequently engage in activities (72%) such as repeating poems, numbers, alphabets, and tables (Refer Figure 2.16a and 2.16b)

In the period, after the midday meal, in most cases, teachers were checking children's exercise books while children would once again engage in rote-learning activities (56%). Very often investigators noticed that younger children were being monitored by older students.

Fig 2.16a: Teaching Activity Before & After Mid-day Meal ■ Before MDM □ After MDM

Source: CORD-NEG School Survey, 2009-10

Fig 2.16b: Class 1 Activity Before & After Mid-day Meal

■ Before MDM □ After MDM
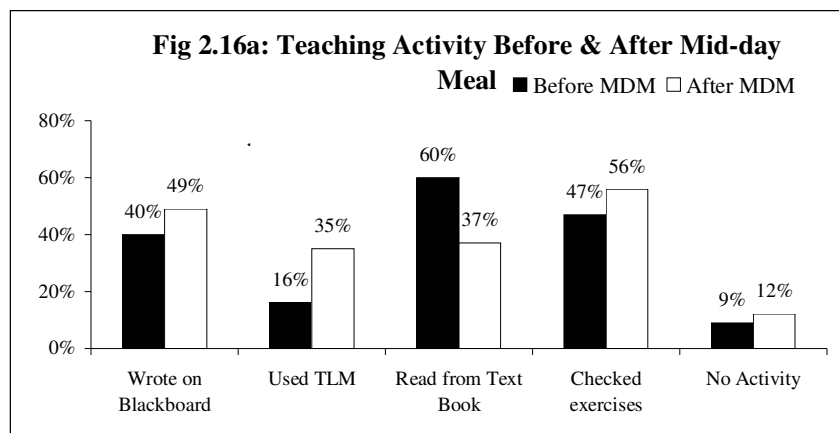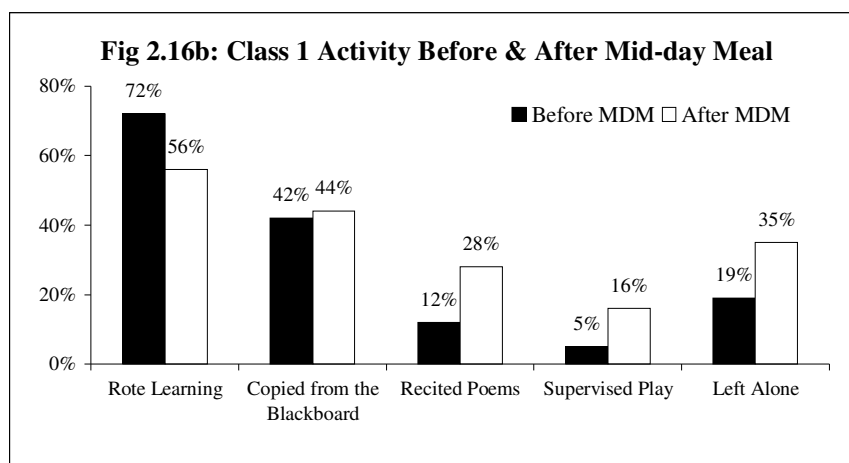
Source: CORD-NEG School Survey, 2009-10

An interesting point to note is that while the majority of schools reported that they had TLMs and teachers reported attending training programmes on the use of TLMs, investigators observed them used in very few schools.

Much of the learning activity which was observed (particularly for the class 1 group) was around rote learning. There was no evidence of any innovative teaching methods in use. These would be particularly useful in tribal areas, where children's home backgrounds are so markedly different from the school environment.

2.4.5 Issue of Medium of Instruction

This is a critical issue in the context of the area in which this study is based. Tribal children struggle to make the transition from their mother tongues to understanding the official language of the state, in this case Telugu. Based on a study of 4 states in India, Jhingran speaks of poor classroom achievement and severe learning difficulties of tribal children in primary schools in which their mother-tongues are ignored (Jhingran, 2009 in Mohanty et al., 2009). As mentioned in the history of Andhra's tribal policy, there have been initiatives under DPEP and then SSA for tribal children to be instructed in their

mother-tongue. Bilingual primers were prepared but teachers and the communities themselves were not convinced of the benefits of using them. More recently, in the MLE initiative, materials have been prepared in 8 tribal languages, and been implemented in 8 districts. Adivasi Oriya was the most widely spoken language spoken in villages which were part of the survey, and is among those languages which come under the MLE initiative. Adivasi Oriya is referred to in the literature as a corrupted form of Oriya. It is also referred to as Kotiya Oriya. It is supposed to have 80% - 85% lexical similarity with Desia, widely spoken as a trade language by tribal groups in Koraput in Orissa. The lexical similarity of Adivasi Oriya and Oriya is supposed to be 38% - 42%.[36]

The reading materials prepared under the MLE initiative in Andhra in these 8 tribal languages include textbooks[37] for Mathematics and EVS for classes 1-5, apart from alphabet books and story books. A lot of material is prepared for teachers including dictionaries, worksheets, flashcards, educational games, word banks and so on).

Languages used in classroom instruction were observed. 30% of the sample schools reported using a tribal dialect along with the state vernacular as the medium of instruction. However, it was observed that teachers were using tribal dialects in only 10% of the classrooms. A possible reason for this may be that the majority of the teachers reported being more comfortable in Telugu. Further a large proportion of them felt that their students could also speak Telugu. However, this appeared to be contradictory, as when teachers descriptively outlined the challenges they faced while doing their job, many of them talked of a 'language barrier' with their students. Young children currently enrolled also spoke of language problems ("I don't understand what the teacher speaks or writes," said 6 year old Tangula Chanti from Kahara village in Dumbriguda district).

2.5 Conclusion

Our school survey has revealed strong evidence of functioning schools at primary level in the selected blocks of Visakhapatnam, Andhra Pradesh, situated on the border it shares with Koraput, Orissa.

- Schools were open when the team arrived unannounced and functioned all day.
- A substantial proportion (77%) of teachers was present in school at this time. (Some of those teachers not in school were away on official duties.)
- In 88% of schools there was at least one teacher actively teaching (i.e. 5 of the 43 surveyed schools had no teaching activity at the time the team arrived).
- While 66% of teachers were actively teaching, another 26% of teachers were busy with administrative work and supervising children. Only 8% were observed not to do much.
- Class 1 students were being given attention in 74% of the schools, although this was as part of a larger group rather than on their own.
- The bulk of teachers appointed were permanent teachers, well-qualified and with teacher education qualifications.

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[36]See Lewis (ed.) (2009).

[37] In the Maths textbooks, there is an attempt to use pictures and examples from the everyday context of the child. In the EVS textbooks, stories, songs, rhymes, riddles and idioms of tribal areas are included; the themes in stories include the lives of local freedom fighters and heroes, tribal festivals, tribal customs, local rivers and deities, weekly market areas in tribal regions, and so on (see NMRC, 2009 and SSA, Andhra, not dated).

- Children in more than 90% of schools were being served a cooked midday meal.
- These figures are particularly encouraging in the light of the fact that these schools are located in remote areas.

While there is much to praise in the Andhra schools, the gaps in school functioning are already visible from the above figures. When one looks at who constitutes the 23% of teachers who were missing from school when the team arrived, it was found that absenteeism rates were much higher among permanent teachers (30%) compared to contract teachers (17%). These qualified and trained permanent teachers were less likely to be in school to give children the benefit of their experience than the contract teachers, many of whom had had limited training and little experience. Secondly, among those teachers present, only one-third were not actively teaching, even if they were engaged in other useful work. In addition there was very limited infrastructure in terms of pakka classrooms available and in terms of number of teachers appointed. The survey found 6 schools that were officially single-teacher schools. In addition, 12 schools were operating as single-teacher schools on the day of survey, with all but one teacher absent. Multi grade teaching was inevitable. Apart from the lack of sufficient pakka classrooms, facilities in the schools were also poor. Children's attendance in school (based on physical counts) was only 65% of enrolment. This is an indicator that there may still be many children in this area who may drop out without completing primary schooling. Language problems were indicated by the fact that teaching was generally done in Telugu, and the children were heard mainly talking in Adivasi Oriya.

<u>**Section 3: Village Studies in Andhra Pradesh**</u>
<u>**(Dumbriguda Block, Visakhapatnam District)**</u>

<u>**Part A. The Study Villages**</u>

The village studies were planned with the objective of getting in depth insights on access and quality of schooling, to supplement the findings of the larger, cross-sectional school survey.

3.1 Selection of Villages Based on Variations in Accessibility

In order to choose the villages for the study we used the census 2001 village directory as our sampling frame. From this directory we filtered out small villages (less than 120 households). From the shortlist, 3 villages were selected, namely[38] Dora, Kahara and Hirapanti, based on the local research team's perceptions on physical access and safety. The resulting selections broadly fulfilled the following criteria:
- 1 road-point village -- Dora.
- 1 village 5 kms away from the main road – Kahara.
- 1 village 5 kms away from the main road and across a fast-flowing stream -- Hirapanti.

The 3 villages selected had between 212 and 288 households across the entire revenue village. For the purpose of the village study, we focused only on the main village/tola which had the government school with the largest enrolment. The team spent 6 days at each village.

All the 3 villages were more than 130 kms from the district headquarters, Vishakhapatnam. Even the nearest town was 100 kms away.

The most accessible village was Dora. It was located on a pukka road approximately 15 kms away from the block headquarters. The villagers generally rely on taxi-jeeps to commute to and from the nearest market and bus-stop. These can be hailed quite easily from the entrance of the village itself. Owing to favourable road conditions and availabilty of taxi-jeeps, it took villagers from Dora approximately 15 mins to reach the bus-stop and market-place. However, taxi jeeps were reported to be crowded, unreliable and expensive.

Dora residents had benefited greatly from construction of a pakka road alongside their village. Due to this, they were able to go to the market and sell their produce themselves, without 'middlemen', at much better prices.

Kahara was the village midway in terms of accessibility. Kahara was 5 kms away from the pukka road. To get to the nearest bus-stop, villagers had to cover the 5 kms of kachha road by foot and then 2 kms along the pakka road by jeep-taxi. It could take villagers 1.5 hours on average even in good weather conditions.

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[38] Names of villages have been changed for the sake of anonymity.

Table 3.1 Accessibility of Main Village			
	Dora	Kahara	Hirapanti
Distance (kms) from			
Pakka road	0	5	5
Block headquarters Dumbriguda	15	7	10
Nearest town Vizianagaram*	103	95	109
District headquarters Visakhapatnam	130	150	150
Mode of transport to nearest bus stop	Taxi-jeep 7 km	5 km motorable kachha road; taxi-jeep 2 km	5 km motorable kachha road; have to cross fast-flowing stream; taxi-jeep 2 kms

Source: CORD-NEG Village Study, 2010
*According to Census 2001.

Hirapanti, was the least accessible village. It was also 5 kms away from a pakka road. However, the journey to Hirapanti was far more challenging than Kahara. The journey down the kaccha road was extremely difficult. At one point, one has to cross a fast-flowing stream of water. We learnt that during the monsoon season this stream can flood. The resulting water level is neck-deep which creates a very harsh and dangerous commute for the villagers. Like Kahara, to get to the bus-stop, villagers had to walk on 5 kms of kachha road. They had the additional hurdle of crossing the stream, and then travel 2 kms along the pakka road. Time taken was 1.5 hours on average in good weather conditions.

3.2 Size and Social Composition of Villages

Dora has altogether 265 households (see Table 3.2), who live in 6 tolas. The main village of Dora has approximately 65 households. Several of the other tolas are also equally large. Dora has an upper primary school which was attended by children coming from other tolas, 2-3 kms away, which made it very difficult for particularly young children (6 and 7 year olds) to attend regularly.

Table 3.3 presents the main characteristics of the social groups that lived within the study villages. We mainly found Baghatas and Valmikis in Dora village. The main language spoken by these tribes was Adivasi Oriya. However, in Dora, Telugu was used comparatively more than in the other 3 villages. The tolas had a number of other tribal groups.

The map of Dora village drawn by the field team (see Annexure A for maps of these 3 Andhra villages and and notes on each map) shows the main village divided into two sections. The lower section is more important in terms of location of institutions and people in responsible positions, and both Baghatas and Valmikis live there.

Kahara covers 288 households spread over 9 hamlets. The main village of Kahara is closely connected to one of its tolas Sanarput. The Kahara government primary school is

at the entrance of Sanarput. Kahara has 56 households and Sanarput 66 households. Baghatas, Kotiyas and Valmikis are the main tribes in Kahara. They lived in the upper section of Kahara, which appeared to be the more important section in terms of location of institutions and people in responsible positions. Sanarput tola was dominated by the Kotiyas.

Table 3.2 Tola-Wise Household and School Information			
	Dora	Kahara	Hirapanti
Households:	**265**	**288**	**212**
Household in main village	65	56	101
Households in tola 1	50	66	8
Households in tola 2	65	22	46
Households in tola 3	40	38	57
Households in tola 4	30	15	--
Households in tola 5	15	23	--
Households in tola 6	--	3	--
Households in tola 7	--	8	--
Households in tola 8	--	57	--
Schools			
Schools in main village	1 upper primary	1 primary	1 upper primary
Schools in tolas	2 primary	1 primary, 1 upper primary	2 primary

Source: CORD-NEG Village Study, 2010

Hirapanti covers 212 households spread over 4 hamlets. The main village of Hirapanti was large and had 101 households. One side of the upper section of Hirapanti is the most important in terms of institutions and residences of key persons (see Map in Annexure). Kotiyas and Kondadoras, the main tribes in this village, live in this section. The village study revealed tension between the two main groups – Kotiya and Kondadora. The Kotiyas resented the village authorities, particularly the sarpanch from Kondadora tribe, and blamed him for poor functioning of village institutions and corruption. The sarpanch complained of lack of support from the villagers.

Table 3.3 Social Groups and Languages Spoken			
	Dora	Kahara	Hirapanti
Social Group	ST	ST	ST
Main tribes	Baghata, Valmiki	Baghata, Kotiya Valmiki	Kotiya, Kondadora
Languages spoken	Adivasi Oriya, Telugu	Adivasi Oriya	Adivasi Oriya
Tribes in hamlets	Kodu, Kotiya, Kondadora, Duliya	Kotiya, Baghata, Kondadora, Nookadora	Kotiya, Kondadora, Nookadora

Source: CORD-NEG Village Study, 2010

There was a major issue, as only the residents of the main tola in Dora talked in Telugu. In all other areas, only the educated adolescents (beyond primary) and adults were comfortable in Telugu. Others spoke Adivasi Oriya.

3.3 Living Conditions

All three study villages had certain features pertaining to living conditions in common.
(a) Settlement Pattern:
- The village settlements in each tola were generally concentrated within a small area.
- The main villages had two sections. One section of the village was slightly elevated.

(b) Facilities In The Village:
- The roads within the villages were unpaved.
- The households were mainly semi-pukka. This was the outcome of the government scheme Indira Awas Yojana.
- All reported the availability of potable water facilities.
    - Dora reported the safest drinking water source.
- Water shortages were faced across all 3 villages
    - Hirapanti had the most severe water problems because the sarpanch was alleged to have diverted the waterway to irrigate his own land.[39]
- All villages had a check dam built, presumably under NREGS, though that benefitted one tola primarily.
- All the villages were electrified (households but not streets) and reported receiving upto 24 hrs of electricity per day. However, villagers explained that during the monsoon season power cuts are very frequent and households sometimes had no electricity for weeks at a time.

3.4 Livelihoods of Adults and Children

People's livelihoods also had certain features that were common across the 3 study villages.
- The main occupation reported was cultivation on own land. Land sizes were small and ranged from 1 to 10 acres.
    - The most important cash crops cultivated include paddy, ragi, and sama.
    - During the winter, villagers reported the cultivation of vegetables for consumption and for sale. Some households also reported coffee cultivation on land allocated to them by the Andhra Pradesh Coffee Board.
- None of the villages had any functional irrigation facilities. As cultivation is the main occupation, lack of irrigation facilities adversely impacts livelihoods.
- In all 3 villages, people engaged in supplementary occupations. Most commonly these were agricultural labour and foraging activities.
- In all villages seasonal migration was quite common and 50 to 100 adults migrate in February/March and in September. Adult males would travel to nearby districts for non-agricultural labour work during the non-cultivation season for a few weeks at a

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[39]The villagers explained that normally water from the spring reaches the village *kundi* through a constructed waterway. Because the Sarpanch of the village had blocked the waterway and was diverting it to irrigate his own land, people had to walk for over half a kilometre to fetch water from the spring.

time. There was also a trend of educated youth to shift residence to nearby industrial town and visit the village only for a few weeks in a year.

- Reports of child labour in terms of wage work between the ages of 6-14 were few.
- Enrolled girl-children generally engaged in domestic work such as fetching water or lighting the chullah, outside of school hours.

Discussions with older people reveal that there had been a gradual change from being primarily dependent on forest produce to becoming farmers.

3.5 School Participation among 6-14 Age-Group Children in Selected Households

During the village study, the research team surveyed 20 households in each village. These households had children in the 6-14 age group who were enrolled in the sample school. Twenty children were randomly selected from the school register, and their households surveyed (see Table 3.4). The selected households in all 3 villages had at most one child who had never been enrolled. The village of Dora had as many as 9 out of 37 children having dropped out of school. This appears to be related to their living in the more remote hamlets rather than in the main village of Dora. However, the picture overall is a little less rosy than it appears. Ten of the enrolled children in each village were tracked for 4 days that the team was in the village and it was found that 4 of these 30 children had dropped out of school although their names were still in the register (see Section 3.6: Child Tracking).

Table 3.4: Schooling Status of Children in 6-14 Age Group in Selected Households				
	Dora	Kahara	Hirapanti	All
Currently enrolled	27	37	34	98
Dropouts	9	2	1	12
Never enrolled	1	1	--	2
Total no. of children	37	40	35	112

Source: CORD-NEG Village Study, 2010

Children in these villages were enrolled in the local schools and in residential schools in other areas. These residential schools were particularly popular for boys. One of the tolas of Kahara had a residential school, functional in spite of being in a state of disrepair (see Box).

3.6 Child-Tracking: Exploring Regularity of Children's Attendance in School

Capturing drop-outs and nominal enrolment are extremely difficult as names are rarely cut from the school register. Therefore, it was decided to select enrolled children from the school register and check whether they were in school over a period of time.

This was done in 3 villages as part of the second phase of the study on access and quality of schooling. Within each of these villages 10 children were selected systematically from the enrolment register of the surveyed schools. In total we tracked 30 children from 3 schools for 4 days each.

We would first check to see if the child had come to school on the given day. Checks were normally done an hour or so before the mid-day meal was served. If the child was

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Joti Residential School (Kahara)

The Joti Residential School is also referred to as the Tribal Welfare Ashram School as it is run by the Tribal Welfare Department, Andhra Pradesh. It is a co-educational school with hostel facilities for both girls and boys. It is an upper primary school and was upgraded to class 7 in 1976. The school timings are from 8:45am to 3:45 pm each day.

Ninety children are currently enrolled in the school. All of these children come from faraway villages such as Guntaseema, Ranilisingi, Gundiguda, Paridi. The maximum distance between the school and their homes is 16 kms. All students belong to Scheduled Tribes and are mainly from the Kondadora, Kotiya, Nookadora and Valmiki groups. The students are provided with 3 cooked meals a day. They are also given uniforms, toiletries, textbooks and notebooks.

The infrastructure in the school is extremely poor. In all, the school has 5 classrooms and 2 dormitories to house the 90 children. The classrooms are used both to study and sleep. There is severe water shortage in the school. There is no hand pump. The toilets do not function. There is no kitchen and the food is cooked in the open. There is no dining hall. The school has electricity but suffers from power cuts.

Three permanent teachers and 3 contract teachers are currently appointed. The school premises have teachers' quarters but they are not usable and none of the appointed teachers live there. The road to the school is completely kaccha and becomes extremely dangerous during the monsoon season for the teachers to commute. The grounds of the school get completely flooded.

All the teachers were present and engaged in teaching activities on the day the team visited the school. The Head Master explained that 3 of the teachers live locally, and the other 3 come from Dumbriguda and Kinchmunda (7 kms and 10 kms away). The children in the school (especially class 1-3) speak Adivasi Oriya, Kondadora and Kotiya. The main language of instruction is Telugu and the school does not use any bi-lingual text books. The school has not been provided any TLMs or sports equipment by the government. The school has a library, but it is not well maintained or used.

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not present, we would go to his home and enquire into the reasons for his/her absence on that particular day.

The data indicates that the 10 children in Dora were the most irregular, followed by the 10 children in Hirapanti. The 10 children in Kahara were tracked only over 3 days, but they were mostly in school on the 3 days the school was open.

Table 3.5: Exploring Regularity of Children's Attendance*				
	No. absent on Day 1	No. absent on Day 2	No. absent on Day 3	No. absent on Day 4	Proportion absent on average
Dora	3	5	4	6	45%
Kahara	2	0	1	NA	10%
Hirapanti	5	3	3	3	35%

Source: CORD-NEG Village Study, 2010
*Note: Based on tracking of 10 enrolled children over 4 days in Dora; 10 children over 4 days in Hirapanti, and 10 children over 3 days in Kahara. Children could not be tracked over the fourth day in Kahara because the single teacher had closed the school.

To analyse the problem further, we noted the number of children in each village who were absent on 1 of the 4 days, 2 of the 4 days, 3 of the 4 days, as well as the number who were absent on all days and the number present on all days (see Table 3.6).

Proportions of children who were regular: Dora and Hirapanti both had 6 out of 10 children absent on 1 day at most (Dora had only 2 children present on all days, and 4 who were absent for 1 day. Hirapanti had 5 children present on all days and 1 who was absent for 1 day). Kahara had as much all 10 children absent on 1 day at most (7 children present on all days, and the remaining 3 absent for one day). This data seems to indicate that the school in Kahara is functioning well since the children appear to be so regular. Unfortunately, other data does not indicate this. Perhaps the children are regular because they come from Kahara and a neighbouring hamlet, and the midday meal functions regularly. The lower attendance figures for Dora reflect the fact that the school catered to children from a much wider area. Seven of the 10 children whose attendance was tracked came from the tola villages, 2-3 kms away. This impacted student attendance rates mainly for classes 1 and 2.

Table 3.6 Distribution of Children According to Days of Absence					
		Number of Children			
	Present on all days	Absent on			
		1 day	2 days	3 days	4 days
Dora	2	4	1	0	3
Hirapanti	5	1	1	1	2
Kahara	7	3	0	0	0

Source: CORD-NEG Village Study, 2010

The reasons for absence from school were varied – children reported illness (fever, diarrhoea) but also factors which indicate that regular attendance is not a norm (child needed at home because of a family emergency (10 year old girl), child didn't go because parents were out of the house (7 year old boy whose 8 year old brother has already dropped out), child didn't go because her sister beat her (9 year old girl), child didn't go because of visitors to the child's home (9 year old boy), child visiting relatives in neighbouring area (7 year old boy).

Five students were absent on all the days of tracking, 3 from Dora and 2 from Hirapanti. Further investigations revealed that only one child was reported to be coming back after a long visit to relatives. Two from Dora tolas had moved location altogether. Two had dropped out of school (one from Dora and one from Hirapanti). However the names of these four dropouts were still in the register.

Table 3.7 Reasons for Absence – If Child Absent On All Days				
Dora				
Name	Age	Gender	Class	Reason for Absence
Thulasi	4	Female	1	Family moved as mother remarried
Daiva	5	Male	1	Migrated out of the village
Mahesh	7	Male	2	Dropped out from school to plough the fields
Hirapanti				
Name	Age	Gender	Class	Reason for Absence
Jimbiri	8	Male	1	Dropped out from school
Jyothi	7	Female	2	Left village for the week to visit relatives

Source: CORD-NEG Village Study, 2010

Summing up, tracking of 30 children in the 3 study villages indicates that while parents may express keenness for education they cannot ensure that their young children are in school every day. Illness of the child is an important reason for children not being in school, but there are numerous other factors which make children's attendance at school irregular. Some of these are livelihood related (parents may need their children to help them, parents are not at home to ensure their children go to school), some of them are cultural (festivals, visits to relatives). Nominal enrolment exists, but is relatively limited. Four out of the thirty children tracked should no longer have been on the register.

3.7 Feedback from Adolescents: Perceptions of Benefits of Schooling and their Aspirations for the Future

Focus group discussions were held with a group of 8-10 young boys in the 14-17 age group, and with young girls in the same age group in the three villages. We begin with some details about the young people's social and educational backgrounds and listen to their perceptions of the benefits of schooling, and their future aspirations in this context. In the next section, we get insights from young people about the role of work in their lives from the age of 6 years onwards, and how it may have impacted the regularity of their attendance in school, and whether it had contributed to their dropping out of school. In section 3.9, we report on young people's feedback on their schooling experience – positive and negative memories, and how the latter could have contributed to their dropping out of school.

The young people in the different groups all belonged to tribal communities, but their backgrounds varied considerably. In terms of years of schooling, the Dora boys, Dora girls, and Kahara boys were more advantaged. This is reflected to some extent in their very positive perceptions of the benefits of schooling and their considerable aspirations for the future. All these groups had many young people who were currently enrolled in the upper primary stage (classes 6-8) and beyond, and those who had dropped out after completing at least class 10. It was relatively easy for the researchers to communicate in

Telugu with these groups. The other three groups included many who had had little schooling – the Hirapanti boys, Hirapanti girls, and Kahara girls. Those with little schooling, and these were predominantly girls, did not have aspirations for regular employment as expressed by those with more schooling. It was difficult for the researchers to communicate with some young people in these groups who spoke only Adivasi Oriya. Some understood basic Telugu, but were not very confident to respond in Telugu. We now discuss each group separately.

The Dora boys group were all Valmikis, except for one boy who was Baghata and one who was Kondadora. The group included 5 dropouts (1 from the primary stage and 4 from the upper primary stage) and 3 boys who were enrolled in classes 10, 11 and 12. These boys all felt that education was important, and some really regretted dropping out. While they felt education of girls was very important particularly to prevent early marriage and to help them when they were living with their in-laws, they were regretful that girls were getting more incentives[40] to study than boys. Aspirations were quite high among the boys with more schooling in Dora, who wanted to be engineers, doctors, teachers, and policemen. But there were those with less schooling, and they mentioned that they were interested in becoming drivers (one was already working as a driver), in becoming better farmers on their own land, and in teaching dance (this young man was already teaching small children).

The Dora girls' group included 5 girls who were Baghatas, 4 who were Valmikis and 1 who was Kondadora. In terms of schooling, these girls were dropouts from primary (1), upper primary (2), secondary and above (2), but some were still enrolled, in upper primary (2) and above (2). All but one had studied in Dora itself. One girl who has now completed class 12 was sent to a government school in another hamlet (Totavalasa) because the teachers were reputed to be better. The girls in the Dora group had had more schooling than girls in the other villages. Four of them were still enrolled at upper primary level. The benefits of education that they mentioned were quite wide-ranging:
- Become more intelligent
- Learn to manage time well
- Can understand written words, otherwise have to depend on pictures
- Will come to know what is happening in the outside world
- Language will improve; no problems in communicating if one goes anywhere outside
- Will lead to improvement in the quality of life
- Respect in society will increase

The girls most commonly aspired to be teachers – Telugu teachers, Hindi teachers, English teachers. They also wanted to be doctors and nurses.

The Kahara boys' group included 6 Kotiyas, 2 Baghatas and 1 Valmiki. One boy had dropped out in upper primary, and one after class 10. The rest were enrolled in upper primary (3), and above (3). One boy had even completed class 12. These boys were mostly in residential schools, and their schooling histories presented insights into the pathways taken by boys in this village (see Box). The Kahara boys stressed the links between education and jobs. They wanted to be teachers, doctors, engineers and

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[40] In Dora, Nandi Foundation was giving special incentives (clothes, shoes, belt, books etc) for girls who were in school.

Schooling Choices among Boys in Kahara

The Kahara boys were found to be moving between the local village school in Kahara, Joti Residential School, an ashram school in Araku Valley, and an RBC (Residential Bridge Course) in Araku Valley. All spoke fluent Telugu. These were some of the pathways they took in their primary years of education:

- Saikiran, Ganesh and Dhanraj are the only boys who have completed class 1-5 in their local village school. Saikiran is now enrolled in class 7, Ganesh is enrolled in class 11, and Dhanraj has completed class 12. Saikiran and Ganesh are from Baghata backgrounds, while Dhanraj is Valmiki.

The remaining boys who moved between different options are all Kotiya.

- Anand completed class 1 in the local village school. Then he shifted to Joti Residential School where he studied upto class 3. He then shifted to an ashram school in Araku Valley for Class 4 and 5, before dropping out in class 6.
- Suman and Jalandar completed class 1 in the local village school, and then dropped out. In order to re-enroll into school, they attended an RBC (Residential bridge course) for class 3 in Araku Valley. Both are currently enrolled in class 8.
- Kiran Kumar completed class 1-3 in Joti Residential School. He dropped out for a year, and later enrolled in a RBC in Araku Valley for Classes 4 and 5. He is currently in class 10.
- Laxman Rao completed class 1 in the local village school, following which he did not go to school for a month. He then re-enrolled into class 1 in Joti Residential School and completed uptil class 5. He currently studies in class 12.

Kahara has only a primary school which is up to class 5. To study beyond this students have to go to schools outside the village. The boys gave the following reasons for popularity of the residential schools.

1. Residential schools are seen as providing more structure: Kiran Kumar and Laxman Rao recall that they were very irregular while attending the local village school. Their parents decided to enroll them into residential schools, so they would attend each day. Their parents also hoped that they would be motivated to study hard like the other boys in the school.
2. Residential schools are seen as having better quality education: Suman did not like the local village school, as he found that the teacher did not teach well. His parents hence decided to enroll him into a residential school where he could study well and get a good government teacher posting in the future.
3. Residential schools give additional benefits: Through older boys in the village, Sibbo got to know that Joti School functioned much better than the local village school. Moreover, his parents were keen on enrolling him into this school as he would get 3 free meals a day.
4. Residential schools are popular with the boys themselves: Anand shifted to Joti Residential School as many of his peers were also studying there. Jalandar said he preferred going to a residential school, because if he stayed in the local village school, his parents would make him do household work.

Residential Bridge Courses

4 boys in the group took bridge courses. Each of them praised the course. Two lauded the quality of teaching, adding that teachers in this course ensure that children understand what is being taught. Another boy pointed out that teachers do not beat the students in RBCs. The boys also felt that these schools take good care of the children.. The RBCs have a designated playing time each day; students are allowed to watch T.V. after study hours, and good quality food is served.

policemen. They also mentioned that with education, they would become more intelligent, be able to locate any place if they were to travel, and get opportunities to go abroad. But the group included boys who did not have financial support, and without this they did not think they could complete their education or get jobs. One young man was also worried about his brother who had dropped out of school, and that his brother would always have to depend on cultivation for his livelihood.

The Kahara girls were primarily Kotiya (7), and two girls from the Valmiki community and one from the Kondadora community. Six girls (all Kotiya) had dropped out in the primary stage (having completed class 5 at most). Four girls in the group were enrolled in the upper primary stage. The Kahara girls generally associated schooling with the possibility of getting a job as a teacher or health worker, and hoped to get such employment. One young girl who had dropped out was regretful about her decision. She said, "My friend Kumari is currently in school and I wish I could learn things like her." But there were others in the group who thought schooling was a waste of time.

The Hirapanti boys were nearly all Kotiya, with the exception of one boy from the Kammara community. The Hirapanti group of 8 boys included dropouts in primary (3), dropouts in upper primary and beyond (2), currently enrolled in upper primary (1) and in secondary school (2). There was thus a wide range of schooling experience. Five of the boys had only studied in the Hirapanti village school; two had studied there till class 2 and then gone to a residential school in Dumbriguda; one boy had been in an ashram school from class 1. The link between schooling and job prospects was brought up by these boys. Education would thus enable them to take care of their family. They felt education was "important to lead a happy life". The boys emphasized the empowering impact of education. With education, they felt they could "go anywhere in the world"; "be able to accomplish a lot"; "stand up against the corrupt Sarpanch and help the village". One young man said, "Since it is a competitive world, with many qualified people, one needs education to survive in this world. Having an education makes one confident to talk to authorities and high-ranking officials in politics." Mostly the boys aspired to be teachers or policemen or get any government job, but other aspirations were also mentioned. One boy wanted to set up his own business selling vegetables; another wanted to be a tailor. Two boys who had dropped out early from school and were doing agricultural labour work said they were comfortable with their work.

