# Status of and Barriers to School Education in Chhattisgarh

## A Study of Bastar and Sukma Districts

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# Abbreviations

| | |
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| ASER | Annual Status of Education Report |
| BMI | Body Mass Index |
| BPL | Below Poverty Line |
| CBSE | Central Board of Secondary Education |
| DISE | District Information System for Education |
| EDI | Educational Development Index |
| EFA | Education for All |
| FGD | Focus Group Discussion |
| FYP | Five Year Plan |
| LWE | Left-Wing Extremism |
| MDM | Mid-Day Meal |
| MLE | Multi Lingual Education |
| NAS | National Achievement Survey |
| NCERT | National Council for Educational Research and Training |
| NSSO | National Sample Survey Organization |
| NUEPA | National University of Educational Planning and Administration |
| OBC | Other Backward Classes |
| RTE | Right to Education Act |
| SC | Scheduled Caste |
| SDI | Social Development Index |
| SSA | Sarba Siksha Abhiyan |
| ST | Scheduled Tribe |
| TLM | Teaching Learning Material |
| TSP | Tribal-Sub Plan |
| UT | Union Territory |

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# Executive Summary

## 1. The Problem Posed

Chhattisgarh, a mineral resource rich State with high concentration of tribal population, is characterized by the low levels of social, educational and human development. As per the Educational Development Index (EDI) of 2013-14, the overall score of the State was lower than the national average. In terms of Social Development Index (SDI, 2016), the State was ranked at the 24th position out of 29 States. Its overall score in Human Development Index (HDI) was lower than the national average and much lower than that of many of the developed States of India (Economic Survey, Government of India, 2016-17. p.A161).

The performance of the State with respect to school education, an important component of social, educational and human development, have been poor. In terms of access to primary education, Chhattisgarh was ranked at the 14th position among all the States and Union Territories (UTs) of India. With respect to access to school, infrastructural facilities, quality of teachers and learning outcome, it stood at the rank number 21 among all the States and UTs (EDI, DISE, 2013-14).

The low level of educational development in the State is, further, characterized by social and regional variations, which may be explained across Scheduled Caste (SC) and Scheduled Tribe (ST) population and Left Wing Extremism (LWE)-affected and non-affected Districts[1]. Among the social groups, the ST population and among the regions, the LWE Districts are the most deprived ones. As per the Census, 2011, against the State average literacy rate of 70.28 percent and the SC literacy rate of 70.8 percent, the ST literacy rate in the State is 59.1 percent. Further, the literacy rate of ST female is abysmally low at 48.8 percent. Similarly, the literacy rate in the Non-LWE Districts is 74.0 percent, higher than the literacy rate of 68.7 percent in the LWE Districts (Census, 2011).

While economic backwardness and conflicts in the LWE Districts have drawn a great deal of attention, educational deprivations, especially of elementary education of 6-14 age group

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[1] Here onwards we use LWE Districts and Non-LWE Districts for the Left-wing extremism and non-affected Districts respectively. LWE affected Districts are also called Naxal affected Districts. We have used the terms Naxal affected and LWE affected Districts interchangeable.

children, have not been given adequate attention in the development strategy adopted for the LWE Districts. The excessive attention on security and conflicts has overshadowed, rather pushed to the margin, the larger issues of social sector development. In the above background, this study examines the status of school education in Chhattisgarh with a focus on Bastar and Sukma, the two tribal dominated and LWE affected Districts of the State.

## 2. Objectives, Methodology, Study Area and Sample

The study examines status of and barriers to school education in Chhatisgarh, with a focus on the LWE Districts. While the status of school education has been examined with reference to access and facilities, the barriers to education have been examined at three levels: (a) socio-economic, (b) school and infrastructure, and (c) local conditions (conflict).

The study uses both, the primary and secondary data. The primary data have been collected from the field, i.e. schools, teachers, children, parents and community members through structured schedules, focus group discussions (FGD) and case studies. A mixed method of purposive and random sampling was adopted for the survey.

The survey was conducted in Bastar and Sukma, the two LWE Districts[2] of the State. Both these Districts have high concentration of tribal population and low level of literacy rates. The STs constitute 70.3 percent of the total population in Bastar and 88.3 percent in Sukma. Against the State average literacy rate of 70.3 percent, it is 54.4 percent in Bastar and 42.3 percent in Sukma.

The survey was conducted in the Bakawand Block of Bastar and Chhindgarh Block of Sukma Districts. A total of 25 schools, 200 lower primary students, 200 parents and 60 teachers were interviewed for this study

## 3. LWE-Affected Districts Lag Behind Non-LWE Districts

The LWE affected part of the State lags behind the non-LWE part, with respect to most of the basic facilities related to school education.

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[2] The incidence of LWE related violence in the two Districts is high. Out of 2637 LWE related casualties, reported between 2004 and 2017 in the State, 403 (15.3 percent) took place in these two Districts (149 in Bastar and 254 in Sukma).

The literacy rate of the LWE Districts lags behind that of the non-LWE Districts by 10 percentage points.  As per the Census, 2011, the average literacy rate of the LWE Districts is 68.7 percent, which is 74.0 percent in the non-LWE Districts. This varies within the LWE Districts. It is 41.6 percent in Bijapur, 42.7 percent in Dakshin Bastar Dantewada, 49 percent in Narayanpur and 54.9 percent in Bastar, some of the worst affected LWE Districts.

In Chhattisgarh, 73.4 percent of boys and 77.5 percent of girls are enrolled in government schools. Dependence on government schools is higher in the LWE Districts: boys' and girls' enrolment in government schools is 78.1 percent and 81.7 percent respectively. In terms of number, 92.3 percent schools in the LWE Districts and 84.3 percent schools in the Non-LWE Districts (class I to VIII schools) are government schools.

92.3 percepnt of the schools in the LWE Districts and 84.3 percent schools (elementary classes I to VIII) in the Non-LWE Districts, are government. The share of private schools is higher in developed Districts, like Raipur, Durg and Bilaspur with large urban population. On the other hand, the share of government schools is higher in the backward and LWE Districts.

The dominance of government schools in the backward and LWE Districts has economic reasons as well. The private players, most of them enter into school business for profit making, do not find the region attractive, as the income level of the majority of population is low.

Although there is a heavy dependence of the population on government schools for elementary education in the State, yet the number of government schools has declined by 2.61 percent between 2007-08 and 2016-17. On the other hand, there has been a phenomenal growth of private schools by 54.27 percent over the same period. Further, the average number of primary schools both government and private per thousand 6-14 age child population was 15 in 2005-06 that declined to 13 in 2015-16. The average number of upper primary both government and private schools per thousand 6-14 age child population has remained constant between 2007-08 and 2015-16. The decline in the number of primary schools, i.e. the entry level of education is a matter of concern, as 6-14 age group population have grown by 8.70 percent between 2001 and 2011.

The access to school is dependent on its availability within the prescribed distance norms. The Right to Education Act, 2009, prescribes a distance norms for the availability of a primary school within one kilometre distance, and an upper primary school within three kilometres.

The NSSO 71<sup>st</sup> round (2014) shows that in the State, distance to a nearest primary school is more than one kilometre for 4 percent of the households, and distance to a nearest upper-primary school is more than three kilometres for 9 percent of the households. In the LWE Districts, the situation is worse, with 6 percent of the households and 11 percent of the households were not accessing primary and upper primary schools respectively, as per the distance norms of the RTE Act.

The availability of total schools (government and private) varies across the Districts. In nine out of 18 Districts[3], the average number of elementary schools per 1000 school-going population is less than the State average of 20 schools. These Districts include Bastar, Naryanpur, Dakshin Bastar Dantewada and Bijapur, the four worst affected LWE Districts. In a few Districts, like Janjgir-Champa and Kabeerdham, the average number of schools per thousand 6-14 age population is substantially higher than the State average.

The average number of teachers per school is lower in the former. In the LWE Districts, 15.0 percent schools, against 9.9 percent of the Schools in the non-LWE Districts, do not have a single teacher with requisite professional qualification, i.e. training in teacher education.

Most of the schools, lacking basic infrastructural facilities in the State, are located in the LWE Districts. Out of 832 schools without buildings, 781 are located in the LWE Districts and only 51 in non-LWE Districts. Out of 1000 schools with dilapidated buildings, 686 are located in the former and only 314 in the latter. Out of 18021 schools without electricity, 12129 (67.3 percent) of them are located in the LWE Districts. Out of 1520 schools without drinking water facilities, 1092 (71.8 percent) are found in the LWE Districts.

The Nation Achievement Survey (NAS 2014) of the National Council of Education Research and Training (NCERT) and Annual Status of Education Report (ASER 2014 and 2016) show poor performance of the State in terms of learning outcome. Further, the learning outcome of rural students is poorer than those of their urban counterparts. Among the social categories, the ST students lag behind others. The analysis of learning outcome across various regions of the State shows that Bastar, the LWE-affected region, has lower level of achievement in comparison to other regions of the State.

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[3] At the time of Census 2011, there were 18 Districts only. The number of Districts in the State has increased to 27 since then.

## 4. Findings from the Field

There are two types of barriers to school education– demand side and supply side. Demand side barriers emanate from the socio-economic conditions of population. They are related to factors like economic status of the family, the level of education of parents, appreciation of the value of education, socio-cultural traditions and other norms and values of society. Supply-side barriers consist of factors, like availability of schools, teachers, basic infrastructure in school, syllabi, pedagogy, etc. There are also local conditions and conflict related barriers. Among all of the above factors, the availability of schools within accessible distance is the most important one, as the availability of others depends on the former.

### 4.1. Availability and Accessibility of Schools

Unlike in many other States where the number of private schools has increased dramatically over the years, in Chhattisgarh government schools continue to dominate both in terms of absolute number of schools and enrolment of students. 95.6 percent of the schools in Bastar and 97.6 percent of the elementary schools in Sukma Districts are government. Private schools are located mostly at the District Headquarters.

The distribution of schools per thousand 6-14 age population is uneven across Blocks in both the Districts. It varies from six schools per thousand 6-14 age population in Sukma Block of Sukma District to three schools per thousand 6-14 age population in Bakawand Block of Bastar District.

The average distance of a school is a matter of concern in the Bastar region. Given the sparse habitations, difficult geographical terrains and conflict situation, it is all the more important that schools are available within the prescribed distance norms. The existing numbers of schools do not meet the RTE distance norms of a primary school within one kilometre and an upper primary school within three kilometres. A large number of students were found walking up to three kilometres, and some of them even five kilometres to reach their schools.

### 4.2. Lack of Basic Facilities in Schools

There has been an improvement in basic facilities, mandated under the Right to Education Act, 2009, in the study area. But, much needs to be done. There are a number of schools with dilapidated buildings. There are many schools without classrooms. In many schools,

the mid-day meal (MDM) is not provided. In Bastar District, in a number of schools, the MDM is not prepared in the school premises. In 90 percent of the schools, there is no provision for computer aided learning. Most of the schools are without electricity, except for Jagdalpur Block, the Headquarters of Bastar District. Drinking water facilities are also lacking in many schools. In a number of schools, the mandatory medical check-up was not conducted in 2016-17.

### 4.3. Number and Quality of Teachers

Both in Bastar and Sukma Districts, the average number of teachers per school is less than the State average.  It also varies across the Blocks. The average number of teachers per school is the highest in Jagdalpur Block, the District Headqarters. Given the conflict situation, it is not surprising that teachers prefer to station themselves at the District Headquarters.

A little more than one fifth of the schools (21.3 percent in Bastar and 20.9 percent in Sukma) do not have a single teacher with requisite professional qualification. The figure is as high as 39.2 percent in Bastanar Block of Bastar District and 36 percent in Konta Block of Sukma District. Out of the 60 sample teachers from 20 schools, 43.33 percent of them were not having any training in teacher education. Interestingly, a number of them were having higher educational qualifications, like post-graduate degree, but without training in education.

Most of the teachers are on contract. The State Government has stopped appointing school teachers on a regular basis for long. Although the contract teachers, also called Panchyat teachers, have been placed in pay scales, and many of them have been working for years, yet a sense of insecurity prevails in them.

The problem of lack of qualified teachers is quite serious in the case of Portakabins, which are a kind of makeshift residential schools, established in the conflict Districts. Portakabins are practically run by ad-hoc caretakers cum *Anudeshaks/Anudeshikas*. They are not only appointed on ad-hoc basis, but their pays and service conditions are quite unsatisfactory. They are also employed with very low educational qualifications. They are not trained in education, and work with a sense of insecurity, as they are given one year contract.

## 4.4. Resident Status of Teachers

Teacher absenteeism is an issue in the study area. The chances of their being absent are higher if they do not reside in the respective villages or Gram Panchayats where their schools are located. In rural areas, there is limited rental market of residential houses. Women teachers in particular face great difficulty in finding suitable accommodation. The policy of appointing teachers from the local area was adopted with a view to ensuring the presence of teachers in schools. But only about one-fourth of the teachers were residents of the same Panchayats where the schools were located. The majority of them were residents of outside the Block and the District. It is understood that given the lack of adequate means of transport, difficult terrains, commuting is not easy in this region. Punctuality and attendance become a matter of concern in such a situation.

## 4.5. Loss of Working Days due to Administrative Responsibilities

On an average, a school was open for 235 days. Two-thirds of the teachers were assigned administrative duties. Election, Census, BPL listing and Aadhaar Card making were the administrative duties assigned to them. On an average, a teacher was assigned 27 days of administrative duties in a year. In a few cases, they were assigned 60 days in a year.

## 4.6. Language, Curriculum and Learning

While most of the children were from tribal community, the majority of teachers were from the non-tribal communities, and some of them were from other parts of the State as well. Most of the teachers teach in Hindi, whereas most of the tribal students converse in their mother tongues, like Halvi, Bharthri, etc.  They find it difficult to understand lessons in Hindi. Only a few of the teachers were able to communicate in the mother tongues of the tribal children. While in Bastar, most of the teachers surveyed claimed to understand the local tribal languages, in Sukma only 50 percent of them reported that they understand the local tribal languages.

Another disadvantage, which these children have, is that they are the first generation learners. They do not get any support from their parents at home. There is no provision for pre-primary education that could have equipped them to cope with class room teaching. As a result of the above, many of such students lose interest in their study, and finally, drop-out.

The course contents of the prescribed textbooks in the State suggests that there is a disconnection between the syllabi and the socio-economic life of the local population (tribal society). Many of the students drop-out because of this reason only. During festivals, some of which last for 10-15 days; children from tribal community do not attend schools. Once they miss lessons for 10-15 days, they are not able to cover up.

### 4.7. Discrimination and Abuses in Schools

Most of the non-tribal teachers have little appreciation and understanding of the way of the life of tribal communities. They look down upon the tribal society and often treat them with disdain.

About one-fourth of the students (47 out of 200) reported that teachers gave preferential treatment to some students. The incidences of preferential treatment were reported more from Sukma than from Bastar District. They gave preferential treatment to toppers, students belonging to better off parents and wards of teachers. Interestingly, some of them also gave preferential treatment to poor children.

Class-room abuses were also prevalent. A number of girls and boys reported some kinds of abuses by some of their teachers. The incidences of abuses were higher in Sukma District. Physical abuses were more prevalent than verbal abuses. The matter of concern is that the cases of abuses are not reported. A few of them share their experiences with their parents, but none of them had ever reported these cases to their headmasters.

### 4.8. Low Attendance

There was a gap in the enrolment and actual attendance. The gap was higher in Sukma than in Bastar District. It was higher in the case of girls than in boys. In Sukma District, in none of the classes examined, i.e. class I to V, the attendance of students was above 50 percent of the total strength. In some of the classes, the attendance, especially of girls, was only one third of their total strength. There were also a number of drop-out cases in both the Districts. Again the number of drop-outs was higher in Sukma.

### 4.9. Family Related Socio-Economic Barriers

The poor economic conditions of the parents were found to be adversely affecting education of their children. Due to the pressure of necessity to earn, children are compelled

to work along with their study. A very large number of school going children, (179 out of 200 children) were found to be working. The proportion of working students was higher in girls (96 percent) than in boys (85.6 percent).

A logistic regression of the binary variable shows that there is a positive impact of father's education and occupation on the work status of school-going children. While father's education and occupation were statistically significant, the impact of education and occupation of mother was not statistically significant.

A very high number of students were found working to supplement the income of their families. Out of 100 boys, who were working, 64 were engaged in cattle rearing; 13 were helping their fathers in their professions; 11 were helping their mothers in their domestic chores; and another 11 of them were doing multiple works, like cattle rearing, helping their fathers in their professions, and mothers in their domestic chores, etc.

The low economic conditions of the families were mainly because of limited economic activities and opportunities available in the region. The majority of the parents were subsistence farmers, and were heavily dependent on forest products for cash income[4]. They send their children to collect forest products. In both the Districts, the school going children were found engaged in collecting mahua, tarmarind and tendu leaves during the school hours.  In the months of March-April, the main season of mahua, a large number of children were engaged in collecting of mahua during school hours.  Attendance falls during the season of forest products collection.  Teachers hunt them in the forest area when they do not turn up in the morning.

### 4.10. Problems of First Generation Learner

Nearly 55 percent of the parents were found to be illiterate. The percentage of illiterate parents was higher in Sukma District. About 20 percent of the parents were only primary pass and a little more than 11percent were upper primary pass. About 10 percent of them were secondary pass, and only four percent of them were higher secondary and above pass. The gaps in the literacy rates of fathers and mothers of children were sharp. When parents go out for work in the morning, their school going children, particularly girls, look after

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[4]Mahua, Tendu Patta, Amchur, Tarmarind, and salfi juice (a kind of toddy) were the main forest products which provide them an important source of earning.

their younger siblings. Most of the students did not study in the evening. Parents do not help them in their study at home. Nor do they encourage them to do so.

## 4.11. Socio-Cultural Barriers

Festivals form an important part of the socio-cultural life of tribal society. They indulge in festivals which are many in numbers. Celebration of some of these festivals last for days and weeks during which students do not attend schools. During the festivals, attendance drops dramatically and this takes a toll on the education of absentee children.

Malaria, jaundice, encephalitis, cholera, etc. were common diseases reported to be found among the children in the study region. High prevalence of diseases in children affects their regular attendance in schools. Although there is a provision for health check-up in schools, the check-up exercise pertains mainly to the measurement of body mass index (BMI) and weight. Out of 200 students, 187 confirmed that they were examined by a medical practitioner in their schools.

## 4.12. Closure of Schools due to Conflict

During visit to the interior areas of Sukma District, it was observed that a number of schools were closed. A few of them were blasted; a few of them were deserted. In some the cases, teachers were truants, as they were hounded both by the Naxalites and the police. Teachers posted in the conflict areas, remain absent to avoid any difficult situation including threat to their lives.

It was reported that the Naxalites blast a school to pre-empt it being converted into a police camp, the Naxalites blast it. Since school buildings are the only public buildings available in those areas, police and paramilitary forces often use them for camping or taking a break during patrolling.

Secondary schools are the main target of both the Naxals and the police, as these schools because of their size and space available, can be easily converted into police camps. The drop-out rate is high at the secondary level. In some of the surveyed villages, most of the students dropped-out after completion of their elementary education. The main reason for this is the lack of any secondary school in the village or in the nearby villages. In comparison to the primary and upper primary, the number of secondary schools is low in both the Districts. The situation is alarming in Sukma District.

*4.13. Portakabins: Make-Shift Residential Schools*

The government has established a number of portakabins, a type of make-shift residential schools. Portakabins have been established in large numbers in Sukma and other LWE-Districts. However, against the mandate of admitting students from a distance of more than eight kilometers, most of the students admitted in these portakabins were from surrounding areas only. There are caretakers who are mobilizers of students. These care takers do not go deep inside the interior areas. They move from village to village to mobilize students between April and July. Many of the students come on themselves. There is a provision for giving preference to drop-outs, Naxal affected, poor and other children in that order. But an examination of admitted students of a portakabin for girls shows that there were only two girls who were affected by Naxal-related violence. These portakabins are situated mostly near the road where patrolling is intense.

## 5. Recommendations

### 5.1. Holistic Approach

Since poverty and illiteracy of parents affect education of their children, the barriers to education of children should not be seen independent of the socio-economic conditions of their parents. There is a need for a holistic approach. Efforts should be made to improve social and economic conditions along with the specific measures adopted for improving the educational status of entire population. Opening of schools, improvement in pedagogy, although they are important, would not serve the purpose, till poor parents are compelled to send their children to collect forest products during school hours, or their children help them in their respective occupations.