The Hirapanti girls were mostly Kotiya (7) and 2 girls who were Kondadora and 1 who was from the Valmiki community. In terms of schooling experience, there were two girls at two ends of the spectrum. One girl was enrolled in class 12 and one had never been enrolled. The remaining 8 had all dropped out of school, 4 in primary itself, and 4 in classes 7 and 8. Linkages of schooling with jobs were mentioned frequently by the girls in Hirapanti, and they wanted to be teachers or anganwadi workers. What was different was the aspiration of a young girl to get a job and "look after her future husband and children". Schooling was also related to a better married life – it would "help a girl handle herself in her in-laws' home". A final insightful comment came from 16 year old Brinda who mentioned how "schooling helps one to take good decisions when faced with problems".

3.8 Pressures of Work and its Impact on Schooling: Feedback from Adolescents

a. Types of work done by boys / girls

Boys in all 3 villages reported that even below the age of 10 years they were taking cattle for grazing; going with parents to the fields to see how they worked and helping with small work that they could do (including cutting grass to feed the cattle, and ploughing the fields), collecting firewood from the forest, and domestic work.[41] By the time boys were in the 10-13 age group, they not only worked on their own fields but also did agricultural and non-agricultural labour (road construction).[42] Some boys reported doing NREGS work. In the 14-17 age group, they reported doing more paid labour – working in the field to collect grains in gunny bags and carry them back home; and drainage work under NREGS. In this age group they would take up work farther away from home – labour in a hotel, as a driver in a rice mill in Araku Valley. They had also worked in S Kota, Visakhapatnam, Vizianagaram, Saluru, and even as far away as Hyderabad. Jobs included working as unskilled (road construction) and skilled labour (sheet cutter in a factory) and even as a security guard.

Girls in all 3 villages also reported that they were doing a lot of work even in the 6-9 age group. The domestic work they did included fetching water, caring for younger siblings, cleaning the house, and washing dishes. The girls were also helping with grazing of cattle, collecting gobar, and in cultivation work which included threshing paddy and helping during harvesting. As they grew older, they did the work mentioned above but took more responsibility for cooking, for firewood collection and foraging in the forest, and in cultivation. In the 14-17 age group, they did the work they did earlier and worked as agricultural labourers (on others' fields, and in coffee seeds collection) and non-agricultural labourers (NREGS work building drainage systems, and in construction where they loaded lorries with sand and gravel). This work sometimes involved them going out of the village to work. Some girls accompanied their parents when they went for such work. Evidence of the heavy demands on their time were many, and included the fact that many of the girls had to rush back home even during the focus group discussions because they were needed for household tasks.

b. Missing school / dropping out on account of work

The Dora and Hirapanti boys reported that they were generally regular but sometimes missed school because they were needed in housework and in cultivation and to take the cattle for grazing. One young boy from Hirapanti said he was very irregular upto Class 5, as he was required to help out with work. The Kahara boys who were enrolled in residential schools said that this meant that they did not have to struggle with the demands of domestic work and animal grazing and foraging and cultivation when they were in school, and hence could be regular in school. Dropping out in the primary stage (completing class 5 or less) was reported only by adolescent boys in Hirapanti. However dropping out on account of work was mentioned by quite a few boys in the 3 villages (see Table 3.8). This was in the primary and upper primary stage. In the case of Gurumurthy

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[41] Boys in Kahara also mentioned going to the pond to catch crabs and fish.
[42] In the case of hostel boys in Kahara, they did this when they came home during holidays.

from Dora it was to look after his brothers and sisters; Sandeep from Dora was needed to graze the cattle; Anand for Kahara had no parents to support him and needed to work; Sanjeeva Rao from Hirapanti had to do the housework because his mother was out in the fields and there was no one else in the family who could do it; Nageshwar, Arjun and Keshav from Hirapanti all had to work because their fathers were unable to (illness and death).

Table 3.8 Boys aged 14-17 -- Reasons for dropping out in the 3 Dumbriguda villages				
Name	Dropped out after completing:	Home factors	Combination of home and school factors	Primarily school factors
B. Anand (K)	Class 6	Financial problems – no parents to support him		
B. Suman (K)	Class 7		Not interested in studying further	
K. Sibbo (K)	Class 10		Did not clear his Maths paper	
K. Lingamurthy (H)	Class 4	Fell ill with malaria		
K. Nageshwar Rao (H)	Class 5	Father became ill. Needed to work.		
P. Keshav Rao (H)	Class 5			Fell sick in residential school.
K. Arjun (H)	Class 6	Father died. Needed to work.		
K. Keshav Rao (H)	Class 8	Father died. Financial problems. Needed to work.		
T. Sanjeeva Rao (H)	Class 3	Mother went early to the field and came back at 11. No one else to cook breakfast or do housework – so he had to stay back.		
V. Anandh (H)	Class 7			Cook hit him when he was helping himself to dinner in hostel.
A. Ashok (H)	Class 7			Food and water bad in hostel. Fell ill.
P. Gurumurthy (D)	Class 8	Look after my brothers and sisters.		
K. Sandeep (D)	Class 6	No one in the house, if I did not stay back to do the work, cows would die.		

Note. The village is given in parenthesis, next to the child's name.
K-Kahara, H - Hirapanti, D - Dora

Name	Dropped out after completing:	Home factors	Combination of home and school factors	School factors
Bharti (K)	Class 4	Father died, had to help at home		
Radha (K)	Class 4	Father died; had to graze cattle		
Savarna (K)	Class 3	Severe financial problems; parents had to be out working; needed at home to look after brother		
Binoli (K)	Class 5	Mother died; had to look after house		
Bimala (K)	Class 1	Parents needed her to work at home	School not important to her because she didn't understand Telugu	
Lalita (H)	Class 6		When she was in school, she did not see any benefits from schooling	
Brinda (H)	Class 5	Had to do lots of housework	Was not interested in school	
Prameela (H)	Class 6	Parents were not interested in education		
Seethama (H)	Class 6	Due to poor health		
Janaki (H)	Class 1	Her father died. She had to help her mother.		
Kamsula (H)	Class 7		Did not get a TC in time. Could not find a vacant seat in school.	
Savitri (H)	Class 4			Scared because her classmates used to beat her hard
Sujatha (D)	Class 7		Liked to study but as soon as she reached the gate she did not feel like going in	
Chandrika (D)	Class 6			Teachers used to scold her saying "why are you wasting time", "you will never learn anything"; "don't ruin your fathers' name".
Ambika (D)	Class 6			Fell in love with a boy in the same class (in 7th). Teacher said, "if you come to school all the other girls will become like you, so don't come."
Roilla (D)	Class 7		Girls teased her because of a speech problem	

K- Kahara, H- Hirapanti, D -Dora

Missing school and dropping out on account of work was a very important feature of the lives of girls (see Table 3.9). Although girls reported that they tried to avoid missing school on account of work, at the very minimum they were forced to during the harvest months of December, January and February. It is clear that the extent of their work responsibilities even from a young age would have made it difficult for them to attend regularly. Although parents said they were keen to educate their girls, both boys and girls felt that parental motivation to educate girls was quite limited and much lower than their motivation to educate their sons. Not allowing girls to study beyond primary was common.

Girls from all 3 villages but particularly those from Kahara (who had dropped out in the primary stage) and Hirapanti (dropouts in primary and upper primary) reported that the fact that they were needed at home to work was the main reason that they had dropped out of school. Savarna from Kahara spoke of the family having severe financial problems with both parents needing to be out working, and her dropping out in class 3 because she was needed to look after her younger brother. Pressures to drop out because of work sometimes worked simultaneously with the poor quality of the schooling experience. Bimala from Kahara dropped out after class 1 because she was needed at home but she also said that school was not important to her because she did not understand Telugu. The impact of poor school quality will be discussed later. Sometimes the need for the girl's help at home was precipitated by the death of one of their parents. Binoli's mother died just after she had completed class 1 and she had to drop out to look after the house. Bharti and Radha from Kahara, and Janaki from Hirapanti – all three girls' fathers died and they had to drop out to help at home. Bharati said that she found school a waste of time because it took up most of the day and left little time to afterwards to go to the forest to collect firewood and and leaves.

3.9 The Schooling Experience: Feedback from Adolescents

a. Positive Memories

The Dora boys reported that they had many happy memories of school. Teachers took a lot of trouble to ensure they attended regularly – come and get them from home, though they were often beaten after that. Teachers also taught them well, including beating them for not learning properly. They enjoyed going to school to learn, to play sports (cricket and kabaddi), win prizes in competitions, and the occasional picnic. The Dora girls also had many happy memories. The girls remembered the study and the song and play in the school. A particular teacher was very good. They liked him because he was very regular. He taught them well, and could teach using stories. He made slow learners sit by his side and teach them separately. He also used to make them play and sing, and taught them games. He would go to homes of absent students and bring them to school. The girls enjoyed learning some subjects – Mathematics and Social Studies, and enjoyed learning languages – Telugu and English. They were sometimes asked to teach. Kavitha enjoyed being a sort of Maths monitor and used to teach when the teacher was absent. The girls enjoyed winning prizes on Sports Day as well as training for Sports Day the previous week.

The Hirapanti boys and girls who had many good memories were mainly those who had studied beyond primary level and particularly those who were still enrolled. They praised

two teachers for teaching them very well. One of them used to involve his students in the lesson. Both teachers would go to the boys' houses and take them to school if they were missing. Some of the boys remembered how well they knew their tables and poems. One boy remembered that he used to do very well in essay competitions in school. Many of the boys remembered that Independence Day (August 15) used to be celebrated in a very grand way. The students used to be taken on a picnic, where the teacher organized sports competitions (long jump, high jump and kabbadi). Winners used to get prizes. Playing with friends in school was a happy memory for one young boy. The Hirapanti girls liked one of the same teachers as the boys because he came to school regularly, taught them well, and never beat them. He taught English and Maths. One girl recalled how he used to make her sit next to him and explain lessons she found hard. The same teacher also used to take them for picnics and pack noodles, chicken, and mutton for them to eat. He also frequently brought chocolates to school. He made them play kho-kho, ring ball and musical chairs.

The Kahara boys who had good memories of school were also those who had gone beyond primary school, some of whom were still enrolled. They praised 2 teachers who were very regular and taught them mathematics very well. One boy also enjoyed the way they were taught Science. They also liked the English teacher and learning English. One teacher used to teach well and play cricket and volleyball with the students. The boys enjoyed Independence Day celebrations in primary school when all the children were given chocolates and biscuits. The Kahara girls remembered their teachers who came to their houses to motivate them to go to school, sometimes even bribing them with chocolates to make them come to school regularly. A young girl remembered how she came first in class during primary school. She was also a good singer and won a prize in class 4. Going to school with friends and playing and chatting with them was what they really enjoyed in school, even if they were not interested in learning. The girls remembered the August 15th celebrations when they were given eggs, chocolates and biscuits. The school also took them on a picnic, when they cooked food, and danced to music that played from a tape-recorder.

Generally the boys preferred hostel life. The reason they gave was that hostel life is more carefree, with no pressure to do household work.

b. Negligence and Violence in School Leading to Irregular Attendance / Dropping Out

There were complaints of negligence and violence by boys and girls in all 3 villages. In this section, we begin with Kahara where there were most complaints, then discuss Hirapanti, where there were also complaints but less than in Kahara, and finally Dora where there were least complaints.

The Kahara school situation appears to have been the worst. Kahara boys complained of negligence. Their Headmaster in the local village primary school who was addicted to ganja used to often fall asleep during class. Another teacher never taught them after lunch, and went to sleep instead. Kahara boys also complained of being beaten. A particular teacher was very strict. He used to teach a new concept and expect the children to answer questions about it immediately. When they were unable to, he used to beat the

students very hard. This made the children frightened to go to school.[43] The Kahara girls also complained of being beaten. The girls spoke of a female teacher who was very strict and beat them often. One girl said she still feels very angry about it. Another teacher who the boys complained about too used to beat her each time she missed school. If she stayed away despite this, he used to come to her house and drag her to school. The same teacher also used to beat the girls if they did not study.

The Hirapanti boys remembered their teacher beat them very badly, sometimes hit them with a stick on their knuckles. Once, one of the boys started bleeding from his mouth after the teacher hit him. Another boy was beaten so hard, that his wrist watch broke. The boys were hit for not doing their home-work, for not memorizing their tables. One boy said he attended irregularly because he was afraid. Another boy said that once when his books were stolen from his bag by classmates, the teacher did not believe him and beat him very badly for not 'bringing his books to school'. This made him very angry and he stopped going to school for a whole year. Later he had to enrol in a bridge course. The Hirapanti girls complained of a negligent teacher who was very irregular in coming to school. He used to spend his time during school hours relaxing in the village. The Hirapanti girls also complained of being beaten. One teacher who beat the girls with his knuckles generally sat idly throughout the school session. The teacher used to also punish them by making them sit against the wall on their haunches.

Dora boys and girls complained of a being beaten, but not as much as in the other two villages. One teacher in Dora used to tie the boys up to the tree and beat them for being absent. One boy was beaten for stealing mangoes. One boy also remember being insulted by the teacher when he asked him to explain. The teacher replied that everyone had understood, only he never understood anything, and did not explain to him. The girls in Dora mentioned that the teachers used to beat them if they came back late from the break, or if they did not come back at all. Two girls in Dora mentioned the taunts of teachers as reasons for dropping out. One girl was told, "Why are you wasting your time? You will never learn anything." The other, who had fallen in love with a boy in her class (grade 7), was told, "Don't come to school. Other girls will become like you."

The boys in residential schools also had complained. One hostel teacher once punished them by making them sleep outside the hostel gates because they had attended a local marriage function without permission. One boy recalled his hostel teacher who used to drink alcohol frequently and come to class. Dropping out occurred in some cases when the boys fell ill because of the poor quality of food and water in the hostel, and in one case when the boy was hit by the cook (see Table 3.8).

Apart from complaints of negligence and violence, adolescents did bring up other problems they had in school, some of which we shall discuss in the next section.

c. Other School-related Factors which Led to Dropping Out of School

There were a few references to dropping out because of lack of comprehension of the language in school. One was Bimala from Hirapanti who spoke of being taught in Telugu when she didn't understand Telugu. Radha from the same village mentioned that she

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[43] Their parents then got together and lobbied for the teacher's transfer out of the school.

dropped out because of the demands of work and because she was never interested in school and thought it was a waste of time. She said, "I learnt nothing during my time in school and never understood my teacher's language." Brinda from Hirapanti said she dropped out because she had to work and because she was just not interested in schooling. It's possible that language problems contributed to this lack of interest. The poor quality of schooling would definitely have contributed to the negative feelings expressed by Sujatha from Dora who said she liked to study but as soon as she reached the gate of the school she did not feel like going in, and by Lalita from Hirapanti who said that when she was in school, she did not see any benefits from schooling.

There were some other direct references to inadequacies in school which led to children dropping out. One girl referred to the inadequacies in the school environment – she was fearful because her classmates used to beat her hard, and the implication is that nothing was done to protect her from such bullying. One girl also mentioned administrative problems making her unable to access schooling – getting a TC too late to find a vacant seat in school.

In the next section, we look at schooling in the village primarily based on repeated visits to the schools.

Part B. Schooling in the Village

All the 3 study villages had schools with primary sections. Dora and Hirapanti had upper primary schools (Classes 1-7) and Kahara had a primary school (Class 1-5). The school at Kahara had 3 teachers appointed, but it was operating as a single-teacher school. Dora and Hirapanti had 4 and 5 teachers appointed, respectively. The schools at Kahara and Dora were under the Department of Education while the school at Hirapanti was under the Tribal Welfare Department.

3.10 Enrolment and Attendance during Unannounced Visit to the School (Day 1)

Each of our study villages had 3 schools situated across the entire revenue village. We chose the school that was located in the main village. This school formed the basis for our research i.e. the school register was the sampling frame from which we selected households for interview, children for attendance tracking etc.

- Enrolment strength within the schools was small. Dora had the highest enrolment (59) within the primary section (see Table 3.10). Hirapanti school had the lowest enrolment in primary among the 3 villages and a much higher proportion of girls. This indicates that parents may not be happy with its functioning and prefer to send their boys to other schools.
- Enrolment levels across the 5 grades in primary school are most even in Dora. They peak in class 3. Dora school appears to be able to retain its students.
- Attendance rates were much below enrolment in all 3 villages. In Dora attendance (taken from the register on Day 1) was the highest. 72% of enrolled children were marked present when the team visited unannounced. In Hirapanti and Kahara attendance (taken from the register) was similar, approximately 68% and 69% of enrolled children were attending on Day 1. All 3 villages present a similar picture based on these figures. But it is important to understand that Dora attendance is

affected by the fact that it caters to children that come from some of its tolas, 2-3 kms away.

Table 3.10 Enrolment and Attendance at Unannounced Visit to the School			
	Dora	Kahara	Hirapanti
Nos. enrolled in primary section	59	49	41
Boys	30	26	16
Girls	29	23	25
Nos. present on Day 1 (register)	43	34	28
% present on Day 1 (register)	72	69	68

Source: CORD-NEG Village Study, 2010

Table 3.11 Class wise Child Enrolment			
No. enrolled in:	Dora	Kahara	Hirapanti
Class 1	10	10	7
Class 2	11	7	16
Class 3	15	6	10
Class 4	13	19	3
Class 5	10	7	5

Source: CORD-NEG Village Study, 2010

3.11 Teachers: Appointments, Absenteeism, Social Background

Dora

When the team arrived at the Dora school at 9.30 am unannounced, the school was in full-session. Three out of five teachers appointed were present at this time (see Table 3.12). The head-master was completing administrative work in the same room as class 4 and 5. The 2 contract teachers were actively engaged in teaching activities. One of the contract teachers was conducting a mathematics class with Classes 6 and 7. He drew various shapes on the blackboard and asked the children to first identify and then copy them out in their notebooks. The other contract teacher was with the Class 1, 2, 3 students. He was checking their notebooks.

Dora teacher attendance reports were relatively good. However 1 of the permanent teachers was away from school the entire week of our visit due to 'non-school related government duties'. The absent contract teacher arrived on the last day of our visit. The Head-teacher was present throughout the days of our visit.

The social background of the teachers was Valmiki, Baghata and Kondadora. While the majority of the students from the main village were Valmiki and Baghata, children from the tola villages were from different backgrounds. The teachers interacted with parents in the main village, but not with parents in the other tolas since they did not visit them. Parents in the main village were found to be highly motivated about schooling and well aware of the functioning of their children's school.

Table 3.12 Details of Teachers Appointed and Present at Unannounced Visit (Day 1)			
	Dora	Kahara	Hirapanti
No. of teachers present at unannounced visit	3	1	1
No. of permanent teachers			
Appointed	2	3	1
Present	1	1	0
Away on official duty	1	2	0
Social background of permanent teachers	Baghata	Valmiki	Baghata
No. of contract teachers			
Appointed	3	0	3
Present	2	--	1
Away on official duty	1	--	0
Social background of contract teachers	Valmiki, Kondadora	-	Kotiya, Baghata

Source: CORD-NEG Village Study, 2010

Kahara
There were fewer teacher appointments at Kahara school as it was only uptil Class 5. Kahara school was functioning as a single teacher school. Two of the permanent teachers appointed had been sent away on B.Ed Training for 9 months. The Head-master managed all aspects of teaching and school administration by himself. He came from 32 kms away, part of the way by bus, and part by motorcycle. Parents reported that very often school opened at 11 am and closed early (just after the midday meal is served at 1 pm). The teacher said he was happy with his posting. He even said that he was planning to stand for elections which indicate that he has political backing.
The day the team arrived unannounced, the Head teacher arrived at 9.15 am, a little after the official opening time.

In Kahara school most of the students were from the Kotiya sub-group and the rest were a mixture of the Valmiki, Baghata and Kondadora groups. Parents did not report meeting the teacher, and there is little evidence that there was any parent teacher interaction around schooling. However, it was observed that the school was in no way isolated – the community crowded around the hand-pump in the school, since it was functional. The teacher was also reported to be interacting with the community during the school day.

Hirapanti
On the day of our unannounced visit the team arrived at about 9 am (official opening time of the school), and found the school locked. There were no students waiting and no teachers. After some time, one of the contract teachers was seen walking to the school with a group of children. He had apparently gone to their homes to fetch them. The rest of the teachers (including the head-master) were absent for the entire day.

Hirapanti school had 3 contract teacher appointments and 1 permanent teacher appointment. The permanent teacher lived 5 kms away and he rarely came to school. The contract teachers managed all aspects of school functioning, however they did not attend at the same time. They explained that they lived in the tola villages that were 2-3 kms away from the school, therefore they maintained an informal pact to determine which one of them would attend school on a particular day. Two of the contract teachers were of the

same background as their students i.e. they were from the Kotiya sub-group. The majority of the parents we interviewed had met the school teachers, though mainly to complain about the MDM provision.

3.12 School Infrastructure

The physical infrastructure and facilities in all 3 villages were inadequate, though among them Dora was the best off.

- Dora had 3 pakka classrooms which did not need much repair. However these classrooms catered to 7 grades, making them quite inadequate.
- Kahara had 2 pakka classrooms for 5 classes, which was also inadequate. The general facilities were poor. The exception was that the hand pump on the school premises (for drinking water) was functional. However, it was used by villagers as well. This was the only handpump available for Sanarput tola (where the school was situated). During the day there was a constant flow of women that came to use the handpump.
- Hirapanti had no pakka classrooms. The roof of the school building in Hirapanti was severely damaged, and one classroom had no roof. The windows were broken and the paint was peeling off the walls. There was a large ditch in front of the school that was used for dumping waste by the villagers. The surroundings were abysmal. The facilities available at Hirapanti were very poor.

Table 3.13 School Infrastructure			
	Dora	Kahara	Hirapanti
No. of classrooms	3	2	2
No. of pukka classrooms	3	2	-
Type of repair reqd. in classrooms	Minor	Minor	Major
Boundary wall	No	No	No
Ramp available	No	No	No
Blackboard Available and functional	Yes	Yes	Yes

Drinking Water
  Available
  Functional
	Yes
	No
		Yes
		Yes
			No
			-

Toilet
  Available
  Functional
	Yes
	No
		Yes
		No
			Yes
			No

Electricity available	No	No	No

Source: CORD-NEG Village Study, 2010

3.13 Incentive Schemes: Textbooks/MDM/Other

The main incentives received at all the 3 schools were free text books and the cooked mid-day meal. The head-teachers at the 3 schools said that text-books were generally distributed in the month of July (a month after the start of the new school session). However, many respondents in households in all 3 villages said that text books were rarely received on time and were often a few months late to arrive. This is of considerable consequence since children are unlikely to be exposed to much printed material in their

homes. In any event, it is enormously wasteful for the children to receive their textbooks well into the school year.

The Mid-Day Meal
At Dora School, the scheme appeared to function well. Parents and teachers had no complaints. However, on one of the days of our visit the meal had not been served as the cook explained he had not received money from the SHG leader to purchase fire-wood for the chullah.

At Kahara school, the meal was provided regularly and parents had no complaints. However on the second day of the team's visit to the school, the meal was served almost an hour after it was scheduled (12 p.m.). The reason for this was that the SHG member had not yet finished preparing the meal. Through informal discussions with the community we learnt that since the teacher usually came late (by 11 am) and left early (after the midday meal was served), the SHG member had fallen into the habit of serving the meal only at 1 pm.
At Hirapanti School, the scheme was plagued with difficulty. The lady in charge of the MDM was given the responsibility of preparing the meal in the following way. Her land was being used for constructing a new high-school building, so in exchange she demanded a government job for her son and also the responsibility of preparing the MDM. The villagers complained that the quality of MDM was poor and the quantities insufficient. Many times, she prepared the food the previous night and brought it to school the next morning. Often the children fell sick due to eating this stale food. We also observed during our visit many children taking food and then throwing it away. It was also alleged that the meal was provided irregularly – the woman had a problem with alcohol and when she had been drinking, she did not bother to cook for the children. No one was monitoring the situation, and the villagers were all upset.

3.14 School Functioning Based on Observations during Pre-Announced Visit

All the activities in the school were carefully observed on the second day. The team was to arrive before the official opening time and stay in the school till after the official closing time. The visit was pre-announced so it was expected that it would only provide a glimpse into the "best case scenario". When discussing each village, we will highlight the irregularities, because they occurred even though the schools were aware that they were being carefully observed.

Dora
There were several parameters which indicated that the Dora school functions poorly. Firstly, it started 23 mins later than the reported official opening time (see Table 3.14). Secondly, it closed 2 hrs early. Thirdly, only 56% of enrolled students were present in school (counted physically). This was much lower than the proportions noted present from the register the day before. However, other factors indicate that it was a school which functioned reasonably well. These include observations of school functioning on other days, teaching learning activities inside the classroom on Day 2 itself which we discuss in the next section and, most reliably, feedback from parents. On this particular day (Day 2 of the visit), school activities were disrupted because missionaries were visiting the village. Contrary to expectation, our observations on Day 2 did not reveal "the best case scenario" in this particular village.

The location of the Dora school was such that there was generally minimal disruption from passers-by during school hours. The school is located at the edge of the village and people do not have general cause to go there during the day. During recess and lunch-break the boys always played cricket. We even observed the head-master and contract teachers joining them. The girls played separately on the veranda or by the side of the school. They usually chatted among themselves, or played a game with tamarind seeds. The language used during play was mainly Telugu and all sub-castes played together.

Kahara

In Kahara, the teacher arrived slightly late (5 mins after the official opening time) and the children still later (20 mins after), indicating that the children were unused to the school opening on time. Teaching activity for all 5 grades ended at 15.05 pm, nearly 40 mins early. The teacher himself stayed on in school for another half an hour, leaving 10 mins early. However, even this reduced working day was entirely different from what happens on an average day. Villagers reported that the school usually closed by about 1 pm.

Table 3.14: Observations on Attendance and Timings During Pre-Announced Visit (Day 2)			
Observations	Dora	Kahara	Hirapanti
School opening			
Official opening time	8:45	8:45	8:45
Majority of children arrived	On time	**20 mins late**	10 mins early
Arrival time of first teacher	**23 mins late**	**5 mins. late**	15 mins early
No. of other teachers	2	0	3
No. Of teachers who arrived in time	0	-	4
School closing			
Teaching activity ended	**2 hours early***	**37 mins early**	**25 mins early**
Departure of last teacher	10 mins after official time	**10 mins early**	**25 mins early**
Official closing time	16:05	15:45	16:00
Midday meal			
Break for midday meal began	12:00	12:05	12:00
Time taken to serve the food	30 mins	**75 mins****	35 mins

Nos. in school
  Before Midday Meal
  After Midday Meal
	33
	33
		40
		39
			29
			25

Proportion of enrolled in school
  Before Midday Meal
  After Midday Meal
	56%
	56%
		82%
		80%
			71%
			61%

Source: CORD-NEG Village Study, 2010
*School was closed early because there were visitors to the village.
**Meal came 45 mins late.
Figures in bold highlight irregularities in the school day.

Throughout the day, villagers came to chat with the head-teacher and sometimes even to talk to the children. If some children ran away during the classroom session, their parents brought them back to school. When they did this, they would usually stay on to chat amongst themselves, to the investigators or with the teacher. One young man even settled down and read the newspaper on the school verandah. During recess, children were not monitored. They ran around the village and returned when they heard the bell. Throughout the day there was a constant flow of women and young girls to use the school hand pump.

Hirapanti
The presence of all 4 teachers at 9 am in the school on this day was in sharp contrast to the situation the day before when only one contract teacher came the entire day. One contract teacher arrived 15 mins early and unlocked the school doors and instructed the children to sweep the floors. After the children finished sweeping, he organized them into one line and made them say a (Hindu) prayer. 2 of the boys sang the National Anthem. Approximately 20 children were present during the assembly. The head-master arrived just after the short assembly at 8.45 am. The other 2 contract teachers arrived just after 9 am.

For the first half of the day, there was a tractor right outside the school involved in some digging. The engine was on the whole time, and there was a lot of background noise which distracted the children. There was also a constant flow of passers-by that would drop in to check if the MDM was being served or to chat with the contract teachers. On the whole, the atmosphere was not conducive to learning.

Observations indicate the school functioned with 4 teachers the entire school day. The next section which discusses teaching learning activities observed in the school during this time reveals that this school functioned very poorly on this important front. Teaching activity stopped completely half an hour before the official time, even though the teachers were aware that they were being observed. As much as 71% of children were there in school (based on children being physically counted), before the midday meal. This was slightly higher than what was noted from the register for attendance on the day before. Proportions of children in school dropped to 61% after the meal.

3.15 Classroom Observation (Pre-announced Visit -- Day 2)

Across all 3 schools, no innovative teaching methods were used. Rote learning was the most common teaching-learning method observed.

Dora
The students were inside the classroom for most of the day. Discipline was maintained in this school. Children were rarely left unattended but this is not to say that they were always engaged in learning activities.

In terms of seating arrangements:
- Class 1, 2, 3 sat together in a separate classroom. Class 4 & 5 and Class 6 & 7 sat together in separate classrooms.
- All classes sat on chaitals on the floor.

- Within the class 1 group, the girls sat in the front row and the boys sat in the second and third rows. They sat class-wise behind each other. The same seating arrangement was maintained before and after lunch.

Teaching-Learning Activity for Class 1 in Dora:
We carried out time-on-task observations to gain insights into classroom activity for Class 1. We observed the Class 1 group every 15 mins for an hour before and after the MDM.

Before the MDM: The teacher was seen to be correcting the children's home-work. He called individual students and explained their errors to them. Simultaneously, some of the children wrote in their notebooks. During the entire hour, the teacher never used the blackboard or any other TLM, as he was mainly engaged in checking the children's exercise books. The teacher spoke in Telugu to the students who also responded in the same language. It appeared that while checking the exercises, the teacher explained errors and concepts to the children.

After the MDM: The teacher made the children recite poems. He selected a child and asked her to lead the class. Twice he asked the entire class to read poems from their text-books. (This task was obviously beyond the class 1 children.) The entire class read in Telugu. Once he asked only the boys to read the poem and they all complied. While the children recited poems, the teacher completed administrative work (filling in school register), correcting Class 3 students' exercise books whilst remaining in the class-room. Students got up turn by turn and led the others in reciting poems. They finally began singing songs while 3 boys danced in front of the classroom.

In terms of teacher-student interaction in the class-room, we found that the teacher rarely used the children's names when he addressed them.

What one could note from the observations:
- The main activity for the group which included classes 1, 2 and 3 was to recite poems, read Telugu alphabets and numbers. The teachers appeared to make more efforts at teaching classes 4 and above, and they covered a variety of lessons compared to the Class 1 group.
- Class 1 children themselves were not getting much attention. The teacher was busy with correcting written work pre-lunch and administrative work after lunch.
- The teacher did not use the blackboard or any TLM, because he mainly explained to individual children while correcting their books.
- The teacher made the children read poems in Telugu.
- The teacher made the children recite poems, while he was otherwise engaged.
- The teacher spoke and taught in Telugu only.
- Class 1-3 children at the Dora school were also observed to interact informally amongst themselves in Telugu, although the language used in the households in this village was mainly Adivasi Oriya (see Table 3.15).
- Only the 2 contract teacher interviewed reported knowledge of Adivasi Oriya as a language that they could speak. They explained that they used a combination of Adivasi Oriya and Telugu to teach. However, while observing classroom teaching, we found that all lessons were taught in Telugu.

Table 3.15 Language Issues			
	Dora	Kahara	Hirapanti
Language used for teaching	Telugu	Telugu	Telugu
Language used for communicating with children	Telugu, Adivasi Oriya	Telugu	Telugu, Adivasi Oriya
Language spoken by children amongst themselves	Telugu, Adivasi Oriya	Adivasi Oriya	Adivasi Oriya
Adivasi Oriya spoken by	2 contract teachers	No teacher	2 contract teachers
Only Telugu spoken by	3 permanent teachers	1 permanent teacher	1 permanent and 1 contract teacher

Source: CORD-NEG Village Study, 2010
Note: 2 permanent teachers in Kahara are away for 9 months for a teacher training course.

Kahara

For the entire day, students were mainly in the classroom. As the teacher was by himself, he had to shift between different classes constantly. When he left one classroom unattended, the student would get distracted and start to fight, argue and play among themselves. They usually did not complete the assignments the teacher had assigned to them. On the teacher's return to a particular class, he would not check if they had completed what he asked them to do.

The seating arrangements in all the classrooms were:
• Boys sat in one row and girls in a separate row. Usually girls occupied the rows at the back.
• Class 1 and 2 sat together in the verandah, Class 3 and 4 sat inside the classroom of the new building and Class 5 sat separately.

Throughout the day, Class 5 was largely unattended. They sat across the court-yard in the old school building. They were quite disciplined and made no noise, however they were not engaged in any learning activities.

All children spoke Adivasi Oriya amongst themselves, while the teacher taught in Telugu. The teacher also informally interacted with the students in Telugu.

Teaching-Learning Activity for Class 1 in Kahara:
As in Dora, the team observed the group in which Class 1 was sitting, every 15 mins for an hour before and after the MDM.

Before the MDM: The teacher was in the classroom actively teaching classes 1 and 2 only one of the four times he was observed in the hour before the midday meal. We observed him asking the class 1 group to read Telugu alphabets from the blackboard. Once he asked only the girls to read. The other times he was observed he was either doing administrative work or was with another group of students. The children would usually chat and play among themselves when left unsupervised. The teacher had laid out exercises on the board for them which some of them copied onto their slates.

After the MDM: The teacher was observed to be actively teaching classes 1 and 2 twice out of the four times he was observed in the hour after the midday meal. In the afternoon, the group was taught addition. The teacher usually asked one of the boys to come to the blackboard to solve simple problems. None of the children were able to do these problems, and he would attempt to guide them. The class was conducted in Telugu. Once again, when they were left unattended the students chatted amongst themselves in Adivasi Oriya.

In terms of teacher-student interaction in the classroom, we found that the teacher rarely used the children's name when he addressed them. He used the blackboard only to set exercises for the children, which he wrote out legibly. The teacher did not use any other teaching aids throughout the day.

The teacher spoke to the students only in Telugu. Though he maintained eye contact with all the children while he taught them, he did not move amongst them while speaking and he rarely checked to see if the students understood what he was saying. He tried to use an encouraging tone while speaking to the students, but no individual student asked him any questions or clarifications. He would put questions to the entire class, and only few children answered him – mainly boys. The questions he asked were in Telugu and required simple one line responses in Telugu.

What one can note based on classroom observations for class 1 children:
• They were being taught for some point of the day – asked to read alphabets from the blackboard.
• They were being taught in Telugu, while they spoke in Adivasi Oriya. The children did not seem to understand Telugu. They were observed to mechanically repeat the lessons in Telugu.
• They were left unattended while the teacher did administrative work or was busy with other classes.

Hirapanti

Throughout the day, the contract teachers were actively teaching, while the head-master shifted from one class to another.

The seating arrangements were as follows:
• Class 1-4 sat in one classroom, class 5 sat in the classroom that had no roof and Class 6 sat on the verandah.
• The children informally organized themselves into same-sex groups.

The students all spoke Adivasi Oriya amongst themselves. Two of the contract teachers knew Adivasi Oriya but taught only in Telugu. The contract teachers would only use Adivasi Oriya when it was not connected to the lesson being taught i.e. they used the language to give instructions/discipline the children so that they could understand. They did not use Adivasi Oriya to explain the lesson or concepts. Children would mechanically engage in rote learning in Telugu.

Careful observation of activities over the entire day led the team to feel that the school had very low levels of teaching/learning activity. For Class 1-4, the main activity was rote-learning, for Class 5 the main activity was mathematics. Teachers did not seem engaged with the children.

Teaching-Learning Activity for Class 1 in Hirapanti:
As elsewhere, the team observed the Class 1 group every 15 mins for an hour before and after the MDM.

Before the MDM: Two out of the four times observed, the teacher was in the classroom teaching (classes 1-4 who were seated together), though this he did by making the children repeat one poem in Telugu over and over again. The other times the children were sitting idle, while the teacher corrected their work and minded them. The children would usually chat and play among themselves when left unsupervised. We observed him asking the class 1-4 group to read twice. Both times he asked the entire class to read a Telugu poem and only some of the children read. It is unlikely the class 1 children were able to participate in this activity.
After the MDM: 2 out of the 4 times observed, the teacher read aloud from the English textbook while the children listened. The other times he corrected the children's work as they copied English words from the blackboard. The children generally chatted among themselves when the teacher was engrossed in correcting a particular student's work. During this session, for an entire hour the Class 1-4 students mindlessly repeated English spellings over and over again.

The class 1-4 group was also taught addition and subtraction. The teacher usually asked the entire class answers to simple maths questions. Only some of the children answered him in most cases. He asked one separate question to the girls and one to the boys on addition. The questioning was all in Telugu, and the children would attempt to answer in Telugu. By and large, none of the children were able to answer the teacher's questions correctly. In general, we felt that the Class 1 students, in particular, were not attentive and did not participate in classroom activity. A few of them looked blankly at the teacher and drew on their slates.

In terms of teacher-student interaction in the classroom, we found that the teacher rarely used the children's names when he addressed them. He generally used an instructional tone that did not encourage questions from the students. He did however ask the entire class questions on the poem he was reading. He asked the question in Telugu and it required a simple one word/line response. Only some of the children responded hesitantly in Telugu.

What one can note based on classroom observations for class 1 children:
* The class 1 children did not appear to be taught on a regular basis.
* Few students were able to respond to any of the teacher's questions.
* Adivasi Oriya was being used by contract teachers to communicate with the children, but they and the permanent teacher all used Telugu to teach.

3.16 Tests of Reading and Number Recognition[44]

(a) Reading Test
We used tests in Telugu that have been developed by Pratham, and are available in all languages. We expected Class 1 children to be able to recognize single Telugu letters,

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[44] Administered to all children in 6-14 age group in 20 randomly selected households.

Class 2 children to recognize 2 letter words, Class 3 children to read Class 1 text and Class 4 & 5 to be able to read Class 2 text.

Table 3.16 shows the results from the reading test. As many as 8 out of 17 children in classes 1 and 2 in Dora, and 7 out of 12 children in classes 1 and 2 in Hirapanti could not recognize letters of the Telugu alphabet. But about half of these 29 children could. In Kahara, only 1 out of the 7 children in classes 1 and 2 could recognize even a single letter.

Results for classes 4 and 5 at Dora were very good, as all the 5 children tested were able to read Class 2 text. Children in class 4 and 5 at Hirapanti also performed reasonably well – 5 out of 7 could read the class 2 text. Children at Kahara seemed worst off. Only 4 out of the 11 children enrolled in classes 4 and 5 could read the class 2 text.

Table 3.16 Reading Test Results					
Dora					
Class	No. of children tested	Could not read at all	Single letter	Two letter word	Class 1 text	Class 2 text
Class 1	6	3	2	0	1	0
Class 2	9	5	1	0	1	2
Class 3	5	0	1	1	0	3
Class 4	4	0	0	0	0	4
Class 5	1	0	0	0	0	1
Kahara					
Class	No. of children tested	Could not read at all	Single letter	Two letter word	Class 1 text	Class 2 text
Class 1	3	3	0	0	0	0
Class 2	4	3	1	0	0	0
Class 3	3	0	2	0	0	1
Class 4	8	0	0	2	2	4
Class 5	3	0	1	0	2	0
Hirapanti					
Class	No. of children tested	Could not read at all	Single letter	Two letter word	Class 1 text	Class 2 text
Class 1	4	3	1	0	0	0
Class 2	8	4	4	0	0	0
Class 3	7	1	4	1	1	0
Class 4	2	0	1	0	0	1
Class 5	5	0	0	0	1	4

Source: CORD-NEG Village Study, 2010
Note: Altogether 25 children in Dora, 21 in Kahara and 26 in Hirapanti were tested.

(b) Digit Recognition
Class 1 children were expected to recognize single digits.
Class 2-3 were expected to recognize double digits.
Class 4-5 were expected to do simple subtraction.

From Table 3.17 we see the following results for digit recognition.

Dora: Class 1 children at Dora were at least able to recognise single digits. One was even able to recognize double digits. Class 2 had some children who could recognize double digits. In Class 3, all children could recognize double digits. In classes 4 and 5, only 2 out of 5 children could do subtraction. So there were some positives about the children's learning in Dora, and some negatives.

Kahara and Hirapanti: In these villages, there were more negatives. None of the class 1 children and even some of the children in classes 2 and 3 at Kahara and Hirapanti were able to recognise even a single digit. In classes 4 and 5, the picture was better, and somewhat similar to what was found in Dora. All children could not do the subtraction. Only 3 out of 8 children in Kahara, and 4 out of 7 in Hirapanti could.

The Class 4 and 5 student results across all 3 schools were very good.

Table 3.17: Numeracy Test Results					
Dora					
Class	No. of children tested	Unable to recognize numbers	Single Digit Number	Double Digit Number	Subtraction
Class 1	6	0	5	1	0
Class 2	8	1	3	3	1
Class 3	5	0	0	5	0
Class 4	4	0	0	2	2
Class 5	1	0	0	1	0
Kahara					
Class	No. of children tested	Unable to recognize numbers	Single Digit Number	Double Digit Number	Subtraction
Class 1	3	3	0	0	0
Class 2	4	2	2	0	0
Class 3	3	0	1	1	1
Class 4	8	0	0	5	3
Class 5	3	0	0	3	0
Hirapanti					
Class	No. of children tested	Unable to recognize numbers	Single Digit Number	Double Digit Number	Subtraction
Class 1	4	4	0	0	0
Class 2	8	3	5	0	0
Class 3	7	1	4	2	0
Class 4	2	0	1	0	1
Class 5	5	0	0	2	3

Source: CORD-NEG Village Study, 2010
Note: Altogether 24 children in Dora, 21 in Kahara and 26 in Hirapanti were tested.

It is interesting to note these results. Based on our observations and perceptions, we felt that children in Dora school did the best. The tests indicated that more learning was taking place at Hirapanti compared to Kahara. Hirapanti school suffered from many

infrastructural deficiencies compared to Kahara, but the school had 3 teachers appointed and 2 that were able to speak in Adivasi Oriya. Kahara school was a single teacher school, and the teacher was only able to speak in Telugu. He was also there for only a short part of the school day. These factors are likely to have adversely affected the learning of children in Kahara.

The children were also tested using a clock and with money. Most found the tests using the clock difficult to do and the tests with money quite simple, indicating their having had little exposure to the clock and their greater exposure to currency.

Part C. Concluding Section

3.17 Links between Accessibility of Village and School Functioning

Dora
Strengths
- Road-point access – therefore possibly considered a favourable posting amongst teachers.
- Quality of infrastructure was reasonable – the school had 3 pakka classrooms.
- In terms of incentives, MDM scheme functioned well. Girl students were given uniforms by the Nandi Foundation
- Across all classes, teaching learning activities observed were comparatively good
- The children from the main village spoke in Telugu and Adivasi Oriya (based on observation) and the gap between teacher-student was relatively little for these children
- Parents from the main village (not tolas) displayed awareness about school functioning and their children's performance.
- Test results of Dora children were comparatively good.

Challenges
- The school was severely lacking in facilities. The toilets did not function and the hand pump in the school was dry. The teacher explained that several unsuccessful attempts had been made over the years to repair it. In fact, on the final day of our visit, there was work going on to drill for water but it seemed largely unsuccessful.
- Children come from the main village and 3 tolas some of which are 3.5 kms away. The children from the tolas were marginalised compared to children from the main village. For the tola children, attendance at the class 1 and 2 stage was comparatively poor and virtually non-existent during the monsoon season. The teachers did not seem to take much interest in these children and merely commented that they were irregular to school. On enquiring with parents, we found out that the teachers never went to the tolas to ask after the children when they were absent. They only went occasionally to the main village children's homes.

Kahara
Strengths
- No access problems for the students. Enrolled children come from Kahara and a nearby hamlet Sanarput. Child tracking did not show nominal enrolment (See Annexure).

- School building has 2 pakka classrooms for 5 classrooms. This was better than the school in Hirapanti.
- Only school where drinking water facility was available and functioning
- MDM functioned well

Challenges
- School lacked adequate facilities in terms of sufficient pakka classrooms, a boundary wall, and toilets.
- The school was under-staffed. Two appointed teachers are away for 9 months for training. There was tremendous pressure on the single teacher (head-teacher) to manage 5 different classes. He was not able to give adequate time to each class. Further, if there was a meeting or training program the school remained closed. In addition, the teacher also closed the school for personal reasons.
- Access was an issue for the Head-teacher. He comes by bus and bike; takes 1 hour to travel. He is very unhappy with his present posting.
- Through discussions with the parents we found that the teacher was regular but came late (11 am) and left early, just after the midday meal is served at 1 pm. The school was open for about 2 hours per day.
- Teacher only spoke Telugu. Children spoke only in Adivasi Oriya and did not understand Telugu and it was impacting their education. This was evident from our testing of the children. The results were the poorest.

Hirapanti
Strengths
- Had one permanent teacher and 3 contract teachers appointed; contract teachers were from neighbouring tolas (3 kms away on average)
- Parents at this village were relatively more aware of school functioning. They had inadvertently developed knowledge of the school facilities or lack of, due to their grievance meetings on the MDM issue. They did not appear to them have specific knowledge about the quality of teaching or the process of education, yet they were of the view that schooling was beneficial as it provided the children with food and an opportunity to get a government posting in later life.
- Learning achievement results were slightly better than in Kahara.

Challenges
- Access to the school was a major issue for the head-teacher who lived 5 kms away. It took him 1 hour by bicycle and due to the rough terrain he rarely came to school. However, he said he was happy with his posting.
- Villagers felt powerless to complain about the irregularity of the head-teacher. He appears to be politically influential as he stood for elections in 2008.
- From our discussions with the community we ascertained that the school opened regularly, but the teaching staff was never at full-strength. Unfortunately the school functioned as a single-teacher school on most days.
- The teaching quality at this school was extremely poor. We felt that teachers attended for the sake of it not because they were particularly motivated. From our observations we found that the teachers would set the children a few token exercises/tasks to complete each day. They would not spend time explaining concepts to the children or show any interest in the children's progress.

- The language barrier was very prominent at this school. All the children (even in the upper primary classes) spoke in Adivasi Oriya. Even while conducting the child-interviews, the children would not respond to Telugu. The situation is quite stark and is further intensified due to the lack of proper bi-lingual books and teaching aids at school.
- Children were extremely irregular in school.
- Major infrastructure and facilities problems. The school was located next to a ditch; the area was dirty and stinking and full of rubbish; the roof of the school building was broken, the walls were peeling
- The delivery of the midday meal scheme was extremely flawed. The situation was quite volatile, and parents and children were very unhappy with the lady who has been put in charge of providing it. This lady enjoyed the support of the Sarpanch which made her impervious to complaints. The parents had nowhere to turn for their grievances.

This school is under the TWD. Monitoring by authorities seems to be especially lackadaisical for this village. The MDM scheme continues to run inefficiently and the school building has almost no roof. Despite the alleged 5 visits from the block office in the last year, no steps have been taken to resolve these issues.

3.18 Conclusion

The village studies were extremely useful in many different ways. They allow you to look at the village as a whole. This enables one to get a more nuanced picture. Secondly, they allow you to get a more complete picture through linking the perspective of all the stakeholders – the community where the village is located, the teachers appointed, and the parents whose children are enrolled in the school. Thirdly, making repeated visits to the village and the school enable one to get more robust findings.

The children in Dora village were being able to access a functioning school at primary level. We could say this based by triangulating data collected through different tools and from different stakeholders. There were observations made and teachers interviewed by the research team over the 6 day visit to the village (the opening and closing times, the number of teachers appointed and present, the qualifications, training and experience of the teachers appointed and present, the languages spoken and understood by teachers and children in the school, the overall level of teaching learning activity in general). Supplementing the data collected from schools was feedback from parents and children (through interviews in 20 households whose children had been randomly selected from the school attendance register). There was also feedback from adolescents who were currently enrolled or had dropped out of school. Both boys and girls in the 14-17 age group appeared to have greatly benefited from their schooling experience and were very articulate about their aspirations for the future.

At the same time, the Dora village study revealed plenty of challenges for the system. Many children enrolled from the other tolas were not attending regularly (revealed through tracking 10 randomly selected enrolled children), and some had dropped out altogether. These children had more acute problems as with living in more remote areas; they had little exposure to Telugu. Some did not know Adivasi Oriya, a tribal dialect reportedly spoken among most households in this area, and only spoke Kui. While

teachers had contact with parents who lived in the main village, they had little contact with parents who lived in the tolas. The latter had little awareness about schooling. They were also unable to send their children regularly to school because of the distance and the terrain, particularly during the rainy season.

Both the schools in Kahara and Hirapanti were functioning much more poorly. There were some positives and negatives in both schools. Kahara had a permanent teacher appointed to teach 5 grades (two other teachers appointed were away for 9 months of training). The children in his charge were not able to benefit from the wealth of his experience. For one thing, he spoke only Telugu and in this remote village they spoke only Adivasi Oriya. Secondly, he generally came to school only between 11 am and 1 pm, since he lived a considerable distance away. Thirdly, his time in school was spread thin over the 5 grades. Although the children appeared to attend regularly (based on child tracking) and the midday meal scheme functioned reasonably well (based on observation and feedback from parents and children), the tests reveal that very little learning was taking place in this village.

Hirapanti on the other hand had as many as 4 teachers appointed -- 1 permanent teacher well qualified, trained and experienced, and 3 contract teachers who lived nearby. The advantage was that there were teachers who could communicate with the children who knew only Adivasi Oriya in this village. Unfortunately only 1 of the contract teachers came every day, and the permanent teacher didn't come at all. The infrastructure was also in pitiful condition (it was under the Tribal Welfare Department). Parents were extremely unhappy with the functioning of the midday meal. The children were quite irregular (based on child tracking). Some learning appears to be taking place.

Boys and girls in the 14-17 age group in both these villages did have some positive memories of school but also gave negative feedback. Complaints of negligence and violence were greatest about Kahara. Young people in these villages had been disempowered by the poor quality of their schooling experience, and this in addition to their own difficult circumstances at home had led them to dropping out of school generally without completing class 7. There were boys in Kahara who had benefited from being sent away to study at schools in other locations.

Annexure: Village Maps, Dumbriguda

Map of Dora
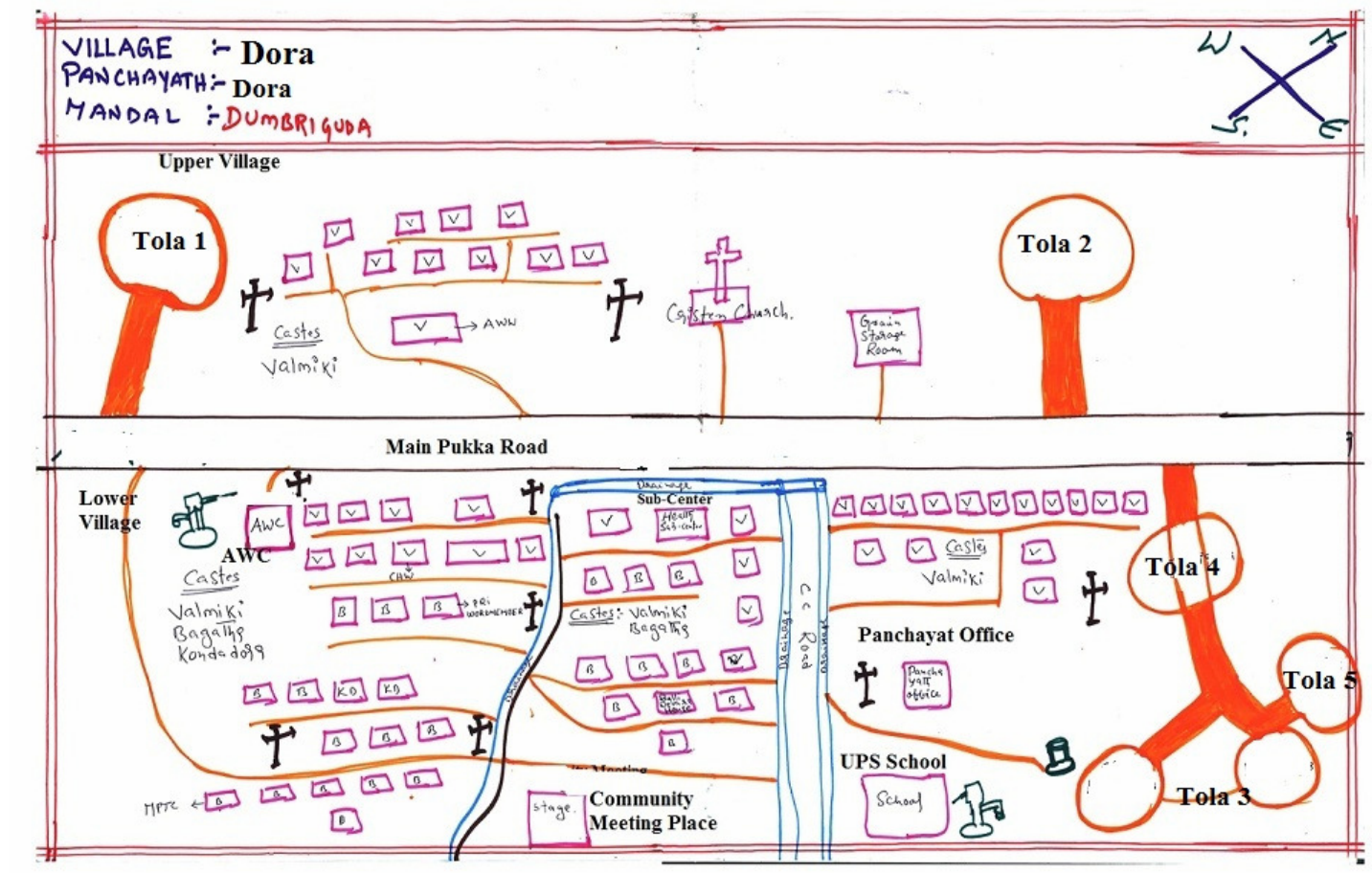
Dora

- Road-point village, on a pukka road. Along the route to Orissa
- Details of the main village have been shown in the map.
- Approximate location of the 5 tolas has been marked of but these were widely spread out, especially the 3 in the east.[45]
- Main village was small – with 65 households (approx).
- Two sections of the main village.
  - The top section of the map, shows the area of the village that was on a hill. This was to the west.
  - The bottom section of the map is the lower section of the village – this was in the east and covered a larger area.
- People from the same social group lived in the same row of houses.
- Top section had only Valmikis. Lower section had Valmikis and Baghatas.
- Lower section was more important.
  - Most of the key buildings, i.e. School, Panchayat Bhavan, AWC, Health Sub-centre, Community meeting stage, were here
  - Key people, i.e. MPTC member, AWC teacher, Community Health Worker, SHG leader, lived here
  - This section also had more taps and all the village hand-pumps and well.
- The roads in the entire village were unpaved except for a concrete ramp at the entrance of the lower section of the village. The roads were not electrified. Only households were.
- There was a non-functional drainage system running in the centre of the lower section of the village.

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[45] The tolas did not have road-point access and were at least 3 kms away from the pukka road. To get to these tolas one had to climb over hilly terrain.

Map of Kahara
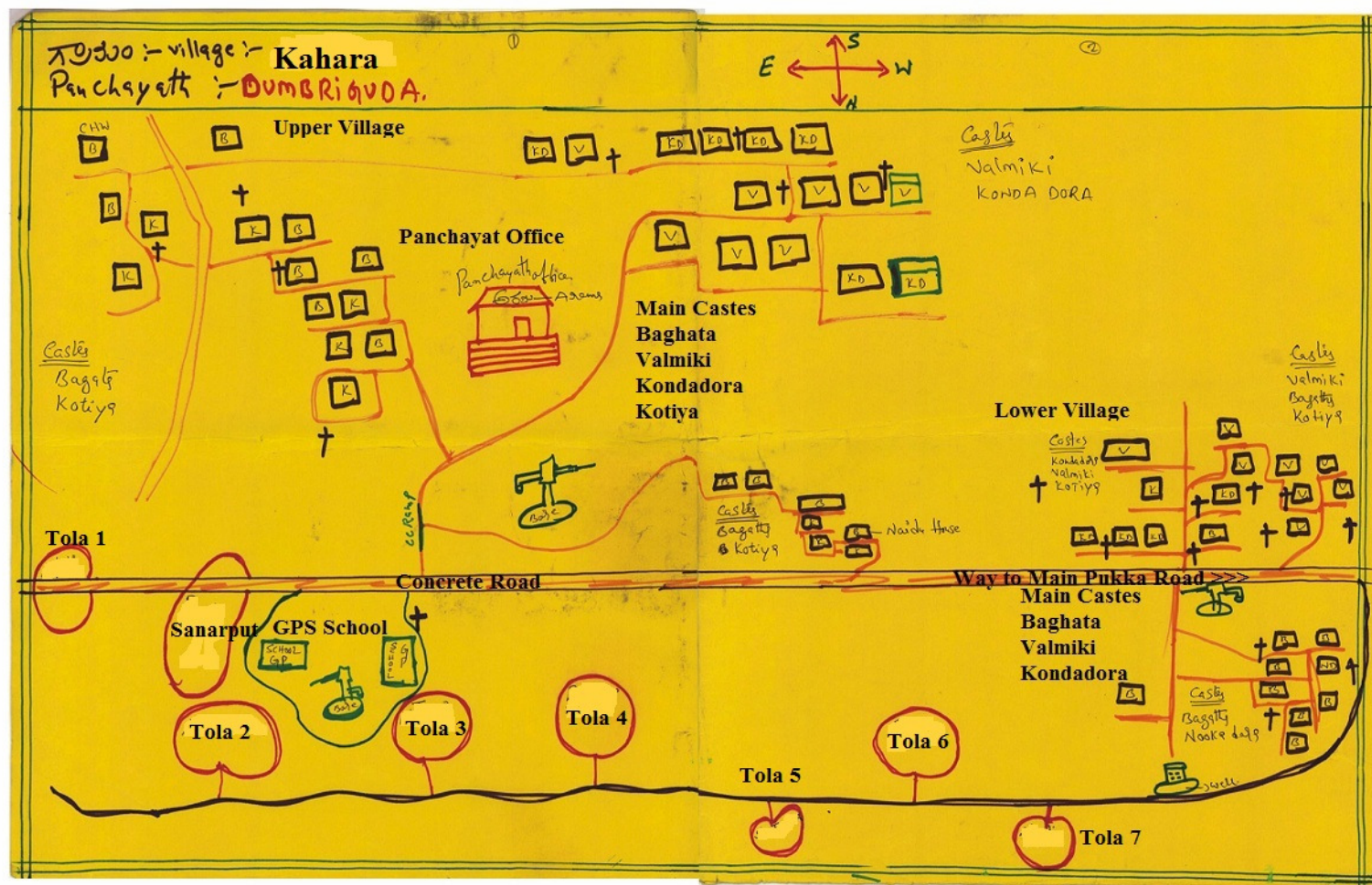
Kahara

- The main village was 5 kms away from the pukka road.
- The main village has two sections.
  - o The top section shows the upper village, this section of the village was on a fairly steep hill.
  - o The bottom right section of the map shows the details for the lower village.
- The two sections of the village were on either side of a concrete ramp.
- The bottom section of the map shows the location of 8 tolas of this village. One of the tolas, i.e. Sanarput, was almost like an extension of the main village, such that even the Kahara primary school was situated at its entrance.
- The tolas were widely spread out (except for Sanarput). Tola 7 which was about 2-3 kms away from the main village had a residential school and was closer to the pukka road than the main village.
- The main village Kahara had 56 households (approx) while Sanarput tola had 66 households (approx).
- The social grouping was very mixed.
  - o Baghatas, Kotiyas and Valmikis lived in the upper village.
  - o Kondadoras, some Valmikis & Baghatas lived in the lower village.
  - o Sanarput tola was dominated by the Kotiyas.
- Most of the key buildings are situated in the upper village i.e. the Panchayat Bhavan, the Village Naidu's home the CHW's home. The Sarpanch and his family lived in a large cement pukka house in Sanarput.
- Both the upper and lower sections of the village had hand pumps, however the lower village also had a well.
- The school building was at the entrance of Sanarput.
- The anganwadi centre (not shown on map) was in Sanarput.

Map of Hirapanti
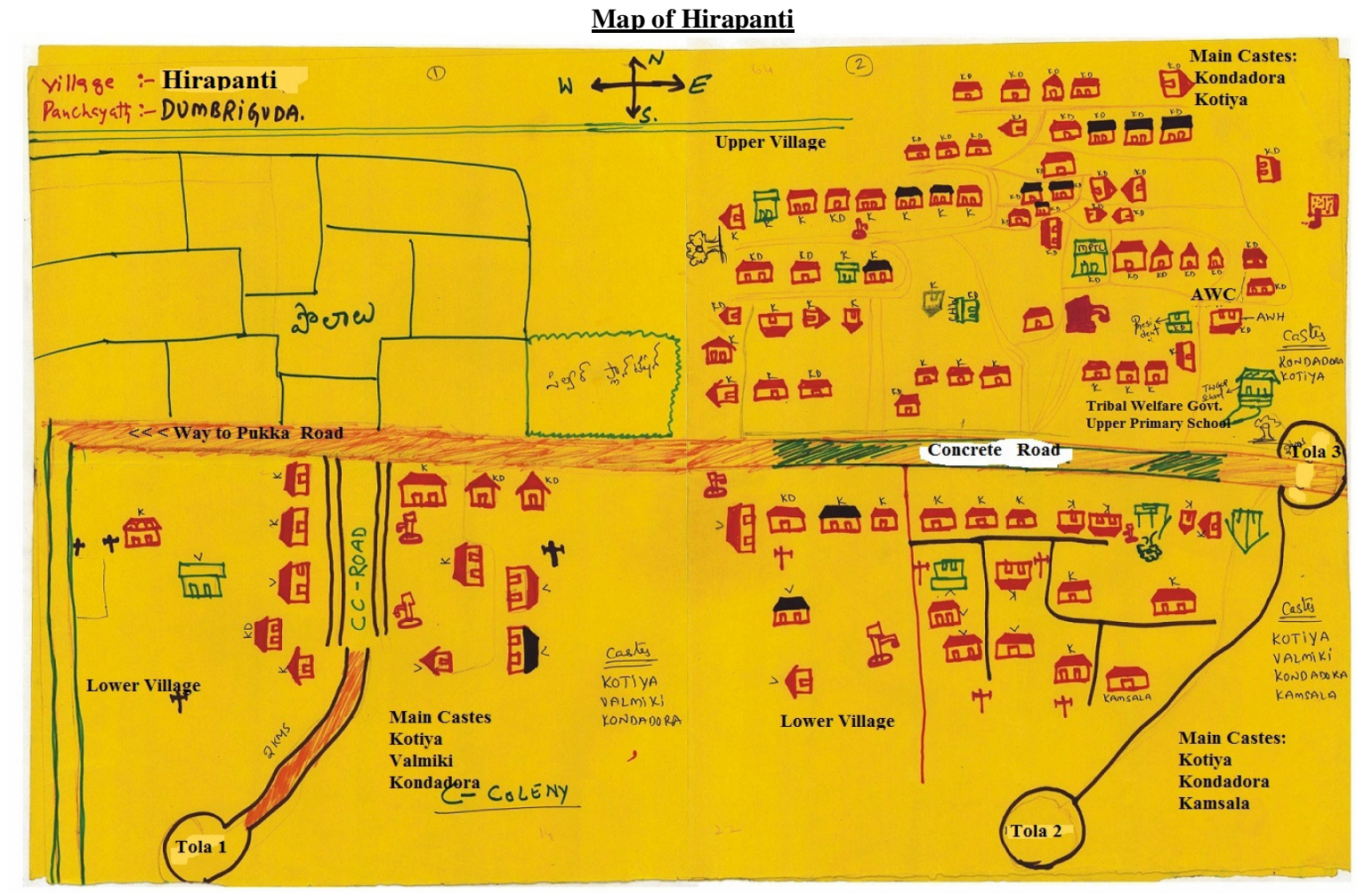
Hirapanti

- The main village was 5 kms away from a pukka road. After travelling through 5 kms of kaccha road, one would go over about 500 m of a concrete road (also referred to as concrete ramp).
- There were approximately 101 households in the main village. Details have been given only for the main village.
- The locations of the 3 tolas (Tola 1, Tola 2, Tola 3) havee been given. They were widely spread out -- at least 2-3 kms away from the main village.
- The main village had two sections.
  - o The 'upper village' i.e. the section of the village that was at a slightly higher elevation is on the right side of the map. This lay on both sides of the concrete ramp.
  - o The bottom left section of the map shows details of the 'lower village' – houses which have come up more recently. It is also referred to as C-Colony.
- Kotiyas were the dominant social group.
  - o Kotiyas and Kondadoras lived on one side of the upper village.
  - o Kotiyas, a few Kondadoras and Valmikis lived on the other side of the upper village.
  - o The lower section also had Kotiya, Valmikis and Kondadoras.
- One side of the upper village was more important.
  - o Most of the key buildings i.e. School,[46] AWC,[47] were here.
  - o Most of the key people, i.e. Sarpanch, MPTC member, CHW, AWW, lived here.
  - o The water storage 'kundis' were here. However they were dry.
- The taps were mainly in the other side of the upper village and in the C-colony. Only about half the taps functioned. People went to a nearby spring for water.
- The roads between the houses were unpaved. They were not electrified. Only households were.