### 5.2. Universal Access to Schools

Government schools are the dominant source of school education in the State. However, the number of government schools has declined in recent years. Apart from arresting the declining number of government schools, efforts should be made to assess the number of habitations that remain uncovered with a primary school and provide them on priority basis.

## 5.3. Universal Enrolment and Retention

While there has been a substantial increase in the enrolment ratio in the State over the years, there is a problem of absenteeism and drop-outs, especially in the study areas. Drop-out at the secondary level is a major concern. The main reason for this is the lack of adequate number of secondary schools. In some of the surveyed villages, most of the children drop-out after completing their elementary level of education, as there is no secondary school within accessible distance. The villagers informed that the average distance of a secondary school was more than 10 kilometres.

## 5.4. Meeting the Lack of Availability of Basic Facilities

There is a lack of availability of basic facilities in schools. A credible independent assessment of the availability of basic facilities in schools is needed to arrive at accurate data for making intervention. Since our survey of schools was confined to only 20 schools, a large scale survey would be useful to assess the situation. At the same time, efforts should be made to provide these facilities on priority basis.

## 5.5. Mother Tongue-based Multilingual Education

Many of the children in Bastar and Sukma Districts are not conversant in Hindi, the official medium of instruction in the State. Although the Chhattisgarh Government has adopted a policy of providing a few chapters of the textbooks in the tribal languages, this was not found very helpful, as most of the teachers were not well versed in the tribal languages. It is suggested that a provision should be made to train teachers, posted in the tribal region, in tribal languages. At the same time, efforts should be made to provide reading materials in their mother tongues in the initial years.

## 5.6. Teachers and Their Training

The Chhattisgarh Government has stopped recruiting teachers on a regular basis. Instead, it appoints teachers on a contract basis, who are called Panchayat Teachers. The service conditions of these teachers need to be improved to provide them a sense of security.

12.5 percent of the schools in the State do not have a single teacher with required professional qualification. Situation is worse in the study region: 21.3 percent of the schools in Bastar and 20.9 percent in Sukma do not have a single professionally qualified

teacher. The problem is more serious in the case of portakabins, which are run mostly by caretakers cum *Anudeshaks/Anudeshikas*.

All untrained teachers should be provided training in a mission mode approach. At the same time, the government should change the policy of recruitment, so that professionally qualified teachers are appointed on a regular basis.

### *5.7. Contextual Pedagogy and Curriculum*

The pedagogy and curriculum should be rooted in the local context and should incorporate local tradition, culture, song, folk and drama. There should be a provision for children with special needs, especially of those who have been traumatised by conflict.

### *5.8. Provision for Supplementary Classes*

Most of the tribal children are first generation learners who do not get any help in their studies by their parents at home. In the absence of any help from the parents at home they need additional support. Supplementary education/ evening classes would be helpful in such cases.

### *5.9. Child Protection Mechanism*

In schools, especially in residential schools, children should be protected from verbal, physical and sexual abuses. There are reports of incidences of physical and verbal abuses. There were also cases of discrimination and preferential treatment.

An orientation programme for the teachers should be started to educate them in this respect. Students should also be made aware and encouraged to report such cases.

### *5.10. Interactive Learning processes and Providing Teaching Learning Materials (TLMs)*

First generation students were reported to be slow learners. According to a study, 36 percent of the children in the State were slow learners. Many of the teachers told that they lose interest in repeating the same lessons multiple times. TLMs with pictorial forms can help such students to learn things easily.

### 5.11. Awareness camps on education as a part of local festivals

There is a lack of awareness about the importance of education, especially in tribal population. Local festivals and fairs can be used to create awareness about education in the tribal society. These festivals and fairs can also be used for generating awareness about the scholarships and other facilities provided by the government.

### 5.12. Increasing the number of Residential schools

Residential schools are popular among the local population. However, they are only limited in numbers. There is a queue of applicants due to shortage of seats.

### 5.13. Promoting Sports

There is a need to nurture tribal children in sports. Their talent remains un-tapped. Sports facilities can be provided at the school level. This may also encourage students to come to schools regularly. Special provisions for this purpose can be made in residential schools.

# Chapter 1

# Introduction

## 1.1. The Problem Posed

Chhattisgarh, a mineral-resource rich State, with a high concentration of tribal population, is characterised by a low level of social, educational and human development. As per the Education Development Index (EDI, 2013-14)[1], the State is placed at a rank that is lower than the national level average, and much lower than the ranks of educationally developed States. The State is placed at the 24th position out of 29 States in terms of the Social Development Index (SDI, 2016). Its overall score in the human development index is lower than the national average and much lower than those of the developed States of India (HDI, 2010).

The performance of the State with respect to school education, an important component of social and human development, is poor. In terms of access to elementary education, Chhattisgarh is ranked at the 14th position among all the States and Union Territories (UTs) of India.  It stood at rank 21 among all the States and UTs of India with respect to access to school, infrastructural facilities, teacher's qualification and learning outcome (Economic Survey, Government of India, 2016-17. p.A161).

The level of educational development in the State varies across social categories, that is, Scheduled Castes (SCs), Scheduled Tribes (STs), and others. Among the social categories, the condition of STs is worse than that of the other categories. It also varies across regions. The Left Wing Extremism (LWE) districts lag behind the non-LWE ones with respect to most of the indicators of educational development.[2]

The average literacy rate in the State is 70.3 per cent, with the corresponding figures being 70.8 per cent for SCs and 59.1 per cent for STs (Census, 2011). The literacy rate among females in the ST category is abysmally low at 48 per cent (Census, 2011). Similarly, as

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[1] Report of Workshop on Educational Development Index (EDI),2014, Department of Educational Management Information System (EMIS), NUEPA

[2] There are 27 districts in the State. Out of them, 16 districts, namely, Bastar, Bijapur, Dantewada, Jashpur, Kanker, Koriya, Narayanpur, Rajnandgaon, Sarguja, Dhamtari, Mahasamund, Gariyaband, Balod, Sukma, Kondagaon, and Balrampur are LWE-affected (Press Information Bureau, Government of India, Ministry of Home Affairs, 2016).

against the State literacy rate of 70.3 per cent, the literacy rate of the LWE districts is 68.7 per cent and of the non-LWE districts 74.0 per cent (Census, 2011).

The LWE districts have high concentration of tribal population, with 49.3 per cent of the total population of these districts comprising STs. The ST population accounts for 17.9 per cent of the total population in the non-LWE districts and 30.6 per cent in the State as a whole. The STs constitute more than 75 per cent of the total population in the LWE districts like Bijapur, Dakshin Bastar Dantewada,[3] and Narayanpur (Annexure 1.1).

While the economic backwardness of the LWE districts and LWE-related violence in the region have drawn a great deal of attention, educational deprivations, especially of elementary education, have not drawn adequate attention. The excessive attention to security and conflicts in the LWE districts has overshadowed the larger and long-term issues of social sector development. Moreover, the infrastructure-centric approach of development has diverted attention from the priority of addressing the problem of social and human development in the region, perhaps a cause of LWE- and related violence.

This study examines the status of school education in Chhattisgarh with a focus on the barriers to school education in Bastar and Sukma, the two tribal-dominated and LWE Districts of the State.

## 1.2. Historical Background of Tribal Education

### 1.2.1. Tribal Education in the Pre-Independence Period

The population is mostly found in the forest and hill areas of the State that are not well-connected with the mainstream. They remained in seclusion for a long period of time before the advent of the British colonial government, when the tribal regions were thrown open. They were brought under development for the purpose of revenue collection; uniformity in administration; and extension of roads, railways, and other means of transport and communication. In the process, non-tribals encroached upon their lands, and gradually displaced them from their land and resources to the extent that the tribal population were pushed to the margin (Brahmanandam and Bosu Babu, 2016). As they became politically aware, they started resorting to protests and agitations to protect their land and resources from outsiders and non-tribal intruders. In order to mitigate the tribal unrest, the colonial

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[3] Presently separated as the Dantewada and Sukma districts.

government introduced the concept of partially or completely excluded areas, which later on became the 5th and 6th Schedule Areas during the post-Independence period.

The education policy of the government during the pre-Independence period was not geared towards mass education. The British colonial government was reluctant to invest in education in difficult and remote areas. Instead, it encouraged missionaries to spread out into the tribal areas, and wean them away to Christianity through education (Xaxa Committee Report, 2014). There was a need for special efforts to encourage the tribal population to adopt modern education. This necessitated imparting training in the tribal language to teachers, and familiarising them with their culture. The colonial government was, however, not interested in making these efforts to promote the education of the tribal population. Only a few government and some missionary schools in the tribal areas were opened during the colonial period.

The education of the tribal population thus remained neglected during the colonial period, As a result of which the tribal population lagged behind the other sections of society (Xaxa Committee Report, 2014). In 1951, the ST literacy rate was merely 3.5 per cent, which was much lower than the national average of 21.1 per cent.

During the post-Independence period, special efforts are being made to ensure the socio-economic development of the weaker sections of society; provisions for which were made in the Constitution, especially in the Directive Principles of State Policy. Article 46 of the Constitution provides for the promotion of education among the SCs, STs, and other weaker sections of society. It states: "The state shall promote with special care the educational and economic interests of the weaker sections of the people, and, in particular, of the Schedule Castes and the Scheduled Tribes and shall protect them from social justice and all forms of exploitation" (Bakshi, 2007, p.107).

### 1.2.2. Five Year Plans and Tribal Education

A number of measures have been adopted to enhance the socio-economic status of the tribal population during the post-Independence period. These include special efforts under the Five Year Plans (FYPs).

In the First Five Year Plan, the government promoted education in the tribal areas by opening about 4000 schools. Those included 1000 *Ashrams* and *Sevashram* schools and 650 *Sanskar*

*Kendras, Balwadis* and Community Centres in the central tribal belt between Odisha in the East and Rajasthan and Maharashtra in the West. During the First Five Year Plan, the government also provided assistance in the forms of scholarships, grants, and hostel fees.

In the Second Five Year Plan, the government established 43 special multi-purpose tribal Blocks, which were later renamed as Tribal Development Blocks, with a view to according special attention to the development needs of the tribal population. During the Second Plan period, the Union Government appointed a commission headed by U.N. Dhebar to look into the problems of the development of the ST population and to suggest measures for their socio-economic upliftment. The Dhebar Commission identified some specific reasons for the overall backwardness of the STs and the low level of their educational achievements. It suggested broad policy measures for improving their socio-economic conditions. A few years later, the Kothari Commission on Education (1964–1966) also examined the reasons for the low educational status of the tribal population and made recommendations on the lines of the Dhebar Commission. The Kothari Commission emphasised the need for intensive efforts to provide five years of elementary education to all tribal children by the year 1975–76.

Notwithstanding the efforts of the first two Five Year Plans, however, not much improvement was seen in the educational status of the tribal population. The ST literacy rate remained at 8.5 per cent in 1961 while the female ST literacy rate was as low as 3.2 per cent. The Third Five Year Plan focused attention on the construction of residential schools in the tribal areas, which led to the construction of a number of residential *Ashram* schools and hostels in the tribal areas.  The Fourth Five Year Plan continued the approach adopted by the previous Plans.

The Fifth Five Year Plan (1974–78) made a departure from the earlier Plans by launching the Tribal Sub-Plan (TSP), which made provisions for the earmarking of resources for the development of the tribal population. The TSP resulted in a substantial increase in the allocation of funds for the development of tribal population, with a focus on infrastructure in the tribal areas and the targeting of tribal beneficiaries for development programmes.

The fourth All India Education Survey, 1978, was completed by the end of the Fifth Five Year Plan. It found slow progress of education among the ST population, with the lack of access to schools in the tribal areas being a major constraining factor. It showed that about 25,000 tribal habitats were without any schools, and that only 18.8 per cent of the tribal

population had access to higher secondary schools. Access to secondary schools was, however, better, with 82.18 per cent of the population having a secondary school within a distance of eight kilometres. The status of education among the ST population continued to be poor. The Sixth Year Plan noted that 56 per cent of the total tribal children, including 49 per cent of the boys and 70 per cent of the girls, were deprived of elementary education.

The Seventh Five Year Plan (1985-90) gave priority to elementary education for children in the age group of 6–14 years, and aimed at universalising it by 1990. It also accorded special attention to the education of tribal children. The Seventh Five Year Plan was full of promotional activities designed to enhance enhancing literacy and education. The National Policy on Education (NPE), 1986, aimed at, among other things, increased the participation of disadvantaged sections of the society in education. In 1987, the Union Government launched Operation Black Board, with the main objective of providing basic infrastructural facilities like classrooms, and teachers, in all the schools. In 1988, the Government of India launched the National Literacy Mission with a view to cultivating among the adult population a positive attitude towards the compulsory education of children. In 1990–91, the government launched *Ashram* schools at the primary to secondary levels under the TSP, with a fund-sharing arrangement between the Union and the State Governments in a 50: 50 ratio.

The Ninth Five Year Plan (1992–97) prioritised bridging the gap in the levels of development between the ST and non-ST population. It intensified the efforts launched during the previous Plans and stressed the need to strengthen infrastructural facilities like the construction of school buildings, additional classrooms, laboratories and equipment used in them, computers, furniture, and play materials, along with other initiatives such as the upgradation of schools at all levels, opening of residential schools, construction of vocational training centres, and provision of basic amenities like toilets and drinking water in the schools.

Since 2000–2001, the Sarva Shiksha Abhiyan (SSA) has been the flagship programme of the government. This programme is aimed at achieving universal elementary education with a target of providing complete five years of primary schooling to all the children by 2007, and eight years of schooling to all the children by 2010. Further, with the enactment of the 86th Constitutional Amendment Act, 2002, and subsequently the Right to Education (RTE) Act, 2009, free and compulsory education of all the children in the age group of 6–14 years became a fundamental right. In 2004, the Union Government launched a fully residential

school scheme for girls, called the Kasturba Gandhi Balika Vidyalayas (KGBVs), in the backward areas with a view to promoting education for girls in these areas. The KGBVs have mostly been established in the backward Blocks, including many of those inhabited by the tribal population.

### 1.2.3. Improvement and Gaps in Tribal Education

There has been a dramatic improvement in the literacy rate of the tribal population since the 1980s. It increased from 16.4 per cent in 1981 to 63.1 per cent in 2011, signifying a remarkably high growth rate in tribal literacy. However, the growth in the ST literacy rate has been lower than those of the other communities. Figure 1.1 shows the social category-wise growth in literacy rates and existing gaps among the social groups.

**Figure 1.1  Literacy Rates of SCs, STs and Others between 1961 and 2011**
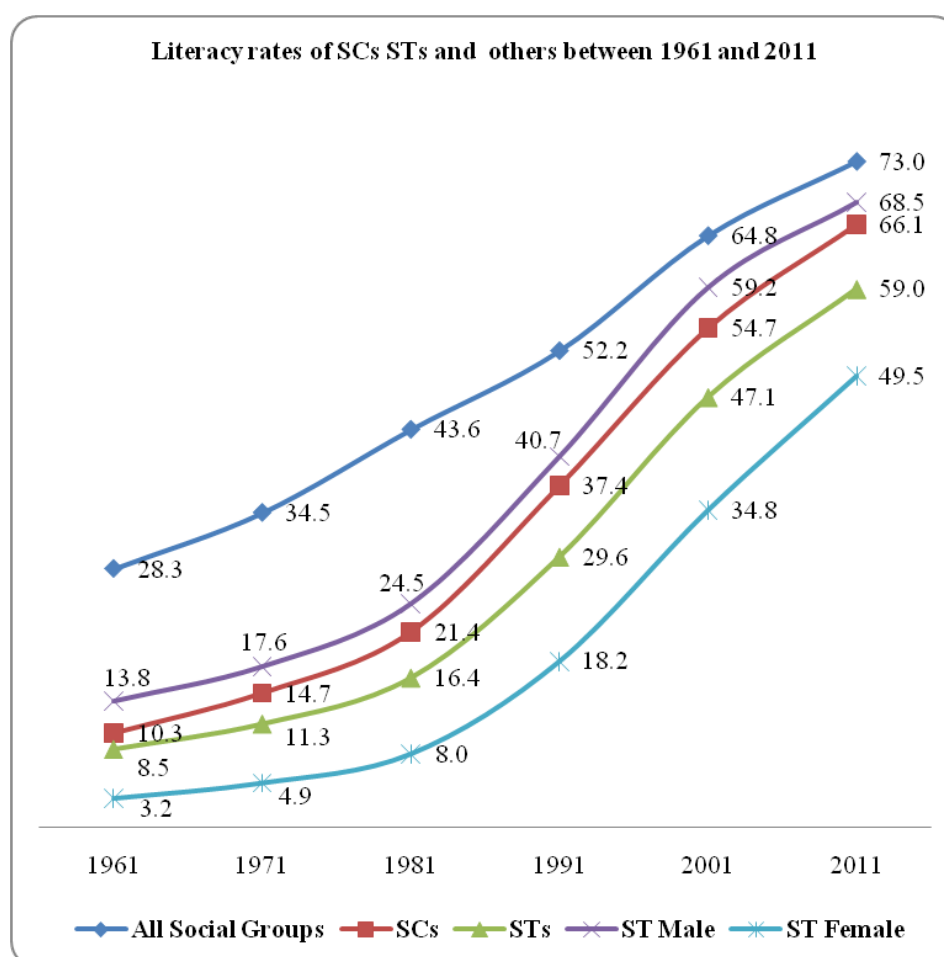


*Source*: Prepared by the Authors rom the Census data.

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While there has been an increase in the overall literacy rate of the ST population, the gap in the male female literacy rates in the tribal population continues to be high. More importantly, the gap has widened since the 1980s, which coincides with the period that witnessed an increase in the overall literacy rate of the tribal population. This suggests that the high growth rate in the literacy rate of the ST population has largely been driven by the high growth rate in the male literacy rate.

The drop-out rate among the ST population continues to be high, In 2014, it was 31.3 per cent for the Class I–V (ST) students but the drop-out rates were much higher at the higher levels of classes, at 48.2 per cent for those in classes I–VIII and 62.4 per cent for those in classes I–X (Table 1.1).

**Table 1.1: Drop-out Rates of ST Students in Different Class Groups**

| Year | Classes (I-V) | | | Classes (I-VIII) | | | Classes (I-X) | | |
|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|
| | *Boys* | *Girls* | *Total* | *Boys* | *Girls* | *Total* | *Boys* | *Girls* | *Total* |
| 1960-61 | 60.3 | 66.1 | 62.5 | 75.7 | 82.2 | 78.6 | 83.3 | 87.7 | 85.0 |
| 1970-71 | 51.0 | 54.1 | 52.3 | 67.3 | 72.7 | 68.7 | 79.9 | 82.9 | 81.2 |
| 1980-81 | 50.8 | 52.1 | 51.4 | 66.9 | 71.2 | 68.7 | 78.4 | 83.0 | 80.3 |
| 1990-91 | 49.1 | 48.7 | 48.9 | 69.0 | 71.4 | 70.1 | 77.9 | 81.2 | 79.3 |
| 2000-01 | 42.6 | 42.0 | 42.3 | 65.0 | 67.1 | 65.9 | 77.8 | 80.7 | 79.0 |
| 2005-06 | 40.2 | 39.3 | 39.8 | 62.9 | 62.9 | 62.9 | 78.0 | 79.2 | 78.5 |
| 2006-07 | 30.6 | 35.8 | 33.1 | 62.8 | 62.2 | 62.5 | 77.3 | 79.1 | 78.1 |
| 2007-08 | 31.0 | 31.7 | 31.3 | 62.6 | 62.3 | 62.5 | 76.0 | 78.0 | 76.9 |
| 2008-09 | 32.2 | 30.2 | 31.3 | 57.7 | 59.0 | 58.3 | 75.6 | 76.9 | 76.2 |
| 2009-10 | 35.2 | 33.7 | 34.5 | 55.2 | 60.6 | 57.8 | 74.7 | 75.9 | 75.2 |
| 2010-11 | 37.2 | 33.9 | 35.6 | 54.7 | 55.4 | 55.0 | 70.6 | 71.3 | 70.9 |
| 2013-14 | 31.9 | 30.7 | 31.3 | 49.8 | 46.4 | 48.2 | 63.2 | 61.4 | 62.4 |

*Source*: Educational Statistics at a Glance, 2012 and 2014.