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[46] The primary school was adjacent to a large ditch that was used for dumping waste
[47] The AWC did not have a proper building.

Section 4: School Survey in Orissa
(Selected Blocks, Koraput District)

4.1 Introduction

For this part of the study, we surveyed 30 randomly-selected villages in four blocks of Koraput district on the border that Orissa shares with Visakhapatnam district of Andhra Pradesh. The survey period was December 2009 to January 2010. All schools with primary education facilities in the village were surveyed.

The villages were all on motorable kachha roads. However there was limited access to public transport. Only 7 villages had a bus stop within 1 km. In others the villagers had to walk or use private transport to reach the nearest bus stop.

Most of these 30 villages were medium in size (150-300 households) and except for two, were settled in several scattered *paras* or habitations. The village houses were mostly kuchcha or of mixed (mud wall and tiled roof) type. Electricity was available in 18 villages, but even here mostly in the main habitation. There appeared to be good access to drinking water -- most (28 villages) had handpumps and several (8 villages) had piped water. 25 villages also had access to river or spring water. In many cases, one of the handpumps was located in the school premises.

Livelihood opportunities seemed to be one of the major problems in these areas. Most villagers depended on agriculture, foraging and casual labour. One third of the villages reported no other work opportunities but foraging. Many adults reportedly migrated to Andhra Pradesh for 4 to 6 months for construction work, industrial labour and, in a few cases, for plantation labour. Use of child labour in agriculture was reported in almost all villages though few reported that children migrated for work. The only government scheme reported to be in operation was NREGS.

All the sample villages had at least one school with primary classes. Many were upper primary schools as the selected villages were relatively large in size. The average time taken (walking) to get to the nearest government upper primary school was 30 minutes, and to the nearest government secondary school was an hour.

The findings of the survey are presented in three sections. The first section gives some details of the sample schools – classes taught, school management, students enrolled, teachers appointed, and type of school infrastructure. The next section deals with school functioning – attendance of students and teachers and activities in school. The concluding section discusses the strengths and weaknesses of the system as revealed by the survey.

4.2 The Sample Schools

4.2.1 Type of Schools

In the survey, altogether 31 schools were visited in the 30 sample villages. These schools varied in what was the highest grade in the school, whether residential or not, whether under the management of the Department of Education or the Tribal Welfare Department (TWD). We note:

- The 31 surveyed schools consisted of 10 government primary schools (GPS) and 21 government upper primary schools (GUPS).[48] The majority (22 schools) was under the Department of Education; nine were under the TWD.
- Among the 31 schools, 11 were residential - 3 primary (all under the TWD) and 8 upper primary (4 of these were under the TWD and 4 under the Department of Education). In total, 7 out of 11 residential schools were under the TWD.
- Among the 20 non-residential schools, only 2 upper primary schools were run by the TWD. The remaining (7 primary and 11 upper primary) were under the Department of Education.
- The highest grade in the upper primary schools varied – 2 had classes 1-6 (these had been upgraded from primary level in 2003 and 2009), 15 had classes 1-7, and 4 had classes 1-8.

The surveyed schools were quite old. One school was established as early as 1936. The newest were the two primary schools established in 2003. All other schools, with the exception of two for whom teachers were unable to tell, were established before 1980. The schools under the TWD were all established between the years 1947 to 1968. However many schools were upgraded more recently (both under Department of Education and TWD management) - out of 21 upper primary schools, 16 were upgraded from primary, with 10 of these being upgraded after 2003.

4.2.2 School Enrolment

The schools were usually medium sized or large. As Table 4.2 shows only 4 schools were small (enrolment less than 50), and these were all primary schools. There were 3 primary schools with medium enrolment and 4 with more than a hundred students. The enrolment in the upper primary schools was much higher, and 4 schools had more than 150 students (the highest being 433). Most of the high enrolment schools were residential.

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[48] According to District Information System of Education (DISE) data, Koraput has 1691 primary schools and only 545 upper primary schools. The present sample on the contrary has fewer primary schools and more upper primary schools. It is possible that most of the primary schools are located in smaller villages, and our sample villages are medium in size (150 to 300 households). The other possibility is that because the investigators replaced some sample villages with villages from the replacement list due to security reasons, there were fewer difficult-to-access villages in the sample. As upper primary schools are usually better funded, this report may give a somewhat better scenario – the situation in the majority of the primary schools will possibly be worse.

Table 4.2 Distribution of Schools by Enrolment in Primary Classes			
Enrolment in primary classes	Type of schools		
	Primary	Upper Primary	All schools
<= 50	4(0)	0 (0)	4(0)
51 – 100	3 (1)	11 (1)	14 (2)
101 – 150	3 (2)	6 (4)	9 (6)
>150	0 (0)	4 (3)	4 (3)
Total	10 (3)	21 (8)	31 (11)

Source: CORD-NEG School Survey, 2009-10.

Note: the no. of residential schools is given in brackets.

If we analyze student enrolment by class, we find that for the primary schools class-wise enrolment was very small, and decreases with higher classes. Figure 4.3 shows that the drop was very sharp after class 3. For the upper primary schools, the average enrolment per class was higher and the decline was not noted in the first 3 classes (there was an increase in enrolment at class 3). But similar to primary schools there was a sharp drop after class 3. This trend was sharper if we look at average enrolment in the 11 residential schools separately. The average enrolment in the first 3 classes was as high as 37, 41 and 45, but it dropped to 24 and 27 in classes 4 and 5.
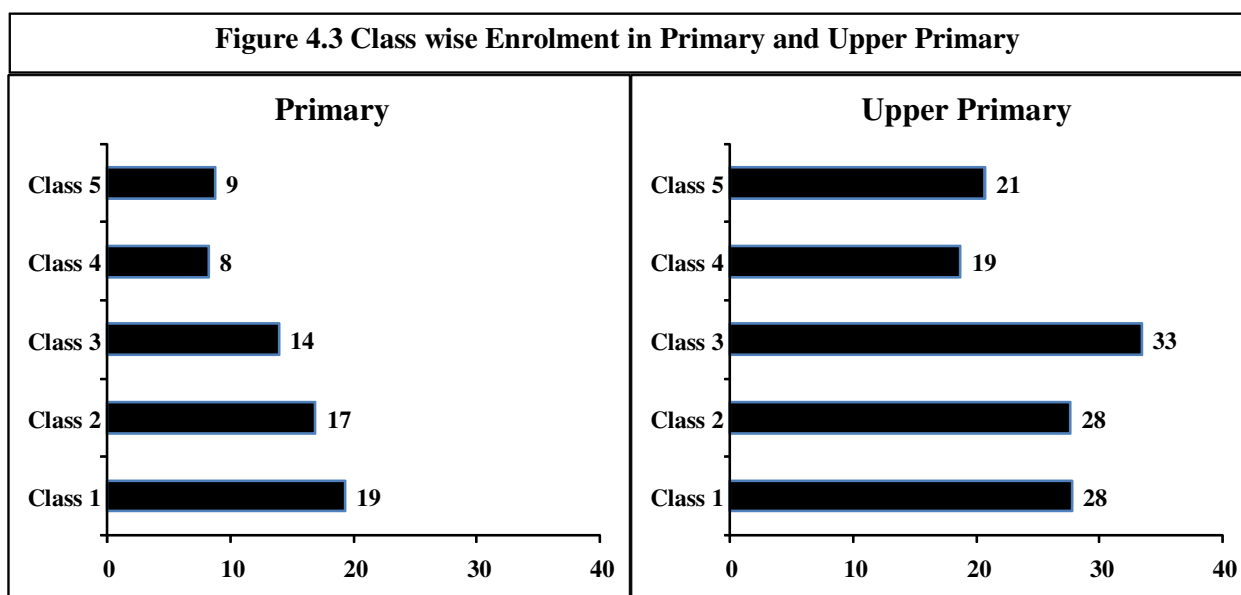
Source: CORD-NEG School Survey, 2009-10

The reason for the sudden drop after class 3 was not clear. The sudden decrease was seen not only for girls but for boys too. DISE data over the last few years also did not reveal any definite trend for the district as a whole, but indicated unexplained trends in different years. It could be the result of faulty data – we found the registers badly maintained during our survey. Other sources confirmed this – for example, the IT audit report of "International Centre for International Systems and Audit" on IT system of E-Sishu Project consisting of Child

Tracking Systems, Education Personal Information System, and Geographical Information System, developed during 2005-06 said that this "---- failed to serve as a basic database for ensuring universal elementary education with quality education as it contained a number of deficiencies". They had enumerated in their report several instances of data failure.

4.2.3 Teachers Appointed

On average three teachers were appointed in the schools surveyed - the primary schools had an average of two teachers and upper primary schools four teachers. Recruitment of contract teachers as opposed to permanent teachers was a common practice in all states. The same strategy was seen in the surveyed schools – since 2003 only contract teachers had been recruited. About one-third (38%) of the teachers were contract teachers. The majority were still permanent teachers. The teachers were predominantly male – only one-fourth was female. From Figure 4.4 one can see that permanent male teachers comprised half of all teachers. Even among contract teachers, though government policy prioritizes female teacher recruitment, the larger proportion was male. Shortage of educated females willing to be posted in these difficult areas could be a possible reason.

Figure 4.4 Permanent and Contract Teachers by Gender (%)

Contract-Female, 12

Contract-Male, 26

Permanent-Male, 50

Permanent-Female, 12
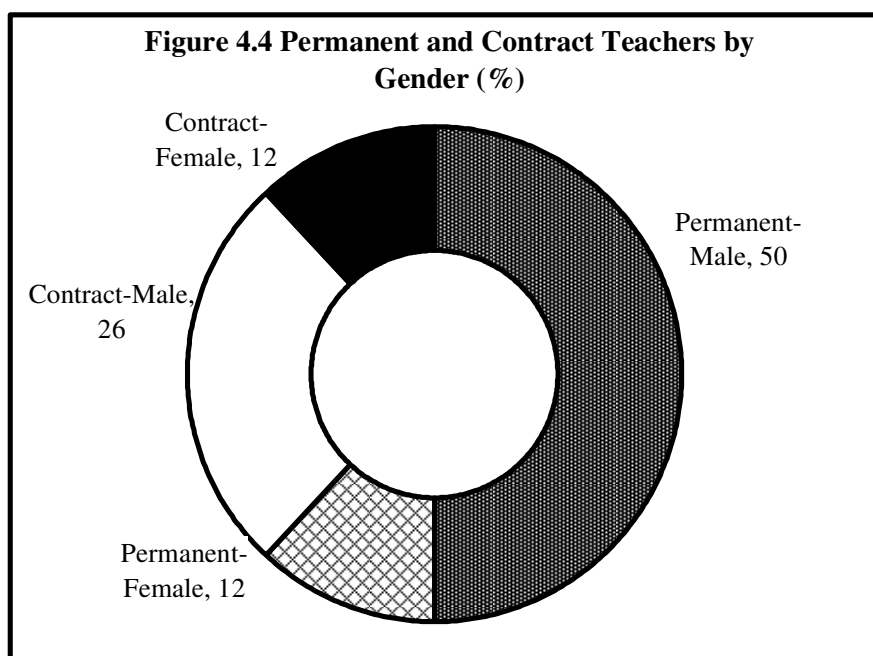
Source: CORD-NEG School Survey, 2009-10

All but one of the teachers in the sample schools were Hindu. The teaching community in the surveyed villages had a substantial proportion of non-tribals. More than three-fifths (61%) of permanent teachers and close to half (46%) of contract teachers were "general castes" or OBC.[49] Scheduled castes accounted for 15% of permanent teachers and 8% of contract teachers. Only 24% of permanent teachers and 46% of contract teachers were tribals.

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[49] Other Backward Classes (OBC) are among the dominant castes in much of rural India.

Scheduled Tribes being a heterogeneous category, there was also no direct correspondence between the specific tribes the teachers belonged to and those the communities in the surveyed villages were a part of. Given that the majority in these villages was from the scheduled tribes (see Table 4.5), a larger proportion of ST teachers were expected.

Table 4.5: Social Composition of Permanent and Contracts Teachers		
		(per cent)
Caste	Permanent Teachers	Contract Teachers
General	39	19
OBC	22	27
SC	15	8
ST	24	46
Total	100	100

Source: CORD-NEG School Survey, 2009-10

4.2.4 Education and Training

Teachers who had only passed Class 10 (39%) were the largest group in the sample. A substantial proportion had passed class 12 (30%), and there was a substantial proportion (27%) who were graduates. Education levels of permanent teachers were lower than that of the contract teachers, as they belong to an older age group. Among permanent teachers, nearly half had only completed Class 10, whereas for contract teachers most of them had completed Class 12 (38%). Twenty four percent of permanent teachers as opposed to 31% of contract teachers were graduates.

Table 4.6: Education Qualification of Teachers			
Proportion of teachers with education level:	Teacher Type		
	Permanent	Contract	Total
Less than Class 10	2	4	3
Class 10 completed	47	27	39
Class 12 completed	25	38	30
Graduation	24	31	27
Post-graduation	2	0	1
Total	41	26	67

Source: CORD-NEG School Survey, 2009-10

The critical difference between contract and permanent teachers is in proportions of those with teacher education qualifications (JBT / CT / Dip. Ed. / B. Ed.). From Table 4.7, we see that 98% of permanent teachers had received such training compared to only 58% of contract teachers. Teachers could have done such courses as pre-service training or through distance education. Pre-service training is not mandatory for contract teachers. They are selected on the basis of a written test and interview. A district level cadre of teachers is built up, with teachers opting for a specific district in which they wish to be posted.

Table 4.7 Extent of Training among Permanent and Contract Teachers (%)			
Proportion of teachers with:	Permanent	Contract	Total
Teacher education qualifications:	98	58	82
CT/Diploma in Education/others	86	43	69
Degree Training (B.Ed.)	12	15	13
Any inservice training in 2008-9	66	46	58
Inservice training (ever received) on:			
Teaching tribal children	41	38	40
Multigrade teaching	83	42	67

Source: CORD-NEG School Survey, 2009-10

In terms of levels of in-service training, from Table 4.7 we see that 66% of the permanent teachers and 46% of the contract teachers had been given in-service training in the previous year (April 2008-March 2009). These were reported to be uniform modules for primary level teachers (Unmesh 1 and 2), and for upper primary teachers (Udaya Levels 1 and 2). For a fuller discussion of teacher training programmes accessed by teachers in the state, see Box on Teacher Training Programmes in Orissa.

Teachers were also asked if they had had any special training on how to teach tribal children or on multi-grade teaching. A substantial proportion (40%) of teachers had received training on how to teach tribal children. The teachers were from a variety of backgrounds – about one fourth (24%) of permanent teachers and close to half (46%) of contract teachers were STs; 61% of permanent teachers and 46% of contract teachers were general castes or OBCs. They would be in great need of awareness of problems faced by children from less-advantaged tribal groups, and from current research on how these children's schooling experience can be made more positive. Training to teach multi grades is also crucial in the context of the fact that 39% schools in the sample were functioning as single-teacher schools on the day of the team's unannounced visit to the school. While 83% of permanent teachers had had such training, this was true for only 42% of contract teachers. It is possible that there was more in-service training in an earlier period. As to the effectiveness of these programmes, it is possible that those who have had in-service training use better teaching methods. However, there was an overall lack of interactive teaching methods, as well as little use of teaching learning materials, observed in the classroom.

Major Initiatives In Teacher Training For The Primary Stage In Orissa

"Unmesh" is a teacher training module for primary school teachers. The training is activity-based and participatory in nature. It consists of two rounds of training, Unmesh Levels I and II both of which are 7 day long sessions each. Unmesh Level I includes training in:
- Understanding children
- Teaching Language / Mathematics / EVS / Science through activity based approach
- Preparation of lesson notes
- Development of School Improvement Plan
- Preparation of plan for activities after training

Unmesh Level II takes this module forward with training in:
- Classroom transactions based on imagination and experience of the child
- Learning activity based on child's nature and ability
- Multi-level teaching (i.e. teaching children at different levels of competence at the same time)
- Teaching demonstration and practice in each of the subjects -- Language, Maths, Science, Social Science)
- Continuous and comprehensive evaluation
- Preparation of Unit Tests and use of Unit Test data
- Learning Achievement Tracking System and Identification of training needs
- Mainstreaming of children passing out of EGS and AIE centres

A similar module – "Udaya" – Levels I and II - is used for teachers of upper primary grades.

"Jagruti" is induction training for newly recruited para-teachers/SSS (Swechhasevi Siksha Sahayaks). This module also covers similar areas but does so through a longer training of 30 days. The topics include
- Understanding children, how children learn
- Activity -- Nature, necessity, preparation and use
- Transaction of Activity-based textbooks
- Management of multi-grade and multi-level teaching situations
- Evaluation of learners
- Preparation of Lesson Notes

These learning are then contextualized with 10-days pedagogical practice in the schools they will be working in and a 5-day consolidation and sharing of experiences. Such a model is referred to as a "split model of training" as it includes training outside the school, followed by practice in the schools the recruits will be working in, followed by a time of reflection, sharing and consolidation.

There are also training modules for Block and Cluster Resource Centre Coordinators. "Sanjojika I" is a 6 day training for the BRCC and includes issues such as an introduction to the SSA programme, the educational problems of the concerned block, an understanding of types and sources of data, on preparation of block level plans and their implementation in the block with a focus on pedagogical activities, monitoring and academic support and a visioning of a good BRC. "Sanjojika II" is a 7 day training for CRCCs. The educational and social status of the cluster is discussed, as also innovations under SSA, and how CRCCs can both support and monitor teachers. A visioning of a good school and a good CRC is encouraged.

A module on teaching English for primary school teachers has been developed since English

has been introduced at primary level, and most teachers have problems understanding spoken and written English. This is a 5 day training that explores the challenges that teachers and learners face with the English language. The training includes listening and speaking, reading and writing, vocabulary and so on.

'Rupantar' is a training for teachers in tribal areas. Its aims include:

a.Attitudinal change: The training is to make teachers rethink their traditional teaching practices and styles, be less prejudiced about tribal children and their culture, and think of more positive ways of interaction.

b.Bringing tribal language and culture into school: As part of this training, teachers are sensitized to the language problems of tribal children and the need for mother tongue education; how to teach bilingual classrooms; why and how to use folklore and local knowledge in creating curriculum.

Teachers are also trained on new initiatives being taken to ensure successful implementation of the MLE programme in Orissa. These include:
a.Community participation in preparation of materials for MLE: The cultural themes in the MLE textbooks are selected in consultation with representatives of the community. The validation of the knowledge represented in the books is also ensured by taking the prepared material to the community for their feedback and validation. Community participation has been encouraging in six languages Saora, Koya, Bonda, Kui, Kuvi and Juang.
b.Srujan is a new initiative which seeks to create a community-focused and child-
friendly atmosphere in the school. Teachers act as facilitators and allow the community and the children to take part in child-friendly activities like a story-telling festival, art and craft, traditional games, music and dance. Such community participation will work towards bridging the gap between the home language and the school language in the classroom. The purpose of the programme is to incorporate community knowledge into the school curriculum.
c.Padhaghar initiative refers to the opening of Community Resource Centers where members of the community share local knowledge with their children. The knowledge can be documented for building up a village library and community reading room in school. At present, there are 523 Padhaghars in CRCs where reading materials are provided to the children. Till now the CRCs have been able to document more than 15,000 folktales from the community written down and illustrated by the children in the story telling festivals. The purpose of the programme is to involve the community in school education on the one hand and create an experiential knowledge system for the children in the classroom on the other hand. This also helps in bridging the gap between the school and home languages.

Sources:
http://www.orissa.gov.in/schooleducation/rti_sme/OPEPA/RTI_OPEPA.pdf
http://www.scertorissa.org/download/WEB-SCERT.doc
http://www.opepa.in/Pedagogical.asp?glink=GL011&plink=PL068

4.2.5 School Buildings

The school buildings were all pucca. On an average there were 2.5 classrooms in the primary schools and 4.1 in the upper primary (overall 3.6). As we have already seen, the average number of teachers recruited per school was 1.8 for the primary schools and 3.9 for the upper primary schools (overall 3.2). So in many schools there were more rooms than teachers.

The following figure shows school-wise the physical condition of the classrooms. In 12 schools all classrooms were in good condition. The remaining required mostly minor repairs in some rooms. Only two schools had any rooms which were completely unusable. As one can see from Figure 4.8, the majority of the classroom surveyed, were in good usable condition. The primary schools had a little over half their classrooms in good condition, about a fourth which required some repair, and about a fourth of classrooms, which were unusable. The situation was much better in the upper primary schools – about 60% of classrooms were in good condition. Most of the rest required some repair and very few were unusable.

Figure 4.8 Condition of Classrooms by School Type
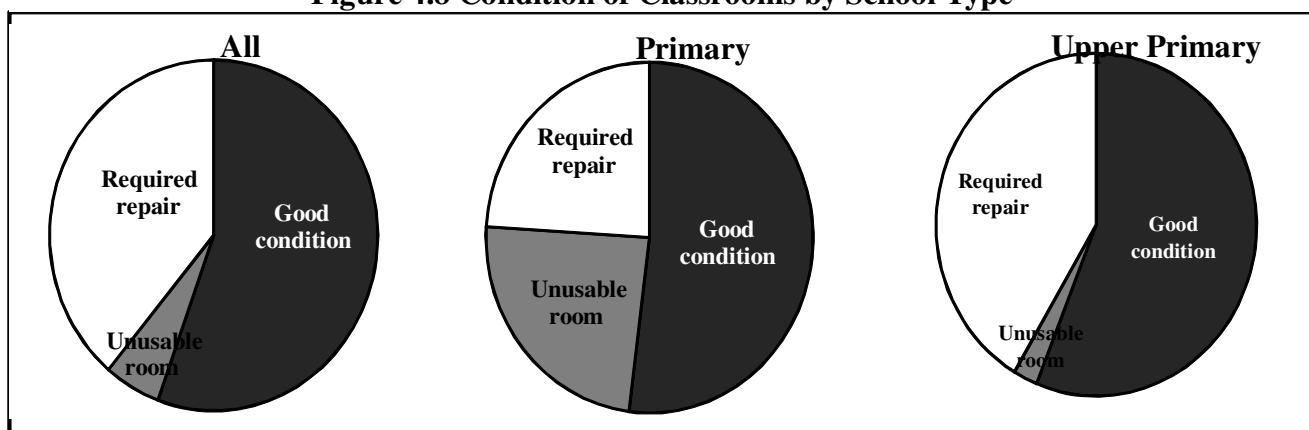
Source: CORD-NEG School Survey, 2009

In terms of other basic infrastructure, there were more deficiencies (see Table 4.9). More than half lacked a boundary wall. The situation was worse for primary schools. Without boundary walls, the school environment could be constantly disrupted, and enabled children to run off at will. The lack of boundary walls was felt keenly (see Box below). Schools also lacked playgrounds. Only 1 primary school and 5 upper primary schools had playgrounds. Ramps had been made in a substantial proportion of schools.

Table 4.9 Infrastructure in the Sample Schools			
No. of Schools with:	All	Primary schools	Upper primary schools
Ramp	25	7	18
Boundary wall	13	3	10
Playground	6	1	5
Total schools	31	10	21

Source: CORD-NEG School Survey, 2009

Very few schools had a boundary wall

The absence of a boundary wall was often found to be a source of disturbance. In Chatua, for example, villagers walked through the school compound as a short-cut to go to their farm land. Domestic animals passed through the school as well and the school garden was gradually destroyed. All this led to disturbance in classroom teaching. In Tema it was observed that during school hours some small girls (who were enrolled in the school but not attending classes) carried water from the tube-well in the school to their homes. Further, the villagers had stacked firewood in the school premises. A similar situation was seen in Kakalpada, Khudi and Laudi where there was public interference to use the tube well for drinking water, etc. Teachers felt this was a lack of cooperation from the villagers. On the whole, the team found that in most schools visited by them, the need for a boundary wall was a common request. Teachers felt that with an establishment of an enclosure around the school, it would create an atmosphere more conducive for teaching.

4.2.6 Facilities in School

Earlier we noted that in general the schools were quite old. 93% of the schools were established before 1986. In spite of it the schools were well maintained and equipped with some basic facilities. Table 4.10 shows the availability and functionality of some facilities, observed by the investigators. Almost all the schools had a usable blackboard. In 25 of the 31 schools, drinking water facility was available and functional. About half the schools had functional toilet facilities, and the investigators noted that these schools also had a separate girls' toilet. But access to electricity seemed to be a major infrastructural problem in these schools. Only 8 schools had lights (only 1 of these was a primary school) and even fewer had fans (4). As discussed earlier, only 18 of the sample villages were electrified and that too generally only the main tola was electrified.

No. of Schools with:	All		Primary		Upper Primary	
	Available	Functional	Available	Functional	Available	Functional
Blackboard	29	29	9	9	20	20
Drinking water	28	25	8	7	20	18
Toilet	25	17	6	4	19	13
Electric lights	9	8	1	1	8	7
Electric fans	4	4	0	0	4	4

Table 4.10 Infrastructural Facilities in Primary and Upper Primary Schools

Source: CORD-NEG School Survey, 2009-10
Note: 31 schools, 10 primary and 21 upper primary

All the schools reported having TLMs. But none of the teachers were seen using TLM. About 84% of the schools had sports equipment and a library. In one particular school in Nandpur block, the investigators asked the respondent to show them the library books. The books were

found to be stored in a jute sack. It was clear that the children had never seen these books. The situation was similar for TLMs also in some schools.

Table 4.11: Availability of TLM, Library and Sports Equipment			
No. of Schools with:	All	Primary	Upper Primary
TLM	31	10	21
Library books	26	9	17
Sports Equipment	26	7	19
Total	31	10	21

Source: CORD-NEG School Survey, 2009-10

4.3 School Functioning

The schools in these blocks in Koraput district present a fairly dismal picture in terms of school functioning.

4.3.1 Shortening of School Day

Use of summer timings in winter: Throughout the survey region in Orissa, the official school opening time during summer is 6:30 am and closing time is 11:30 am (5 hours). Timings for winter are 10 am to 4 pm (6 hours). The survey was conducted during the winter months of December 2009 and January 2010. Yet in four out of 31 schools, the summer timings were being followed. It was a problem for young children to come to school in the early morning hours during winter.

Schools found to open late and close early: Many schools opened after the official opening time. In 9 schools, teachers came much later than the students who were waiting for them to arrive. Opening on time was particularly a problem for the 4 schools which were functioning according to summer timings.16 out of 31 schools closed much before the official closing time. In most of the schools, the last 30 minutes are for games – so children just played around. However in quite a few schools, teaching activity stopped even earlier. In fact in 12 schools, there was no teaching activity after the Mid Day Meal was served.

Evidence of No Input from Teacher: Children Clueless

In a school in Pottangi block, after the teacher became aware of the field investigators' presence, he lined up the children and started singing a devotional song. But clearly the children had no clue about that particular song. So he finally changed the song and sang the national anthem with the children.

4.3.2 Substantial Proportion of Teachers Missing from School

Teacher absenteeism was a major problem. Only about two thirds of the teachers (63 out of 99) were present when the team visited the schools (Figure 4.12). Female teacher absenteeism was also high (10 out of 24); higher than that of male teachers (26 out of 75). Surprisingly, absenteeism was higher among contract teachers (42% of contract teachers against 33% of permanent teachers). This was a very unexpected finding, because contract teachers are expected to be more regular as they don't have permanent tenure and as they are locally-recruited. However, the latter is not true for Orissa. Orissa government policy does not to make it essential for contract teachers to be local persons (see Box on Teacher Recruitment Policy in AP and Orissa).

Figure 4.12 Teacher Absenteeism
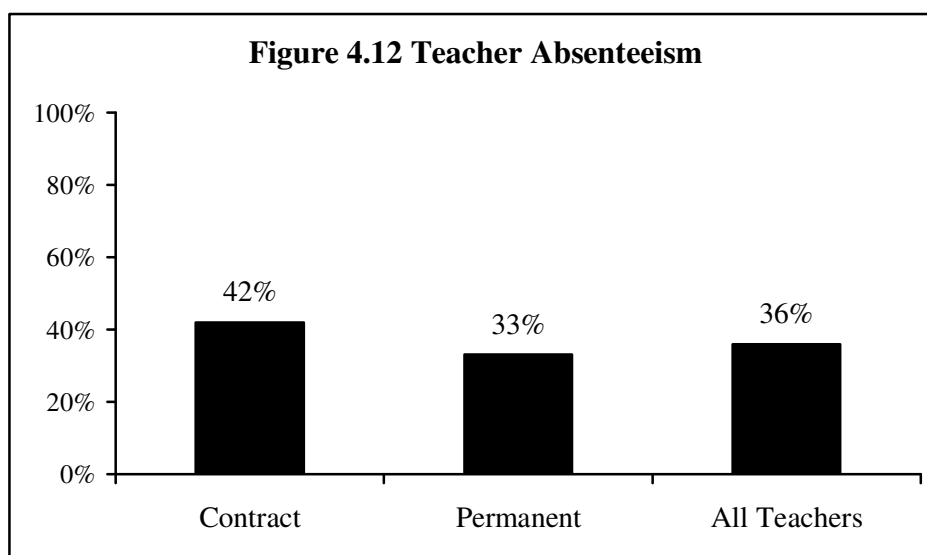
Source: CORD-NEG School Survey, 2009-10
Note: Teachers could be absent from school for both official and personal reasons.

It was surprising to note that among the teachers who were interviewed – a higher proportion of permanent teachers lived in the village, had to commute a distance of 1 km or less and could come to school walking (Table 4.13). This could perhaps account for the lower rates of absenteeism among permanent teachers.

Table 4.13 Distance from School to Residence (percent)			
Proportion of Teachers Who	Teacher Type		
	Permanent	Contract	Total
Live in the village	66	46	58
Live at a distance of 1 km or less from school	63	50	58
Come to school walking	68	50	61

Source: CORD-NEG School Survey, 2009-10

When asked why the teacher were absent at the time of the team's unannounced visit to the school, the head teachers said in 53% of cases that they were absent for official reasons. Only 15% of teachers were reported to be on leave (see Table 4.14). In one-third of cases (32%), the reason for absence was "unknown". It is possible that these were on unofficial leave.

Table 4.14 Reasons for Teachers' Absence During Unannounced Visit to School		
Reasons for Absence	No. of Teachers	Percent
Absent due to school related duty	10	29
On deputation	7	21
Absent due to non-school related government duty	1	3
On leave	5	15
Reasons unknown to respondent	11	32
Total	34*	100

Source: CORD-NEG School Survey, 2009-10
*There were 36 teachers who were not in school. But we had no response for the absence of two teachers.

It was also observed that on the day of the survey only one teacher was present in 12 schools; 5 of these were officially single teacher schools, the remaining 7 had all but one teacher absent. The head-teacher was himself absent in 11 out of 31 schools (one third). In 9 schools (close to one-third), all teachers were absent at the time of arrival, and in 19 schools (close to two thirds) at least one teacher was absent. In a few schools, the teachers arrived much after the investigators reached, after the children had reached. Absenteeism was higher in multi teacher schools and less in single and two teacher schools. Taking leave by turn appears to be likely.

The survey period included many festivals - Christmas, Poush Parab (see Box), Saraswati Puja etc. In most cases the schools were officially closed for one day but the usual practice was to keep it closed for several days. In some cases a few students and teachers were seen to be present but there was no teaching activity. It was not sure whether the high teacher absenteeism was a characteristic of the festival season – but the same phenomenon was seen in the village studies too during Shivratri. Teachers blamed the students for being irregular at these festival times and in the month of April too. Since there were also long periods when the school is officially closed (in the summer, and for a shorter time in the winter), it appeared that the number of working days in these schools is quite low.

Pousa Purba

Some of the most important festivals of the tribal people of Koraput district are Pousa Purba, Deali Purba, and Chaita Purba. These festivals are celebrated with great enthusiasm by tribal communities in other states as well. The cycle of life offers numerous reasons to celebrate like the sowing of seeds, harvesting of crops, eating the first crop, and so on. In addition, community rites, ancestral rites and supernatural practices are very important for tribal villagers. Despite their preoccupation with the continual battle for survival, tribals have retained their rich heritage of music and dance, which are integral parts of their festivals and rituals.

The Pousa Purba is one of the most important tribal festivals. Although the festival is observed for only two to three days in mid January, people get in the festive mood from mid-December. During the month long period before the festival, villagers are busy with harvesting (cutting the harvest, gathering and collecting food) during the day. During the evenings, young men, women and children and sometimes old people sing and dance. Sometimes men go to the jungle for hunting. They kill whatever animals they can find (mostly forest pigs), and distribute meat among all.

On the final days of this month-long period, which constitutes the actual festival of Pousa Purba, people wear new clothes, and sacrifice livestock to their local deities. Celebrations continue the whole night. People play musical instruments (horned-drums, flutes and many traditional instruments), and sing and dance. Some dances are performed in dedication to the local deities. All adults, male and female, young and old, even children in the 10-14 age group sometimes, drink desi liquor.

Implications for schooling during this period

Tribal parents have mostly not been to school themselves and hence do not realize the need to ensure their children's regular attendance at school. Children play a very important role in harvesting, and generally do not attend school during this period. They collect the corn and store it in a particular place for ripening. Parents sometimes take their children to live in temporary habitations on hillsides to collect shifting cultivation produce. They stay in these habitations during the whole harvesting period and return to the village mostly on the eve of Pousa Purba. Even in households where children are not directly busy with harvesting activities, children are needed for domestic work (cleaning the house, filling water, cooking food, taking food for parents from house to workplace, taking care of siblings and the old people at home) and to graze the livestock. Parents also have little time to supervise their children and make sure they are going to school. Children are also not interested in going to school in this period and are busy playing different games, collecting forest based fruits, earning little amounts of money, dancing, singing, and moving here and there at will all day. Sometimes groups of children work for local landowners for very low wages. They collect vegetables from one place and store them in another. In the evening, they collect their wages and go to the nearest shops (mostly located in the village itself) and buy sweets, chocolate, biscuits, and so on. During this time, teachers don't go to school regularly because most students are absent from school. Some good teachers do open the school even for four or five
students, and go to the village to bring children to school.

A field researcher in the Orissa team

4.3.3 Student Attendance – Low and Irregular

A focus of this study was to look at the divergence of enrolment from attendance in school, and to look at the discrepancies between reported attendance (in the school register) and actual attendance. We wished to estimate the extent of irregular attendance in the schools. So during the survey the team first asked the head teacher (or the respondent in the absence of the HT) to give the enrolment data from the attendance register (separately for boys and girls; for SC, ST and disabled). They then recorded the numbers marked present in the register for the day of the survey and the previous working day. Then the children sitting in each classroom were counted by the investigators to get figures for actual attendance.

Low and irregular attendance seemed to be a major problem. The average enrolment in the sample schools was 108. However, according to the attendance register, the average number of students present in the school on the day of the survey was only 67 (that is 62% of total enrolled by register). Again, the average number of children observed present by investigators on the day of survey was as low as 36 (almost half of those marked present & only a third of the total enrolled) (Table 4.15). From Figure 4.15, one can see the sharp decline from the average number of children enrolled to the number of those marked present on the day of survey and further to the number observed to be present.

Table 4.15 Average Enrolment and Attendance by School Level				
	Number Enrolled	Number Marked Present on the		Number Observed Present on Day of Survey
		day of survey	previous day	
Primary Schools	67	44	49	20 (30%)
Upper Primary Schools	128	79	78	44 (34%)
All	108	67	69	36 (33%)

Source: CORD-NEG School Survey, 2009-10
Note: In parenthesis is the per cent observed present as a proportion of enrolment.

In some cases, older children had brought their younger siblings (who were not enrolled) with them to school. Again in a few cases some of the anganwadi children were also sitting with Class 1 and 2 students (where anganwadi centers were supposed to function from the same building and were not properly functional). Underage and non-enrolled children were thus present in the school, swelling the numbers who were physically counted to be attending school. As the box (Enrolled in Class 2!) suggests there may be older children present who could also be nominally enrolled. Thus the number of students who were present and enrolled in primary classes is possibly even lower than what was observed by physically counting them.

Enrolled in class 2!

In a primary school in Pottangi block, the survey team noticed a boy who was sitting with class 1 children, but looked much older. When asked, he said that he was in class 2. Later on, investigators learnt from a senior teacher that the boy had passed class 5. There was no upper primary school close by and this school was expected to be upgraded very soon. So the boy's name was in the register and he came to school regularly.

Figure 4.16: Average Enrolment & Attendance by Gender
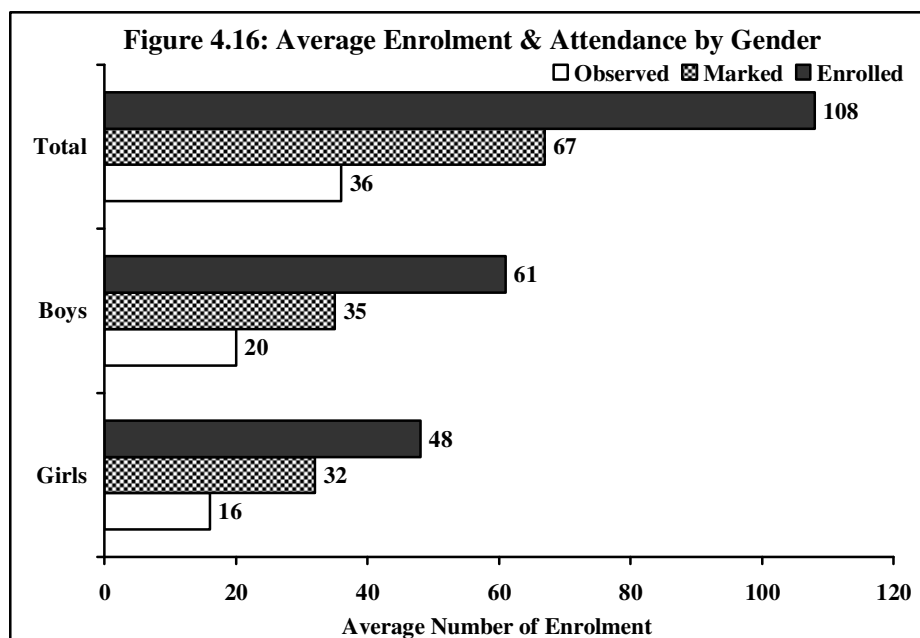
Source: CORD-NEG School Survey, 2009-10

Average enrolment for boys was 61 and that for girls was much lower -- 48 – just over three-fourth of the boys. Average number marked present on that particular day was much lower for both, but the numbers were more equal (35 boys and 32 girls). The numbers observed present are even lower but, at 20 boys and 16 girls, are again quite equal. While the gender bias in enrolment is evident, for some reason a higher number of boys are absent than girls.

Other field surveys (Probe Revisited 2006, ASER 2009) have indicated that rather than enrolment, regular attendance and retention remain major hurdles. However when the head teachers were asked about school participation levels in the village, they said that enrolment itself was still a major problem in the surveyed areas. Though dropping out was not thought to be important, they admitted that irregular attendance was also an important problem. The reasons reported by teachers for non-enrolment and irregular attendance were similar – work demands on children and their lack of interest.

The results from our school survey have revealed a very prominent gap between reported attendance and actual attendance. Secondary data reveal that there is a considerable gap

between enrolment and reported attendance. Capturing dropouts and nominal enrolment are extremely difficult as names are rarely struck off from the school register.

4.3.4 No Teaching Activity Observed in 55% of Schools (When the Investigators Arrived)

All the school visits were without prior notice in order to observe how the schools function on a normal day. The investigators were all instructed to reach after the official opening time of the school, and note the activities of the head teacher, other teachers and class 1 students when they arrived. The findings were quite disappointing as in many schools there was hardly any activity to observe.

Table 4.17 Activities of the Head Teacher (As Observed by the Investigators on Arrival)	
No. of schools in which the head teacher was engaged in:	No. of Schools
Active teaching	8
Administrative work	5
With children/not teaching	2
Other activities*	4
Total**	19

Source: CORD-NEG School Survey, 2009-10
*This included activities in which the head teacher was not engaged in any of the activities mentioned above.
**The head-teacher was present only in 19 out of 31 schools. So his activities could be recorded for 19 schools.

The head teacher was present only in 19 of the 31 schools when the team arrived (Table 4.17). In 8 schools the head teacher was actively teaching, in 5 schools he was involved in administrative work, and in another 2 schools he was with the children though not teaching.

Table 4.18 gives the activities of the teachers who were present. Of those who were present only 40% were actively teaching, 16% were involved in administrative and paper work, and 16% were with the children but not teaching. The remaining 28% have been reported as involved in "other activities" which meant they were present in school, but not with the children or doing administrative work. If the activities of the head teacher and other teachers are considered together – only in 14 out of the 31 schools (less than half) was there active teaching in at least one class. In the remaining 17 schools, there was no active teaching at all.

Table 4.18 Teachers Activities In School	
(As Observed by the Investigators on Arrival)	
Proportion (%) of teachers engaged in:	Percent
Active teaching	40
Administrative work	16
With children/not teaching	16
Others activities	28
Total	100

Source: CORD-NEG School Survey, 2009-10.

Based on 63 (out of 99) teachers who were present at the time the team arrived in the school.

4.3.5 Class I Children in Some Learning Activity in Only 52% of Schools

The observations of class 1 children (or the group in which these children were sitting) indicated that in around half of the schools, there was some kind of learning activity going on. From Table 4.19, it can be seen that in 7 schools children were sitting in the classroom, listening to their teachers, in 4 schools they were doing written exercises and in 4 schools they were rote learning. Only in 1 school, were they playing under supervision. In 16 out of 31 schools (52%), they were getting some attention. In the rest they were either sitting in class but not involved in any activity (6 schools), or unsupervised outside the classroom (9 schools).

Table 4.19: Activities of Class 1 Students	
(As Observed by the Investigators on Arrival)	
Number of schools in which the class 1 children were engaged in:	No of Schools
Rote learning	4
Written exercises	4
Listening to teacher	7
Supervised games	1
In class, no activity	6
Unsupervised outside the classroom	9
Total	31

Source: CORD-NEG School Survey, 2009-10

4.3.6 Midday Meal Not Served in 19% of Schools

Table 4.20 shows our findings from head teacher interviews and our observations of the midday meal in our sample schools. The head teacher reported functioning MDM in all schools, but investigators observed that in six schools the midday meal was not served. In most schools the meal was prepared in school by one or more SHG members. At least in two cases it appeared that the midday meal was not served because of in-fighting among these members.

In a few schools teachers helped in distribution. In 7% of the schools the head teachers felt that midday meal preparations disrupted classroom activity.

In 6 schools the meal was served just before the school closed. In others it was usually served at 1 pm and continued for 30 minutes to an hour. Usually the meal consisted of rice, dal or dalna (a vegetable curry) and in a few cases, egg curry or boiled egg. In most schools children washed their hands before eating, and in half the schools sat in an organised way. However the eating area was not always cleaned before and after the meal.

4.3.7 Teaching Stopped after Midday Meal in 46% of Schools (which Served the Midday Meal)

While in 82% of the schools most students remained after the midday meal had been served, in only about half the schools did teaching continue after the midday meal (see Table 4.20). This meant, as discussed in the earlier section, a severe reduction in teaching time.

Classroom observation also revealed a similar pattern. Whatever level of teaching activity was observed declined sharply after the midday meal.

Table 4.20: Functioning of Cooked Midday Meal Scheme	
Proportion of schools where:	Percent
(as reported by the head teacher)	
School had a functional MDM	100%
All children ate the MDM	94%
MDM interfered with teaching	7%
(observed by investigators)	
School had a functional midday meal	81%
Proportion of schools in which the midday meal was observed* in which:	
Children washed hands before the meal	82%
Eating area was cleaned before the MDM	32%
Eating area was cleaned after the MDM	54%
Majority of the children stayed after eating the meal	82%
Teaching continued after MDM	46%

Source: CORD-NEG School Survey, 2009-10
* Based on observation of meals in 22 schools. The rest were served at the end of the school day.

4.3.8 Teaching Learning Activities Observed Inside the Classroom Confined to Rote Learning

Investigators reported that in some schools, all the children did not have books, note books or slates. They wrote on the blackboard, or on the floor in the presence of investigators.

Teaching and learning activities for Class 1 children were observed in particular. The investigators observed and noted activities of both - the group which included class 1 children

and the teacher/s who taught them, in the period before and after the midday meal. This could be done in 27 schools.[50]

All the schools had reported having Teaching Learning Materials (TLM). But on the day of the survey, none of the teachers were observed using any TLMs to teach Class 1 children.

In 10 out of 31 schools there were no teaching activities with the class before the MDM. In others the teachers primarily read from textbooks or checked written exercises. There was a sharp decline even in these activities after the MDM - only half the schools had some teaching activity after the MDM.

Learning activities for Class 1 children followed a similar pattern. In most schools, children were busy in rote learning before the MDM. However close observation revealed that in many cases it was the senior students rather than the teachers who were monitoring class 1 children. Though none of the teachers were seen using the blackboard during observation, investigators reported that in 6 schools children were trying to copy from the blackboard (text written in Oriya). Here, too, there was even less learning activity after the MDM.

4.3.9 Children Unable to Understand Teacher's Language

In these remote tribal areas, one of the major problems of primary education is the communication gap between the children and the teacher. This problem is more acute for young children, mainly of Class 1 and Class 2, who know only their home language. Investigators noted that the teacher had written on the blackboard in Oriya and was also talking in Oriya. However, the small children spoke only in the local dialects – Desia / Kui / Konda / Paraja. So they were just sitting idle.

Nearly all schools (28 out of 30) reported that children primarily speak in local languages and not in Oriya. Many teachers (49 out of 99) claimed to know some local language, though they were not necessarily very comfortable with it. However, only 26 teachers stated that they used local languages as a medium of instruction, although only in two schools, teachers were observed to use it. In the rest of the schools, Oriya was the language of communication.

Many teachers did report receiving in service training for teaching in the local language. Language issues are even more complicated in these areas because not only do the children speak in tribal dialects and teachers speak in Oriya, many of them use a link language Desia. Desia has greater utility as it allows people using different tribal dialects to communicate. Hindi and English are also introduced in higher classes.

4.4 Conclusion

As discussed in the introduction this section examined the access and quality of primary schooling in the border areas of Orissa. The surveyed schools in Koraput, Orissa have a reasonable quality of physical infrastructure – 2.5 pakka classrooms on average in the primary

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[50] 4 schools followed summer timing and the survey team arrived too early for observation.

schools and 4.1 pakka classrooms in the upper primary schools. Teacher provision was more inadequate. There were only 1.8 teachers on average in primary schools and 3.9 teachers in upper primary schools. As the number of teachers was less than number of classes, multi-grade teaching was a norm. The overall pupil teacher ratio was high, at 39 it is much higher than specified under the Right to Education. There are some positives in that the majority of the teachers had received pre service and in service training, including special training designed to teach tribal children and do multi-grade teaching. Schools were also well equipped with respect to teaching learning materials. But they were not functioning properly on different counts. The system suffers from high teacher absenteeism and student absenteeism.

Its impact is seen through the severely limited teaching time in schools. Firstly in several cases the investigators had to go to a substitute village as the schools in the sample village were closed on an official working day. It was apparent that during festivals when schools are expected to remain closed for one or two days, many schools remain closed for several days. This reduces the number of working days for the school.

On those days when the schools were open, teacher absenteeism was often very high – in all types of schools. This was true for both permanent and contract teachers. The contract teachers recruited are not necessarily local in terms of living in the village, and this had implications for their absenteeism from schools. In schools where teachers did come in, some came late and left early. Students were seen to come and wait for the teachers to arrive. In several schools there was practically no teaching after the mid day meal. On top of all this, students were very irregular. Actual child attendance in school was only 33% (based on physical counts) of total enrolment.

Observation of teaching learning activities showed that in the little time the teachers and students were in school (and even when they were being observed) very little teaching activity took place. In addition to this, in quite a few cases, there was a social barrier and a language barrier between the teacher and the children. These factors combine to impede the learning process of the children.

As we have discussed at the beginning of this report, there is a dominance of upper primary schools (which were more easily accessible) in the Koraput sample. However, secondary data shows that more than three fourth of the government schools in this district are primary. As upper primary schools are usually better equipped than primary schools in terms of physical and teaching infrastructure, the present study presents a better scenario than if the sample had more primary schools. There appears to be a very inefficient system in place where funds are coming into school infrastructure and teacher salaries, but outcomes remain very poor.

Section 5: Village Studies in Orissa
(Pottangi Block, Koraput District)

Part A. The Study Villages

The methodology used for these village studies has been discussed in the introductory section. Three villages were selected with differing levels of accessibility. Here too the village selection was done in collaboration with the field team to take issues of safety into account. The villages selected were Haripur, Kuntia and Dokasanda.[*]

5.1 Accessibility, Size and Facilities

Haripur was the most accessible of the three villages selected (see Table 5.1). It is a "road-point village" on the National Highway, just 15 km away from Similiguda. Bus transport was available from the village to Pottangi, the block headquarters, only 5 kms away. The village is located in the plains.

The main village has another hamlet – Kalindaguda (see Table 5.1). The distance between the two hamlets was 2 km. Kalindaguda is basically the market area – one of the largest markets in the district.

Haripur is well developed. Of the three study villages in Orissa, only Haripur had both pakka and semi-pakka households. It had better amenities than the other two study villages but these were also inadequate. Drinking water was piped to the village but the supply was irregular. Hand pumps were available but they did not function well. During summer the village has a shortage of water. Although electricity was being supplied to both tolas, half the surveyed households did not have electricity.

Haripur has a government upper primary school (grades 1-7), and a private school with grades 9-12. Some children in the 6-14 age group were also going to a government residential school in the vicinity.

Table 5.1 Accessibility of Main Village			
Distance from the following:	Haripur	Kuntia	Dokasanda
Pakka road	0 km	5 km	5 km
Block headquarters (Pottangi)	5 km	5 km	20 km
Nearest town (Similiguda)	15 km	25 km	25 km
District headquarters (Koraput)	40 km	47 km	45 km
Mode of transport to nearest bus stop	At the village itself	3 km on kachha motorable road, 2 kms on path	13 km on metalled road, 3 kms on kachha motorable road, 2 kms on path

Source: CORD-NEG Village Study, 2010

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[*] Names of villages have been changed for the sake of anonymity.

Kuntia was midway in terms of accessibility (see Table 5.1). It is also situated on plain land. The nearest township Similiguda is 25 km away, but the block headquarters is only 5 kms away. However, the journey involved 2 kms of walking along a path, and 3 kms of kaccha motorable road. Currently, a road is under construction to connect Kuntia with NH-45 under Prime Minister Grameen Sadak Yojana.

Kuntia was the main village for our study but it had only 38 households. Kuntia has a larger hamlet, Poridaiguda (see Table 5.2), which has expanded over time.[51] It has been able to expand as it is closer to the main road, and has more fertile land than Kuntia. The distance between the two tolas was 2 km. One can reach Poridaiguda by jeep.

About two third of the households in Kuntia were very poor and classified as BPL families. Drinking water was available through hand-pumps and the village had a major problem with water in the summer. Both Kuntia and its neighbouring hamlet were in the process of getting electrified. Houses were mostly kachha (stone or mud walls and tiled or asbestos roof).

Table 5.2 Tola-Wise Household and School Information			
	Haripur	Kuntia	Dokasanda
Households:			
Household in study village	196	38	65
Households in tola	36	160	66
Schools:			
Schools in study village	1 upper primary, 1 private school with classes 9-12	1 upper primary	1 primary
Schools in tola	1 primary	1 primary	1 upper primary
No. of children in 6-14 age group enrolled in neighbouring residential school	8	12	21

Source: CORD-NEG Village Study, 2010

Dokasanda was the least accessible of the three villages. Situated at a foothill, it is very isolated from the outside world. The only link is through the weekly market where people go to sell their produce. Transport facilities were very poor. To get to the nearest bus-stop, one had to walk 2 kms along a path, then along 3 kms of kachha motorable road, and then travel along 13 kms of pakka road. The block headquarters is 20 kms away and the nearest town is 25 kms away.

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[51] According to the naik (village head), around fifty years back, many people came from a particular village came and settled here because of drought conditions and an epidemic in their village.

The village was divided into two hamlets – Boro Dokasanda (Big Dokasanda) and Sano Dokasanda (Small Dokasanda). The school selected for the village study was the primary school in Boro Dokasanda since it had a larger enrolment than the upper primary school in Sano Dokasanda. The distance between the two tolas was 2 km. Sano Dokasanda, was situated at a slightly lower elevation, and was possible to reach by a kachha motorable road. But to get to Boro Dokasanda, one had to walk through hilly terrain, including crossing the stream twice.

Majority of the households in this village are also BPL families. While cultivation in Sano Dokasanda benefits because it is located on plain land, Boro Dokasanda benefits from having been electrified. The village also benefits enormously from having perennial access to spring water. Drinking water was supplied through pipes – water gushes from them continuously. Houses were mostly kachha (stone or mud walls and tiled or asbestos roof).

5.2 Occupations in the 3 Villages

Haripur
Cultivation was the main source of livelihood. The village is in the plains and the soil is rich. Cultivation of cash crops like ginger, garlic, methi, cashew, potato was common in this area. This generates considerable demand for agricultural labour. The location of the market-place in the heart of the village enables the villagers to sell their agricultural produce and what they collect by foraging in the forest. Though the majority of the households in the village were involved in cultivation, there were some which were engaged in small scale trading, government service etc. Demand for education was much stronger in these families. Being economically stable and literate, they are more confident that education will give them some returns. Parents were particularly keen to educate their boys because they hope that this will get them jobs in the future. One household felt that women should also know more about the outside world as they come to the market to sell agricultural / forest produce.

Adolescent girls reported (in group discussions[52]) that they have always shared in responsibilities for regular household work (bringing drinking water, cleaning the house, washing utensils, cooking, bringing fire-wood from the forest, and so on). Most of them also worked on their own land. All of them reported attending school only irregularly during harvesting season. Adolescent boys reported that they worked on their own land and took animals out to graze. Like the girls' group, they also said that during harvesting months, they attended school irregularly.

Kuntia
The most common occupation was cultivation, though here farming is mainly dry-land farming. The soil is not so fertile and there is no irrigation facility. Cultivation takes place for 7 months in a year, with almost every member of a household (including children as young as 9-10 years) working on family land. During the planting and harvesting seasons, many people work as agricultural labourers on others' lands. A few villagers also work as non agricultural

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[52] Twelve girls in the group had all been enrolled in the village school, one had never been to the school.

labourers (mainly road construction work under NREGS[53]), which is available for only 3 months in a year. In the non-cultivation period, people depend on foraging. Lack of livelihood opportunities has led to high migration from this village (mainly to work on ginger cultivation, in cashew plantations, and to do construction work).

Most of the households in the village were under monetary pressure. As a result, the children were also required to do household work (cooking, cleaning, bringing water etc.), work in the fields, and graze the animals. The expectation was that girls would do the household work. Boys were reported to be sent to graze the animals and for agricultural work. Even if parents were keen for their children to go to school, they were usually very busy in their regular livelihood activities and unable to keep tabs on the children. Again many times parents took the children with them when they migrated to look for work. Even if the children did not accompany their parents, they were left with their grandparents or other relatives, who rarely took care of the child's education. The net result was that children attended school only irregularly. Parents were particularly uninterested in education for girls beyond primary level.

Dokasanda
The main occupation of the families was cultivation. Due to availability of spring water, most of the agricultural land is irrigated throughout the year. Here too almost every member of a household (including children as young as 9-10 years) works on the family land. During the planting and harvesting seasons, many people also work as agricultural labourers on others' lands. However the method of cultivation is very primitive. Very few are do non-agricultural labour, except in NREGS. Villagers reported that there was no migration from this village. This appeared to be because agriculture was giving them at least subsistence. However, overall this is a relatively underdeveloped village.

In discussions with adolescent girls in Dokasanda, they reported missing school for household and agricultural work, especially during the harvesting season. In general the girls felt that parents have a bias towards their sons' education. Most adolescent boys reported that they were involved in agricultural labour, foraging (fuelwood, mangoes, and other fruit) and animal grazing.

5.3 Social Groups and Languages Spoken in the 3 Villages

Table 5.3 Social Groups And Languages Spoken			
	Haripur	Kuntia	Dokasanda
Social group	OBC	ST	ST
Main caste / tribe in study village	Mali	Paraja	Kandha
Main language spoken at home	Desia	Konda Paraja	Kui
Tribes/caste in hamlet	Gadaba	Paraja	Kandha

Source: CORD-NEG Village Study, 2010

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[53] National Rural Employment Guarantee Scheme.

Haripur: The main village was dominated by OBCs (52%), followed by SCs (21%), STs (19%) and general castes (10%). The OBCs were Malis. The SC groups were 9% Dora and 12% Dombo. The ST groups were 12% Gadaba and 7% Paraja. In this village Desia was the main language, though most of the villagers, particularly the males, understood Oriya too.

Kuntia: The villagers were primarily from the Konda Paraja tribe (94%) and the rest from the Kamar and Dombo caste. The main language was Konda Paraja. Only the males were familiar with Desia.

Dokasanda: Dokasanda is also a tribal village. The Kandha community settled in these two hamlets many years ago, because land was available close to a spring. Many of the community are Christians.

5.4 School Participation among 6-14 Age-Group Children in Selected Households

During the village study, the research team surveyed 20 households in each village. These households had children in the 6-14 age group who were enrolled in the sample school. Twenty children were randomly selected from the school register, and their households surveyed (see Table 5.4). Almost all the children in these households in Haripur were currently enrolled, though there were 3 out of school. In the case of Kuntia and Dokasanda, a substantial number, 10 out of 44 and 10 out of 45 children, respectively, were out of school. Kuntia had a few more children who had never been enrolled.

Table 5.4: Schooling Status of Children in 6-14 Age Group in Selected Households				
	Haripur	Kuntia	Dokasanda	All
Currently Enrolled	30	34	35	99
Dropouts	1	3	5	9
Never Enrolled	2	7	5	14
Total No. of Children	33	44	45	122

Source: CORD-NEG Village Study, 2010

The picture is a bit worse in Kuntia if we delve deeper into whether children were nominally enrolled. Ten of the enrolled children in each village were tracked for 4 days that the team was in the village and it was found that 5 of the 10 children tracked had dropped out of school although their names were still in the register (see Section 5.5).

5.5 Child Tracking: Exploring Regularity of Children's Attendance in School

Child tracking was used to find out whether the gap between attendance and enrolment is a result of irregular attendance of students or because the children are nominally enrolled.

This was done in 3 villages as part of the second phase of this study. Within each of these villages 10 children were selected systematically from the enrolment register of the surveyed schools. In total we tracked 30 children across the three schools for 4 days each. Every day

the investigator would visit the school to check if the child was present. Checks were normally done an hour or so before the mid-day meal was served. If the child was not present, the investigators visited the child's home to enquire about the reasons for his/her absence.

The results are presented in the Table 5.5 below. Children were most regular in Haripur, and very irregular in both Kuntia and Dokasanda. This is definitely related to more fragile livelihoods in both Kuntia and Dokasanda. Survival needs were barely met, and children were needed for work.

Village	Table 5.5: Child-Tracking Results				Proportion of children absent
	Number of children absent				
	On Day 1	On Day 2	On Day 3	On Day 4	
Haripur	3	2	0	1	15%
Kuntia	5	6	5	5	53%
Dokasanda	7	4	2	6	48%

Source: CORD-NEG Village Study, 2010

To analyse the problem further, we noted the number of children in each village who were absent on 1 of the 4 days, 2 of the 4 days, 3 of the 4 days, as well as the number who were absent on all days and the number present on all days (see Table 5.6).

Ten students were present on all days (5 from Haripur, 4 from Kuntia and only 1 from Dokasanda) and 8 absent for 1 day (4 from Haripur, 1 from Kuntia and 3 from Dokasanda (Table 5.6); these could be thought of as students who were regular. What is striking is the very low absenteeism in Haripur. This was also the village which was better developed and more accessible. Altogether 9 out of 10 children from Haripur, 5 out of 10 from Kuntia and 4 out of 10 from Dokasanda could be thought of as regular students.

The reason for the children being absent for 1-3 days included illness, being needed for work, and casual events such as visiting relatives, festivals or just taking a holiday.

Table 5.6 Distribution Of Children According To Days of Absence					
Village name	Number of children				
	Present on all 4 days	Absent on			
		1 day	2 days	3 days	4 days
Haripur	5	4	1	0	0
Kuntia	4	1	0	0	5
Dokasanda	1	3	3	2	1

Source: CORD-NEG Village Study, 2010

Six students were absent on all days (5 from Kuntia and 1 from Dokasanda) and our tracking enquiries revealed that these students were dropouts but their names were still in the school register. Three were working, one was ill and one was nominally enrolled. Five out of these six children were female.

Table 5.7 Reasons for Absence – If Child Absent On All Days			
Dokasanda			
Name	Gender	Enrolled in:	Reason for Absence
Romita	Female	Class 1	Reason Unknown
Kuntia			
Name	Gender	Enrolled in:	Reason for Absence
Mamita	Female	Class 1	Caring for younger sibling
Subarna	Female	Class 3	Taken to temple to pray for her illness
Krushna	Male	Class 4	Cattle Grazing
Rashmila	Female	Class 5	Nominal Enrolment – Doesn't like going to school
Apona	Female	Class 5	Farm Work

Source: CORD-NEG Village Study, 2010

Summing up, child tracking of 10 children in each of these 3 villages indicates that students in Haripur were very regular. Kuntia had the greatest problem with nominal enrolment. As many as 5 out of the 10 children tracked in this village had dropped out altogether. The remaining 5 children appeared to be quite regular. Dokasanda's children, who were tracked were also very irregular. 1 dropped out all together, but 5 more were also absent on more than 2 of the 4 days that they were tracked.

5.6 Feedback from Adolescents: Perceptions of Benefits of Schooling and their Aspirations for the Future

Focus group discussions were held with a group of 8-10 young boys in the 14-17 age group, and with young girls in the same age group in the three villages. In this section, we report on the perceptions of the young people in each group on the benefits of schooling, and their future aspirations. In the next section, we get insights from young people about the role of work in their lives from the age of 6 years onwards, and how it may have impacted the regularity of their attendance in school, and whether it had contributed to their dropping out of school. In section 5.8, we report on young people's feedback on their schooling experience – positive and negative memories, and how the latter could have contributed to their dropping out of school.

The young people in the different groups were a mix of OBC and tribal communities. Among the tribal communities, there were Hindus and Christians. It was relatively easy for the researchers to communicate in Oriya with the girls from Dokasanda,[54] since they had been enrolled in residential schoools, and with the boys and girls from Haripur,[55] a very accessible village. It was more difficult with the boys and girls in Kuntia and the boys in Dokasanda.