## 1.3. Education, Tribal Population and Conflict Areas: A Review

### 1.3.1. Tribal Society and Education

There are multiple barriers to the education of the tribal population. These barriers pertain to their socio-economic conditions; economic deprivations; their inhibitions in mixing with the mainstream society; and also the lack of access to schools and basic facilities in their areas. In the LWE districts, social conflict could be another factor responsible for the low education rates.

The Dhebar Commission, 1960, as cited in the Xaxa Committee Report, 2014, identified the geographical isolation of the tribal population as an important barrier to their education. It underlined the fact that there was a gulf between teachers and tribal students. It also identified

the non-inclusion of the tribal culture, language, and their socio-cultural traditions in the curriculum as a factor. The Commission emphasised that poverty and economic necessity also compelled parents to send their children to work for augmenting the family earnings. The National Policy on Education, 1986, examined the incidence of high drop-out rates among tribal children and attributed it mainly to the fact that they were the first generation learners. The Xaxa Committee, 2014, also underlined various reasons like the inadequacy of teachers in government schools, lack of trained teachers in the tribal regions, absenteeism of teachers in schools in remote areas, absenteeism of girl children in the conflict affected regions, and irregular school attendance of children, as the other factors responsible for children dropping out of school. It emphasized that the absenteeism of teachers has increased and small schools have become ineffective. In most of the States, Hindi or regional languages are used for classroom teaching, which are not understood by the tribal children at the primary level of their schooling. The Vision 2020 document, as cited by the Xaxa Committee Report, lays an emphasis on Multi-Lingual Education (MLE) in view of the low level of literacy among the ST population, and high rates of dropouts and low learning achievements among the tribal children.

Poverty is also identified as a major barrier to education. There is a high concentration of poverty among the tribal population. As compared to the head-count poverty ratio of 29.5 per cent among the total population of the country, it is 42 per cent among the ST population (Rangarajan Committee Report, 2014). Due to the high incidence of poverty, limited economic opportunities and low levels of income, tribal children are compelled to work either along with their parents or independently, to supplement their families' incomes (Sahu, 2014; Govinda and Bandopadhyay, 2010). Govinda and Bandopadhyay (2010) found that most of the ST students who were out of schools were either working with their parents or migrating along with their families. They further argued that the education and health of children are also dependent on the nutritional status of their mothers, the education levels of their parents, and their work status.

Given the poor educational background of the parents of the tribal children, there is little appreciation of the importance of education among them. Since education does not give any immediate returns, such parents prefer to engage their children in work rather than send them to schools. They have low appreciation of the intrinsic value of education. Moreover, even if

their children go to schools, parents do not help them in their studies at home, nor do they encourage them to do so (Balagopalan, 2003).

The higher level of educational deprivations among the ST girls is due to the fact that they have to stay back at home to take care of their siblings. This is especially the case if the girl child is older than her siblings. Dreze and Kingdon (1999) and Reddy and Sinha (2010) have found that the elder girl child is often deprived of schooling, as she takes care of her younger siblings, or supports the parents in their work. They have also pointed out that girls from the SC, ST and OBC communities are less likely to attend school than their upper-caste counterparts. Sujatha (1996) has emphasized the role of socio-cultural traditions in determining the level of education, especially among girls, and argued that they are often made to stay back at home instead of joining school. She (2002), however, appreciates the efforts of the government to promote education, especially among ST girls. The government considers education as an important vehicle for bringing the tribal population into mainstream society but the tribal society tends to be sceptical of modern education. They apprehend that it may lead to their 'de-tribalisation' (Sujatha, 2002).

Tribal students face difficulties in adjusting to the school environment because of the barriers of language, pedagogy, and the behaviour of teachers, among other things. Emphasizing language as a barrier, Ramachandran and Noarem (2013) argue that when the language of a teacher is different from that of the student, there is an apparent communication gap between the student and the teacher. Gautam (2003) attributes this to the implementation of the wrong policy of selection of teachers whereby they are appointed from the non-tribal communities and non-tribal regions, with little knowledge of tribal culture and language. The language barrier often results in students dropping out.

The cultural gap between the student and teacher also has an implication on sustenance of students in school. The non-tribal teachers look upon the tribal language and culture with disdain. They treat tribal students in a derogatory way, often using abusive language against them, which causes them humiliation and psychological stress, finally leading to their dropping out of schools (Kumar, 2008). Heredia (1995) has examined this phenomenon in terms of dominance-dependence relations in classrooms and Balagopalan (2003) explains it in terms of 'upper caste hegemony' in classrooms. Bandyopadhyay (2006) suggests that teachers must understand and appreciate the different socio-economic backgrounds of

children to create an atmosphere of learning in classrooms. Ramachandran and Noarem (2013) have added that there is an unequal relation between the ST and non ST students, and between ST students and non-ST teachers in classrooms. They point out that tribal students face discrimination with respect to sitting arrangements, access to mid-day meals, and by teachers in the assigning of daily chores. They also found that students belonging to a low social status are often given menial jobs while those belonging to a higher status are assigned academic tasks.

Panda (2006) finds that the modern European style education system, including its pedagogy, is the main reason for the low level of education among the ST population. The modern education system does not incorporate the knowledge system of the tribal society.

Many studies have pointed out the lack of infrastructure and teachers in the schools located in the tribal areas (Jindal, 2015; Xaxa Committee Report, 2014) are barriers. The problem of absenteeism of teachers is very high in such areas. Further, there is poor connectivity to schools, resulting in lower level of monitoring and even lower attendance. The tribal population is largely settled in the hilly and forest areas, and tribals often live in scattered habitations. Due to the difficulty of the terrain and the scattered patterns of habitation, access to schools becomes difficult. In such areas, schools are generally opened at a central place or along the roadside to make them easily accessible to children from different and scattered habitations. The average distance of a school from habitation is higher in such areas. Students have to reach their schools by crossing hills, ridges, and local streams, which is not easy in all the seasons, especially during the monsoons. In order to overcome the geographical barriers, the government has opened '*Ashram*' schools in the tribal regions but even these are few and far between. It has also been observed that many of them are not functioning well (Thadathil and Danane, 2017). Even abusive practices have been found to be prevalent in some of these schools (Goyal, 2016).

### 1.3.2. Conflict and Education

Conflicts take their tolls on education. In a conflict situation, schools often have to be closed down. They are occupied by security forces and are used for relief measures. Smith and Vaux (2003) have shown that 82 per cent of the out-of-school children across the world live in crisis and post-crisis countries. Global Monitoring Report on Education for All (EFA, 2011) points out that in conflict situations, funds are often diverted from the social sector to defence

and military expenditure. Human Rights Watch (2009) highlights a number of conflict-related barriers to school education. The drop-out rates of students, especially of girls, increase sharply in a conflict situation. The alternative arrangements made in lieu of regular schools lack the kind of facilities that regular schools usually have.

Even teachers are reluctant to attend schools in conflict areas. The high degree of absenteeism of teachers poses another serious problem. Karam and Samonkota (2016) have pointed out that due to the ethnic conflicts and Naxal violence, the school syllabi often remain incomplete, and the number of working days in schools are reduced.

In this backdrop, the present study aims at exploring the barriers to school education in two tribal-dominated and conflict-affected districts of Chhattisgarh. While backwardness and conflict in the region have drawn a great deal of attention, educational deprivations, especially of children, being caught in the conflict region, have not been given adequate attention. The study is all the more important, as 16 out of the 27 districts of the State are conflict-affected.[4]

## 1.4. Objectives,

This study examines barriers to school education with insights from two tribal-dominated and conflict-affected LWE districts. Its other objectives include assessing the:

a. Level of infrastructural facilities, basic amenities like clean drinking water, separate toilets for boys and girls, power supply, and teaching and learning materials, etc.;

b. Level of enrolment, retention, and causes of dropout rates of male and female children;

c. Learning process and discriminatory and exclusionary practices;

d. Access to and availability of schools;

e. Educational qualifications of teachers;

f. Curriculum and medium of instruction;

g. Functioning and effectiveness of *portakabins* makeshift residential schools*;*

h. Involvement of the community in school management; and

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[4] Bastar, Bijapur, Dantewada, Jashpur, Kanker, Korea (Baikunthpur), Narayanpur, Rajnandgaon, Sarguja, Dhamtari, Mahasamund, Gariyaband, Balod, Sukma, Kondagaon, and Balrampur (LWE affected districts (2016), Press Information Bureau, Government of India, Ministry of Home Affairs)

i. Impacts of conflicts on the education of children.

The study also examines the barriers to education at the following three levels: (a) socio-economic, (b) school and infrastructure, and (c) local conditions (conflict-related).

The socio-economic barriers within families have been analysed with respect to their levels of education, their attitude towards education, their appreciation of the value of education, and the sources of their livelihoods, among other things. The study also takes into account the socio-cultural norms and values of the tribal society.

School-related barriers have been examined largely in terms of the access to schools, and the availability of teachers and basic infrastructural facilities. The problems of language and pedagogy have been examined as a barrier to education. The various questions that have been explored include: Do tribal children lose interest in schools, as the language and pedagogy are alien to them? Do classroom practices, student–teacher relations, discrimination, and abuses result in drop-outs? Do they also affect learning outcomes?

Local conditions have been analysed with respect to the topographical difficulties faced by children in accessing schools. The study examines the conflict-related problems like the unusual closure of schools, less number of working days, and shift in the locations of schools, among other things. The government has established a number of residential *portakabin*s, especially in the Sukma district, with a view to providing education to the children of the conflict-affected areas. The study also examines the functioning of select *portakabin*s.

## 1.5. Approach/Analytical Framework

Accessing and receiving quality education is a universal human right. In 1948, for the first time, quality education was made the basic right of every child by the Universal Declaration of Human Rights (UDHR). The 1960 UNESCO Convention against Discrimination in Education reinforces the right to free and compulsory quality primary education, as laid out in the 1948 UDHR, and further mandates that discrimination in education is a violation of human rights. Further, in 1989, the Convention on the Rights of the Child defined children's right to education. The Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs), Millennium Development Goals (MDGs) and other international conventions also emphasise the on reinforcement of education as a universal right to be guaranteed to all children.

However, the fulfilment of this basic human right is still a distant dream for many children around the globe. Lack of access to education for a particular set of children may be the result of a combination of multiple barriers. The growing international literature on the subject has enabled us to identify the major barriers to quality elementary education. A barrier to education can be defined as anything which holds back a child from acquiring quality education. A learner may experience various barriers in learning, which can be in the form of lack of access to an educational institution in close proximity, continuing education without proper learning, poverty and lack of funding, lack of infrastructure, cultural aspects such as being the 'wrong' gender, and contextual and situational problems like living in a region of conflict or in a harsh geographical terrain.

In order to capture the various types of barriers in the Sukma and Bastar districts, this study has broadly classified barriers into two types, that is, supply-side barriers and demand-side barriers, and sometimes situational barriers like conflict that can have a deep impact on the levels of education (Figure 1.2).

**Figure 1.2   Barriers to Elementary Education: Analytical Framework**

**Barriers to Elementary Education**

SUPPLY-SIDE BARRIERS

- Accessibility of Schools
- Basic Facilities in School
- Teacher Related Issues
- Language
- Language and Curriculum
- Discrimination and Abuse in School
- Enrolment versus attendance

DEMAND-SIDE BARRIERS

- Socio-Economic Background of parents leading to economic and non-economic involvement of work of school going children
- Problems of first generation learner
- Cultural Barriers

SITUATIONAL BARRIERS

Geographical Terrain and Conflict

Supply-side barriers are created by those who provide or supply education such as schools and the government. Demand-side barriers, on the other hand, are developed by those who demand education such as children, parents, and families. And some barriers are created by the environment in which children live. For instance, in the case of the Sukma and Bastar districts, geographical terrain and conflict-related barriers are situational barriers which aggravate the other two types of barriers.

## 1.6. Methodology, Study Area and Sample

### 1.6.1. Methodology

The study uses primary and secondary data. The primary data have been mainly collected by surveying schools, teachers, children, parents, and community members, using structured interview schedules, Focus Group Discussions (FGDs), and case studies. A mixed method of random and purposive sampling was adopted for this study.

The secondary data have been collected from the government and other sources like the District Information System for Education (DISE), National Sample Survey Office (NSSO), and the National Council of Educational Research and Training (NCERT). The number of schools, and teachers, and related information has been collected from the education department of the Government of Chhattisgarh. The DISE (2014–15) data have been used to examine the status of school infrastructure, and compliance with the provisions of the RTE Act. The study has also made use of the 71st round of the NSSO (2014). The learning outcome survey data of Class V students have been collected from the NCERT and Annual Status of Education Report (ASER, 2014 and 2016.).

### 1.6.2. Study Area

The Bastar and Sukma districts have a high concentration of tribal population and low level of literacy rates. It has been found that STs constitute 70.3 per cent and 88.3 per cent of the total population in Bastar and Sukma, respectively. While the average literacy rate of the State is 70.3 per cent, the corresponding figure is 54.4 per cent in Bastar, and 42.1 per cent in Sukma. There is also a high incidence of LWE-related violence in the two districts. Out of 2,637 LWE-related casualties, reported between 2004 and 2017 in the State, 403 (15.3 per cent) took place in these two districts, including 149 in Bastar and 254 in Sukma.

The Bakawand Block of Bastar and the Chhindgarh Block of Sukma district were selected for the study.[5] From each selected Block, one roadside cluster and one interior cluster, as per the DISE classification, were chosen. The clusters chosen in the Bakawand Block of Bastar district included Irikpal near the roadside and Kolwal from the interior area, whereas only three roadside clusters were chosen in the Sukma District to attain the targets. In the Chhindgarh Block, the clusters chosen included Pakela, Palem, and Rokel. In Sukma, three clusters were chosen to get the target numbers. The study team also visited the interior clusters of Leda, Tongpal, and Netnar in the Chhindgarh Block.

The villages selected for the study in the Bakawand Block of Bastar district were Dhanpur, Dhobiguda, Jharumargao, Karitpal, Karpawand, Kohkapal, Korpal, Malgao, and Kurushpal; whereas the villages selected in the Chhindgarh Block of Sukma district were Leda, Pakela, Podum, Sautnar, Netnar, Lashkipara, Kokapal, Subhaspara, Rokel, and Ganjanar (Annexure 1.2).

### 1.6.3. The Sample

A total of ten government elementary schools were surveyed in each selected Block. In addition, two *Ashram* (residential) schools in Bastar and one Kasturba Gandhi Balika Vidyalaya and two *portakabin*s in Sukma district were also surveyed. One hundred students and one hundred parents were selected for interviews from each district. From each District, 30 teachers were also interviewed. Thus, a total of 25 schools, including *Ashrams* and *portakabin*s, 200 students, 200 parents, and 60 teachers were interviewed. The details of sample distribution are given in Annexures 1.3–1.6.

### 1.6.4. Tools

The following four types of structured schedules were canvassed:

    a. Parent Schedule
    b. Student Schedule
    c. Teacher Schedule
    d. School Schedule

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[5] While the initial idea was to select a Block with a high concentration of tribal population, and low enrolment ratio, the Bastanar and Konta Blocks were dropped for security reasons and due to difficulty in accessing them.

The Parent Schedule was canvassed to collect information about various factors such as the education, occupation, and income of the parents. It also captured their perceptions on education, including preferential treatment accorded to boys. The Student Schedule was canvassed to collect information about their regularity in attending schools, classroom practices, their satisfaction with teachers, the learning process, and the discrimination, abuses and any other difficulties faced by them. The Teacher Schedule collected information about the educational background of the teachers, and their professional qualifications, language-related issues, and attitude and behaviour towards students. The School Schedule was canvassed to the head teacher to gather information about basic infrastructure, like the school building, the number of classrooms, and drinking water and toilet facilities available in the school, among other things. A number of Focus Group Discussions (FGDs) were also conducted with the villagers of the surveyed villages.

## 1.7. Chapterisation

The next chapter provides an overview of school education in Chhattisgarh and compares the status of school education in the LWE and non-LWE districts. It examines various issues such as the access to elementary schools, basic facilities, availability of teachers and their educational qualifications.  It also assesses school- and infrastructure-related barriers in the State. Chapter III analyses the status of and barriers to school education in the Bastar and Sukma districts. It examines various school-related barriers like low accessibility, lack of facilities in schools, teachers and their qualifications, learning methods and curricula, and the prevalence of any discriminatory and abusive practices in schools. Chapter IV  explores the family-related, socio-economic, and cultural barriers that prevent students from going to schools or deprive them of education. Chapter V explains the conflict-related barriers. Policy recommendations and measures for strengthening of school education in the State have been discussed in Chapter VI, the concluding chapter.

# Chapter II

# Status of and Barriers to School Education in Chhattisgarh

This chapter analyses the status of school education in Chhattisgarh with a focus on the supply-side barriers, especially in the LWE districts. The first part of the chapter explains the status of education with reference to various factors such as the literacy rate, and enrolment rate, in the State. The second part of the chapter examines the availability of schools and their accessibility by population. The third part explores the basic facilities existing in those schools, including infrastructure and mid-day-meals. The fourth part of the chapter analyses the availability and quality of teachers and pedagogy-related issues. The last part of the chapter briefly analyses learning outcomes across the different regions of the State.

## 2.1. General Status of Education

### 2.1.1. Literacy Rates and Variations across Districts

The literacy rate varies across regions, that is, the LWE and non-LWE districts in the State. The literacy rate of the LWE districts lags behind that of the non-LWE districts by 10 percentage points. As per the Census 2011, the average literacy rates in the LWE and non-LWE districts are 68.7 per cent and 74.0 per cent, respectively. The rate varies further within the LWE districts: it is 41.6 per cent in Bijapur, 42.7 per cent in Dakshin Bastar Dantewada, 49 per cent in Narayanpur, and 54.9 per cent in Bastar, which are among the worst affected LWE Districts.

### 2.1.2. Current Enrolment Status of Children in Government and Private Schools

Most of the children in the State are enrolled in government schools, and across the LWE and non-LWE districts. It has been found that 73.4 per cent of the boys and 77.5 per cent of the girls are enrolled in government schools. The Dependence on government schools is higher in the LWE districts, where the enrolment figures for boys and girls in government schools are 78.1 per cent and 81.7 per cent, respectively. However, the proportion of boys attending private schools is higher in the non-LWE districts. In the Raipur and Durg districts, nearly 50 per cent of the boys are enrolled in private schools. On the other hand, girls are attending mostly government schools in both the LWE and non-LWE districts. The phenomenon of gender preference in the selection of the school is visible though not as pronounced as it is in

some of the other States. Annexure 2.1 delineates the enrolment of boys and girls in government and private schools across the LWE and non-LWE districts in the State.

### 2.1.3. Education Status of Children Aged 6–14 Years

An examination of the education level of children in the 6–14 year age group in Chhattisgarh shows that 3 per cent of them are illiterates. A very large number of children are enrolled at a class grade level that is lower than the normal age-grade ladder: 61 per cent of the children are below the primary level, and only 36 per cent are studying at either the primary or upper primary levels. This implies that they started their schooling late. Further, an examination of the current attendance status of children in the 6–14 year age group shows that 3.7 per cent of them are out of school; 2.2 per cent have never attended; and 1.5 per cent are presently not attending, though they are enrolled (NSSO, 2014).

## 2.2. Availability and Accessibility of Schools

### 2.2.1. Availability of Schools

Unlike in many other States, in Chhattisgarh, government schools continue to dominate both in absolute numbers and in the enrolment of students. The survey shows that 92.3 per cent of the schools (elementary classes I to VIII) in the LWE districts and 84.3 per cent of the schools in the non-LWE districts are government schools. The distribution of government and private schools across the districts is uneven (Annexure 2.2). The share of private schools is higher in the developed districts like Raipur, Durg, and Bilaspur, which have large urban populations. On the other hand, the share of government schools is higher in the backward and LWE districts. There are also some economic reasons for the dominance of government schools in the backward and LWE districts. The private players, most of whom enter the school business with the sole objective of profit-making, do not find the region attractive, as the income level of a majority of the population is low.

The total availability of both government and private schools per thousand population varies across the districts. In nine out of the 18 districts,[6] the average number of elementary schools per thousand school-going population is less than the State average of 20 schools. These districts include Bastar, Narayanpur, Dakshin Bastar Dantewada, and Bijapur, which are

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[6] The DISE 2014-15 covers 27 districts, whereas the NSS and Census 2011 cover only 18 districts, which were in existence at the time of data collection. We have merged the 27 districts of the DISE Report in the 18 districts of the NSS and Census for compatibility.

among the LWE-affected districts.[7] In districts like Janjgir-Champa and Kabeerdham, the average number of schools per thousand population in the age group of 6–14 years is substantially higher than the State average.