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[54]Dokasanda girls spoke in Kandha to each other and to the researchers in Oriya.
[55]Many of the Haripur boys and girls could speak Desia and Oriya.

The Kuntia boys and girls spoke in Paraja, and the Dokasanda boys spoke in Kui amongst themselves, and in Desia to the researchers.

The Haripur boys all belonged to the Mali community, which is classified as OBC. The group were relatively privileged. There were 6 boys who were still enrolled, 2 in the upper primary stage and 4 in the secondary and higher secondary stage. Three boys had dropped out, 2 in the primary stage and 1 in the upper primary stage. The Haripur boys felt that education was helpful throughout life. Everyone said that education makes a great difference. They felt there is a huge difference between an illiterate person and an educated person. Some boys hoped to get jobs and work as doctors or engineers. Some hoped to become businessmen and many wanted to be good farmers.

The Haripur girls group included mainly girls from the OBC Mali community (7 in number), but also 2 girls who were from the tribal Paraja group, 1 girl from the tribal Dora group, 1 girl from the SC Dombo group, and 1 girl from the "general castes". Five of these twelve girls were still enrolled (2 in primary, 3 in upper primary and secondary), six had dropped out (3 in primary itself, 3 in upper primary), and one had never been enrolled. The group was quite mixed in terms of schooling. All the Haripur girls said that schooling made a person smarter, and taught them many things which wouldn't have been possible without education. They also felt that educating girls was good for their families and for society. Some of the girls aspired to get jobs as teachers and anganwadi workers, some wished to be good farmers, and some to be good housewives.

The Kuntia boys were all from the tribal Paraja community. One had completed class 12, and one had completed class 10. The rest had dropped out, six of them in the primary stage itself, and four of them in the upper primary stage. The Kuntia boys wanted to be teachers to develop their own Paraja community and to be able to take care of their families. Some wanted to be better farmers and to be able to run seasonal businesses, so they could earn more and take care of their families.

The Kuntia girls were also from the tribal Paraja community. Only one girl had been enrolled and had dropped out in the upper primary stage. Twelve other girls in the discussion had never been enrolled, but gave feedback on schooling in their village because their siblings were enrolled. The Kuntia girls felt that schooling was good for a better future. The only girl who had been to school in the Kuntia group said that she aspired to be a good housewife and give better education to her children.

The Dokasanda boys were all from the tribal Kondha community. One had passed class 10 and dropped out. There were five others who had dropped out (4 in primary and 1 in upper primary). One boy had never been enrolled. The Dokasanda boys felt that education was useful for one's future development. It helped one to be able to get a better life. The boys wished to be teachers, policemen, local businessmen and good farmers.

The Dokasanda girls were all from the tribal Kondha community. Three were still enrolled in upper primary, three had dropped out (1 in primary, 2 in upper primary) and one girl had

never been enrolled. The Dokasanda girls felt education was useful to gain knowledge and know about the outside world. They had aspirations to work as doctors, teachers, and nurses.

5.7 Pressures of Work and its Impact on Schooling: Feedback from Adolescents

a. Types of Work Done by Boys / Girls

In all 3 villages, the girls said that even below the age of ten years, they used to do household chores like bringing drinking water, cleaning the house, washing utensils, and helping their mothers and elder sisters in cooking. One girl in Dokasanda said she also worked in the fields. The girls in Kuntia, most of whom were never enrolled, said that they also washed clothes, looked after their siblings, and cleaned the cattle shed.

In the older age groups (10-13 years and 14-17 years), the girls said they did the chores they did when they were younger, as well as worked on their own fields (and relatives' fields) and brought firewood and small fruit from the forest. The Dokasanda girls also did non-agricultural labour, while the Kuntia girls said they did agricultural and non-agricultural labour, and looked after elders, relatives and guests, in addition to the work mentioned above.

Boys in all 3 villages said that even below the age of 10 years they worked with their parents on the fields, took animals out to graze, and collected fuel and other forest produce from the forest. Most of them also worked on the land of relatives for no charge. The agricultural work they did included ploughing / harvesting / giving water. In the older age groups (10-13 and 14-17 years), they also did agricultural and non-agricultural labour. The boys in Dokasanda said they looked for wage labour in the village and outside the village. The boys in Kuntia worked in a village where there was ginger cultivation (10 kms away), at very low wages (Rs 50 per day). Non-agricultural labour opportunities for these boys included going to places like Launda in Andhra to dig wells.

b. Missing School / Dropping Out on Account of Work

The Haripur boys all said that they used to miss school during the harvesting months from November to January, but were otherwise regular. The Dokasanda boys said they missed school regularly for childcare and to give water in the fields, and particularly in the harvesting season. The Kuntia boys also said they missed school regularly -- one young boy used to miss the second half of the school day every day because he had to take animals out to graze. Another boy said that he was often irregular because he was engaged with different domestic activities. Others also mentioned that care of siblings, grazing and collection of firewood kept them from being regular. One boy mentioned that he was irregular because he was busy collecting foodgrains and playing with friends. The harvesting season was very demanding of children's time, as was the festival celebrated to mark the end of the harvesting season (see Box -- Pousa Purba). Dropping out because of the pressures of work was reported by a few boys in Haripur and many boys in Kuntia. In both villages, there were boys who had dropped out in primary because of work responsibilities – Narendra and Jalesh in Haripur; Abhi, Sukra, Raju, Mangaladei, Temana, Pariya, and Sura in Kuntia, see Table 5.8). There were also boys who had dropped out during the upper primary stage because of work.

Table 5.8 Boys – Reasons for dropping out in 3 Pottangi villages			
	Dropped out after completing:	**Home factors**	**School factors**
Dinath Pangi (D)	Class 4		Teacher's language was very difficult to understand. Subjects were also difficult. Most of the time teacher was beating the students and frightening them. Did not like the school environment.
Subash Pangi (D)	Class 2		
Trinath Pangi (D)	Class 2		
Raju Pangi (D)	Class 5		
Dash Pangi (D)	Class 7	Financial problems	
Ajit Pangi (D)	Class 10		
Narendra Khinbudi (H)	Class 4	Needed to help with agricultural work and household work	
Jalesh Samrath (H)	Class 4	Needed to help with agricultural work	
Jagdeesh Samrath (H)	Class 8		Next stage of schooling 15 kms away -- too far to continue
Abhi Kadam (K)	Class 2	Needed to help with domestic and agricultural work.	Teachers were always beating them and punishing them because they found the language and subjects difficult to understand. They were all scared to go to school.
Sukra Padi (K)	Class 2		
Raju Kadama (K)	Class 3		
Mangaladei Padi (K)	Class 2		
Temana Majhi (K)	Class 2		
Pariya Kadam (K)	Class 2		
Dhanu Kadama (K)	Class 7	Needed to help with domestic and agricultural work. Other friends had also dropped out. Also got married early.	
Sura Padi (K)	Class 8		
Para Kadam (K)	Class 7	Married in class 8	
Gopi Badanaik (K)	Class 8	Found schooling too expensive	
Dhanu Sisha (K)	Class 10		The teacher beat him severely on his bare body.

Note. The village is given in parenthesis, next to the child's name.
D- Dokasanda, H- Haripur, K- Kuntia

Table 5.9 Girls – Reasons for dropping out in 3 Pottangi villages			
	Dropped out after completing	**Home factors**	**Combination of home and school factors**
Purmani Khilo (H)	Class 4		Never liked schooling
Bilasi Khilo (H)	Class 4	Needed in the house for work	
Bhagvati Hantal (H)	Class 4		
Sumita Khilo (H)	Class 6		Failed in class 7
Koenti Khilo (H)	Class 6	Needed in the house for work	
Juli Acharya (H)	Class 7		Never liked studying.
Ambika Banka (H)	Class 8		Failed in class 9
Sushmita Sikru (H)	Class 8	Needed in the house for work	
Mindu Khilo (D)	Class 2		Did not want to continue.
Pratima Pangi (D)	Class 7		Failed in class 8 exam. School didn't allow them to continue
Basanti Pangi (D)	Class 7		
Urmila Kadam (K)	Class 7	Housework and early marriage	

Note. The village is given in parenthesis, next to the child's name.
D- Dokasanda, H- Haripur, K- Kuntia

The Haripur girls said that they used to miss school only during the harvesting season. Some of them dropped out because they had the pressures of work. For some, it was a combination of work pressures and other social traditions such as early marriage. The Dokasanda girls said

they did not miss school much due to household work. It was only during the harvesting season that they sometimes missed school. The Kuntia girls were mostly never enrolled. The girl who had been enrolled said she missed school due to domestic work and agricultural work, and finally dropped out because of this.[56]

5.8 The Schooling Experience: Feedback from Adolescents

a. Positive Memories

The Haripur boys found that the female teachers in the village school were very good. They enjoyed going to school to learn languages - Oriya and English and new subjects, particularly Maths. The Haripur girls liked certain teachers – one who taught well and one who loved children. These teachers were also strict with them and used to beat them. Like the others, they enjoyed going to school to learn new subjects, particularly Mathematics, and to learn languages – Oriya, English and Hindi. They liked the chance to play with friends.

The Dokasanda boys remembered one of their teachers who was regular and taught well. Some boys liked to learn new subjects, particularly Social Science and Mathematics. Some mentioned liking to learn languages, in particular Oriya and English. Some enjoyed school for the chance to play with friends. The Dokasanda girls fondly talked about their HM who was very loving towards children. They said that the teachers in their school were good. They enjoyed studying Mathematics and English. One girl also liked science. Two of the girls were good kabaddi players and had played in inter-class matches and won prizes.

The Kuntia boys also praised a teacher who was regular and taught well. They enjoyed learning. They enjoyed playing with friends. They remembered how during recess, they played with marbles. The Kuntia girls praised a teacher who was regular and taught well. They liked to learn new subjects and to learn Oriya. They enjoyed playing with friends.

b. Complaints of Negligence and Violence Leading to Irregular Attendance / Dropping Out

The Haripur boys spoke of how the male teachers used to unnecessarily hit students. Everybody said that they were afraid of the teachers. They also complained of the negligence of some male teachers who used to come and play cards in the school. They also remembered corrupt teachers who used to steal the rice which came for the midday meal scheme. The Haripur girls all said that they were quite frightened by the beatings in school. They were also upset when they failed in class. They also remembered that the quality of the midday meal was not good.

The Dokasanda boys had some bad memories of being beaten by teachers, and of failing. The Dokasanda girls remembered being beaten by a mathematics teacher in class 6, although they felt that occasional beatings were intended for their own good.

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[56] The girls who had never been enrolled in school (12 in Sindhei and 1 in Dokasanda) said that they had not been sent to school because they had been needed to work at home.

The boys in Kuntia spoke of severe beating from teachers. 16 year old Dhanu Sisha spoke of how the teacher beat him on his bare body. Raju Chidinga also spoke of being beaten for no reason. A young man Abhi Kadam, who had dropped out after completing class 2, spoke of how the teachers were always beating them and punishing them because they found the language and subjects difficult to understand. Children were all scared to go to school. Language problems and corporal punishment went hand in hand.

The Kuntia girls reported a similar situation. They spoke of how the teacher beat the students because they could not understand the language the teacher spoke, and because they found the subject matter difficult. Urmila, who had dropped out in class 7, said, "Because I was weak in English I was always beaten by the teacher which made me very scared."

These bad experiences in school were a powerful deterrent to children continuing in school. Young people often spoke of dropping out because of a combination of the pressures of work and their negative experiences in school (see Tables 5.8, 5.9). Teachers' negligence and violence towards the children contributed to the discouragement they felt. Closely related to the violence in school was children's lack of comprehension of teaching in Oriya. Failure was also a reason for dropping out.

Part B. Schooling in the Village

All the 3 villages had schools with primary sections. Haripur and Kuntia had upper primary schools (Classes 1-7) and Dokasanda had a primary school (Class 1-5). The Haripur school is located just 100 m away from the National Highway. The CRC of that area is in that school. The school at Dokasanda had 3 teachers appointed, but one of the teachers was posted elsewhere on deputation. Haripur and Kuntia had 5 and 6 teachers appointed respectively.

5.9 Enrolment and Attendance during Unannounced Visit to the School (Day 1)

Each of our study villages had 2 government schools situated across the entire revenue village. We chose the school that was located in the main village of Haripur and Kuntia. In Dokasanda, we chose the primary school in Dokasanda as enrolment in the upper primary school in Dokasanda was negligible. Each of these schools formed the basis for our research i.e. the school register was the sampling frame from which we selected households for interview, children for tracking attendance etc.

Enrolment strength within the schools varied considerably (see Table 5.10). Haripur had the highest enrolment within the primary section at 111, next came Kuntia with 73, and Dokasanda had only 30.

Table 5.10 Enrolment And Reported Attendance (Unannounced Visit – Day 1)			
	Haripur	Kuntia	Dokasanda
Enrolment in primary section	111	73	30
Boys	65	42	15
Girls	46	31	15
Present on day 1 (from register)	65	52	10
% present on day 1 (from register)	59	71	33

Source: CORD-NEG Village Study, 2010
Note: Dokasanda school has grades 1-5, the other two schools have grades 1-7

Kuntia attendance (as reported from the register) was the highest. 71% of enrolled children were present on Day 1. Haripur had close to 60% of enrolled children marked present. Dokasanda school had only 10 children present, one third of those enrolled.

The enrolment pattern in the three schools (see Table 5.11) was also a cause for concern. In a functioning school where there is little or no dropping out, numbers enrolled in each class are roughly similar. Of the 3 study villages, Kuntia enrolment was the most even. Roughly equal numbers of children were enrolled in classes 1-4, and then declined sharply for class 5. Haripur had as much as 40 children enrolled in class 1 (36% of its enrolment). It then declined sharply over the next 5 grades. Dokasanda had very few children enrolled. Just over half of them were just in classes 1 and 2, indicating that many of these children drop out of this school without completing class 5.

Table 5.11: Class wise Child Enrolment			
	Haripur	Kuntia	Dokasanda
Class 1	40	16	9
Class 2	19	15	7
Class 3	14	16	5
Class 4	19	15	5
Class 5	19	11	4
Total	111	73	30

Source: CORD-NEG Village Study, 2010

5.10 Teachers: Appointments, Absenteeism, Social Background

Haripur
Out of total 6 teachers (all permanent), 3 were absent on the first day of survey. Out of these 3 absent teachers, 2 were on school related government duty, one of whom was the head-master. Only one teacher was absent for personal reasons, which does not indicate that teachers were highly irregular at this school. Details of the teachers who could be met and interviewed are given below.

- A senior female teacher (General caste, 12th pass, CT training[57]) had almost 20 years of teaching experience in this school (began in 1984, then taught in another school between 2002-2009, and then rejoined here. She stayed in a town 20 kms away, but commuted everyday by public transport which took her 30 mins. She was conversant in Desia.
- The second female teacher (OBC, 10th pass, ET training), had been teaching in this school for the last 8 years. She stayed 22 kms away from the school and commuted daily by bus (takes 1 hr). She reported teaching in both Oriya and local dialects.
- The third teacher (male, 41 yrs, General category, 12th pass, CT) was from Cuttack. He stayed 5 kms away from Haripur and came to school by bicycle (takes 30 mins) everyday. He was comfortable in Desia.

The teachers in this village were fairly motivated, and capable. A few teachers enjoy the respect of the villagers. There was no irregularity and problems regarding incentives.

Table 5.12 Details of Teachers Appointed and Present at Unannounced Visit (Day 1)			
	Haripur	Kuntia	Dokasanda
No. of teachers present at unannounced visit	3	4	1
No. of permanent teachers			
Appointed	6	3	2
Present	3	2	1
Away on official duty / deputation	2	0	1
Social background of permanent teachers	General	General/OBC	General
No. of contract teachers			
Appointed	0	2	1
Present	-	2	0
Away on official duty / deputation	-	-	0
Social background of contract teachers	-	ST (Paraja and other)	ST (Paraja)

Source: CORD-NEG Village Study, 2010

Kuntia

There were totally 5 teachers appointed in the school (3 permanent and 2 contract). One teacher was female. On the first day of the visit, 4 teachers were present. It was reported by the villagers that the teachers usually came late and left early.

- The HM (permanent, male, 47 yrs, "General caste", 10th pass, CT training) has been teaching in Kuntia for 17 yrs). He stayed 8 km away with his family and commuted everyday by cycle (45 mins). He knew Paraja and taught in both Oriya and Paraja.
- The second permanent teacher (female, 47 years, also upper caste, 10th pass, CT training) had been in this school for the last 7 years. She stayed 7 kms away from Kuntia and

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[57] CT training or Certificate Teacher Training is a basic formal teacher training course in these areas.

commuted everyday by bus and walking. It took her 45 mins. She was comfortable in Paraja and taught in both Oriya and Paraja.

- The third permanent teacher (OBC, graduate, CT Training) had 13 years of teaching experience and was from Bhadrak district. He had joined this school just 6 months earlier. He stayed 22 kms away from the village and commuted by bus everyday (1 hr 10 mins). He could speak in Paraja and reported using it to teach.
- The first contract teacher (22 years, 12th pass) was from Kuntia village itself. He had joined the school in 2008. Being a local person, he was very comfortable in Paraja.
- The second contract teacher was from Sunabeda (male, 24 yrs, ST, 12th pass). He had been teaching since January 2009 and this was his first school. He stayed 8 km away and came by cycle everyday (takes 1 hr). He did not know Paraja.

Since 4 out of 5 teachers appointed knew Paraja and claimed to use it, one would expect that children in Kuntia found teaching learning activities easier than in the other study villages. Unfortunately, the tests for basic literacy and numeracy (discussed in section 8) do not indicate this.

Dokasanda

Though there were three teachers recruited in the school, on the first day of the survey (unannounced visit), only one teacher was present. One teacher was absent and one on deputation.

- The head-teacher who was present was a permanent teacher. He had 8 years of teaching experience in this school. However he did not know any tribal language. He reported that he comes to the village every morning before school to enthuse children to come to school, and this was corroborated by the villagers.
- The second teacher appointed was a contract teacher (12th pass) who belongs to the Paraja tribe. He stayed in a village 15 kms away. Villagers reported that he was very irregular. Though the contract teacher reported that he was comfortable in the local tribal dialect Kui and taught in the same, the research team did not observe this.

Both villagers and enrolled children also reported of strong language barriers with the teachers in the school.

5.11 School Infrastructure and Incentives

The school in Haripur had 4 pucca rooms. All were in good condition. The school was unusual in having both a boundary wall and a ramp. There was open space for playing. The school had received more than Rs 24000 last year from SSA for buying equipment. Drinking water facilities were functional. Toilets were available but not functional. Separate toilets for girls did not exist. Though electric lights were functional, electric fans were not.

Table 5.13 School Infrastructure			
	Haripur	Kuntia	Dokasanda
No. of classrooms	4	3	1
No. of pukka classrooms	4	3	1
Type of repair reqd. in classrooms	None	Minor	Minor
Boundary wall	Yes	No	No
Ramp available	Yes	Yes	No
Blackboard available and functional	Yes	Yes	Yes
Drinking water facilities available and functional	Yes	Yes	Not available
Toilet: Available Functional	Yes No	Yes No	No -
Electricity available	Yes	No	No

Source: CORD-NEG Village Study, 2010

The school in Kuntia had 3 pacca classrooms, which required minor repair. However these classrooms had to be used by 7 grades, so even though there were as many as 5 teachers appointed, it appears that multi-grade teaching was inevitable. This school had no boundary wall. Again drinking water and toilet facilities were available, but toilet facilities were not functional. The school was not electrified.

Dokasanda had only 1 pakka classroom for 5 grades, although 3 teachers had been appointed. It had no boundary wall and no ramp for disabled children. It had no facilities for drinking water or toilets.

Incentives were given in all three villages. Children were reported to get textbooks, only girls were reported to get uniforms. Midday meal consisting of rice, dal and egg (or meal maker or soyabean) was served to children. The rice was not reported to be good in Kuntia. Some children were seen bringing additional food from home, some children were seen taking the food home.

Haripur
The teachers were more punctual compared to the other two schools, which could be related to the fact that Haripur was the most accessible village. They came in time and left at 4 pm. Villagers were satisfied with their timings. Teaching activity also continued nearly till the end of day. The only factor which was a cause for concern was that the proportion of enrolled children in school (before the midday meal) was quite low (61%). This was quite similar to what was noted from the register on Day 1 (see Table 5.4), but one would expect higher attendance at a pre-announced visit. The positive feature was that attendance levels did not decline still further as soon as the meal was over. All teaching activity came to an end just before the time the school's official closing time.

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5.12 School Functioning Based on Observations during Pre-Announced Visit (Day 2)

Table 5.14 School Functioning Based on Observation during Pre-announced Visit			
Observations during pre-announced visit (Day 2 of visit)	Haripur	Kuntia	Dokasanda
Type of school	Upper primary	Upper primary	Primary
School opening			
Official opening time	10:00	10:00	10:00
Majority of children arrived	25 mins early	25 mins early	6 mins early
Arrival time of HM	--	**55 mins late**	30 mins early
No. of other teachers	3	4	1
No. who arrived in time	3	1	1
School closing			
Teaching activity ended	7 mins early	**30 mins early**	**50 mins early**
School closed	On time	**30 mins early**	10 mins early
Official closing time	16:00	16:00	16:00
Midday meal			
Midday meal begun	12:50	13:55	13:45
Time taken (mins)	25 mins	15 mins	25 mins
Nos. in school Before midday meal After midday meal	68 65	27 27	18 14
Proportion of enrolled in school Before midday meal After midday meal	61% 59%	**37%** **37%**	60% **47%**

Source: CORD-NEG Village Study, 2010
Note: Parameters which indicate irregularities have been highlighted. The Kuntia school functioned most poorly on that particular day.

Kuntia

Four out of the five teachers appointed to this school reached the school much after 10 am even though they had been informed of the team's visit that day. The Headmaster himself came an hour late. Teaching activity also stopped 30 mins before the official closing time, and the teachers left immediately, again while the team was there. Villagers also reported to the investigators that though the teachers were regular, they came late and left early. The low proportion of children in school before and after the midday meal (37%) indicates that the school was not functioning at anywhere near optimum. Strangely, children's attendance at this school was better on Day 1, when the team visited unannounced (see Table 5.4). The midday meal began close to 2 pm, unlike the school in Haripur, where it began at 1 pm.

Dokasanda

In Dokasanda, both the teachers and students came before 10 am. But the teaching activity stopped nearly an hour before closing time. Attendance on Day 2 when the team was expected was much higher than the day before (see Table 5.4) though it was still low. Only 18 out of 30 children were in school before the midday meal. The figure fell to 14 after the midday meal.

5.13 Classroom Observation (Pre-announced Visit Day 2)

Haripur
This school had experienced teachers. Two permanent teachers, though not tribals, claimed to know Desia, and to use Oriya and Desia to teach. Teachers were seen teaching, but at various times in the day, they were also busy with administrative work.

The teacher being observed in class 1 checked to see if she was being understood and encouraged children to ask questions and engage in dialogue. There was also checking of children's exercise books. Children were being addressed by name. In general, it was observed that boys were more pro-active than girls in classroom participation.

Certain weaknesses in the teaching methods were also observed. No innovative teaching techniques were used, which was noted in the entire study. The teacher maintained eye contact with very few children while teaching. At the end of the lesson, the teacher didn't summarize what had been taught. In another class, the blackboard was used to write the contents of the textbook to enable children to copy in their notebooks but the writing was not legible to the children. Teachers were also seen to be chatting with each other while teaching the children. Especially after the midday meal, there was little teaching activity. Teachers were sitting in the office and doing nothing while the children were left unattended.
Violence was reported during informal interaction with the village children. Children were alleged to be beaten badly quite often, even reports of a girl becoming unconscious due to being beaten.

Kuntia
Teaching activity continued for most of the school-day on Day 2 of the team's visit. The teacher was teaching mathematics. The teacher was observed checking the exercise books of the children. However, there was no blackboard in the classroom where class 1 children was sitting. Class 1, 2 and 3 were sitting together. The teacher was seen to give more attention to the class 3 children.

The teacher, who was teaching class 1 children, was observed to teach in both Oriya and the tribal dialect Konda Paraja that the children speak at home. However, it was observed that majority of the time, the teacher used Oriya as a medium of communication. The head teacher informed the team that Desia and Oriya were used in the school as the main medium of instruction. Children were seen to interact among themselves in Konda Paraja only. It was noticed that here too boys were more responsive to teacher's questions in the class room.

CRC members arrived at one point, following which most of the teachers got busy with paper work.

Table 5.15 Language Issues			
	Haripur	Kuntia	Dokasanda
Language used for teaching (observed)	Oriya, Desia	Oriya, Desia, Paraja	Oriya
Language used for communicating with children	Oriya, Desia	Oriya, Desia, Konda Paraja	Oriya
Language spoken by children amongst themselves	Desia, Oriya	Konda Paraja, Desia	Kui
Local dialect (Desia and others) spoken by	2 permanent teachers	3 permanent & 2 contract teachers	1 contract teacher
Only Oriya spoken by	4 permanent teachers	No teacher	2 permanent teachers

CORD-NEG Village Study, 2010
One contract teacher in Kuntia did not speak tribal dialects spoken in this village.

Dokasanda
Teaching activity carried on for less than two hours, mainly mathematics. Teacher used figures from the mathematics kit. He tried to call the students by name. But it was clear that he did not know the names of all of them. Throughout the day, some children were always seen to play outside the classroom.

Knowledge of Oriya was non-existent for these children. The language gap between the children and the regular teacher (a person from the coastal area, with no knowledge of the tribal language Kui) was huge – the students and the teacher could not comprehend each other.

5.14 Tests of Reading and Number Recognition[58]

(a) Reading Test
We expected Class 1 children to be able to recognize single Oriya letters, Class 2 children to recognize 2 letter words, Class 3 children to read Class 1 text and Class 4 & 5 to be able to read Class 2 text.
From Table 5.16, we see the following results for reading:
Haripur: 5 out of 11 children tested in classes 1 and 2 could not recognize the alphabet.
Kuntia: 17 out of 24 children tested in classes 1 and 2 could not recognize the alphabet.
Dokasanda: 13 out of 17 children tested in classes 1 and 2 could not recognize the alphabet.

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[58] Administered to all children in 6-14 age group in 20 randomly selected households.

Table 5.16 Reading Test Results					
Haripur					
	No. of children tested	Could not recognize a single letter	Single letter	Two letter word	Class 1 text	Class 2 text
Class 1	11	5	3	0	3	
Class 2	5	0	2	0	0	3
Class 3	3	0	1	0	0	2
Class 4	5	0	2	0	0	3
Class 5	5	0	1	0	0	4
Kuntia					
	No. of children tested	Could not recognize a single letter	Single letter	Two letter word	Class 1 text	Class 2 text
Class 1	14	10	4	0	0	
Class 2	10	7	1	0	0	2
Class 3	6	0	4	0	0	2
Class 4	2	1	0	0	0	1
Class 5	3	1	0	1	0	1
Dokasanda					
	No. of children tested	Could not recognize a single letter	Single letter	Two letter word	Class 1 text	Class 2 text
Class 1	7	7	0	0	0	
Class 2	10	6	1	0	2	1
Class 3	7	4	2	1	0	0
Class 4	4	3	1	0	0	0
Class 5	4	2	1	1	0	0

Source: CORD-NEG Village Study, 2010

Clearly, children in all 3 villages need more input. More very young children in Haripur seem to have made some progress. The majority in the other two villages have not learnt to recognize the alphabet at all. This is particularly difficult for these children, who have had little or no exposure to Oriya (spoken or written). In Dokasanda, the situation was still more difficult because the teachers did not know the home language of the children.

Looking at children in classes 4 and 5: In Haripur, 7 out of 10 could read the class 2 text.
In Kuntia, 2 out of 5 could read the class 2 text. In Dokasanda, none out of the 8 children tested could read the class 2 text or even the class 1 text. Only 1 out of the 8 children could even read a two letter word.

These results are useful to understand that children in Haripur are learning some Oriya; some children in Kuntia are also making some progress, but children in Dokasanda are barely learning any Oriya.

Table 5.16 Arithmetic Test Results					
Haripur					
	No. of children tested	Could not recognize numbers at all	Single digit number	Double digit number	Subtraction
Class 1	11	3	6	2	
Class 2	5	0	1	4	
Class 3	3	0		1	2
Class 4	5	0	2	0	3
Class 5	5	0	1	2	2
Kuntia					
Class	No. of children tested	Could not recognize numbers at all	Single digit number	Double digit number	Subtraction
Class 1	14	11	3		
Class 2	10	6	3	1	
Class 3	6	2	3	0	1
Class 4	2	1	0	1	0
Class 5	3	0	1	1	1
Dokasanda					
Class	No. of children tested	Could not recognize numbers at all	Single digit number	Double digit number	Subtraction
Class 1	7	6	0	1	
Class 2	10	5	4	1	
Class 3	7	5	2	0	0
Class 4	4	3	0	1	0
Class 5	4	2	1	1	0

Source: CORD-NEG Village Study, 2010

(b) Digit recognition
The results for digit recognition have been presented in Table 5.16.

For children in classes 1 and 2: In Haripur, only 3 out of 11 could not recognize even a single digit number. However, the picture was not good for the other two villages. In Kuntia, 17 out of 24 could not recognise a single digit number. In Dokasanda, 11 out of 17 could not recognize a single digit number.
For children in classes 4 and 5: Five out of 10 children could do subtraction in Haripur. Only 1 out of 5 children in Kuntia could do subtraction, and none of the 8 children in Dokasanda could do subtraction. Five out of the 8 children in Dokasanda could not recognize even a

single number. It appears that children in Kuntia and even more so in Dokasanda need focused attention from teachers and parents alike.

The accessibility of the villages, and their integration into the mainstream, appears to affect the extent to which the children from these villages gain even basic literacy and numeracy.

Part C. Concluding Section

5.15 Links between Accessibility of Village and School Functioning

Haripur
Strengths
- The school is in a highly accessible village.
- Community is a mix of social groups (combination of SC, ST, OBC, General) – less marginalised than many purely tribal villages.
- Community is relatively prosperous with some non-agricultural livelihoods. Community also includes some better educated parents.
- Main language is Desia, which is spoken by many of the teachers. Oriya is also known in many households (as the hamlet is located in the market place and parents are more integrated into the mainstream). Children face less problems learning in Oriya.
- This is a preferred school for teachers also because it is accessible
- All teachers are permanent and quite experienced – all know Desia & Oriya – this facilitates communication with students. Many have taught in this school for years, and may feel a sense of accountability to the village community.
- CRC is in the school itself which means that the school is better monitored, and better functioning (starting and closing on time, more active teaching), better learning achievement scores by children
- Good infrastructure

Challenges
- Student absenteeism was high (only 59% of enrolled were present on Day 1). It indicates that there is considerable scope for improvement.
- MDM quality was not maintained regularly
- Some children reported physical punishment in school

Kuntia
Strengths
- Benefits from being close to the block headquarters. Relatively accessible village.
- Most of the teachers in the school were present (4 out of 5)
- One contract teacher was from the village. He knew the children and parents quite well, and interacts with them in Konda Paraja.
- Student attendance on the day the team visited unannounced was high compared to other two villages (71% of total enrolled)

Challenges:

- Teachers come late and leave early. Though there were 5 teachers for the 7 grades in the school, children were getting very limited teaching input.
- Student attendance was very low on the day the team was expected (37% of those enrolled)
- This was mainly a tribal village (94%) – Paraja. The main language spoken was Konda Paraja. Though most of the teachers said that they were conversant in this language, many enrolled children said that they could not understand their teacher's language.
- Livelihoods are mainly agriculture based, and there is a shortage of water which leads to high migration. Often parents take the children with them/ leave them with relatives back at home. This is a major reason for children being irregular.

Dokasanda

Strengths

- Water supply – as the village was located very close to a stream, there was perennial supply of water throughout the year. Agricultural productivity was good as the land was well irrigated.
- The permanent teacher stayed in the village. He was reported to come to school on time and motivate students to attend school.
- MDM is functioning well.