There is a positive correlation between the availability of schools and the level of literacy. The districts of Bastar, Narayanpur, Dakshin Bastar Dantewada, and Bijapur are among those with a low number of schools and a low level of literacy. These are also the LWE-affected districts. (Annexure 2.3)

### 2.2.2. Declining Number of Government Schools in Contrast to Increasing Number of Private Schools (2007–08 to 2015–16)

Although there is a heavy dependence of the population on government schools for elementary education in the State, the number of government schools declined by 2.61 per cent between 2007–08 and 2016–17. On the other hand, there has been a phenomenal growth of private schools by 54.27 per cent over the same period. Further, the average number of both government and private primary schools per a thousand child population was 15 in 2005–06, which declined to 13 in 2015–16. The average number of both government and private upper primary schools per a thousand child population remained static between 2007–08 and 2015–16 (Table 2.1). The decline in the number of primary schools is a matter of concern, especially because the population of the 6–14 year age group in the State grew by 8.70 per cent between 2001 and 2011.

Interacting with some of the experts in the education sector, we found that the process of school rationalisation/merging was done systematically in Chhattisgarh. The guidelines for school merging were prepared after extensive research.

In 2009–10, where the number of students was more than 25 within a distance of one kilometre, schools were set up as per the RTE Act/education guarantee scheme. It was found that between 2009–10 and 2014–15, there was a mushrooming of government schools.

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[7] Out of 18 districts, 11 districts are listed as those affected by left-wing extremism. They include Koriya, Surguja, Jashpur, Rajnandgaon, Mahasamund, Dhamatari, Uttar Baster Kanker, Bastar, Narayanpur,  Dakshin Bastar Dantewada, and Bijapur (LWE affected districts (2016), Press Information Bureau, Government of India, Ministry of Home Affairs)

**Table 2.1: Decadal Change in the Number of Government and Private Schools in Chhattisgarh**

| Schools | Govern-ment Schools | Private Elementary Schools | Total Elementary Schools | Primary School (Government and Private) per 1000 Child Population | Upper Primary School (Government and Private) per 1000 Child Population |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 2005-06 | - | - | - | 15 | 10 |
| 2007-08 | 45,578 | 3954 | 49,532 | 14 | 11 |
| 2008-09 | 45,804 | 4060 | 49,864 | 10 | 14 |
| 2009-10 | 46,172 | 4642 | 50,814 | 15 | 11 |
| 2010-11 | 46,394 | 4945 | 51,339 | 15 | 11 |
| 2011-12 | 47,186 | 5504 | 52,690 | 15 | 11 |
| 2012-13 | 47,822 | 6788 | 54,610 | 15 | 12 |
| 2013-14 | 47,468 | 5650 | 53,118 | 14 | 11 |
| 2014-15[8] | 47,264 | 5839 | 53,103 | 14 | 11 |
| 2015-16 | 44,387 | 6100 | 50,487 | 13 | 11 |
| Percentage change | **-2.61** | **54.27** | **1.93** | - | - |

*Source*: Census 2001; Census 2011; "Elementary Education in India: Trends 2005-06 to 2015-16",
National University of Educational Planning and Administration (NUEPA), New Delhi, 2016.

School rationalisation was required due to many factors: either the children had grown up, or they had migrated or gone to residential schools. Only the primary schools wherein the number of students was less than 25 were merged. Not only the students, but the allocation of teachers was also done properly to maintain the pupil–teacher ratio. In some cases, if the distance was more than one kilometre, transport facilities were provided to the students under the Sarva Shiksha Abhiyan (SSA).[9] Although the decision about the allocation of the vacated school buildings was taken by the respective district magistrates, in most of the cases, it was given to the *anganwadi* centres under the ICDS.

When we crosschecked with Shri Nand Lal Chaudhary, Secretary, Chhattisgarh State Commission for the Protection of Child Rights, he confirmed that he had not received a single complaint regarding the school rationalisation process. According to him, if a single school had been closed down for not working properly, it would have led to an agitation and mass protest. However, no such case had been reported to him.

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[8] There are minor differences between numbers provided in NUEPA report and calculations from DISE (2014-15) data

[9] Case studies and data on this can be found in the Shagun portal of the MoHRD.

## 2.2.3. Access to School

The access to school is dependent on its availability within the prescribed distance norms. The Right to Education Act, 2009, stipulates that a primary school should be available within a distance of one kilometre, and an upper primary school within a distance of three kilometres. Prior to the RTE, the All India Education Survey-II and Education Guarantee Scheme of the Government of India had also prescribed similar distance norms.

The NSSO 71st Round (2014) shows that the distance to a nearest primary school in the State is more than one kilometre for 4 per cent of the households, and that the distance to the nearest upper primary school is more than three kilometres for 9 per cent of the households. The situation is worse in the LWE districts, with 6 per cent of the households and 11 per cent of the households not accessing primary and upper primary schools, respectively, as per the distance norms laid down in the RTE Act.

A large number of children (aged 6–14 years) walk on foot to reach their schools. While 92 per cent of those who have access to schools within a distance of one kilometre walk on foot, about one-third of those who have access to schools within a distance range of 2–5 kilometres also walk to reach their schools (Table 2.2). Only one-twelfth of the total children use school buses while another one-twelfth use bicycles.

**Table 2.2: Distance to School and Mode of Transport Used by Students**
**(6–14 Year Age Children)**

| Mode of Transport | Distance Range in km | | | | | Total |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | <1 | 1 to 2 | 2 to 3 | 3 to 5 | >5 | |
| On Foot | 613 | 69 | 29 | 15 | 7 | 733 |
| | (92.0) | (56.1) | (34.1) | (34.9) | (17.5) | (76.6) |
| School Bus | 13 | 16 | 30 | 6 | 18 | 83 |
| | (2.0) | (13.0) | (35.3) | (14.0) | (45.0) | (8.7) |
| Public Transport | 0 | 4 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 13 |
| | (0.0) | (3.3) | (2.4) | (7.0) | (10.0) | (1.4) |
| Bicycle | 24 | 15 | 18 | 16 | 7 | 80 |
| | (3.6) | (12.2) | (21.2) | (37.2) | (17.5) | (8.4) |
| Others | 16 | 19 | 6 | 3 | 4 | 48 |
| | (2.4) | (15.4) | (7.1) | (7.0) | (10.0) | (5.0) |
| **Total*** | **666** | **123** | **85** | **43** | **40** | **957** |

*Source*: NSSO (2014)
*Note*: Figures in brackets are in percentages.
*Total sample of school-going children in the 6–14 year age group.

In Chhattisgarh, walking to a school is not that easy, because of the terrain. Children have to walk long stretches through the dense forests to reach their schools. In the LWE districts, on the other hand, there are security concerns as there are chances of the children getting kidnapped or even caught in the crossfire between the security forces and LWE groups.

## 2.3. Basic Facilities in the Existing Schools

### 2.3.1. Infrastructural Facilities

The RTE Act, 2009, mandates the provision of some basic facilities in schools. These include playgrounds, toilets, drinking water, and boundary walls, among others. There has been an improvement in the quality of the school infrastructure and basic facilities in the State over the last decade. The improvement is significant in the case of drinking water, toilets and mid-day-meal (MDM) facilities, though they have not been saturated (Annexure 2.4). However, the progress in providing some other facilities like computers, boundary walls, and playgrounds has been quite slow. For example, computer facilities are available in only 15 per cent of the schools in the State. Similarly, the availability of facilities like ramps for providing access to disabled children, electricity, boundary walls, and playgrounds remains quite low.

An examination of the infrastructure across the LWE- and non-LWE districts shows that the deficits are higher in the case of the former. A very large proportion of the total schools lacking basic facilities are located in the LWE districts. Out of 832 schools without buildings, 93.9 per cent are located in the LWE districts. Further, 68.6 per cent of the schools with dilapidated buildings And 87.7 per cent of the school buildings with no classrooms are located in the LWE Districts. In addition, 44.5 per cent of the total elementary schools in the LWE districts do not have electricity, as compared to 24.5 per cent in the non-LWE districts and 33.8 per cent in the State as a whole. Table 2.3 shows the concentration of schools without basic facilities in the LWE districts.

**Table 2.3: Share of**
**LWE and Non-LWE Districts among the Total Schools Lacking Various**
**Infrastructural Facilities**

| Items | LWE Districts | | Non-LWE Districts | | Total State |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | Number | % | Number | % | Number |
| Schools without a building | 781 | 93.9 | 51 | 6.1 | 832 |
| Schools with dilapidated buildings | 686 | 68.6 | 314 | 31.4 | 1000 |
| Schools without a single classroom | 1179 | 87.7 | 166 | 12.3 | 1345 |
| Schools having *pucca* classrooms but requiring major repairing | 10,172 | 56.5 | 7817 | 43.5 | 17,989 |
| Schools without Computer Aided Learning (CAL) laboratories | 27,364 | 55.3 | 22,100 | 44.7 | 49,464 |
| Schools without electricity connections | 12,129 | 67.3 | 5892 | 32.7 | 18,021 |
| Schools without boundary walls | 10,909 | 56.5 | 8395 | 43.5 | 19,304 |
| Schools without library facilities | 3451 | 74.5 | 1184 | 25.5 | 4635 |
| Schools without playground facilities | 13,458 | 53.6 | 11,636 | 46.4 | 25,094 |
| Schools without any source of drinking water | 1092 | 71.8 | 428 | 28.2 | 1520 |

*Source*: Compiled by the authors from the DISE (2014–15).

*Note*: The data is for both government and private elementary schools.

### 2.3.2. Availability of Mid-Day-Meals

It has been found that the provision for mid-day meals has a positive impact on the enrolment and attendance of students in schools. The impact is particularly pronounced on the children from poor families. Underlining the importance of the MDM in schools, Dreze and Goyal (2003) argue that "with adequate resources and quality safeguards, mid-day meals can play a major role in improving school attendance, eliminating classroom hunger and fostering social equity"(pp. 4673–4683).

The data on the availability of mid-day meals shows that the LWE districts have a poor record of providing MDM in schools. The proportion of schools which did not provide mid-day meals is very high in Bijapur (18.96 per cent) and Sukma (8.14 per cent), the two worst-affected LWE districts of the State (Annexure 2.5).

**2.4. Teachers and Pedagogy Related Issues**

*2.4.1. Availability of Teachers*

The RTE Act, 2009, prescribes a student–teacher ratio of 30 up to class five and 35 for classes six to eight. The student–teacher ratio of elementary schools, as a whole, in the State is 21: 1 (including 19:1 in the LWE districts and 23: 1 in the non-LWE districts). In some of the districts, the ratio is greater than the State average. Interestingly, the student–teacher ratio is quite good in some of the LWE districts. For example, it is 15 in Kanker, 16 in Dantewada, and 18 each in Sukma, Narayanpur and Dhamtari

The school–student ratio is 1: 85 for Chhattisgarh, including 1: 65 in the LWE districts and 1: 109 in the non-LWE districts. The average number of teachers per school is three in the LWE districts and five in the non-LWE districts. The average number of teachers per school is less than three in districts like Bijapur (2) and Sukma (2), in sharp contrast to districts like Raipur (8) and Durg (8) (Annexure 2.6).

*2.4.2. Professional Qualifications of Teachers*

The availability of teachers with professional qualifications is lower in the LWE districts as compared to their non-LWE counterparts. About 15 per cent of the schools in the LWE districts are without a single teacher with professional qualifications,[10] in contrast to a corresponding figure of only 9.9 per cent for such schools in the non-LWE districts. In some of the LWE districts, the percentage of such schools is significantly higher. For instance, it is 45.2 per cent in Dantewada, 38.3 per cent in Bijapur, 27.2 per cent in Narayanpur, 21.3 per cent in Bastar, 20.9 per cent in Sukma, and 20.6 per cent in Balrampur (Annexure 2.7).

*2.4.3 Teachers' Training*

Teachers in government schools in the State are being imparted training through various modes. During the years 2013, 2014, and 2015, training was provided through an open distance learning mode in 100 centres opened by SCERT in the entire State of Chhattisgarh to teachers who had received no previous training.  In the case of these 100 centres, master trainers were first trained by the resource persons of different institutions, including the

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[10] According to DISE (2014–15), professional qualifications include diploma or certificate in basic teachers' training of a duration not less than two years, or a Bachelor of Elementary Education (B.El.Ed), or B.Ed. or equivalent, or an M.Ed or equivalent, or a diploma/degree in special education.

faculty of State Council of Educational Research and Training (SCERT), Azim Premji Foundation, Vidyabhavan Society (Udaipur), Ekalavya (Bhopal), ICICI Foundation for Inclusive Growth (IFIG), and some already trained teachers. Therefore, the training of teachers took place at two levels: the training of Master Trainers (for 20 days), and subsequently of Master trainer- trained teachers for 10 days. There can be a debate over the fact as to whether or how effective this kind of training would be. However, this programme was quite successful, and the outcome was a significant change in the teachers' perceptions about children, implementation of the constitutional aim of education in the classroom space, and an understanding the fact that every child is different and has a different learning pace. Presently, SCERT is also planning to train the remaining lot of teachers through this distance learning mode.[11]

SCERT also provides subject-specific training to teachers on NCERT books. The budget of teacher training for classes I to VIII goes to District Institute of Education and Training (DIET), and the SSA under the Government of India. According to its Secretary, Mr. Sudhir Kumar Agarwal, SCERT provides teacher training from its own resources. According to Sunil Kumar Sah, State Head, Chhattisgarh, Azim Premji Foundation (APF), the level of teacher training is low or absent in the conflict-affected areas due to various reasons. Pre-service training is absent in the conflict areas. Even where DIET has a presence, 70 per cent of the positions are vacant. Very few people from the community have received sufficient training to become teachers in those areas, and teachers from the other areas are not willing to go there for security reasons. The same is also true for the teacher trainers. Therefore, the issue of training of teachers is affected by the lack of both teachers and trainers in the conflict-affected areas.

### 2.4.4. Language as a Barrier

The medium of instruction, if it is other than the mother tongue of the children, is an important barrier, especially in the primary sections. While Hindi is the medium of instruction in government schools in the State, the tribal children are not conversant with the language as they speak in their own mother tongues. They thus face a great deal of difficulty

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[11] Based on an interview with Mr. Sunil Kumar Sah, State Head, Chhattisgarh, Azim Premji Foundation (APF). APF is engaged in teacher training in six districts in the State, namely, Dhamatari, Raipur, Balodbazar, Bemetara, Janjgir-Champa, and Raigarh.

in understanding the lessons taught in the schools and, subsequently, also lose interest in the study.

The State Government had made some efforts to address the language issue in the past. Textbooks were prepared and prescribed for the tribal students in the tribal languages. However, this experiment was soon withdrawn as it posed three main difficulties. First, most of the teachers were not well versed in the tribal languages, as they belonged to the non-tribal communities. Second, in a classroom, there are often students from the tribal and non-tribal communities, and in few cases, even from more than one tribal community. This creates difficulties in teaching in a classroom with two different languages. Third, the population in a district sometimes speaks 2–3 different tribal languages. In such a scenario, the preparation of textbooks in various tribal languages is itself a challenge. Even if textbooks are prepared, finding teachers from different tribal linguistic groups is more difficult. The government thus eventually decided to withdraw the textbooks in tribal languages and instead adopted a policy of providing one or two chapters in tribal languages in each textbook.

Efforts are presently also being made to incorporate the tribal culture and language in the curriculum by SCERT. The level of the syllabus is similar to that at the national level, but the text is that used at the local level. Tribal issues are also being incorporated in the textbooks as much as possible. Thematic learning is also being practised in 100 schools, including 25 schools each in Ambikapur, Kabeerdham, Bastar, and Mahasamund. Inputs are taken from the community itself, either through story-telling festivals or through the collective memory of community people. These stories are then converted into text in the local language and given for teaching to the teachers. Further, 75 small booklets called 'early graders' have been prepared for classes I to III, including 25 for each class, in most of the tribal languages. Thus, the children studying these texts can relate with not only the language but also the contents. This process has been observed to result in better learning outcomes.[12]

**2.5. Learning Outcomes**

The Nation Achievement Survey (NAS 2014) of NCERT and the Annual Status of Education Reports (ASER Report 2014 and 2016) show poor performance of the State in terms of learning outcomes.

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[12] Based on the interview with Mr. Sudhir Kumar Agarwal, Secretary, SCERT.

**Table 2.4: Region-wise Learning Outcomes of Elementary School Students in Chhattisgarh**

| Division/ Region* | Learning Levels | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| | % Children | | | |
| | *Share of children in standards III–V who can read at least standard I level text* | *Share of children in standards III–V who can do at least subtraction* | *Share of children in standard IV who can at least read standard II level text* | *Share of children in standard IV who can do at least division* |
| Bastar | 56.2 | 32 | 67 | 21.9 |
| Bilaspur | 57.2 | 31.3 | 70 | 26.5 |
| Raipur | 68.4 | 38.6 | 72.5 | 28.3 |
| Surguja | 52.6 | 27.4 | 58.5 | 21.0 |
| **Chhattisgarh** | **60.8** | **33.6** | **68.8** | **25.9** |

*Source*: ASER report 2016.

*Note*: *The districts included under the Bastar region are Bastar, Bijapur, Dakshin Bastar Dantewada, Narayanpur, and Uttar Bastar Kanker, but the ASER 2016 did not include Bijapur and Narayanpur in its survey.

As per the NAS, 2014, the performance of students in reading, comprehension, mathematics, and EVS was poor. Further, the learning outcomes of rural students were found to be poor in comparison to those of urban students. Among the social categories, the ST students lagged behind the other social groups.

The ASER assessment of learning outcomes shows that the State lags behind the national level figures with respect to a number of indicators. As against 52.4 per cent of the children at the all-India level, only 48.1 per cent of the children of standard III in the State could read standard I level text. The performance levels of class V standard students with respect to solving of simple mathematical problems were also lower than the corresponding national average. An analysis of learning outcomes across various regions of the State shows that Bastar, the LWE-affected region, exhibits a lower level of performance than the other regions of the State (Table 2.4).

# Chapter III

# Status of and Barriers to School Education in
# the Bastar and Sukma Districts: Supply-Side Factors

This chapter analyses the various school-related barriers to elementary education in the Bastar and Sukma Districts of Chhattisgarh. It first examines the status of school education in these two districts and then analyses the school-related barriers. The DISE, 2014–15, data have been used to explain the status of schools, that is, mainly the availability of, and accessibility to basic facilities. This has been supplemented by primary data collected from the Bakawand and Chhindgarh Blocks of the Bastar and Sukma districts, respectively. The primary survey data have also been used to analyse other barriers in addition to those pertaining to the availability of schools and basic infrastructure.

## 3.1. Accessibility of Schools

Government schools constitute the main source of elementary education in both the districts, as is evident from the fact that 94.6 per cent and 97.6 per cent of the total schools in the Bastar and Sukma districts, respectively, are government schools. The reach of private schools in these districts is limited. Only 4.4 per cent and 2.4 per cent of the total elementary schools in the Bastar and Sukma districts, respectively, are private schools. Further, 50 per cent of the private schools in Bastar district are located in the Jagdalpur Block only, which includes Jagdalpur city, the District headquarters. Another large chunk of the private schools are located in the Bakawand Block of Bastar, located adjoining to the district headquarters.

Interestingly, the average number of schools per 1000 for the population aged 6–14 years is four in Bastar and five in Sukma, with both figures being higher than the state average of two. It, however, varies across the different Blocks of the two districts. The average number of schools per 1000 for the population aged 6–14 years is six in the Sukma Block, but only three each in the Bakawand and Bastar Blocks (Table 3.1). Given the sparse habitations, difficult geographical terrains, and prevalence of a conflict situation in the area, it is all the more important to ensure the accessibility of schools within the prescribed distance norms.

**Table 3.1: Block-wise Share of Government and Private Elementary Schools in the Bastar and Sukma Districts**

| Block and District | Total Elementary schools | | | | | Total Population | School per 1000 population ( 6–14 age ) |
| | Government | | Private | | Total | | |
| | No. | % | No. | % | No. | No. | No. |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Bakawand | 414 | 96.1 | 17 | 3.9 | 431 | 1,49,823 | 3 |
| Bastanar | 233 | 97.1 | 7 | 2.9 | 240 | 49,334 | 5 |
| Bastar | 518 | 98.3 | 9 | 1.7 | 527 | 1,53,949 | 3 |
| Darbha | 284 | 99.0 | 3 | 1.0 | 287 | 79,360 | 4 |
| Jagdalpur | 371 | 84.9 | 66 | 15.1 | 437 | 1,14,345 | 4 |
| Lohandiguda | 346 | 99.4 | 2 | 0.6 | 348 | 74,548 | 5 |
| Tokapal | 265 | 97.1 | 8 | 2.9 | 273 | 77,505 | 4 |
| **BASTAR DISTRICT** | **2433** | **95.6** | **112** | **4.4** | **2545** | **6,98,864** | **4** |
| Chhindgarh | 324 | 97.3 | 9 | 2.7 | 333 | 79,672 | 4 |
| Konta | 358 | 97.8 | 8 | 2.2 | 366 | 91,320 | 4 |
| Sukma | 288 | 97.6 | 7 | 2.4 | 295 | 50,965 | 6 |
| **SUKMA DISTRICT** | **970** | **97.6** | **24** | **2.4** | **994** | **2,21,957** | **5** |

*Source*: DISE (2014–15).

A large number of children in the surveyed Blocks were not able to access schools within the prescribed distance norms of the RTE Act. Out of the 200 students interviewed, 26 were travelling a distance of up to three kilometres, while five were travelling distances of above five kilometres. A very large number of the students (86 per cent) were also walking to reach their schools. Out of the 200 students surveyed, one was using a bicycle whereas another one was being dropped by his parents, and 17 were using some other means, mostly public transport (Table 3.2).

**Table 3.2: Distance to School versus Mode of Commuting in the Bastar and Sukma Districts**

| | Boys | Girls | Total | Boys | Girls | Total |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| **Distance of School from Home** | In Numbers | | | In Percentage | | |
| Less than 1 km | 97 | 48 | 145 | 77.60 | 64.00 | 72.50 |
| 1–3 km | 8 | 18 | 26 | 6.40 | 24.00 | 13.00 |
| 3–5 km | 2 | 3 | 5 | 1.60 | 4.00 | 2.50 |
| Above 5 km | 18 | 6 | 24 | 14.40 | 8.00 | 12.00 |
| **Total** | **125** | **75** | **200** | **100.00** | **100.00** | **100.00** |
| **Mode of Commuting to Schools** | | | | | | |
| Walking | 104 | 68 | 172 | 83.20 | 90.67 | 86.00 |
| School Bus | 2 | 0 | 2 | 1.60 | 0.00 | 1.00 |
| Bicycle | 1 | 0 | 1 | 0.80 | 0.00 | 0.50 |
| Dropped by parent | 1 | 0 | 1 | 0.80 | 0.00 | 0.50 |
| Others | 17 | 7 | 24 | 13.60 | 9.33 | 12.00 |
| **Total** | **125** | **75** | **200** | **100.00** | **100.00** | **100.00** |

*Source*: Primary survey.

The distance to school and geographical terrain affect enrolment, retention, and regularity of attendance. It was learnt that during the rainy season, children in this region face a great difficulty in reaching their schools, as they have to cross swelling rivulets, streams, and rivers. The distance to schools is also a major reason as to why many of the children in the surveyed Blocks joined schools late: 48 per cent of the boys and 61 per cent of the girls joined school at an age greater than five years, which deprives them of pre-primary schooling. Moreover, the age-wise break-up of class five students shows that a significant number of them are in class five at the age when they should have been studying at higher levels.

## 3.2. Basic Facilities in Schools

There has been an improvement in basic facilities in elementary schools in both the districts over the years. However, much still needs to be done. There are a large number of schools with dilapidated buildings in both the districts: 13.4 per cent of the total schools in the Konta Block of Sukma district have dilapidated buildings. There are also many schools without a single classroom: one-fourth of the schools (24.4 per cent) in Sukma district do not have a single classroom. In many of the schools, mid-day meals (MDMs) are not provided. In a number of cases, the MDM is provided, but it has not been prepared in the school premises. In 89.7 per cent of the schools in Jagdalpur Block, there is no provision for computer-aided learning. The situation is worse in the other Blocks of Bastar and Sukma districts. Except for the Jagdalpur and Sukma Blocks, the library facility is not available in most of the Blocks. A similar situation prevails with regard to the electricity facility. Barring the Jagdalpur Block, there is no provision for electricity in a majority of the schools in most of the Blocks. Drinking water facility is also not available in 7.4 per cent and 9.6 per cent of the schools in the Bastar and Sukma districts, respectively. There is a provision in the RTE Act for carrying out medical check-ups of students in the schools, but this facility is not being provided in a number of schools. Table 3.3 shows the Block-wise deficiency of basic facilities in the Bastar and Sukma districts.

**Table 3.3: Block-wise Basic Facilities in Elementary Schools in the Bastar and Sukma Districts (in No. & %)**

| Block/ District | Total No. of Schools | Dila-pidated School Buildings (%) | School with No Class-room (%) | MDM Not Provided (%) | MDM Provided But Not Prepared in School Premises (%) | No Comp-uter Aided Learning (%) | No Library (%) | No Elec-tricity (%) | No Source of Drinking Water (%) | No Medical Check-up in the Previous Year (%) |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Bakawand | 431 | 3.9 | 3.2 | 0.7 | 5.3 | 97.7 | 24.4 | 52.9 | 9.0 | 9.0 |
| Bastanar | 240 | -- | 2.9 | 0.4 | 14.6 | 97.5 | 11.3 | 76.7 | 5.0 | 4.2 |
| Bastar | 527 | 1.5 | 5.1 | 3.6 | 2.8 | 96.4 | 38.5 | 56.7 | 6.1 | 4.6 |
| Darbha | 287 | 2.1 | 4.2 | 0.3 | 25.1 | 96.9 | 18.5 | 73.2 | 8.0 | 4.5 |
| Jagdalpur | 437 | 1.1 | 1.6 | 12.8 | 7.8 | 89.7 | 5.0 | 35.7 | 8.0 | 13.5 |
| Lohandiguda | 348 | 3.4 | 8.3 | -- | 15.8 | 99.4 | 10.9 | 66.1 | 7.8 | 2.6 |
| Tokapal | 273 | 0.7 | 2.9 | 0.7 | 8.1 | 96.7 | 26.4 | 44.3 | 6.6 | 16.1 |
| **BASTAR** | **2545** | **2.0** | **4.1** | **3.2** | **10.1** | **96.1** | **20.4** | **56.1** | **7.4** | **7.9** |
| Chhindgarh | 333 | 3.6 | 7.2 | 1.8 | 2.7 | 97.9 | 21.9 | 77.5 | 8.1 | 6.9 |
| Konta | 366 | 13.4 | 55.7 | 5.7 | 5.5 | 96.4 | 60.4 | 84.4 | 13.1 | 33.6 |
| Sukma | 295 | 4.4 | 5.1 | 1.7 | 0.3 | 94.6 | 5.4 | 52.2 | 6.8 | 7.1 |
| **SUKMA** | **994** | **7.4** | **24.4** | **3.2** | **3.0** | **96.4** | **31.2** | **72.5** | **9.6** | **16.8** |

*Source*: Compiled and computed by the authors from DISE (2014–15).

## 3.3. Teacher-related Issues

The average numbers of teachers per school are three in Bastar and two in the Sukma District, with these figures being which than the State average of four. The distribution is further uneven across the Blocks. For example, while the average number of teachers per school is five in the Jagdalpur Block of Bastar district, it is only two in the Bastanar, Darbha, and Lohandiguda Blocks of Bastar, and the Konta and Sukma Blocks of Sukma district.

About one-fifth of the total schools in the Bastar and Sukma districts do not have a single professionally qualified teacher. The proportion of such schools is 39.2 per cent in the Bastanar Block of Bastar district, and 36.1 per cent in the Konta Block of Sukma district (Table 3.4).

**Table 3.4: Block-wise Ratios of Male–Female and Professionally Qualified Teachers in the Bastar and Sukma Districts**

| Block/ District | Total Schools | Total Teachers | Teachers per School | Male Teachers | | Female Teachers | | Schools with no Professionally Qualified Teacher | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | No. | No. | No. | No. | % | No. | % | No. | % |
| Bakawand | 431 | 1174 | 3 | 767 | 65.3 | 407 | 34.7 | 37 | 8.6 |
| Bastanar | 240 | 441 | 2 | 292 | 66.2 | 149 | 33.8 | 94 | 39.2 |
| Bastar | 527 | 1372 | 3 | 906 | 66.0 | 466 | 34.0 | 127 | 24.1 |
| Darbha | 287 | 621 | 2 | 437 | 70.4 | 184 | 29.6 | 77 | 26.8 |
| Jagdalpur | 437 | 2223 | 5 | 822 | 37.0 | 1401 | 63.0 | 78 | 17.8 |
| Lohandiguda | 348 | 723 | 2 | 499 | 69.0 | 224 | 31.0 | 82 | 23.6 |
| Tokapal | 273 | 808 | 3 | 442 | 54.7 | 366 | 45.3 | 47 | 17.2 |
| **BASTAR** | **2545** | **7362** | **3** | **4165** | **56.6** | **3197** | **43.4** | **542** | **21.3** |
| Chhindgarh | 333 | 869 | 3 | 655 | 75.4 | 214 | 24.6 | 49 | 14.7 |
| Konta | 366 | 660 | 2 | 456 | 69.1 | 204 | 30.9 | 132 | 36.1 |
| Sukma | 295 | 695 | 2 | 472 | 67.9 | 223 | 32.1 | 27 | 9.2 |
| **SUKMA** | **994** | **2224** | **2** | **1583** | **71.2** | **641** | **28.8** | **208** | **20.9** |

*Source*: Compiled and computed by the authors from DISE (2014–15).

The Government of Chhattisgarh has stopped appointing school teachers on a regular basis since a long time. Instead, the schoolteachers in the State are appointed on a contractual basis and these teachers are known as *Panchayat* teachers in the State. In most of the schools surveyed, barring one or two teachers, who were on the verge of retirement, all the rest were *Panchayat* teachers. Out of the 60 teachers interviewed, 56 (93.3 per cent) were *Panchayat* teachers, and it has been observed that the practice of appointing contract teachers has been prevalent in the State for more than two decades. Albeit, the Government has placed them in regular pay scales, and they have been in service for long, but they still suffer from a sense of insecurity.

A major casualty of the practice of appointing contract teachers without insisting on professional qualifications is the lack of professionally qualified teachers in schools: 43.3 per cent of the sample teachers surveyed did not have professional qualifications, though they had secondary, graduation and even post-graduation level qualifications. The educational and professional qualifications of the surveyed teachers have been depicted in Table 3.5.

**Table 3.5: Educational Qualifications of Teachers
in the Bastar and Sukma Districts**

| S. No. | Qualification Levels | Bastar No. | Sukma No. | Total No. | % |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1 | Senior Secondary | 4 | 4 | 8 | 13.33 |
| 2 | Graduation | 8 | 2 | 10 | 16.67 |
| 3 | Post-graduation | 5 | 3 | 8 | 13.33 |
| 4 | Senior Secondary with Diploma | 2 | 0 | 2 | 3.33 |
| 5 | Graduation and Diploma | 3 | 3 | 6 | 10.00 |
| 6 | Graduation with B.Ed | 3 | 0 | 3 | 5.00 |
| 7 | Post-graduation with Diploma | 1 | 14 | 15 | 25.00 |
| 8 | Post-graduation with B.Ed | 4 | 4 | 8 | 13.33 |
| **9** | **Total** | **30** | **30** | **60** | **100.00** |

*Source*: Primary survey.

## 3.4. Resident Status of Teachers

Teacher absenteeism is an issue in the study area. To a great extent, the absenteeism of teachers is related to their resident status. The chances of their being absent are higher if they do not reside in the respective villages or Gram Panchayats where their schools are located. Most of the *Panchayat* teachers were posted in schools which were outside their own Gram Panchayats. Out of the 60 teachers interviewed across 20 schools, 44 (73.3 per cent) were not the residents of the Gram Panchayats in which they were posted. In the Bastar district, all the 30 teachers interviewed were from outside the Gram Panchayat. While 9 of them were from the same Block, 16 were from outside the Block, and 5 were from outside the District, but from within the State. In the Sukma District, out of 14 teachers who were from outside the Gram Panchayat, 11 were from the same Block, 2 from outside the Block, and one from outside the district but from within the State (Table 3.6).

**Table 3.6.: Resident Status of Teachers in the Bastar and Sukma Districts**

| S. No. | Resident Status | Bastar % | Sukma % |
|---|---|---|---|
| 1 | Resident of Gram Panchayat | 0.0% | 53.3% |
| 2 | Non-Resident of Gram Panchayat: | | |
| 3 | From the Same Block | 30% | 78.6% |
| 4 | From Outside the Block | 53.3% | 14.3% |
| 5 | From Outside the District but the Same State | 16.7% | 7.1% |

*Source*: Primary survey.

## 3.5. Average Working Days and Loss of Teaching Days

The average number of working days of a teacher was 220 (including 220 days in Sukma and 221 in Bastar). The maximum and minimum numbers of working days clocked by a teacher were 235 and 215, respectively. Out of the 30 schools surveyed, one school in Sukma reported unusual closure due to a conflict situation. The number of such schools could be higher in the interior areas of the district.

About two-thirds of the teachers reported that they were assigned administrative duties by the government. The number of teachers who reported being given administrative duties was higher in Bastar as compared to Sukma district. Out of the 30 teachers each interviewed in the Bastar and Sukma districts, 21 in Bastar and 19 in Sukma were assigned administrative duties. Table 3.7 shows the types of administrative duties assigned to teachers in the Bastar and Sukma districts. The main administrative duties assigned to them pertain to elections, the Census, listing of Below the Poverty Line (BPL) cards, and making of Aadhaar cards. They were also deployed for the Pulse Polio Mission and for tasks relating to the health and community awareness programme. A teacher was assigned to an average of 27 days of administrative duty in a year. Some of these teachers were even assigned as many as 60 working days for performing administrative duties.

### Table 3.7: Types of Administrative Duties Assigned to a Teacher

| S. No | Types of Responsibilities* | Bastar (No.) | Sukma (No.) | Total (No.) |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1 | Election Duty | 18 | 16 | 34 |
| 2 | Census/BPL Listing | 18 | 5 | 23 |
| 3 | Aadhaar Card Making | 6 | 8 | 14 |
| 4 | Polio/Health Drive | 6 | 7 | 13 |
| 5 | Community Awareness Programme | 7 | 5 | 12 |

*Source*: Primary survey.
*Note*: * Multiple answers.

When teachers are assigned administrative duties, or whenever they are absent from the classrooms, the students perform the roles of teachers in some cases. Box 3.1 shows a student taking a class in a junior section in the absence of the teacher with the latter being on a field visit.

**Box 3.1: A Student Taking a Class in a School in the Sukma District**

In the Laskipara Primary School in Sukma district, a student of a higher class was teaching a junior class, though in this case, the teacher was present in the school. The school also did not have a separate toilet for girls. After the opening of a private school in the area, the number of students enrolled in this government school has been declining.



*Source*: Primary survey.

## 3.6. Language and Curriculum

While most of the children were from the tribal community, a majority of the teachers were from the non-tribal community and belonged to other parts of the State. A recent study by Justin P. Jose (2017) points to the adverse impacts of social distance between teachers and students in the case of tribal community. He emphasises that this results in the creation of socially excluded and psychologically disabled students.

About one-fifth of the children reported that they had difficulties in understanding lessons. One reason for this is the language in which the lessons are taught. Out of the 20 schools surveyed, 16 were affiliated to the State Education Board, three to the Tribal Welfare Board, and one to the Central Board of Secondary Education (CBSE). Barring the only school affiliated to the CBSE, all the rest were Hindi medium schools.

About 24 per cent of the students were fluent only in their mother tongues like *Bhatri, Halvi, Gondi,* and *Dhurva* in Bastar, and *Mahrr, Bhatri, Halvi, Gondi, Dhurva, Oriya* and *Telugu* in Sukma. On the other hand, most of the teachers teach only in Hindi. They are not conversant with the tribal languages and are not able to explain lessons in their mother tongues. While in Bastar most of the surveyed teachers claimed to understand the local tribal language spoken in the region, in Sukma, only 50 per cent said that they understand the local tribal language.

Another disadvantage faced by these children is that they are first-generation learners, which is why they do not get any support from their parents at home. There is no provision for pre-primary education either that could have equipped them to cope with classroom teaching. As a result of the above, many of such students gradually lose interest in their studies, and finally drop out.

**Box 3.2: Language and Textbooks**

A total of 44 students, including 18 girls and 26 boys, all from the Bhatri tribe, were enrolled in the Patelpara Primary School in Bastar district. The government provided some textbooks in tribal languages. In this school, the textbook was available in Halvi, the language of the Halva tribe, though the students were from the Bhatri tribe. Thus, the distribution of the text in the vernacular language was not useful.
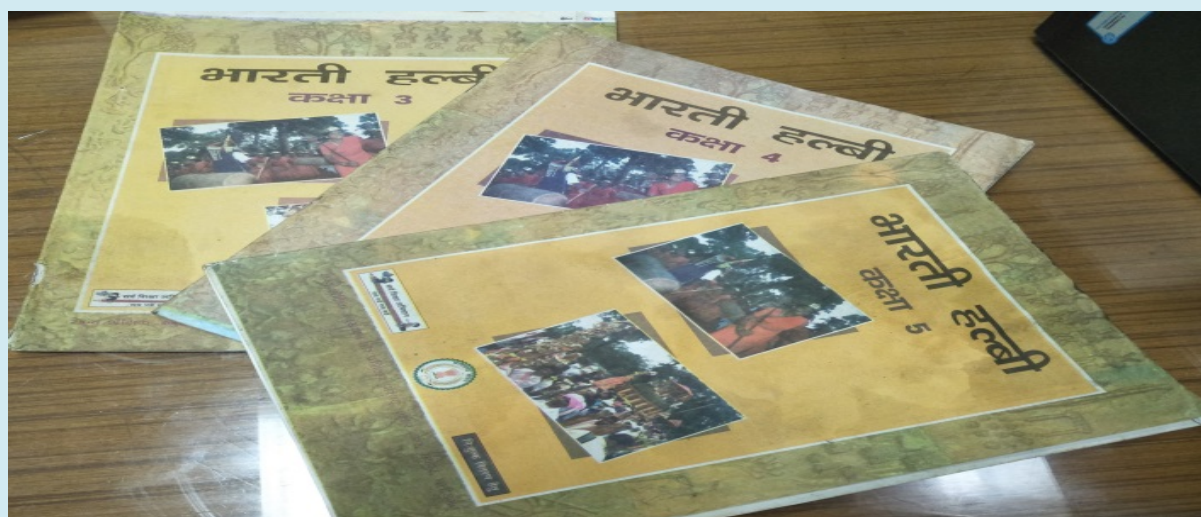


*Source*: Primary survey.

An examination of the course contents of the prescribed textbooks suggests that there is a disconnection between the syllabi and the socio-economic life of the tribal society. Many of

the students, who had dropped out, explained that they could not develop an interest in education.

The Secretary, SCERT, Mr. Sudhir Kumar Agarwal, asserted that language definitely affects the learning outcome of a student. They can acquire learning only if they are taught in the mother tongue, at least at the primary level, which also allows them to get a grip on the subject, and thus gain confidence over time.