Challenges

- Accessibility – because of the location of the school, it was difficult for small children to reach the school, especially during the monsoon months
- As the village was completely dependent on subsistence agriculture, demand for schooling was still at a nascent stage. Parents needed their children to help them with cultivation and with grazing animals and with foraging in the forest. Parents particularly needed their girls for housework.
- Parents were not very aware about school functioning.
- Only 2 teachers were appointed for 5 classes. One was a contract teacher who was irregular.
- The language and social differences between the teachers and students made communication and teaching-learning activity very difficult. Neither the permanent or contract teacher appeared to know Kui, though the contract teacher said that he did.
- Visits by CRC/BRC were also very limited because the village was quite remote.

5.16 Conclusion

The school survey in the sample blocks in Koraput indicated that schools were functioning quite poorly. However, the children in Haripur were fortunate to being able to access a functioning school. From the village study we were able to understand its strengths. Interviews with parents and children indicated that the school was functional – in particular that the school was regular and the teachers were there on time. This was also observed in repeated visits to the village by the research team. Interviews with teachers indicated that this was a preferred posting. Both teachers and the community had a mix of social groups. Language issues were not critical in that teachers and children reportedly knew Oriya and

Desia. There were some complaints about the midday meal not being regular and about corporal punishment. Student attendance figures also indicate considerable scope for improvement. Focus group discussions with young people also indicate that young people in this village had benefited from a relatively positive schooling experience.

The other two villages had many more problems. Kuntia was predominantly tribal. Though many teachers were appointed, they were reported to come late and leave early. Language problems were also reported. The children spoke Konda Paraja. Many enrolled children said that they could not understand their teacher's language. The community also reported high migration. Often parents took their children with them or left them with relatives at home. This is a major reason for children being irregular.

Dokasanda was also a remote tribal village but it had certain advantages. It had a perennial source of water which meant less pressure on the community to migrate. The permanent teacher appointed stayed in the village. He was reported to come to school on time and motivate students to attend school. The midday meal was also functioning well. However, parents were poor and dependent on subsistence agriculture. They needed their children to help them in the fields and with animals and with foraging. Hence, some children could attend only irregularly. In addition, since the village was remote, there was little supervision from the education authorities. The contract teacher was also irregular.

Although young people in the 14-17 age group who had attended schools in Kuntia and Dokasanda had some positive memories of their schooldays, most of their feedback was negative. They spoke of language problems and of negligent and violent teachers. They themselves were able to attend school only irregularly because of the pressures of work. The net result was dropping out of school without completing class 7 and in many cases without completing class 4. There were some girls in Dokasanda who were fortunate to have attended residential schools run by missionaries, and were still continuing their schooling.

Annexure: Village Maps, Pottangi

Map of Haripur
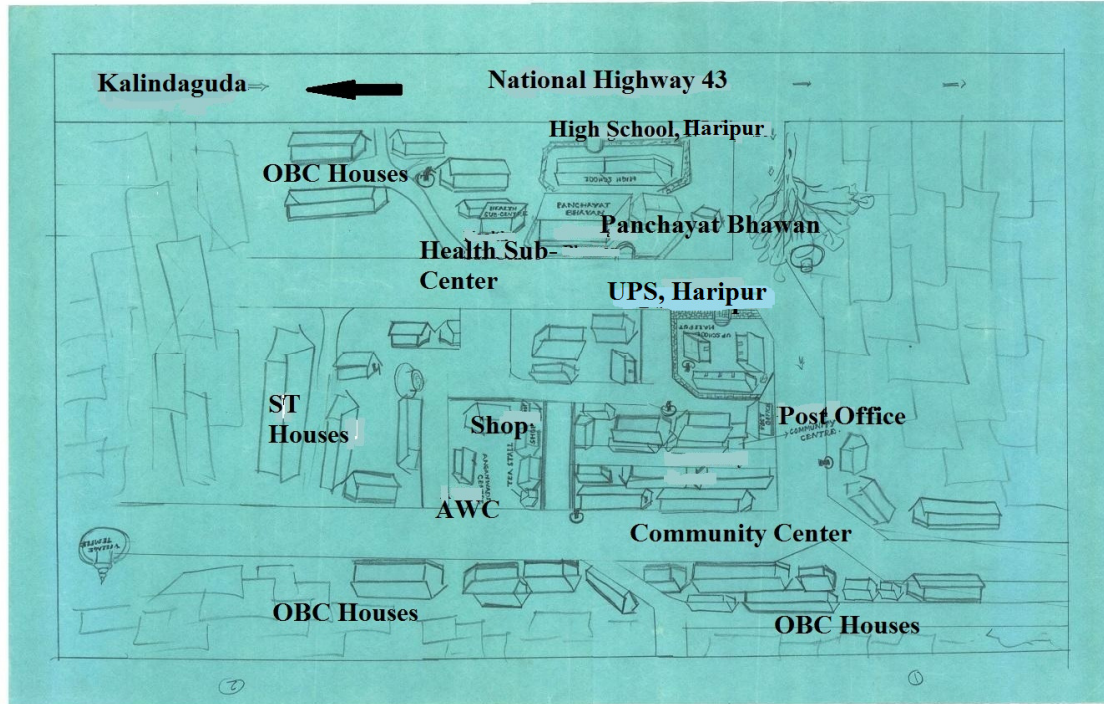
Haripur

Some important points about the geographic location of Haripur are given below:

- Road-point village, on National Highway
- Inside the village, roads were either kutcha road (mud road), or decaying cement road (called CC road)
- Haripur was electrified. It also had a few lamp-posts on the village road.
- Another tola Kalindaguda was situated 2-3 km away from the main village, in the direction shown in the map, on the NH
- A few service persons, like panchayat officials, as well as the Post Master stayed in the village

Map Kuntia
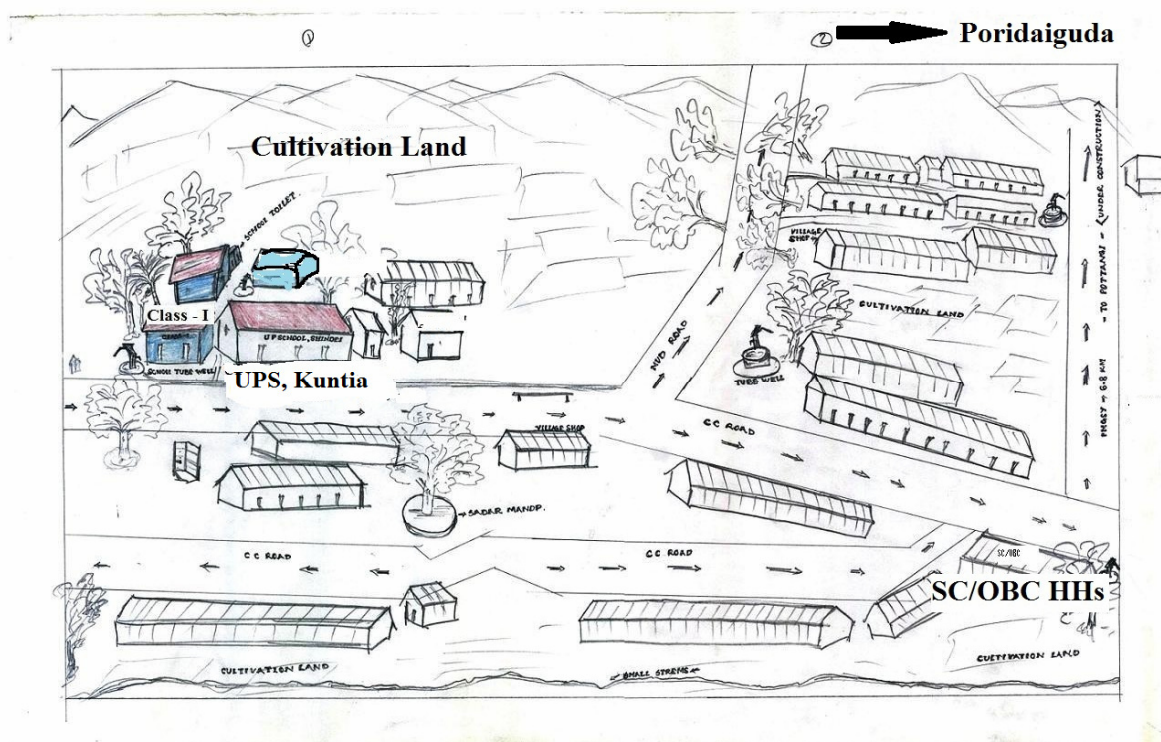
Kuntia

- 3 km away from the pucca road
- 6-8 km away from NH
- Type of residence by sub castes within STs had no definite pattern
- A few SCs and OBCs lived to one side of the village (see extreme right of the map)
- Roads within the village were kutcha or decaying concrete road
- A panchayat member lived in the village
- Electrification process of the village had just started in February 2010.

Map of Dokasanda
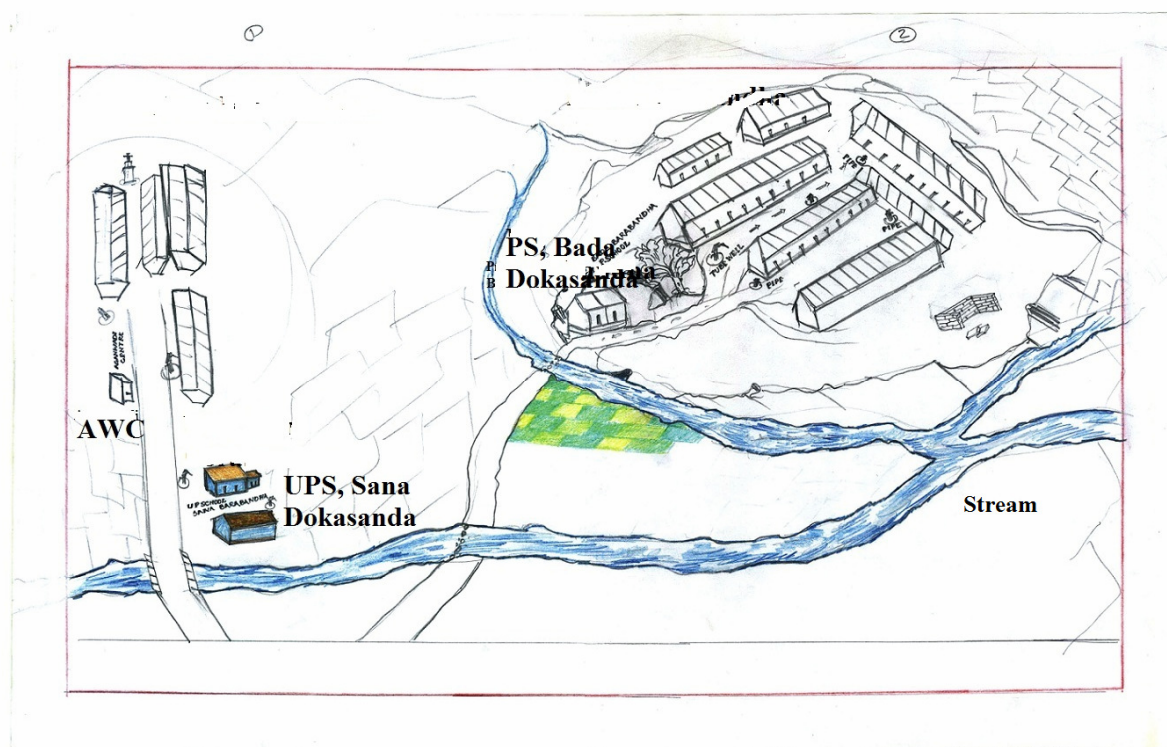
Dokasanda

- 2 km away from the pucca road; 12 km away from the NH
- Almost exclusively Kandha population
- Roads within the village were kutcha or decaying concrete road
- One tola had electricity connection; roads within the village had no lamp post

Concluding Discussion

We discuss the two states separately. We begin with Andhra Pradesh and then go on to Orissa.

Andhra Pradesh

The findings on access and quality of the provision of primary schooling on the Andhra side of the border are based primarily on the cross-sectional survey of all schools[59] with primary grades in 30 randomly-selected villages in 8 blocks of Visakhapatnam. These findings have been supplemented by village studies in 3 villages in Dumbriguda block.

The survey found evidence of positive government initiatives to improve access and quality. All the villages in the sample had at least one primary school up to class 5. These were small villages, with less than 150 households, and not very accessible. The pupil teacher ratio was 23 (within the limit of 30 prescribed by the Right To Education Act). The schools were small – average enrolment across grades 1-5 was 74, and the teacher allocation for these primary grades was 3.2. The government has provided quarters for teachers in 16% of these remote villages, thus increasing the possibility of them attending school more regularly. Close to two-thirds (63%) of teachers appointed were permanent teachers. A majority (75%) were at least graduates and had teacher education qualifications. The remainder were contract teachers, over two-thirds (68%) of whom were also at least graduates. The bases on which contract teachers are recruited in these areas are good – test, interview and taking into account reservations (local ST candidates in Scheduled Areas). These teachers are made regular after 2 years (see Annexure I). This helps in reducing teacher absenteeism and in turn positively affects the learning levels of the children. Teachers reported that they had been given a number of trainings on programmes to help improve children's learning.

Nearly all teachers appointed (97%) belonged to the Scheduled Tribes.[60] This increases the chance that tribal children can understand and be understood by the teacher, depending on sociolinguistic similarities between the child and the teacher, and the language used by the teacher to communicate with the child. Schools also reported some awareness of the need for mother tongue education in the early years – one third of schools reported that they used Telugu and another language as the MoI (medium of instruction). Close to one-fifth (19%) of schools reported that they had bilingual primers for class 1.

The survey provided evidence that the school system was functional in the selected blocks of Visakhapatnam.

a. At the time of the unannounced visit:
• Schools were open.

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[59] The survey included residential and non-residential schools, schools under the Department of Education and the Tribal Welfare Department.
[60] Recruitment of local ST candidates for vacancies in Scheduled Areas is a noteworthy policy of the Andhra government. Knowledge of tribal culture and languages is essential in these tribal dominated blocks.

- A substantial proportion (77%) of teachers was present in school at this time. (Some of those teachers not in school were away on official duties.)
- In 88% of the schools there was at least one teacher actively teaching.
- While 66% of all teachers were actively teaching, another 26% of teachers were busy with administrative work and supervising children.
- Class 1 students were being given attention in 74% of the schools, although this was as part of a larger group rather than on their own.

b. There were other indicators of a functioning system.
- Schools functioned throughout the day.
- Children in more than 90% of schools were being served a cooked midday meal.
- Attendance data in the register matched actual attendance of children as observed by the field researchers.

However, there were obvious challenges, some of which are visible even from the positives outlined above.

a. Inadequate physical infrastructure and facilities: There was very limited infrastructure in terms of classrooms available – 3 classrooms for 5 grades on average. Close to half the classrooms required considerable repair. Groups of children from different classes were found sitting in the same room, often grades 1-3 together and grades 4-5 together. In 10 schools, children in all 5 grades sat in one room. Infrastructure was also poor in the sense that only 12% of schools had a boundary wall, and only 44% of schools had a playground.

Facilities in the schools were poor.[61] Drinking water and toilet facilities were functional in only 29% and 12% of schools, respectively. Only 17% of the sample schools had electricity available. The lack of functional drinking water and toilet facilities on the school premises was observed to lead to prolonged absences of the students from the classroom.

Infrastructure and facilities in non-residential schools were especially poor and worse than those in residential schools. Relatively high enrolment in residential schools is one indication of their popularity and their limited supply. The survey found that enrolment in non residential schools dipped sharply after class 3. It is likely that some of these children were then sent to residential schools.

b.Need to improve attendance levels among children: While children's recorded attendance roughly matched their observed attendance (68% and 65% of enrolment, respectively), it is important to note that attendance was roughly two-thirds of enrolment. This is an indicator that there were many children in this area who attend school only irregularly, and may drop out without completing primary schooling.

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[61] One of the 3 villages in the village studies, Hirapanti, provides an example of extremely poor infrastructure in the village upper primary school. In the same school, the regularity and the quality of the midday meal was reported to be a problem.

c. Need to rationalise teacher deployment: Teachers often sought postings to the more accessible schools, and hence remote schools were often single and two teacher schools. The survey found 6 (out of 43) schools that were officially single-teacher schools.

There was also a low proportion of female teachers (22%). Female teachers are needed to encourage more girls to come to school. Parents reportedly feel safer sending their girls to school when there are female teachers. However, female teachers prefer to be posted to more accessible villages.

d.Contract teachers need more teacher education, and need to be paid better and more regularly: The majority (74%) of contract teachers did not have teacher education qualifications. In-service training given to contract teachers was primarily on government schemes and only 60% had received in-service training in the previous year. It is in any case unlikely that such training would be effective without providing a basic teacher education. Contract teachers' salaries were also reported to be low (Rs. 2266 on an average) and irregular, which would act as a drain on their motivation.

e.Need for more teaching activity: There were 5 schools where there was no teaching activity at the time the team arrived. Across all schools in the sample, there were a small proportion of teachers present who did not appear to be engaged in either teaching or other useful work. While it is praiseworthy that 77% of teachers were present in school when the team arrived, the presence of all teachers in school is vital. Twelve schools were operating as single-teacher schools on the day of survey, with all but one teacher absent.[62] Although some of these teachers were away on government duty, most were on leave. The proportion of teachers missing from school when the team arrived was higher among permanent teachers (30%) compared to contract teachers (17%).

f..Need for interactive Teaching Learning activities: Teaching was observed to be multi-grade. Class I children were generally included with those in other grades. No special attention was observed to be given to them. Teaching methods were primarily focused on rote learning and writing. There was no evidence of any activity-based teaching methods in use. While the majority of schools reported that they had TLMs and teachers reported attending training programmes on the use of TLMs, investigators observed that they were being used in very few schools.

g.Need for sensitivity to special problems of tribal children: There was little evidence that the MoI / curriculum / teaching methods were in any way sensitive to the needs of a tribal child. No use of bilingual primers was observed. Teachers were aware of the importance of knowing tribal languages, and many claimed to be using them while teaching. There was some evidence of Adivasi Oriya being used to communicate information to the children or to discipline them. However, overall, the study found no evidence of teaching done in any language except Telugu. This was even though the teachers in the 30 villages were

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[62] Of the 3 villages in the village studies, two were functioning as single teacher schools (two teachers had been sent for a 6 month training; the Head did not attend and the 3 contract teachers took turns coming to school).

predominantly tribal.[63] It appears that considerable investment in establishing MLE (Multi Lingual Education) is required if tribal children are ever going to get education in their mother tongue in their early years.

h.Need to give girls' education more importance: This is related to the special problems of schooling in these remote areas. Girls' enrolment was 41% of total enrolment in the schools surveyed. Most of the 7 ashram schools in the school survey were for boys. Language issues are a more powerful tool of exclusion for girls because girls' environments are more home-bound (Cuadra et al., 2008).

Supplementary Findings from the Village Studies in Dumbriguda Block

The village studies were useful because they revealed that there were situations in which the school system was functioning well on many counts, and others in which it was functioning poorly. It was functioning reasonably well in the accessible village of Dora, which had an upper primary school. It was functioning more poorly in the remote villages of Kahara (where there was a primary school) and Hirapanti (where there was an upper primary school).

Certain problems indicating wastage in the system were visible in all 3 villages. Firstly, there were poor learning achievements among many of those enrolled. In all 3 villages there were children in classes 1 and 2 who could not read even a single letter of the Telugu alphabet (8 out of 17 in Dora, 7 out of 12 in Hirapanti, and 6 out of 7 in Kahara). Recognition of single digits was very poor among class 1 children in Hirapanti and Kahara. Secondly, irregular attendance was visible, through tracking of 10 randomly-selected enrolled children, in all 3 villages, and some of these children had actually dropped out. Dropping out among children in the 6-14 age group was also revealed through a survey of 20 randomly-selected[64] households.

The reasons for irregular attendance and dropping out were explored through interviews with parents and children in the household survey, through the Child Tracking exercise, and through FGDs with the 14-17 age group. They revealed how children are required to contribute substantially to household chores even when they are less than 10 years old. Once they are older (as in both the 11-13 and 14-17 age groups), young people reported doing housework and agricultural and non-agricultural labour. The demands of work made them particularly irregular through the harvest months of December to February, even in primary school. Children also reported dropping out because they were needed to work because of financial problems in the family.

The demands of work were high for boys in many families. Boys in the 14-17 age group reported that they migrated to areas outside the village for labour opportunities particularly in Hirapanti. Work demands appeared to be greater on girls than on boys, both from observation and discussions. While parents wanted education for both boys and girls, both adolescent boys

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[63] While Adivasi Oriya was reported to be the home language of households in the three study villages, there were children from one hamlet reported to only speak Kodu, and in another only Kui.
[64] For details of methodology, please see the introductory section.

and girls themselves felt that their parents' motivation for girls' education was less than that for boys.

The village studies were also useful in giving a more nuanced picture of the schooling system, and shedding more light on several factors which led to children learning little, attending school irregularly, and finally dropping out. These include access issues, language issues, general negligence towards teaching and corporal punishment.

Access issues: Some households with children enrolled in Dora village were found to be in tolas 2-3 kms from the main village. Many of these children were not attending regularly (revealed through tracking 10 randomly selected enrolled children), and some had dropped out altogether. There were problems in terms of distance and terrain, particularly during the rainy season. These children had more acute problems understanding the teacher. Living in more remote areas; they spoke only Kui and had little exposure to Telugu. Parents and teachers also had little contact with each other.

Language problems were reported by parents and 6-14 year old children in the household survey and by 14-17 year old adolescents in Focus Group Discussions. They were also indicated through detailed classroom observations of the group of which class 1 was a part, which were part of the village study. Children said they could not understand what the teacher said, particularly in Kahara. Adolescent girls in Kahara also referred to language problems in school. Adolescent boys and girls in other villages also spoke of problems in understanding the teacher, sometimes leading them to be beaten by the teacher. In the classroom observations, all teaching was done in Telugu, whether by permanent or local contract teachers. Children in Kahara and Hirapanti were observed to be only speaking in Adivasi Oriya. Children in Dora appeared to be able to speak some Telugu.

General negligence towards teaching: The village studies were useful because they allowed visits over several days to the same school. They also included detailed classroom observations on a particular day, before and after the midday meal. Even in the Dora school, which functioned relatively well, the attention given to children in different classes varied considerably. While there was some activity such as recitation of poems and reading the alphabet and numbers, the teacher himself was busy correcting written work in individual children's books pre-lunch, and in administrative work after lunch. In Kahara, teaching activity was in general very limited because the single teacher was in school only from 11 am to 1 pm on a regular basis. On the day of observation he moved between classes and administrative work, and often left classes unattended. The observations in Hirapanti indicated that the school had very low levels of teaching activity. The children in class 1 in particular looked quite blankly at the teacher. The teacher also did not seem engaged with the children. Young people in the 14-17 age group in Hirapanti in particular spoke of a teacher who kept falling off to sleep during the school day, and another who never taught them after recess. Adolescent boys in Kahara spoke of moving from the local school to a residential school in a nearby hamlet because teaching in the local school was reported to be poor.

<u>Corporal punishment:</u> This came out most clearly in the discussions with adolescents. In the two villages of Kahara and Hirapanti, this was mentioned as a regular part of the schooling experience. Adolescents in Dora had fewer complaints of being beaten. Young people spoke of how they were beaten for missing school, for not doing their homework, for not being able to answer in class, for not knowing their tables. Sometimes, they were beaten badly enough to start bleeding. In many cases, this made them nervous of going to school.

Although young people in all 3 villages had complaints about the quality of schooling, they also had good memories. They liked the opportunity to learn new languages and new subjects. They remembered certain teachers with great affection. They had happy memories of celebrations of important days in school. They enjoyed the chance to meet and play with friends. Some were more fortunate to be able to attend better functioning schools. Efforts have to be made to improve the quality of schooling experience in all schools, so that children in these difficult circumstances are able to access their fundamental right to education and benefit from it.

Orissa

The findings on access and quality of provision of primary schooling on the Orissa side of the border are based primarily on the cross-sectional survey of all schools with primary grades in the 30 randomly-selected villages in 4 blocks of Koraput. These findings have been supplemented by village studies in 3 villages in Pottangi block. We re-iterate how the picture we present for the Orissa border blocks is "better" than it is likely to be in reality since the final selection of villages (from randomly generated lists) included larger and more accessible villages, since the investigators felt too unsafe to go to the villages originally selected.

Evidence of Good Initiatives

The survey found some evidence of positive government initiatives to improve quality of schooling. To begin with, the surveyed schools in the 4 blocks in Koraput had a reasonable quality of physical infrastructure – school buildings were all pakka. More than half the classrooms were in good condition, and about one fourth needed only minor repair. There were 2.5 pakka classrooms on average in the primary schools and 4.1 pakka classrooms in the upper primary schools. Drinking water facilities were functional in a majority (25 of the 31) of schools. About half the schools had functional toilet facilities, and these schools also had a separate girls' toilet. A reasonable quality of infrastructure in our sample schools could be because two thirds of these schools were upper primary schools.

Schools were well equipped with respect to teaching learning materials. About 84% of the schools also had sports equipment and a library. This is also likely to be because the school sample included many upper primary schools.

The Government has recruited a large proportion of contract teachers – they were found to form 41% of the teacher cadre. There were some positives about these new recruits – close to

three-fifths (58%) of them had teacher education qualifications, which potentially[65] gives them a sound base both to teach and to make effective use of the short bouts of periodic in-service training. A higher proportion (32%) of these new recruits was women, compared to the regular teacher cadre (where women are 19% of the total). This is supposed to favourably impact enrolment and retention of girls, important in that the survey found that girls are more likely to be out of school than boys (girls formed 44% of total enrolment).

The Government has invested in in-service training of teachers. A uniform training module for primary school teachers has been prepared which includes training on how to teach in multi grade and multi level classroom situations. There is a training module on teaching English since English has been introduced in the primary years. For teachers teaching in tribal dominated districts there are training modules on attitudinal changes required to teach children from tribal communities more effectively.[66] Teachers are also trained on how to tap community knowledge to feed into the curriculum for MLE.

Problems:

a. Type of contract teacher recruited: The teacher recruitment policy for contract teachers leaves out what appear to be essential components – the requirement that teacher recruits under the contract teacher scheme be tribals in tribal dominated areas, [67] or that they be domiciled in a particular district with knowledge of local languages of "minorities" in that area. Without these requirements, there is little possibility of reducing absenteeism among teachers, or meeting need for local teachers who can speak the local languages spoken by the tribal children. The teaching community in the surveyed villages had a substantial proportion of non-tribals from dominant caste groups in rural areas (61% of permanent teachers and 46% of contract teachers were "general castes" or OBCs). Only 24% of permanent teachers and 46% of contract teachers were tribals.

b. Poor infrastructure: Most schools were old. The survey found that only 7% of schools had been established after 1986. This perhaps accounts for the fact that one fourth of classrooms were unusable. There were also other problems with infrastructure – more than half the schools lacked a boundary wall (18 out of 31 schools). Only 6 out of 31 schools had playgrounds. The situation was worse for primary schools. Access to electricity seemed to be a major infrastructural problem in these schools. Very few schools had lights and even fewer had fans.

c. Low and irregular attendance of children seemed to be a major problem. Only 62% of the total number of children enrolled was present according to the register. However, the proportion of children observed present was only a third of the total enrolled.

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[65]There was no assurance of quality of these teacher training programmes – it was reported that the teacher education qualifications were purchased in some cases, and of poor quality in others.

[66] Non-tribal teachers are also not considered the best option for tribal dominated blocks because they are reported to feel a sense of superiority to tribals.

[67] In the Orissa village studies, the 3 tribal teachers reportedly spoke Desia and two of them also spoke Paraja. A few of the 11 non-tribal teachers also reportedly spoke Desia.

d. Teacher provision was inadequate. There were only 1.8 teachers on average in primary schools and 3.9 teachers in the upper primary schools. The PTR was 39 in the Koraput sample villages, far above the limit prescribed by the Right to Education. Here too teachers were in the more accessible schools. The survey found 5 out of 31 schools to be single teacher schools.

e. Evidence of poor functioning at the time of unannounced visits to the sample schools:
Schools were closed altogether. In several cases the investigators had to go to a substitute village as the schools in the sample village were closed on an official working day. It was apparent that during festivals when schools are expected to remain closed for one or two days, many schools remain closed for several days. This reduces the number of working days for the school.
Teachers were not present in school. On those days when the schools were open, a substantial proportion (36%) of teachers was missing from school. In more than half the cases (53%), teachers were reported to be away on government duty.
High proportions were missing among male and female teachers, but proportionately higher among the latter (10 out of 24 female teachers compared to 26 out of 75).
This was also true for both permanent and contract teachers, and again proportionately higher among the latter[68] (42% compared to 33% among permanent teachers).
The drastic state of teacher absenteeism is revealed by the following:
• The head-teacher was himself absent in 11 out of 31 schools (one third).
• In 9 schools (close to one-third), all teachers were absent at the time of the team's arrival at the school.
• In 19 schools (close to two thirds) at least one teacher was absent.
• In 7 schools, all but one teacher were absent. These were effectively single teacher schools on the day of the visit.
• In a few schools, the teachers arrived much after the investigators reached, and after the children had reached. Absenteeism was higher in multi teacher schools and less in single and two teacher schools. Taking leave by turn appears to be likely.
No teaching activity was observed in 55% of schools. Teachers in one-fifth of schools were busy with administrative work or supervising children though not teaching them. About one-fourth were not busy with any of the activities mentioned above.

f. Other evidence of the system not functioning:
Midday meal was not served in close to one-fifth (19%) of schools.
Schools not opening and closing on time. In schools where teachers did come, some came late and left early. Students were seen to come and wait for the teachers to arrive.
Schools with little teaching activity: Observation of teaching learning activities showed that in the little time the teachers and students were in school (and even when they were being observed) very little teaching activity took place. Teaching stopped after the midday meal in 46% of schools which served the midday meal.

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[68] As mentioned earlier, the contract teachers recruited are not required to be local (see Annexure I), and this had implications for their absenteeism from schools.

Language barrier between the teacher and children: Nearly all schools reported that children primarily speak in local languages and not in Oriya. About half the teachers claimed to know some local language, though they were not necessarily very comfortable with it. One-fourth of teachers stated that they used local languages as a medium of instruction, although only in two schools were teachers observed to be actually doing this. No use of bilingual primers was observed. There was some evidence of Desiya[69] being used to communicate information to the children or to discipline them. Overall, the study found little evidence of teaching done in any language except Oriya. In spite of teacher training on how to teach tribal children, the MoI, curriculum and teaching methods were not sensitive to the needs of a tribal child.

Class 1 neglected: In this situation multi-grade teaching was a norm, Class I was generally sitting with a larger group. This group was not being taught in close to half (48%) of the schools. Close observation revealed that in many cases it was the senior students rather than the teachers who were monitoring class 1 children.

Teaching methods were still focused on rote learning and writing. No use of TLMs was observed.

Supplementary Findings from the Village Studies in Pottangi Block

The village studies were useful because they revealed that there were situations in which the school system was functioning, and others in which it was not. It was functioning reasonably well in the accessible village of Haripur, which had a mix of social groups, including "general caste" groups and OBCs. It was functioning more poorly in the tribal dominated villages of Kuntia and Dokasanda. Kuntia was dominated by the Konda Paraja tribe, and Dokasanda by the Kondha tribe.

Certain problems indicating wastage in the system were visible in all 3 villages. Firstly, there were poor learning achievements among many of those enrolled. In all 3 villages there were children in classes 1 and 2 who could not read even a single letter of the Oriya alphabet (5 out of 11 in Haripur, 17 out of 24 in Kuntia, and 13 out of 17 in Dokasanda). Recognition of single digits was very poor among class 1 children in Kuntia and Dokasanda, and slightly better in Haripur. Secondly, irregular attendance appeared to be quite common, through tracking of 10 randomly-selected children who were enrolled, in the villages of Kuntia and Dokasanda. Six of the twenty children tracked in these two villages had actually dropped out, although their names were still in the register. Dropping out among children in the 6-14 age group was also revealed through a survey of 20 randomly-selected[70] households, although the numbers reported were very low (9 out of 122 children – 7%).

The reasons for irregular attendance and dropping out were explored through interviews with parents and children in the household survey, through the Child Tracking exercise, and through FGDs with the 14-17 age group. Parents in both Kuntia and Dokasanda were very poor. Often parents in Kuntia had to migrate. They took their children with them or left them

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[69] Desia is reported to have lexical similarities with Adivasi Oriya (80-85%), which in turn is reported to have similarities with Oriya (38-42%). See Lewis (2009). Desia is seen to be so useful that it is reported to be gaining popularity among some tribal communities such as the Gadaba, over their own language. See Ranjan (2003).