On the other hand, some teachers believe that since these children have to eventually shift to the Hindi language for education, the earlier they are imparted education in this language, the better. However, when the medium of instruction is different from their mother tongue, it leads to a high drop-out rate, at least at the primary level.[13]

On the issue of multiple tribes speaking different dialects in one block many argued that the existence of multiple tribes speaking different dialects often does not pose any problem because in such a situation, there usually exists one common language. The dominant language spoken by a large number of people of one tribe, however, overwhelms the less frequently spoken languages, which necessitates the preparation of a primer of that particular tribal language for those not conversant with it.
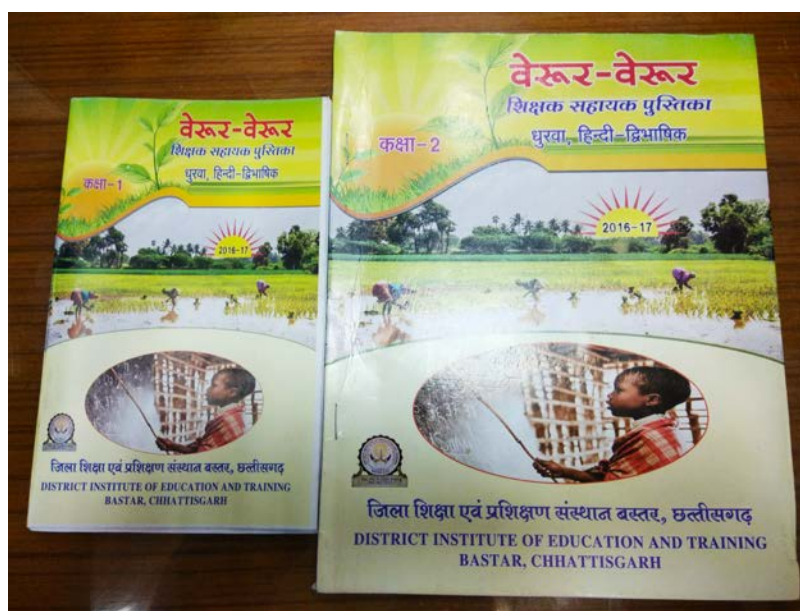


A primer in local language prepared with the help of local community

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[13] As pointed out by Stanley John, Assistant Professor, District Institute of Education and Training (DIET), Bastar, Chhattisgarh

**Box 3.3:** *Verur Verur* (Come Come): An Appreciable Step towards Saving the Dhurva Language

The Language Centre of DIET, in collaboration with IFIG, has developed a book called *Verur Verur* in the Dhurva Language, which has been listed as a vulnerable language under the UNESCO Atlas of Language. A major reason for the vulnerability of the language is that even the people of the Dhurva tribe had stopped communicating in their own language, Dhurva. In a village in the Darbha block, the local people use this language as a part of their ritual only during the marriage ceremony, when they sing some songs in that language. The main reason is that nobody shows any respect to their language, and in the process, they have also lost respect for their own language. Most of the Dhurva people have thus shifted to the Halbi language, which is the major tribal language in Bastar. During the time of the king, Halbi was the language of the State or King of that particular area. Presently, the Dhurva tribe/community in the southern Bastar area of Chhattisgarh comprises about 60,000 people, out of which almost 50,000 people have lost their language. Only the remaining 10,000 people have been able to retain knowledge of their language.[14] The Language Centre of DIET has worked with these 10, 000 people in collaboration with IFIG.

In united Madhya Pradesh, the Tribal Department had been working to develop primers in different tribal languages since 1986. But it was not successful at that time because most of the teachers were from Uttar Pradesh and Bihar, who had a strong preference for Hindi. They used to believe that since these children had to gradually shift to the Hindi language for education, the earlier they did so, the better. The entire project failed due to this mentality of teachers, and finally the Tribal Research Institute of the Madhya Pradesh government stopped preparing primers.

After Chhattisgarh became a separate State, some multilingual programmes and efforts were initiated, but in sporadic manner. Only the *Verur Verur* initiative to revive an almost dead Dhurva language proved to be a big success. Such efforts should definitely be replicated for different languages like Gondi and others. And for that, community participation is a must, because the most important aspect of *Verur Verur* was that the community was involved in preparing the primer.

*Verur Verur* took 2–3 years to take shape (2012 to 2014–15). The then Collector, Mr. Amit Kataria, was pro-actively involved in the process of revival of the language. As a first step, the Dhurva teachers were identified and it was decided to impart training to them at their schools. However, training of the teachers was itself a difficult task. If 15 teachers were invited for the training, only two appeared. One day, when it was a good rainy day, all the teachers wend to the field to plough instead of coming to the school for training. Next, it was decided to keep them in DIET hostels for a longer period in order to make them understand the importance of restoring their language through the formation of a primer. During the training process, they were first told of the historical background of the Dhurva language. Next, a story-telling festival was organised. From the festival, the stories that captured their culture and traditions were identified and shortlisted for preparation of the text in the primers. Those stories were classified to make two primers for classes I and II.

After *Verur Verur* was put on the school as a primer, the community members showed real excitement about saving their own language. The fact that they were given something in printed form infused a sense of confidence among members of the Dhurva tribe that it can be preserved.

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[14] Remaining few people (around 7000) speaking this Dhurva language reside In Koraput district of Odisha.

## 3.7. Discrimination and Abuses in School

Non-tribal teachers have little appreciation and understanding of the way of life of the tribal communities. They look down upon the tribal society, and often treat their children with disdain. They go to the classrooms with these predisposed notions about the tribal society.

Some of the teachers were reported to be according preferential treatment to some students. About one-fourth of the students (47 out of 200) reported that their teachers were exhibiting preferential treatment towards some students. The incidence of preferential treatment was reported more from the Sukma than from the Bastar district. Teachers gave preferential treatment to toppers, students whose parents were financially well-off, and to the wards of the teachers. Interestingly, some of them also gave preferential treatment to poor children (Figure 3.1).

**Figure 3.1: Preferential Treatment Accorded by Teachers
to Different Categories of Students**
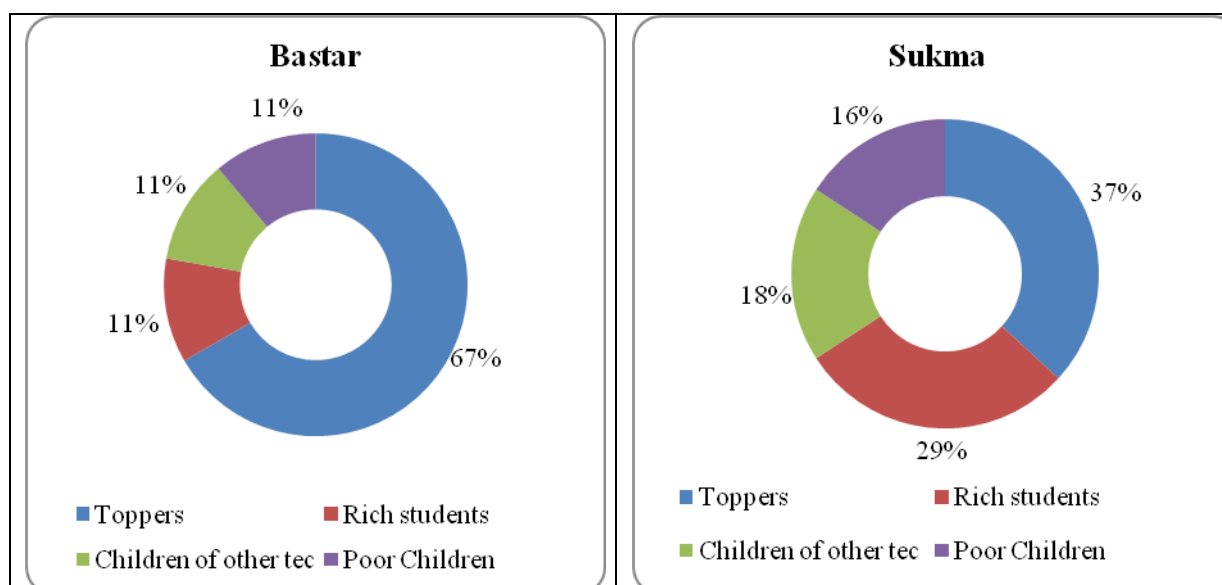


*Source*: Primary survey.

Classroom abuses were prevalent. A number of girls and boys reported some forms of abuses by some of their teachers. The incidences of abuses were higher in the Sukma district as compared to the Bastar district. Physical abuses were more prevalent than verbal abuses (Table 3.8). It was also a matter of deep concern that children who were abused did not report such cases against the abusive teachers. A few of them did share their experiences with their parents, but none of them ever reported such cases to their headmasters or any authority. A few of them simply dropped out of school.

**Table 3.8: Types of Abuses Reported by Girls and Boys
in the Bastar and Sukma Districts**

| Types of Abuses | Bastar | | Sukma | | Total | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | Boys No. | Girls No. | Boys No. | Girls No. | Boys No. | Girls No. |
| Physical Abuse | 2 | 1 | 18 | 4 | 20 | 5 |
| Verbal Abuse | 0 | 1 | 5 | 3 | 5 | 4 |
| Unable to explain the types of abuses | 2 | 1 | 6 | 5 | 8 | 6 |
| **Total** | **4** | **3** | **29** | **12** | **33** | **15** |
| **Total Sample** | **53** | **47** | **72** | **28** | **125** | **75** |

*Source*: Primary survey.

## 3.8. High Enrolment versus Low Attendance

An examination of the attendance of students present in the classrooms on the day of the survey shows a gap in the enrolment and attendance. The gap was higher in Sukma than in Bastar district. It was higher in the case of girls than in boys.

In Sukma district, the attendance of the students was never above 50 per cent of the total strength in any of the classes examined, that is, classes I to V. In some of the classes, the attendance, especially among girls, was only one third of the total strength of the class (Table 3.9). There were also a number of drop-out cases in both the districts. Again, the number of drop-outs was higher in Sukma as compared to Bastar district.

**Table 3.9 Gap between Enrolment and Attendance
in the Bastar and Sukma Districts**

| Class | Bastar | | | | Sukma | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | Male | | Female | | Male | | Female | |
| | Enrolled | Present* | Enrolled | Present* | Enrolled | Present* | Enrolled | Present* |
| Class I | 51 | 47 | 58 | 49 | 100 | 29 | 87 | 27 |
| Class II | 60 | 55 | 78 | 70 | 72 | 36 | 50 | 25 |
| Class III | 83 | 78 | 86 | 79 | 80 | 33 | 58 | 27 |
| Class IV | 75 | 65 | 67 | 61 | 76 | 30 | 57 | 18 |
| Class V | 90 | 89 | 77 | 67 | 53 | 21 | 55 | 29 |

*Source*: Primary Survey.
*Note*: * Present on the day of visit.

### 3.9. Delivery of Government Facilities

The delivery of government facilities was better in the Bastar than in the Sukma district. In Bastar, all the ten schools surveyed reported that they were regularly receiving the government scholarships meant for tribal students. In the Sukma district, two out of ten schools reported irregularly receiving government scholarships meant for these students. In six out of the ten schools surveyed in the Bastar District, primers were available in the regional and tribal languages, but they were available in only two out of ten schools in the Sukma district.

In Bastar, all the ten schools surveyed were found to have separate toilets for girls. In Sukma, there were no separate toilets for girls in two out of ten schools. Only a few schools in both the districts had library facilities with story books, and newspapers, among other educational resources. The mid-day meal was served in all the 20 schools surveyed. The quality of the food served in the MDM was average, but the level of hygiene of the kitchens in the schools needed an improvement. Modern teaching aids/equipment like computers, smart boards, access to the Internet, talking pens, and interactive boards were not available, though in a few schools, mathematics kits were available.

### 3.10. Role of the School Management Committees (SMCs)

Although the SMCs are in pen and paper, it has been found that they are not working well in most of the schools in the Bastar and Sukma districts. Further research thus may be needed for the evaluation of SMCs and for categorising them in green, yellow and red colours to depict different parameters.

# Chapter IV

# Socio-economic and Cultural Barriers: Demand-Side Factors

There are multiple socio-economic and cultural barriers to education. This chapter analyses some of those barriers in the study region of the Bastar and Sukma districts. It explains the socio-cultural conditions of the population, economic status of parents, their level of education, and their attitude towards education. The socio-cultural norms and values of the tribal society have been examined from the viewpoints of barriers to education.

## 4.1. Socio-Economic Barriers

The socio-economic backgrounds of the parents are important determinants of the education of their children. Govinda and Bandopadhyay (2010) have argued that a large number of out-of-school children and a large number of drop-out children belong to economically poor families. This study asserts that the poor economic conditions of parents have an adverse impact on the education of their children. An important adverse impact pertains to the work status of school-going children. Due to the pressure of the necessity to earn, these children are compelled to work simultaneously while pursuing their studies.

A very large number of school-going children who were interviewed were found to be working: 90 per cent (179 out of 200) of the children were working. The proportion of working students was higher among girls than among boys: 96 per cent of the girls as compared to 85.6 per cent of the boys were found to be working. A very large number of working students were also found to be engaged in activities that would help in supplementing the incomes of their families. Out of 100 boys, who were working, 64 were engaged in cattle-rearing; 13 were helping their fathers in their professions; 11 were helping their mothers in their domestic chores; and another 11 of them were performing multiple tasks like cattle-rearing, and helping their fathers in their professions, and their mothers in their domestic chores, among other things (Table 4.1.).

**Table 4.1: Types of Work Done by School-going Children
in the Bastar and Sukma Districts**

| Type of Work Done Side by Side Their Study* | Bastar (No.) | | | Sukma (No.) | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | Boys | Girls | Total | Boys | Girls | Total |
| Looking after younger siblings | 2 | 2 | 4 | 6 | 2 | 8 |
| Helping mother in domestic work | 8 | 26 | 34 | 3 | 18 | 21 |
| Helping father in his professional work | 5 | 6 | 11 | 8 | 0 | 8 |
| Cattle-rearing | 25 | 1 | 26 | 39 | 3 | 42 |
| More than one work | 5 | 10 | 15 | 6 | 4 | 10 |
| Total | 45 | 45 | 90 | 62 | 27 | 89 |

*Source*: Primary survey.
*Multiple answers possible.

The educational and occupational status of the parents of the working children have been shown in Annexure 4.1. The parents of the majority of such children were illiterates. Most of them were low-income earners and were engaged in agriculture and allied activities. They were below the poverty line (BPL) card-holders. In order to check the statistical significance and impact of the parents' occupations and education levels on the work status of their children, a logistic regression of the binary variable was run, as shown in Annexure 4.2. The result shows that there is a positive impact of father's education and occupation on the work status of school-going children. In other words, the father's education and occupation are statistically significant. However, the impact of the education and occupation of the mother was not statistically significant.

Due to sheer poverty, parents often send their children to collect forest products. In both the districts, school-going children were found to be engaged in collecting *mohua,* tamarind and *tendu* leaves from the forest during school hours, as these products constitute they are an important source of income for these families. It was observed during the survey, which was conducted during the months of March–April, the main season for the flowering of *mohua,* that a large number of children were engaged in the collection of *mohua*, during school hours. During their interactions with school-teachers, they pointed out that attendance falls significantly during the season of collection of forest products. Sometimes the teachers have to even the students in the forest areas when they do not turn up in schools in the morning.

Many of the poor parents have a low appreciation of the returns to education. This is one of the reasons why they prefer to employ their children in economic activities rather than investing in their education (Sahu, 2014). Poverty and the compulsion to earn thus lead the children of such families to work along with their studies. Many such families also migrate in search of jobs. In such a situation, the education of the children gets neglected, as they also often migrate along with their parents. During their migration, they are invariably deprived of schooling.

The parents of such children are low-income earners. The average annual income of a majority of the parents was less than Rs. 50,000. Only about 20 per cent of them were earning up to Rs. one lakh annually. A little more than 10 per cent of them were also earning more than Rs. one lakh. These people belonged to the upper castes and OBCs, and were mostly engaged in business, trade, or salaried jobs. Only a few of the SCs and STs were earning more than Rs. 50,000 per annum (Annexure 4.3).

**Box 4.1: Months of Collection and Selling Price of Forest Products**

| Forest Products | Months of Collection | Selling price |
|---|---|---|
| Green Mango (for *Amchur*) | April–June | Rs. 40 per kg |
| *Mohua* Flower | Mid February–April | Rs. 40 to Rs. 45 per kg |
| *Tora* (Seeds of *Mohua*) | April-May | Rs. 10 to Rs. 15 per kg |
| Tamarind | March–May and October–November | Rs. 25 to Rs. 35per kg |
| *Tendu* leaves | April–June | Rs. 100 to Rs. 150 per bunch of 1000 leaves |
| *Salfi* juice (local beer) | 12 months | Rs. 10 per glass |


A school girl collecting *mohua* flowers in school uniform in Bastar

*Source*: Primary survey.

The poor economic conditions of the families were mainly because of the availability of limited economic activities and opportunities in the region. A majority of the parents interviewed were subsistence farmers and were heavily dependent on forest products for their monetary income. The main forest products that account for an important source of their earnings are *mohua, tendu patta, amchur*, tamarind, and *salfi j*uice (a kind of toddy).

The major reasons for the drop-outs of children from school are poverty and the responsibility of sibling care. The drop-out rates are huge, as indicated by the figures provided by the schools, which they are mandated to do in order to derive the benefit of the MDM Fund. However, it has also been seen that the drop-out rates have fallen after the introduction of the MDM, raising the question, *'Pahle pet ya pahle paath?'* (*What is more important: learning or lunch?*). However, only ensuring the distribution of MDM is not enough to attract students to school, as that would encourage them to just come to school for the meal and go back home after eating. The teachers should instead ensure the creation of a learning environment that pulls the students to school for the main purpose of education.

## 4.2. First Generation Learner

The survey showed that nearly 55 per cent of the parents were illiterates. The percentage of illiterate parents was higher in the Sukma district. About 20 per cent of the parents had only acquired primary level education, while more than 11 per cent had studied up to the upper primary level. About 10 per cent and 4 per cent of the parents had passed the secondary and higher secondary and above levels, respectively. There was also a sharp gap between the literacy rates of the fathers and that of mothers of the children enrolled in schools. Most of the illiterate parents also had little appreciation of the value of education.

The parents of such children generally leave home for work early in the morning, and their school-going children, particularly girls, are left to look after their younger siblings throughout the day. It was also observed that most of the students did not study in the evening, as they were either engaged in domestic work or were spending time in other activities. The parents do not help their children in their studies at home, nor do they encourage them to study on their own.

## 4.3. Cultural Barriers

Tribal societies have distinct ways of life. Their social upbringing is such that they live freely and enjoy living with nature. They consequently feel constrained by the social and cultural norms of mainstream society, including in the regulated environment of schools. This is one reason why many tribal children either discontinue their education, or attend school irregularly.

Festivals constitute an important part of the socio-cultural life of tribal society. The tribal families in the Bastar and Sukma districts, therefore, celebrate many festivals like *Dussehra, Rangpanchami, Navakhai,* and *Lokotsav*, and fairs like *Hareli, Goncha, Champaran* and *Korea*. There are also some local level fairs and festivals like *Bhoramdeo*, *Madai*, *Gonch* (earth *mela*), *Teej, Champaran Mela, Korea*, *Fagun Wadai,* and *Pola* festival (first fruit meal). The celebration of some of these festivals lasts for days and weeks during which period the students do not attend schools. It was learnt that during the festivals, attendance in schools drops dramatically, which takes a toll on the education of non-attending children, as they miss the syllabus.

Health-related problems were prevalent among the children of the study area. Malaria, jaundice, encephalitis, and cholera, were the common diseases affecting these children. Due to the high prevalence of diseases among tribal children, they are irregular in schools. Although there is a provision for the conduction of health check-ups in the schools, the check-up exercise pertains mainly to the measurement of Body Mass Index (BMI) and weight. Out of 200 students from 20 schools, 187 confirmed that they had been examined by a medical practitioner in school, but the check-up was a routine exercise in the measurement of BMI.

Even the worldview and relationship with nature among the tribals is altogether different from that of people in the mainland. Tribal families have little orientation towards acquisition of education. Even an educated primary teacher stays in a complete different world mentally. This is exemplified in one instance, when a teacher Sukma came to school in the morning, just signed in, and then went to the local *haat* to watch a game of cock fighting.

# Chapter V

# Geographical Terrain and Conflict as Barriers

The geographical terrain of the Bastar and Sukma districts has also been highlighted as a barrier to education.

Due to the prevalence of left-wing extremism, there is a heavy deployment of police and para-military forces in the Bastar and Sukma districts. The law and order situation is thus quite grave in some Blocks of both the districts. The common people are caught in a very difficult situation. They are suspected of colluding with the opposite side by both the police and the LWE groups. While the police consider them to be the followers and sympathisers of the LWE groups, the latter, in turn, suspect them to be informers of the police.

It appears that in view of the conflict situation, the focus of the administration is more towards maintaining law and order than promoting the education and health of the population, though the Chhattisgarh Government lays a great deal of emphasis on ensuring the delivery of basic services in these areas. The following section delineates some of the conflict-related barriers to education.

## 5.1. Closure of Schools

Out of the 20 schools surveyed, only one reported unusual closure for some duration due to the conflict situation. Our survey was confined to only two Blocks, which were located in a relatively safe zone. However, the situation was different in the interior areas, and during a visit to some of these places in the Sukma district, a number of schools were found to be closed. Some of them had been blasted by the insurgents whereas some others were deserted. Some of those that were functioning, teachers were playing truant, as they were being hounded by both the Naxalites and the police. A Block Education Officer informed us that sometimes the police ask school-teachers to watch the movements of the Naxalites while at other times, the Naxalites urge them to report about the movements of the police. This situation leads to absenteeism among many of the teachers posted in the conflict areas who want to avert facing any situation that may pose a threat to their lives.