[70] For details of methodology, please see the Introductory section.

with relatives at home. This is a major reason for children being irregular. Dokasanda had a perennial source of water which meant less pressure on the community to migrate. However, parents were dependent on subsistence agriculture. They needed their children to help them in the fields and with animals and with foraging. Hence, some children in this village could attend only irregularly.

The discussions with adolescents revealed how children are required for a wide variety of work even when they are less than 10 years old – the girls did more household chores (cooking, cleaning, bringing drinking water), the boys reported working in the fields, grazing animals and foraging. Once they are older, they reported doing housework and agricultural and non-agricultural labour. The demands of work made children in all the villages particularly irregular through the harvest months of December to February. Some boys in both Kuntia and Dokasanda reported that they were irregular throughout the year because of work pressures.

Children also reported dropping out because they were needed to work, especially when the family had financial problems. This was particularly among boys in Kuntia and Dokasanda. Migration to areas outside the village for labour opportunities were reported by boys in the 14-17 age group, in both these villages. The demands of work were particularly high for girls. Many girls who had never been enrolled in Kuntia said that it was because of the pressures of work. Even girls in Haripur reported dropping out because of work pressures.

The village studies were also useful in giving a more nuanced picture of the schooling system, and shedding more light on school-related factors which contributed to pushing children out of school. These include language issues, general negligence towards teaching, failure, and corporal punishment.

Language problems were reported by parents and 6-14 year old children in the household survey and by 14-17 year old adolescents in Focus Group Discussions. They were also indicated through detailed classroom observations of the group of which class 1 was a part, which were part of the village study. Adolescent boys in both Kuntia and Dokasanda referred to considerable problems in understanding the teacher, and reported being beaten by the teacher on account of this. In the classroom observations, all teaching was done in Oriya, whether by permanent or local contract teachers. Children in Kuntia were observed to be speaking to each other in Konda Paraja, and in Dokasanda, they spoke to each other in Kui.

General negligence towards teaching: Most teachers were regular in all 3 villages. In Kuntia, they came late and left early on a regular basis; the school day was reduced on a regular basis. In Dokasanda, the permanent teacher was regular while the contract teacher was not. Teachers in Haripur were more regular and reportedly stayed the entire day, but there were signs of negligence here too. Teachers were chatting with each other while teaching the children. And after the midday meal, there was little teaching activity. Teachers were sitting in the office and doing nothing while the children were left unattended. The children in Kuntia were taught part of the day and left to their own devices when there were visitors from the CRC. Glaring

negligence was also seen in Dokasanda where the teacher taught only for less than 2 hours, although parents did not report this to be a regular feature.

Failure: This can be closely related to the poor quantity and quality of teaching input given to children in these villages. It was mentioned as a reason for dropping out by adolescent girls in Haripur and Dokasanda.

Corporal punishment: Violence in the Haripur school was reported during informal interaction with the village children. Children were alleged to be beaten badly quite often, even reports of a girl becoming unconscious on account of this. The incidence of corporal punishment came out most clearly in the discussions with adolescents. In all 3 villages, this was mentioned as part of the schooling experience, and particularly for boys. The boys in Kuntia reported the most severe beatings. In both Kuntia and Dokasanda, boys mentioned being beaten as contributing to their dropping out of school.

The children in these villages as in the villages in the Andhra blocks also reported some fond memories of their time in school, particularly among those who were fortunate to attend more functional schools. Learning new subjects and new languages remained an important part of this experience as was the time to play with friends.

However, overall the research findings of the school survey in the 4 blocks of Koraput district, supplemented by the 3 village studies in Pottangi block, indicate that there is a very inefficient system in place in Koraput where funds are coming into school infrastructure and teacher salaries, but outcomes for children remain very poor.

Challenges in Both States

Parents and children in these villages face considerable challenges if a child is to get through and benefit from the schooling process. The children are first generation learners, mostly from tribal backgrounds whose culture and language is very different from that of the dominant groups in the state. This means that the formal system barely recognises the child's social, cultural and linguistic identity. Initially the child may not even understand what the teacher is saying. With no exposure to print, textbooks even if available are an even bigger hurdle. The children also find the rigid structure of the daily time-table and the school calendar alien as also the focus on reading and writing. Contributing to family livelihoods also means they attend school irregularly. In addition to this, they get inadequate teaching input (due to irregularities in the functioning of the school itself).

Teachers appointed to these schools need a lot of support and monitoring to be able to handle such a situation. It is vital to appoint qualified and trained teachers so that children get higher quality teaching input. Recognition of teachers can contribute to keeping their motivation high. It is also important to ensure regular salaries for existing contract teachers and to ensure that they have a clearly defined career path which can motivate them to perform better. While BRC officials have the main responsibility of monitoring and supporting teachers, they are unlikely to play an adequate role in remote villages. In theory, village and school level

education committees could play an important role to ensure greater accountability of teachers. However a large majority of the parents are illiterate, and are pre-occupied with meeting survival needs.

Considerable change was reported by villagers between the situation now and five years earlier – more roads have been built, more houses are semi-pakka, more villages have been electrified. Schools have better infrastructure, and provide free textbooks, cooked midday meals and other incentives, particularly for girls. Among those whose livelihoods are more secure, there is now a more resilient demand for education, although this continues to be much greater for boys than for girls. In some sense the gains have been in areas which are more visible. There is considerable need to push for improvements in school quality.

The situation in the border blocks of Andhra provide children with more reason to persist with schooling. The situation in the border blocks of Orissa is far more dismal. In both situations, the tribal child suffers from multiple levels of disadvantage and exclusion. He and she need to be empowered to get more schooling, and through it employment, so each person has more visibility and more of a voice to impact the system.

Recommendations for NEG Fire

Mobilise and Empower Communities to Monitor Schools

Schools need regular supervision. Communities could play the role of watchdog but only if a lot of effort goes into mobilising the community, identifying motivated persons, building their capacity, and helping them when they run into problems which need redressal. The new RTE Act envisages a key role for SMCs (School Management Committees). NEG Fire could empower these communities and link them with SSA, Tribal Welfare Departments, and other NGOs working in that area.

Strengthen the Potential Impact of MLE

- Identify specific areas and groups which suffer marked exclusion and neglect as has been suggested in www.opepa.in NEG Fire could do this with the help of local partners, and then work as a link between these groups and the government.
- Join networks and partnerships among government, NMRC (National Multilingual Resource Centre) and other NGOs that support MLE.
- Build awareness of the importance of MLE in tribal languages among non-tribals among NEG staff and partners themselves by organising meetings. The need to win the trust of those who speak the dominant state language has been stressed by the Mysore conference (see Appendix 3). The general public needs to be convinced that mother tongue education is critical for tribal communities.
- Organise workshops with parents to discuss why mother tongue education is important
- Produce materials for MLE with the aid of tribal communities under the guidance of resource groups such as NMRC. This would include documenting stories, songs, riddles, etc.

- Run pre-primary classes in tribal languages and involve mothers in this. Print material in tribal languages could be piloted in these anganwadi centres.

Strengthen the Case for a Flexible School Calendar.

Build awareness of tribal culture by mapping activities over a year among selected tribal communities, and sharing it with non-tribals at all levels.

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Annexure I

Teacher Recruitment Policy in Orissa and Andhra Pradesh

Andhra Pradesh:

"Local Scheduled Tribe candidate will only be considered for selection and appointment against the vacancies in scheduled areas. (Agency area) as per article 342 of the constitution of India i.e. for the vacancies notified in annexure 1 B.

They shall also be considered for selection to the posts notified in plain area.
Women, PH and Ex-service persons reservation shall be followed as per rules in force.

"Selection will be on the basis of results of a written test and reservation.
The vacancies for district level schools are filled first from the list and ITDA schools after that unless the applicant specifically wants to be considered for ITDA schools.

"They are appointed initially for two years at a stipend and after that if confirmed after the trial period they are put in the same grade as a regular teacher."

From Notification for recruitment of teachers 2008, Director of School Education Andhra Pradesh

Orissa:

According to a resolution on 19 November, 2009, Department of School and Mass Education, Orissa, all the functions of elementary education was to be transferred in phases to Zilla Parishad and other Panchayati Raj Institutions.

Sikshya Sahayak (SS) will be engaged in each Education District Unit wise by the Zilla Parishad by a Selection Committee The District Project Coordinator (SSA) will act as Convener of the Committee, who shall prepare the draft select list and place the same before the Zilla Parishad with due approval of CEO-cum-Collector. The final selection will be made by Zilla Parishad within 15 days at the maximum.

The list is made on the basis of performance in relevant exams and training received. Maths and science teachers are given priority as at upper primary level this is important.

A candidate may make an application for any Education District unit of the State irrespective of his / her home Education District subject to condition that he / she shall apply in respect of one Education District unit only.

The engagement would be on the basis of annual contract.

The Sikshya Sahayak (SS) after completion of 3 years of continuous satisfactory engagement will be eligible for appointment as Junior Teacher by the Zilla Parishad on contractual basis with consolidated monthly remuneration as decided by the Govt. from time to time.

Three years as a junior teacher makes them eligible for a post of regular teacher.

Annexure II

Multi-Lingual Education Policy[71]

In 2003, the Government of India under its *Sarva Shiksha Abhiyan* (SSA) programme approached states with substantial tribal population to introduce mother-tongue based education for tribal children.

The same year, 2003, the government of Andhra Pradesh decided to start an experimental pilot project of multi-lingual education (MLE) in eight tribal languages. Initial preparations involved development of curriculum, textbooks and teaching learning materials and teacher training.

The programme started for grade 1 children in 1000 schools in 2004. With the first batch of children moving up to grade 5 in 2008, the Andhra Pradesh programme now covers all children from grades 1–5 in the selected schools.

Orissa was the second state in India to launch the programme with 10 tribal languages in 2006. The Orissa MLE program started with grade 1 children of 195 selected schools in 2007, and in 2008, added 300 more schools taking the total number of schools under the programme to 495.

In both Andhra and Orissa, the MLE programmes are run in schools where the children are from a single homogeneous tribal community.

The structure of the MLE programmes

MLE is expected to develop high level multilingual competence among children in at least 3 to 4 languages — mother tongue (for tribal and linguistic minority children), official state language (like Telugu or Oriya – in use in the market, the school, the government), English and Hindi – also in some use in the market place. Thus, the MLE programmes seek to develop competence in English and Hindi besides the mother tongue and the official state language.

The programmes envisage the children in the MLE schools to join the mainstream and attend schools in which the state language is the medium of instruction at the end of the primary grades (grades 1–5). The table below presents some details of the MLE programmes. Both AP and Orissa envisage that in classes 1-3 the medium of instruction will be the mother tongue (L1) with the state language (L2) introduced. The programme suggests moving to the state language as the medium of instruction in classes 4 and 5, with teaching in the mother tongue continuing to play some role, particularly in Andhra. Oral English is introduced in class 3 in Orissa, reading and writing in English is introduced in class 4 in Orissa and Andhra.

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[71] Excerpted from Ajit Mohanty, M.K. Misra, N. Upender Reddy and Ramesh Gumidyala (2009), "Overcoming Language Barriers for Tribal Children: MLE in Andhra Pradesh and Orissa, India", *Tribal Language – MLE India.*

Hindi is introduced in class 6 as the "third language", with the state language being the only medium of instruction.

Table 1: Summary of MLE Policy in AP and Orissa		
Class	Andhra Pradesh	Orissa
Class 1	L1 MoI	L1 MoI
Class 2	L1 MoI, L2 oral	L1 MoI, L2 oral
Class 3	L1 MoI, L2 reading and writing introduced	L1 MoI, L2 reading and writing, L3 oral
Class 4	50% MoI in L1, 50% MoI in L2, L3 reading and writing	L2 MoI, L1 as subject, L3 reading and writing introduced
Class 5	25% MoI in L1, 75% MoI in L2, L3 as subject	L2 MoI, L1 as subject, L3 as subject
Class 6	L2 MoI, L3 as subject, L4 as subject	L2 MoI, L3 as subject, L4 as subject

Note: L1 mother tongue; L2 State language; L3 English; L4 Hindi

The teachers in the MLE programmes are drawn from the target language communities and the eligibility criteria are relaxed if necessary. Manuals for teachers have been developed and teachers are given specific training on MLE.

Reflections on MLE programmes

Studies conducted suggest that children in the MLE programmes in all the tribal languages in both Andhra Pradesh and Orissa perform much better than those enrolled in mainstream schools. Evaluations relate to children's learning achievements, regularity of school participation, and parents' levels of satisfactions. However, there are challenges. Deciding when to transit away from the mother tongue requires more careful research. Difficulties of mother tongue based education also become much more difficult in situations where there are children from many different tribal groups with a variety of mother-tongues. English is in demand but not in use in the market place in tribal dominated areas or in the market place or in media, while there is some exposure to Hindi. Currently coverage of the MLE programme remains very limited both in terms of tribal languages covered and number of schools. In the absence of clear state policy on expansion of MLE programmes, empowerment of tribal children through such programmes is likely to be limited.

Annexure III

Recommendations to strengthen MLE*

Participants at the India conference on MLE in 2005 deliberated the issues and made a number of recommendations. These included the following:

Urgently establish an MLE policy for tribal communities

There was a "need to establish a mother-tongue first policy for primary grades that will be implemented in tribal communities on a priority basis". It was clearly understood that such a policy would require considerable and sustained advocacy and community mobilization at all levels. At all levels there was a need to "engage in constructive dialogue and be open to debate".

Build awareness of MLE among policy makers

Policy makers had to be made aware of the "need for mother-tongue first MLE in primary schools". Such awareness had to be built at national level, district level and at local level (see Malone, 2005). Planners had to be "sensitised over the issue of language rights".

Build partnerships between government and other groups to support MLE

Apart from building awareness among policy-makers themselves, there was a need "to establish cooperative networks and partnerships among the government, non-government agencies and organizations that can support MLE".

Build awareness of MLE among the majority-language speaking groups

"It is important to win the trust of the other language groups in contact, especially the majority group."

Build awareness of MLE among tribal communities ("MT speakers of tribal languages")

The tribal communities need awareness of the purposes and benefits of MLE.

Develop an action plan based on needs and resources

"Develop a clear action plan for MLE that includes a time line and assigns major responsibilities to the appropriate agencies." This would require collection of baseline information in the states to identify needs and resources.

Recruitment of teachers for MLE

"Identify MT speakers from the language groups who can be recruited as teachers."

"Where other language teachers are already appointed, special training programs must be arranged for them with the help of tribal native speakers to teach tribal languages."

Special orientation programmes on MLE for preservice and inservice teacher training programmes

Plan teacher training that will orient teachers to "MLE issues and practices (example, bridging process), interactive pedagogies, and the role of languages across curriculum."

Materials for MLE

It was recommended that the community itself must "take the lead in material production". Existing MT materials were also to be collected and analysed (to be done by governments, NGOs, universities).

Monitor, supervise and document MLE programmes in operation

Once programmes are initiated, provide intensive and supportive monitoring and supervision and careful documentation of the programme.

> *"Essential / non-negotiable components of an MLE initiative, emphasized by the participants*
> - Community involvement from the beginning (including decisions about orthography). Planners need to present alternative ideas with lessons about good practices and help the communities to take informed decisions.
> - Curriculum that is rooted in the local context but doesn't seek to isolate the communities.
> - Mother tongue speakers from the children's own communities as teachers and who also have essential knowledge of the subjects
> - Variety of reading materials in the children's home languages and bilingual books for developing translation strategies."

*Excerpted from deliberations of participants at "India Conference on Multi-lingual Education", Central Institute of Indian Languages CIIL, Mysore 2005, http://www.ciil.org/Main/Announcement/Multilingual%20Education/Reports.htm, accessed 4 Oct 2010.

Annexure IV

Pratham Learning Achievement Tests

1. **Basic Reading Test - Class 1 Level**

Para Comprehension (Q.1&2)

ASER 2007

Tell the child to read any one para. Then ask her the questions from the para.

Para

The lion lives in the jungle.

It runs very fast.

It eats meat.

It has sharp teeth.

Q. 1) How does it run ?
Q. 2) Who lives in jungle ?

Amar goes to the market.

It is very far away.

He takes the bus.

The bus takes four hours.

Q. 1) How long does the bus take?
Q. 2) Where does Amar go?

Rani likes her school.

Her class is in a big room.

Rani has a bag and a book.

She also has a pen.

Q. 1) What all does Rani have?
Q. 2) What does Rani like ?

Here is a big pond.

Some frogs are in the pond.

All the frogs are small.

They are green in colour.

Q. 1) What are green in colour ?
Q. 2) Where are the frogs ?

2. **Recognition of Two Letter Words and Single Letters:**

Reading Test (1)

ASER 2009

Letter

m   t   z

f   k

o   a   h

d   p

Ask any 5. 4 out of 5 must be correct.

Word

both   step

cup

out   rope

dog   hat

key

wish   doll

Ask any 5. 4 out of 5 must be correct.

3. Basic Reading Test – Class 2 Level

Story Comprehension **(Q.3&4)**

ASER 2007

Tell the child to read any one para. Then ask her the questions from the para.

Story

It was the rainy season . The sky was full of clouds. There was a cool breeze blowing. Aman was eager to play on a swing. His older brother got a thick rope. They tied it on the tree and made a swing. A lot of children joined them and they all started playing. They played till it was dark.

Q. 3) What did Aman's older brother get ?
Q. 4) How did they make the swing ?

Madhu is ten years old. She lives in a small village. Her village is in the forest. It takes four days to walk to the town. Madhu wants to travel. She wants to see the world outside. Her mother tells her to study well. When she is big, she can go to college in town.

Q. 3) What does Madhu's mother tell her to do?
Q. 4) Where is Madhu's village?

4. Arithmetic Test: Recognition of Single & Double Digit Numbers; Subtraction and Division

MATH TEST/ గణితము SAMPLE(1)

ASER 2008

సంఖ్య గుర్తించండి 1—9		సంఖ్య గుర్తించండి 11—99		తీసివేత		భాగాహారము
3	7	65	38	51 – 35	67 – 48	7) 918(
1	4	92	23	84 – 49	73 – 36	6) 769(
8	9	47	72	46 – 37	31 – 13	8) 983(
5	2	56	87	45 –18	43 – 24	4) 513(
		29	11			
రెండు సంఖ్యలలో 4 సరిగ్గా చెప్పాలి		రెండు సంఖ్యలలో 4 సరిగ్గా చెప్పాలి		రెండు లెక్కలను సరిగ్గా చేయాలి		ఏదో ఒకటి సరిగ్గా చేయాలి.

Sample -1

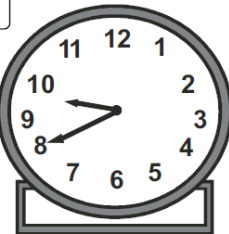## 5. Clock and Money Tests
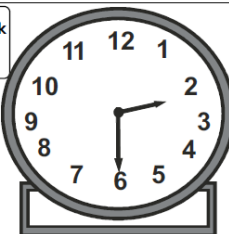
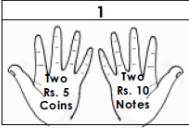**TELL THE TIME**

Clock 1

Show clock. Ask Time

Clock 2

Ask child time on both the clocks.

1 : Which hand has more

1

Two Rs. 5 Coins   Two Rs. 10 Notes

Ask any Two

2

Three Rs. 5 Coins   Two Rs. 10 Notes

3

One Rs. 5 Coins   One Rs. 10 Notes

4

Four Rs. 5 Coins   Two Rs. 10 Notes
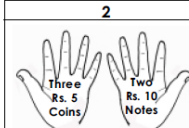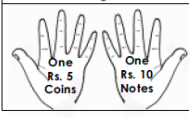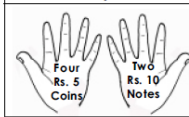
If the child correctly answers any two options, mark "Can Do" else mark "Cannot Do".

2 : Fun with money

Ask any one of the two options given: Every Option has two questions.

1

- 100 + 50 + 10 = ?
- 50 + 10 + 10 = ?

Ask any One

2

- 100 + 10 + 10 = ?
- 50 + 50 + 10 = ?

If the child correctly answers both questions of any one option, mark "Can Do" else mark "Cannot Do".

Overview of the Study

Key Objective of the Study

The primary objective of this study is to examine the access and quality of schooling provision at primary level in the inter-state border areas of Visakhapatnam district in Andhra Pradesh and Koraput district in Orissa. Through this we hope to shed some light on what could improve the educational experience of children living here.

Background to the Research

The area of study lies in the Eastern Ghats. The terrain is hilly and forested, and has rich natural resources. Tribal lands, their livelihoods, and their way of life are threatened by both government and private schemes to exploit these resources. Maoists are active players in the area. Government troops to counter the Maoists are also very visible. These forces contribute to a violent and unstable environment for the tribal population, which is not conducive for schooling. Connectivity is also relatively poor – much of the population lives in remote and dispersed settlements with limited or no access to public transport. Access to schools in these areas has been an issue which has sought to be addressed through the opening of alternative schools under various government schemes. Teachers' unwillingness to be posted to schools in remote rural areas has also been noted over the years, and efforts made to address this through the appointment of local contract teachers. Nevertheless, the proportions of children in the 6-14 age group out of school continue to be high.

Moreover, being inhabited by historically disadvantaged communities (Scheduled Tribes), adults in these communities have had little schooling themselves and are chiefly engaged in subsistence agriculture and animal husbandry, livelihoods without direct linkages to schooling. These livelihood strategies also absorb their children, and cuts into time they have for going to school. Parents are also unable to cover cash costs of schooling. In addition to these economic barriers, there are language barriers. Children from tribal communities in particular are unable to understand the teachers in school as their own languages are not the medium of instruction in school. The situation is very difficult for children from certain tribes such as the Khond, Paraja, and Gadaba who are termed the most primintive tribes. They live in the interior, and non-tribal teachers are unlikely to know their languages. The situation is also very difficult for those tribal children in Visakhapatnam district of Andhra Pradesh who speak Adivasi Oriya at home. This is reportedly a corrupted version of Oriya (the language of the neighbouring state of Orissa), with which it shares 38%-42% lexical similarities. The children are taught in Telugu, which has nothing in common with Adivasi Oriya. In addition, some teachers are from non-tribal backgrounds and cannot even communicate with the children as they are unlikely to know the tribal languages spoken by the children.

The study was planned to focus on the locational and linguistic disadvantages faced by communities in these areas. It was hoped that understanding these factors would allow key problems to be identified and suggest effective means of intervention. The survey was done collaboratively with NEG partners – Nature in Visakhapatnam and SOVA in Koraput.

Research Design – Methods and Rationale

The study consisted of two phases:

School Survey: Phase 1

Phase 1 employed primarily quantitative survey methods. It was conducted in 30 villages selected randomly from 4 blocks in Koraput and 8 in Visakhapatnam. The blocks were chosen purposively – they were on the state border and the partner organizations were familiar with the areas. The village census of 2001 was the sampling frame. Villages below the population size of 200 were not considered. Six villages were chosen in the population range of 200 to 500 and remaining 24 from villages above population size 500, keeping in mind the proportion of population in these two groups of villages. Lahiri's method of random sampling (probability proportional to size) was used for the two groups of villages so that the sample villages were of various sizes and could be representative of the block.

In each sample village, all schools with primary classes were surveyed. The research tools were coded questionnaires and included:
- Collecting of school details, to be filled in through interviews with the head teacher or a senior teacher, in the absence of a head teacher.
- Interviews with all teachers, including the head teacher.
- School observation to capture the school environment and teaching activities during the unannounced visit.

Details of the village economy and facilities were also collected.

Village Study: Phase 2

Phase 1 was followed by a month-long study of schooling in 3 villages in each district (one week in each village). The objective of the village studies was to supplement the quantitative survey in Phase 1 by providing a more nuanced picture. Each village was looked at as a whole. The perspectives of all the stakeholders – the village community, the teachers, and the parents and children – were taken into account.

Here we selected villages with variations in levels of accessibility to get a range of schooling experiences for children. Three villages were selected from Dumbriguda block in Visakhapatnam district, Andhra Pradesh and three from Pottangi block in Koraput district, Orissa.

A range of research tools were used to
a. Collect general information on the village through a village map, a questionnaire, and interviews with key informants.
b. Collect information on schooling through quantitative and qualitative methods:
- Observation of school activity: inside the classroom and outside
- Interviews with head-teacher and each teacher present in the school

  Based on 20 children randomly selected from school register

- Interview parents and children in these 20 households
- Test all children in 6-14 age group in these households
- Track 10 of these 20 randomly-selected children – whether present in school, if not why

The school-based and household-based tools were supplemented with a focus group discussion with adolescent boys (14-17 age group) who were currently enrolled or had dropped out of school, and a similar one with girls.

Key Findings from the Study:

The findings of the study in the two border areas are based on the sample survey of 30 randomly-selected villages on each side of the border. The Andhra sample can be considered to be more representative of the schooling situation in these border areas. The Orissa sample includes a higher proportion of upper primary schools than is indicated by secondary data. This reflects the fact that the researchers did not feel safe to go to the villages in the original list. Replacement villages, though still randomly selected, were larger and more accessible.

The situation in the blocks on the Andhra side of the border was much better than the situation in the blocks on the Orissa side, as is revealed by figures on school attendance and school functioning.

- Close to two thirds of enrolled children were in school in the Andhra blocks compared to one thirds in the Orissa blocks.
- At the time of the team's unannounced visit to the school, 88% of schools in the Andhra blocks had at least one teacher teaching compared to 45% of schools in the Orissa blocks.
- The Andhra blocks also had cooked midday meals in 95% of the schools compared to 81% of the schools in Orissa.

Most significantly for schools in these areas, 97% of the teachers in the Andhra blocks belonged to Scheduled Tribes and 72% of them lived in the same village as the school. This had positive implications both for language issues in the school and for ensuring teachers' presence in the school. In the Orissa blocks, the corresponding proportions were much lower – 34% of teachers were Scheduled Tribes and 58% of teachers lived in the same village as the school. This reflects the differing teacher recruitment policies in the two states.

Infrastructure in the schools in the Orissa blocks was better. More schools had boundary walls, drinking water, toilets and electricity compared to the schools in the Andhra blocks. This has to be interpreted in the light of the fact that the Orissa sample included larger and more accessible villages.

Table 1. Summary of Findings

	Andhra Pradesh	Orissa
Infrastructure		
Average no. of classrooms	2.5	3.6
Proportion of schools with:		
Boundary wall	12%	42%
Playground	44%	20%
Cooked midday meals	95%	81%
Drinking water*	29%	81%
Toilets*	12%	44%
Electricity*	17%	29%
Teacher allocations		
Average no. of teachers	3.2	3.2
Pupil Teacher Ratio	23	39
Proportion of single teacher schools	14%	16%
Proportion of female teachers	23%	18%
Proportion of teachers who are graduates and above	68%	28%
Proportion of teachers with CT / DipEd / B.Ed	68%	82%
Proportion of teachers who belong to Scheduled Tribes	97%	34%
Proportion of teachers who live in the same village as the school	72%	58%
Student attendance		
Attendance from register as proportion of enrolment	68%	62%
Observed attendance as proportion of enrolment	65%	33%
School functioning at time of unannounced visit		
Proportion of schools without any teaching activity	12%	55%

Note: *Refers to schools where these facilities were available and functional.

Village Studies

The results of the surveys were supplemented by village studies based primarily on qualitative research methods. Three villages were studied in one block in Visakhapatnam, and three in one block in Koraput. As mentioned earlier, the villages were selected to allow for variations in accessibility and levels of development. The school system was not seen only through visits to the school but also through interviews with parents of currently enrolled children, and through focus group discussions with young people in the 14-17 age group. At the same time, the village studies allowed for repeated visits to the school. Issues that were explored during the village studies included:
- Social background of teachers and children
- School functioning including teaching methods used
- Levels of literacy and numeracy among enrolled children
- Children's memories of positive experiences in school
- Extent of irregular attendance in school, and dropping out from school
- Work related reasons for irregular attendance and dropping out
- School related reasons for irregular attendance and dropping out

Social background of teachers and children

The social background of the teachers and the children made a considerable difference to the language problems faced by children. In the more accessible villages in both Visakhapatnam and Koraput, children had much more exposure to the dominant state language which was the medium of instruction, whereas the problem was acute for children in Kondha villages and Paraja villages, where non-tribal teachers were posted.

School functioning including teaching methods used

The village studies showed schools in both states which were more and less functional, and allowed insights into the management and functioning of these schools. The more accessible schools tended to have a longer school-day. Schools which had tribal teachers had teachers using tribal languages to communicate with the children.

Teaching was observed to be only done in the official language of the state. The methods were seen to be only focused on rote learning and writing, with occasional questions requiring one word answers.

Levels of literacy and numeracy among enrolled children

In all 6 villages there were children in classes 1 and 2 who could not read even a single letter of the alphabet -- Telugu in the Andhra villages and Oriya in the Orissa villages. Recognition of single digits was also poor.

Children's memories of positive experiences in school

Although young people in all 6 villages had complaints about the quality of schooling, they also had good memories. They liked the opportunity to learn new languages and new subjects. They remembered certain teachers with great affection. They had happy memories of celebrations of important days in school. They enjoyed the chance to meet and play with friends. Some were more fortunate to be able to attend better functioning schools.

Extent of irregular attendance in school, and dropping out from school

Irregular attendance was visible, through tracking of 10 randomly-selected enrolled children, in all 6 villages, and some of these children had actually dropped out. Dropping out at primary stage appeared to be minimal, although focus group discussions with the 14-17 age group indicated that it may have been more than it appeared.

Irregular attendance and dropping out on account of work pressures

Reasons for irregular attendance revealed how children are required for housework even when they are less than 10 years old. Once they are older, young people reported doing housework and agricultural and non-agricultural labour. The demands of work made them particularly irregular through the harvest months of December to February, even in primary school. The pressures of work also led to children dropping out of school.

The demands of work were high for boys in many families. Migration to areas outside the village for labour opportunities was reported by boys in the 14-17 age group particularly in Hirapanti in Visakhapatnam and Kuntia in Koraput. The demands of work were particularly high for girls. While parents wanted education for both boys and girls, both adolescent boys and girls themselves felt that their parents' motivation for girls' education was less than that for boys.

Irregular attendance and dropping out on account of school-related factors

These included access issues, language issues, general negligence towards teaching, and corporal punishment.

Access issues: Some households with children enrolled in Dora village in Visakhapatnam were found to be in tolas 2-3 kms from the main village. Many of these children were not attending regularly and some had dropped out altogether. There were problems in terms of distance and terrain, particularly during the rainy season.

Language problems: Children said they could not understand what the teacher said, particularly in the more remote villages included in the village studies in both Andhra Pradesh and Orissa. Sometimes the teacher beat them because they could not understand what he was saying. In the classroom observations, all teaching was done in the state language, whether by permanent or local contract teachers. Children in the remote villages were observed to only speak to each other in their own language.

General negligence towards teaching: Even in the school in Visakhapatnam which functioned relatively well, the attention given to children in different classes varied considerably. Even in the school in the village in Koraput which functioned well, there were signs of negligence. Teachers were chatting with each other while teaching the children. And after the midday meal, there was little teaching activity. Teachers were sitting in the office and doing nothing while the children were left unattended. In the other villages, teaching activity was in general very limited.

Corporal punishment: This came out most clearly in the discussions with adolescents. In two villages in Visakhapatnam and in all 3 villages in Koraput, this was mentioned as a regular part of the schooling experience, and particularly for boys. In 2 of the Orissa villages, boys mentioned being beaten as contributing to their dropping out of school.

In conclusion, we observe that children in these areas are living under multiple disadvantages. The significance of their own social, cultural and linguistic identity is often hidden from both adults and young adolescents in the community who see little use for it in the market. It is also hidden from government functionaries who value the social, cultural and linguistic identity of upper caste Hindus, and feel alienated by the tribal world so often different from their own It is important to strengthen the schooling experience of the current student so that tribal people can have more of a voice and presence in society. The child living on the Andhra side of the border appears to be further along this road than the child on the Orissa side.