A primary school in a village had recently been blasted by a team of Naxalites mainly because a police party had stayed there the previous night and the Naxalites wanted to prevent the school from being converted into a police camp. The Naxals destroy school buildings, as these are the only public buildings available in the remote areas of the districts under study, and the police and paramilitary forces often use them for camping or patrolling purposes.

**Box 5.1: A Government Primary School Building in Kumar Kalam Village of the Sukma District, Blasted by Naxals**



*Source*: Primary survey.

It was also learnt that the Naxals are opposed to the construction of roads and *pucca* public buildings in the area, as the road increases the mobility of police and a *pucca* public building has the possibility of being converted into a police camp.

This has led to a situation wherein many of the villages do not have any functioning schools. The government has adopted a policy of merging and shifting of some of the schools. For example, 150 schools were merged in the Bastar district alone in 2015–16. The government has also established a number of *portakabin*s, that is, portable cabins/pre-fabricated structures, which function as make-shift residential schools in the Sukma and other worst-affected LWE districts. In Sukma alone, there are 17 *portakabin*s. The average intake of students in a *portakabin* is about 500. The mandate of a *portakabin* is to be able to take

students beyond a distance of eight kilometres to ensure admission into school for children from the conflict- affected remote areas where schools are not functioning effectively.

However, it has been observed that contrary to the mandate of admitting students from a distance of beyond eight kilometres, most of the students admitted in these *portakabin*s were from adjoining areas. There are caretakers for each *portakabin* who are also the mobilisers of students. These caretakers do not visit the interior areas. They just move from village to village to mobilise students in the months of April and July. Many of the students also come on their own. There is a provision for according preference to the drop-outs, children from the Naxal-affected areas, and poor and other children in that order, but an assessment of the students admitted in a *portakabin* for girls reveals that only two of the girls in it were affected by Naxal-related violence. These *portakabin*s are situated mostly near a road which is subjected to intense police patrolling.

## 5.2 Conflict and Secondary Schools

Secondary schools usually become the targets of Naxals, as the police prefer to camp in the buildings of secondary schools that are larger than those of primary schools. This adds to the existing problem of a high drop-out rate at the secondary level, due to the lack of a sufficient number of secondary schools in the villages. Table 5.1 shows the Block-wise distribution of the primary, upper primary, and secondary schools in the Bastar and Sukma districts.

**Table 5.1 Block-wise Distribution of Primary, Upper Primary and Secondary Schools in the Bastar and Sukma Districts**

| Block/ Districts | Primary only (I–V) | Primary with Upper Primary (I–VIII) | Primary with upper primary and secondary and higher secondary (I–XII) | Upper Primary only (VI–VIII) | Upper Primary with secondary and higher secondary (VI–XII) | Primary with upper primary and secondary (I–X) | Upper Primary with secondary (VI–X) |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Bakawand | 295 | 3 | 2 | 113 | | 2 | 16 |
| Bastanar | 172 | | | 62 | 2 | | 4 |
| Bastar | 380 | 1 | | 137 | 4 | 1 | 5 |
| Darbha | 223 | 1 | | 56 | 2 | | 5 |
| Jagdalpur | 250 | 24 | 16 | 127 | 7 | 7 | 6 |
| Lohandiguda | 256 | | | 85 | | | 7 |
| Tokapal | 200 | 5 | 1 | 62 | 1 | | 4 |
| **BASTAR** | **1,776** | **34** | **19** | **642** | **16** | **10** | **47** |
| Chhindgarh | 245 | 10 | | 71 | 1 | | 6 |
| Konta | 289 | 22 | | 47 | 1 | 1 | 6 |
| Sukma | 205 | 14 | 1 | 68 | | 1 | 6 |
| **SUKMA** | **739** | **46** | **1** | **186** | **2** | **2** | **18** |

*Source*: DISE (2014–15).

The number of secondary schools is much lower than those of the primary and upper primary schools in both the Bastar and Sukma districts. The situation is especially alarming in the Sukma district. In some of the surveyed villages, most of the students have been seen to drop out after the completion of their elementary education.

The Government of Chhattisgarh has launched a bicycle programme to encourage students to continue education at the secondary level. However, the problem with this scheme is that a student gets a bicycle only after getting himself/herself enrolled. In practice, in the absence of advance information about the location of schools and the provision of bicycles, only a few of the students finally enrol in the secondary schools. The potential utility of the bicycle scheme remains limited due to the lack of awareness about the programme.

## 5.3 Children Recruited in Naxal Groups/*Salwa Judum*

It has been learnt that both the Naxal groups and the *Salwa Judum* recruit children forcefully. There are also reports of police picking up children for gathering information. In view of this kind of situation, a number of parents prefer to send their children to residential schools like ashrams or *portakabin*s.

*Portakabin*s have been established in the LWE districts like Sukma, Bijapur, Dantewada, and Narayanpur under the Rajeev Gandhi Shiksha Mission. In some of them, additional infrastructure has also been provided under the corporate social responsibility (CSR) programme. Some of the portakabins in Sukma were found to be maintained and managed well. The *anudeshaks/anudeshika*s (wardens) were found to be hard working and children were also happy with them.  Girl students enrolled in the *Awasik Balika Portakabin* in the Sukma district reported that they were happy with their stay and study. They enjoy sleeping beneath the fans and watching television in the hostel, facilities that are not available to them at their homes.

The *ashram* schools generally attract students from poor families living within a radius of seven to eight kilometres, as the entire expenditure incurred on food, and clothes, among other things, is borne by the government. Each student from Classes I to V in an *ashram* school gets an annual scholarship of Rs. 500, along with four pieces of uniform. The school is provided with a monthly budget of Rs. 850 per child. However, the condition of the *ashram* that was visited during the study was not found to be good. The rooms had not been repaired

for long. Students in the *ashram* school did not have proper bed rolls, almirahs, and study tables. The residential part of the *ashram* schools inspected during the course of the study was also found to be in poor condition, and they were poorly staffed. Each *ashram* school was found to have only one warden and one security guard-cum-peon. Students had to clean their own rooms, utensils, and toilets and bathrooms. If they fell ill, they were taken to a near-by public health centre. The schools also organise health check-up camps from time to time.

# Chapter VI

# Conclusions and Recommendations

## Conclusions

The socio-economic backgrounds of the parents are important determinants of education of their children. In view of the poor economic condition of the parents, a large number of school-going children were working while simultaneously carrying out their studies. About 90 per cent of the children in the study regions of the Bastar and Sukma districts were found to be working. An examination of the economic status of the parents of the working children shows that 58 per cent of them were engaged in agriculture including allied activities or casual labour with very low levels of income.

Nearly 55 per cent of the parents in the survey samples were illiterate. The percentage of illiterate parents was higher in the Sukma as compared to the Bastar district. These parents have little appreciation of the value of education. Because of their own illiteracy, they were unable to help their children in studies at home.

Since the poverty and illiteracy levels of the parents affect the education of their children, the barriers to education should not be seen independently of the socio-economic conditions of the population. There is thus a need to adopt a holistic approach in this regard. All efforts should be made to improve the socio-economic conditions of the population along with specific measures for improving the quality of the schools and other related conditions. Merely opening of schools, or fostering an improvement in pedagogy, though important, would not by itself serve the purpose until poor parents are compelled to send their children to collect forest products during school hours, or support them in their respective occupations.

Tribal society has a distinct way of life. Festivals form an important part of the socio-cultural life of tribal society, which celebrates many such festivals, often lasting for days and weeks together, during which period the students generally do not attend schools.

While changing the socio-cultural traditions of tribal society is neither easy nor desirable, the education policy should aim at creating a conducive environment for tribal children in the schools. This necessitates special attention for the recruitment of teachers from tribal

communities, and designing of the course and curriculum while taking into account the characteristics of the socio-economic life of tribal society, the medium of instruction in their mother tongues, and devising the academic calendar by factoring in their economic activities, fairs, and festivals.

Government schools constitute the dominant source of elementary education in the State, including the study areas of the Bastar and Sukma districts. However, the existing number of schools is inadequate and does not meet the RTE norms of accessibility of a primary school within a distance of one kilometre and an upper primary school within a distance of three kilometres from the habitations of the tribals. A large number of students walk as much as three kilometres to reach their schools. During the rainy season, they face great difficulties in reaching their schools, as they have to cross swelling rivulets, streams, and rivers. Poor accessibility of schools is also a reason why many students in the study areas were found to start schooling late in these areas.

While there is a heavy dependence of the population on government schools in the study region, the number of government schools has declined in recent years. The first measure that is needed is to arrest the declining number of government schools. At the same time, efforts should be made to assess the number of habitations that do not have access to a primary school within the prescribed distance norms.

There is a lack of availability of basic facilities in schools in the State and in the study areas**.** Although there has been an improvement in basic facilities in schools in the Bastar and Sukma districts, a lot still needs to be done. Presently, a large number of schools also have dilapidated buildings. There are many schools without a single classroom. In many schools, the mid-day meal (MDM) is not provided, and even if it is provided, it is not prepared within the school premises in a number of schools, particularly in the Bastar district. There is no provision for computer aided learning in 90 per cent of the schools in the study area. In most of the schools except in the Jagdalpur Block, there is no provision for electricity. Drinking water is also not available in many schools in both the districts. The mandatory medical check-ups were not conducted in many schools in 2016–17, the year of the study.

The data on the availability of basic facilities in schools collected by various agencies vary. A credible independent assessment of the availability of basic facilities in schools is needed to

arrive at accurate data for initiating interventions. At the same time, efforts should also be made to provide these facilities to the schools on a priority basis.

The average number of teachers per school varies across the districts of the State. It is less than the State average in the Bastar and Sukma districts. More than 20 per cent of the schools in both the districts do not have a single professionally qualified teacher. Out of 60 teachers interviewed during the study, 43.3 per cent were untrained. Interestingly, a number of them had higher educational qualifications like graduate and post-graduate degrees.

The State Government has stopped appointing school teachers on a regular basis since a long time. They are instead being appointed as contract teachers, who are also called *Panchayat* teachers. Although these teachers have been recruited at the regular pay scales, they still suffer from a sense of insecurity regarding their employment, and keep agitating for the regularisation of their services.

The problem of professionally qualified teachers is acute in the case of *portakabin*s, which are practically run by ad hoc caretakers-cum-*anudeshak*s/*anudeshika*s. The latter are not only appointed on an ad hoc basis but their pay and service conditions are also quite unsatisfactory, leading to a sense of insecurity among them.

It is of utmost importance to appoint the trained teachers on a regular basis. The government should reverse the policy of appointing contract teachers. The *portakabin*s, which have been opened to check drop-outs by providing residential schools in the conflict-affected areas, should not be run only by the caretakers. The caretakers should not be treated as substitutes for professionally qualified teachers.

The absenteeism of teachers is also related to their resident status. The chances of their being absent are high if they do not reside in the villages or Gram Panchayats where their schools are located, especially in the difficult regions. In the rural areas, there is a limited rental market for residential accommodation. Women teachers, in particular, face a great deal of difficulty in locating and finding suitable accommodation in these areas.

The policy of appointing teachers from the local areas was, therefore, adopted with a view to ensuring the presence of teachers and their attendance in schools. About one-fourth of the teachers were residents of the same *Panchayats* where the schools were located, but a majority of them were non-residents. Some of them came from outside the Block and some

even from outside the district. It is understood that given the lack of an adequate means of transport, and difficult terrains, commuting is not easy in such regions. The punctuality and attendance of teachers thus becomes a matter of concern, if they have to commute long distances, especially if the transport facility is inadequate.

The average number of working days in a school was 235 in the study region, but two-thirds of the teachers were assigned administrative duties. The common administrative duties assigned to them pertained to elections, the Census, BPL listing, and making of Aadhaar Cards. The average number of days assigned to teachers for performing administrative duties was 27 days in a year, varying from 2 to 60 days in some cases.

The assigning of administrative duties to school-teachers has become a routine affair. Notwithstanding its adverse effects on education, the practice continues. What is thus needed is the development of a policy of assigning administrative duties only in most essential cases like during the elections. In any case, there should be a cap on the number of days that a teacher can be assigned administrative tasks.

The medium of instruction is not the mother tongue for a large number children in the study region. Many teachers in the Sukma district were not familiar with the local tribal languages. They were thus not able to communicate effectively with the students of the tribal community. The pedagogy and curriculum are devoid of the local context and the socio-economic milieu.

While it is important to prepare textbooks in the local languages, it is more important to impart a minimum level of communicable skills in the local languages to all the teachers posted in such regions.

Discrimination and abuses were found to be prevalent in schools. One-fifth of the girls and one-fourth of the boys reported that they were abused verbally and/or physically by their teachers. The incidences of such abuses were, however, hardly ever brought out in the open, either by the children or their parents or the Headmasters/Headmistresses of the concerned schools. Class toppers, the wards of financially better-off parents, and those of fellow teachers were given preferential treatment by their teachers in a manner that created a sense of discrimination among other children.

The actual attendance of students in classrooms on the day of the visit shows a gap between the actual and enrolled ones. In Bastar, the gap was less, though it was higher in the case of girls. In Sukma, the attendance rate was not above 50 per cent in any of the classes examined, that is, classes I to V. In some of the classes, the attendance of girls was only one-third of their total strength.

Due to the prevalence of left-wing extremism, there is a heavy deployment of police and para-military forces in the Bastar and Sukma districts. This adversely affects education, healthcare, and the delivery of other public services. In a number of villages in the interior areas, there were no functioning schools. In the interior parts of both the districts, it was observed teachers played truant, as they are hounded by both the Naxalites and the police. One Block Education Officer informed that sometimes the police ask these teachers to watch the movements of the Naxalites and vice versa. As a result, the teachers posted in such areas remain absent to avoid facing any difficulties including threats to their lives.

A primary school in a village was found to have recently been blasted. During the intervening night, it was occupied by the patrolling police, which is why it was blasted. The secondary schools are the main targets of both the Naxalites and the police, which enhances the problem of an acute dearth of secondary schools in both the districts. These factors account for the high drop-out rates of students at the secondary level.

It was also learnt that the children are forcefully recruited by the Naxal groups and *Salwa Judum*. Further, the police sometimes pick up children for gathering information, and these children are usually accosted by the police after they have completed their elementary schooling. The secondary schools are also located far from the habitations of the tribals, which increases the vulnerability of the children attending these schools.

It was learnt that adolescent boys and girls are sometimes thrilled by the idea of holding a gun. However, they soon realise that they are caught in a situation from which there is no escape route. After the *Salwa Judum* was dismantled, many young recruiters reportedly experienced feelings of helplessness and slipped into depression.

## Key Recommendations

The various barriers to education in tribal society have been underlined earlier by the UN Dhebar Commission (1960–61), Indian Education Commission (1964–66), National Policy

on Education (1986), and the Xaxa Committee (2015), among others. A brief summary of recommendations of the above committees and commissions have been provided in Annexure 6.1. Their recommendations are relevant for the entire tribal society.

This study focuses on the barriers to education in a particular region with a high concentration of the tribal population which is caught in a conflict situation. The recommendations given below are specifically aimed at addressing the educational issues of the tribal-dominated conflict-affected areas in Chhattisgarh with a special focus on the Bastar and Sukma districts.

1. **Universal Access, Enrolment and Retention**

   Government schools constitute the dominant source of school education in the State and in both the districts surveyed in this study. It is important to arrest the declining number of government schools. The availability of schools varies across the districts. The accessibility of schools in difficult terrains and in the conflict regions is also an issue. All efforts should thus be made to provide government schools within the prescribed distance norms.

2. **Enrolment and Retention**

   While there has been a substantial increase in the enrolment ratio over the years, the problems of absenteeism and drop-outs persist. The gap between the enrolled numbers and actual attendance was found to be quite high in the study area. The gap between the enrolled number of students and their actual presence on the day of survey was very high in some of the schools in the Sukma district.

   The drop-out rate was exceptionally high at the secondary level. The main reason for this was the lack of an adequate number of secondary schools in the surveyed districts. The average distance of a secondary school from habitation was about 15 kilometres. The government has a programme for providing bicycles to secondary school students. However, there was very little awareness about this programme among the people. Consequently, many of the children were not able to enrol in secondary schools. In some of the surveyed villages, most of the children drop out after completing their elementary levels of education, as no secondary level school is available within an accessible distance.

### 3. Basic Facilities in the Schools

Efforts should be made to provide basic facilities in schools. Adequate infrastructural facilities like school buildings, proper classrooms, electricity, water, boundary walls and toilets are essential. Although there has been an improvement in the basic facilities in schools over the last ten years or so, a lot more still needs to be done. All efforts should, therefore, be made to optimally provide the basic facilities in the schools within a stipulated time limit.

### 4. Mother Tongue-based Multilingual Education

Many of the children in the Bastar and Sukma districts are not conversant with Hindi, the official medium of instruction of school education in the State. A majority of the teachers also belong to the non-tribal community. The problem of tribal children, who are not conversant with Hindi, is that they do not follow the lessons taught in their classrooms. Hence, if they do not receive special attention, they lose interest in education.

Although the Chhattisgarh Government has adopted a policy of translating a few chapters of the textbooks in the tribal languages, this was not found to be very helpful, as most of the teachers were not well versed in the local tribal languages. It is thus suggested that teachers posted in the tribal region should be imparted training in the local tribal languages. At the same time, efforts should be made to provide reading materials in tribal languages, at least during the initial years of schooling.

### 5. Teachers and Teacher Training

The Chhattisgarh Government has stopped recruiting teachers on a regular basis. Instead, it appoints teachers on a contractual basis, and such teachers are called *panchayat* teachers. About 35 per cent of the total elementary school-teachers in the State do not have any professional qualifications. The problem is more serious in the case of *portakabin*s which are run by caretakers-cum-*anudeshaks/anudeshika*s. All the untrained teachers should thus be provided training in a mission mode approach. At the same time, the State Government should change the policy of recruitment ensuring that only professionally qualified teachers be appointed on a regular basis.

The contractual teachers work under a sense of job insecurity, despite having been placed under the regular pay scales.

## 6. Contextual Pedagogy and Curriculum

The pedagogy and curriculum should be rooted in the local context and should incorporate the local tradition, culture, song, folklores, and drama. Also, there should be a provision for children with special needs, especially those who have been traumatised by the conflict and violence in the region.

## 7. Provision for Supplementary Classes

Most of the tribal children are first-generation learners, who do not get any help in their studies at home. In the absence of any help from their parents at home and indifferent teachers at schools, they lose interest in education. The provision of free supplementary education/evening classes would be helpful for such children.

## 8. Child Protection Mechanism

In schools, especially in residential schools, children should be protected from verbal, physical, or sexual abuse, the incidence of which was quite high. There were also cases of discrimination and preferential treatments given by the teachers to some students, which had an adverse effect on the psychology of the other children.

## 9. Interactive Learning Processes and Providing Teaching–Learning Materials (TLMs)

First-generation students were reported to be slow learners. Many of the teachers reported that these children lose interest in repeating the same lessons multiple times. TLMs with pictorial forms can help such students to learn things easily.

## 10. Awareness Camps on Education as a Part of Local Festivals

There is a lack of awareness about the value of education, among the local population. Local festivals and fairs can be used to create awareness about the importance of education in a tribal society. These festivals and fairs can also be used for generating awareness about scholarships and other facilities provided by the government.

## 11. Increasing the Number of Residential Schools

Residential schools are popular among the local population. However, the number of such schools is far below their demand in the area.

## 12. Promote sports

Tribal children are generally good in sports but this talent is not nurtured. Facilities for sports, therefore, need to be improved in schools. Special provisions can also be made in the residential schools for nurturing talent in sports among the tribal children.

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# Appendix

## Annexures

**Annexure 1.1: District-wise Share of ST Population and literacy Rate in ST Population**

| LWE affected Districts | Total Population No. | Scheduled Tribe population No. | Share of ST Population % | Literacy Rate % |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| **LWE Districts** | | | | |
| Bastar | 1413199 | 931780 | 65.93 | 54.40 |
| Bijapur | 255230 | 204189 | 80.00 | 40.86 |
| Dakshin Bastar Dantewada | 533638 | 410255 | 76.88 | 42.12 |
| Dhamtari | 799781 | 207633 | 25.96 | 78.36 |
| Jashpur | 851669 | 530378 | 62.28 | 67.92 |
| Koriya | 658917 | 304280 | 46.18 | 70.64 |
| Mahasamund | 1032754 | 279896 | 27.10 | 71.02 |
| Narayanpur | 139820 | 108161 | 77.36 | 48.62 |
| Rajnandgaon | 1537133 | 405194 | 26.36 | 75.96 |
| Surguja | 2359886 | 1300628 | 55.11 | 60.01 |
| Uttar Bastar Kanker | 748941 | 414770 | 55.38 | 70.29 |
| *Sub-Total* | *10330968* | *5097164* | *49.34* | **68.70** |
| **Non LWE Districts** | | | | |
| Bilaspur | 2663629 | 498469 | 18.71 | 70.78 |
| Durg | 3343872 | 397416 | 11.88 | 79.06 |
| Janjgir – Champa | 1619707 | 187196 | 11.56 | 73.07 |
| Kabeerdham | 822526 | 167043 | 20.31 | 60.85 |
| Korba | 1206640 | 493559 | 40.90 | 72.37 |
| Raigarh | 1493984 | 505609 | 33.84 | 73.26 |
| Raipur | 4063872 | 476446 | 11.72 | 75.56 |
| *Sub-Total* | *15214230* | *2725738* | *17.92* | **74.00** |
| **Chhattisgarh (State Total)** | **25545198** | **7822902** | **30.62** | **70.28** |

Source: Census of India, 2011

**Annexure 1.2: List of Villages Surveyed**

| Districts | Blocks | Villages |
|-----------|--------|----------|
| Sukma | Chhindgarh | Leda |
| | | Pakela |
| | | Podum |
| | | Sautnar |
| | | Netnar |
| | | Lashkipara |
| | | Kokapal |
| | | Subhaspara |
| | | Rokel |
| | | Ganjanar |
| Bastar | Bakawand | Dhanpur |
| | | Dhobiguda |
| | | Jharumargao |
| | | Karitpal |
| | | Karpawand |
| | | Kohkapal |
| | | Korpal |
| | | Malgao |
| | | Kurushpal |

**Annexure 1.3: Sample Distribution of Schools, Children, Parents and Teachers**

| Block and District | No. of Schools* | No. of Students | | No. of Teachers | | No. of Parents | |
|---------------------|-----------------|------|-------|------|--------|------|--------|
| | | Boys | Girls | Male | Female | Male | Female |
| Bakawand (Bastar) | 12 | 53 | 47 | 16 | 20 | 86 | 14 |
| Chhindgarh (Sukma) | 13 | 72 | 28 | 14 | 10 | 90 | 10 |
| **Total** | **25** | **125** | **75** | **30** | **30** | **176** | **24** |

Note: *includes Govt. Primary Schools, Residential Schools, and Portakabins

**Annexure 1.4: Name of the Surveyed Schools and Portakabins**

| Sl No. | Name of the School in Bastar District | Village | Gram Panchyat |
|---|---|---|---|
| 1 | Government Primary School, Irikpal | Irikpal | Dhobigura |
| 2 | Prathamik Shala, Dhobigura | Dhobigura | Dhobigura |
| 3 | Prathamik Shala, Kokhapal | Kokhapal | Kokhapal |
| 4 | Prathamik Shala, Karpawand | Karpawand | Karpawand |
| 5 | Prathamik Shala, Kuruspal | Kuruspal | Gumdail |
| 6 | Government Primary School, Kareetgaon | Kareetgaon | Kareetgaon |
| 7 | Primary School, Patelpara, Dhanpur | Dhanpur | Dhanpur |
| 8 | Prathamik Shala, Litigura | Litigura | Kokhapal |
| 9 | Prathamik Shala, Ratakhandi | Ratakhandi | Kolawal |
| 10 | Prathamik Shala, Pankungura | Kolawal | Kolawal |
| **Name of the Residential School** | | | |
| 1 | Balak Ashram, Karpawand | | |
| 2 | Kanya Ashram, Kolawal | | |
| Sl No | Name of the School in Sukma District | Village | Gram Pancahyat |
| 1 | Prathamik Shala, Dhukapara, Leda | Leda | Leda |
| 2 | Prathamik Shala, Pakela | Pakela | Pakela |
| 3 | Prathamik Shala,Rokel | Rokel | Rokel |
| 4 | Prathamik Shala, Laskipara | Lashkipara | Rokel |
| 5 | DAV Mukhyamantri Public School | Rokel | Chindgarh |
| 6 | PrathamikShala, Subhapara | Subhaspara | Urmapal |
| 7 | PrathamikShala, Sautnar | Sautnar | Sautnar |
| 8 | Government Primary School, Ganjenar | Ganjanar | Gajanar |
| 9 | PrathamikShala, Kokalpal | Kokalpal | Chindhpal |
| 10 | Janpath Prthamik Shala, Leda | Leda | Leda |
| **Name of the Residential School** | | | |
| 1 | Kasturba Gandhi Balika Vidyalaya, Chindgarh | | |
| **Name of the Portakabin** | | | |
| 1 | Awasik Balika Portakabin, Chindgarh | | |
| 2 | Government Boy's Portakabin, Rokel, | | |

Source: Survey

**Annexure 1.5: Age-wise Male-Female Distribution of Sample of Students (In Number)**

| Age (completed in yrs) | Bastar | | Sukma | | Total | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | Boys | Girls | Boys | Girls | Boys | Girls |
| 8 | 1 | 5 | 1 | 2 | 2 | 7 |
| 9 | 10 | 6 | 1 | 0 | 11 | 6 |
| 10 | 23 | 24 | 39 | 17 | 62 | 41 |
| 11 | 10 | 9 | 23 | 5 | 33 | 14 |
| 12 | 7 | 2 | 6 | 4 | 13 | 6 |
| 13 | 1 | 1 | 2 | 0 | 3 | 1 |
| 14 | 1 | 0 | | | 1 | 0 |
| **Total** | **53** | **47** | **72** | **28** | **125** | **75** |

Source: Survey

**Annexure 1.6: Caste, Class, Education and Occupation-wise Distribution of Sample Parents**

| Socio-Economic Categories | | Bastar | Sukma | Total |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| **Caste** | SC | 12 | 7 | 19 |
| | ST | 46 | 66 | 112 |
| | OBC | 34 | 16 | 50 |
| | General | 8 | 11 | 19 |
| **Total** | | **100** | **100** | **100** |
| **BPL Card Holder** | Yes | 90 | 93 | 183 |
| | No | 10 | 7 | 17 |
| **Total** | | 100 | 100 | 100 |
| **Education** | Iliterate | 37 | 61 | 98 |
| | Primary | 22 | 18 | 40 |
| | Upper Primary | 22 | 5 | 27 |
| | Secondary | 13 | 11 | 24 |
| | High Secondary & above | 6 | 5 | 11 |
| **Total** | | **100** | **100** | **100** |
| **Occupation** | Agricultural | 55 | 68 | 123 |
| | Agriculture allied ac | 0 | 15 | 15 |
| | Casual labour in agriculture | 13 | 6 | 19 |
| | Casual labour in non-agriculture | 10 | 3 | 13 |
| | Own Business/shops | 6 | 2 | 8 |
| | Salaried | 1 | 3 | 4 |
| | Traditional services | 8 | 3 | 11 |
| | Housewife | 5 | 0 | 5 |
| | Too old to work | 2 | 0 | 2 |
| **Total** | | **100** | **100** | **100** |

Source: Survey

**Annexure 2.1: Gender-wise Distribution of Children Enrolled in
Government and Private Schools**

| Districts | Boys | | | Girls | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | **Total Enrolment (No.)** | **Government School (%)** | **Private School (%)** | **Total Enrolment (No.)** | **Government School (%)** | **Private School (%)** |
| **LWE Districts** | | | | | | |
| Balod | 59,114 | 80.9 | 19.1 | 57,792 | 84.1 | 15.9 |
| Balrampur | 76,825 | 80.0 | 20.0 | 73,131 | 85.1 | 14.9 |
| Baster | 73,951 | 86.4 | 13.6 | 71,139 | 88.0 | 12.0 |
| Bijapur | 27,882 | 92.1 | 7.9 | 21,824 | 91.1 | 8.9 |
| Dantewada | 26,636 | 85.9 | 14.1 | 22,777 | 85.2 | 14.8 |
| Dhamtari | 64,445 | 73.8 | 26.2 | 63,104 | 78.0 | 22.0 |
| Gariaband | 50,419 | 88.4 | 11.6 | 48,866 | 90.8 | 9.2 |
| Jashpur | 75,511 | 63.1 | 36.9 | 72,965 | 67.4 | 32.6 |
| Kanker | 64,352 | 84.8 | 15.2 | 62,298 | 87.6 | 12.4 |
| Kondagaon | 54,145 | 92.5 | 7.5 | 53,305 | 93.7 | 6.3 |
| Koriya | 59,562 | 69.4 | 30.6 | 56,732 | 75.4 | 24.6 |
| Mahasamund | 91,161 | 78.1 | 21.9 | 87,578 | 82.9 | 17.1 |
| Narayanpur | 16,272 | 85.0 | 15.0 | 13,155 | 86.5 | 13.5 |
| Rajnandgaon | 131,828 | 79.0 | 21.0 | 130,854 | 82.5 | 17.5 |
| Sukma | 22,703 | 92.3 | 7.7 | 18,277 | 92.5 | 7.5 |
| Surguja | 79,025 | 69.3 | 30.7 | 74,698 | 74.6 | 25.4 |
| **Sub-total** | **9,41,419** | **78.1** | **21.9** | **8,97,226** | **81.7** | **18.3** |
| **Non-LWE Districts** | | | | | | |
| Balodabazar | 1,28,579 | 82.6 | 17.4 | 1,25,842 | 86.4 | 13.6 |
| Bemetara | 80,183 | 86.6 | 13.4 | 79,509 | 90.4 | 9.6 |
| Bilaspur | 1,96,951 | 71.5 | 28.5 | 1,88,995 | 75.4 | 24.6 |
| Durg | 1,27,356 | 51.7 | 48.3 | 1,21,118 | 56.3 | 43.7 |
| Janjgir_champa | 1,54,733 | 66.6 | 33.4 | 1,49,623 | 72.2 | 27.8 |
| Kawardha | 84,532 | 82.4 | 17.6 | 82,800 | 86.8 | 13.2 |
| Korba | 1,04,338 | 71.5 | 28.5 | 1,00,754 | 75.2 | 24.8 |
| Mungeli | 75,905 | 80.5 | 19.5 | 73,875 | 85.1 | 14.9 |
| Raigarh | 1,22,446 | 69.3 | 30.7 | 1,17,782 | 75.0 | 25.0 |
| Raipur | 1,94,280 | 50.8 | 49.2 | 1,84,243 | 56.2 | 43.8 |
| Surajpur | 77,121 | 71.9 | 28.1 | 75,389 | 77.7 | 22.3 |
| **Sub-total** | **13,46,424** | **69.1** | **30.9** | **12,99,930** | **73.9** | **26.1** |
| **Chhattisgarh** | **23,20,255** | **73.4** | **26.6** | **22,28,425** | **77.5** | **23.0** |

Source: DISE (2014-15)

**Annexure 2.2: Distribution of Government and Private Schools across Districts (No. and %)**

| Districts | Total Elementary School | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | Govt (No.) | Govt (%) | Private (No.) | Private (%) | Total (No.) |
| **LWE Districts** | | | | | |
| Balod | 1,332 | 90.18 | 145 | 9.82 | 1,477 |
| Balrampur | 2,057 | 92.24 | 173 | 7.76 | 2,230 |
| Bastar | 2,432 | 95.60 | 112 | 4.40 | 2,544 |
| Bijapur | 1,097 | 96.65 | 38 | 3.35 | 1,135 |
| Dantewada | 979 | 96.55 | 35 | 3.45 | 1,014 |
| Dhamtari | 1,403 | 87.96 | 192 | 12.04 | 1,595 |
| Gariaband | 1,555 | 95.81 | 68 | 4.19 | 1,623 |
| Jashpur | 2,284 | 87.74 | 319 | 12.26 | 2,603 |
| Kanker | 2,264 | 94.49 | 132 | 5.51 | 2,396 |
| Kondagaon | 1,994 | 97.41 | 53 | 2.59 | 2,047 |
| Koriya | 1,445 | 88.38 | 190 | 11.62 | 1,635 |
| Mahasamund | 1,852 | 89.73 | 212 | 10.27 | 2,064 |
| Narayanpur | 576 | 95.68 | 26 | 4.32 | 602 |
| Rajnandgaon | 2,711 | 90.37 | 289 | 9.63 | 3,000 |
| Sukma | 970 | 97.59 | 24 | 2.41 | 994 |
| Surguja | 2,027 | 89.37 | 241 | 10.63 | 2,268 |
| **Sub-total** | **26,978** | **92.31** | **2,249** | **7.69** | **29,227** |
| **Non-LWE Districts** | | | | | |
| Balodabazar | 1,888 | 89.10 | 231 | 10.90 | 2,119 |
| Bemetara | 1,167 | 91.10 | 114 | 8.90 | 1,281 |
| Bilaspur | 2,638 | 83.06 | 538 | 16.94 | 3,176 |
| Durg | 1,008 | 66.67 | 504 | 33.33 | 1,512 |
| Janjgir_champa | 2,426 | 84.06 | 460 | 15.94 | 2,886 |
| Kawardha | 1,643 | 89.98 | 183 | 10.02 | 1,826 |
| Korba | 2,144 | 89.26 | 258 | 10.74 | 2,402 |
| Mungeli | 1,021 | 89.56 | 119 | 10.44 | 1,140 |
| Raigarh | 3,022 | 89.86 | 341 | 10.14 | 3,363 |
| Raipur | 1,320 | 61.28 | 834 | 38.72 | 2,154 |
| Surajpur | 1,997 | 90.28 | 215 | 9.72 | 2,212 |
| **Sub-total** | **20,274** | **84.23** | **3,797** | **15.77** | **24,071** |
| **Total** | **47,252** | **88.66** | **6,046** | **11.34** | **53,298** |

Source: DISE (2014-15)

**Annexure 2.3: District-wise Number of Elementary Schools per 1000 Population
(6-14 years) and Literacy Rate**

| District | Population ( 6-14 Yrs) | Total elementary schools** | Elementary school per 1000 population | Literacy rate* |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| **LWE Districts** | | | | |
| Bastar | 238164 | 4592 | 19 | 54.94 |
| Bijapur | 61222 | 1135 | 19 | 41.58 |
| DakshinBastarDantewada | 118444 | 2008 | 17 | 42.67 |
| Dhamtari | 62816 | 1595 | 25 | 78.95 |
| Jashpur | 117098 | 2603 | 22 | 68.9 |
| Koriya | 99663 | 1635 | 16 | 71.41 |
| Mahasamund | 75154 | 1623 | 22 | 71.54 |
| Narayanpur | 33321 | 602 | 18 | 49.59 |
| Rajnandgaon | 127090 | 3000 | 24 | 76.97 |
| Surguja | 336632 | 6710 | 20 | 61.16 |
| Uttar Bastar Kanker | 95726 | 2396 | 25 | 70.97 |
| **Sub-total** | **1365330** | **27889** | **20** | |
| **Non-LWE Districts** | | | | |
| Bilaspur | 223680 | 4316 | 19 | 71.59 |
| Durg | 283069 | 4270 | 15 | 79.69 |
| Janjgir – Champa | 79132 | 2886 | 36 | 73.7 |
| Kabeerdham | 55441 | 1826 | 33 | 61.95 |
| Korba | 179518 | 2402 | 13 | 73.22 |
| Raigarh | 139845 | 3363 | 24 | 73.7 |
| Raipur | 357770 | 6337 | 18 | 76.43 |
| **Sub-total** | **1318455** | **25400** | **19** | |
| **Total** | **2683785** | **53299** | **20** | **70.28** |

Source: *Census 2011,Office of the Registrar General & Census Commissioner, Ministry of Home Affairs,Government of India

** District Report Cards (2014-15) District Information System for Education (DISE), National University of Educational Planning and Administration (NUEPA). DISE includes different school types e.g. primary only (class I-V), primary and upper primary (class I-VIII), primary with upper primary and secondary (class I-X), primary with upper primary and secondary and higher secondary (ClassI-XII), upper primary only (class VI-VIII), upper primary with secondary (class VI-X), upper primary with secondary and higher secondary (class VI-XII), which have elementary sections i.e. class I-VIII

**Annexure 2.4 : Year-wise Percentage of Elementary Schools in Chhattisgarh With Basic Facilities (2005-06 to 2015-16)**

| Facilities | 2005-06 | 2007-08 | 2008-09 | 2009-10 | 2010-11 | 2011-12 | 2012-13 | 2013-14 | 2014-15 | 2015-16 |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| School with Drinking Water | 79.7 | 86.7 | 88.7 | 94.2 | 93.6 | 93.4 | 94.5 | 95.6 | 97.1 | 99.2 |
| School with Boys' Toilet | - | - | - | 24 | 31.9 | 54.6 | 49.9* | 97.3* | 95.0* | 98.7 |
| School with Girls' Toilet | 9.8 | 20 | 23.1 | 35.3 | 34.7 | 53.8 | 87.8* | 80.2* | 74.5* | 99.4 |
| School Providing Mid-Day Meals*** | - | - | - | 88.6 | 95.6 | 97.1 | 97.7 | 98.4 | 98.8 | 98.9 |
| School with Ramp | 16 | 29.5 | 33 | 40.6 | 38.6 | 40.2 | 71.7** | 82.0** | 75.9** | 77.9** |
| School having Electricity | - | - | 20.8 | 23.5 | 22.6 | 25.6 | 41.4 | 51.6 | 66.2 | 71.8 |
| School with Boundary wall | 43.8 | 41.7 | 42.6 | 70 | 71.9 | 53.5 | 52.2 | 57.2 | 63.8 | 65.5 |
| School with Playground Facility | - | - | - | 43 | 38.8 | 38.7 | 40.8 | 49.5 | 52.9 | 54.6 |
| School with Computers | 5.7 | 8.5 | 6.3 | 7.2 | 6 | 7.2 | 8.2 | 8.9 | 10.4 | 11 |

Source: "Elementary Education in India: Trends 2005-06 to 2015-16", National University of Educational Planning and Administration (NUEPA)* Single toilet in co-educational schools in considered as boys' toilet and multiple toilets as toilets for both boys and girls.
** Schools requires and have Ramp.
*** Government and Aided School

**Annexure 2.5: Districts-wise Status of Mid-day Meal in Government Elementary Schools**

| Districts | Total No. of Govt. Elementary Schools | Status of Mid-day Meal | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | | Provided & prepared in School Premises | | Provided but not prepared in School Premises | | Not provided | |
| | | No. | % | No. | % | No. | % |
| LWE Districts | | | | | | | |
| Balod | 1,332 | 1,327 | 99.62 | 5 | 0.38 | 0 | 0 |
| Balrampur | 2,057 | 1,856 | 90.23 | 191 | 9.29 | 10 | 0.49 |
| Bastar | 2,432 | 2,144 | 88.16 | 255 | 10.49 | 33 | 1.36 |
| Bijapur | 1,097 | 866 | 78.94 | 23 | 2.1 | 208 | 18.96 |
| Dantewada | 979 | 902 | 92.13 | 67 | 6.84 | 10 | 1.02 |
| Dhamtari | 1,403 | 1,312 | 93.51 | 89 | 6.34 | 2 | 0.14 |
| Gariaband | 1,555 | 1,395 | 89.71 | 154 | 9.9 | 6 | 0.39 |
| Jashpur | 2,284 | 2,203 | 96.45 | 73 | 3.2 | 8 | 0.35 |
| Kanker | 2,264 | 2,224 | 98.23 | 33 | 1.46 | 7 | 0.31 |
| Kondagaon | 1,994 | 1,938 | 97.19 | 43 | 2.16 | 13 | 0.65 |
| Koriya | 1,445 | 1,384 | 95.78 | 53 | 3.67 | 8 | 0.55 |
| Mahasamund | 1,852 | 1,745 | 94.22 | 100 | 5.4 | 7 | 0.38 |
| Narayanpur | 576 | 552 | 95.83 | 23 | 3.99 | 1 | 0.17 |
| Rajnandgaon | 2,711 | 2,547 | 93.95 | 150 | 5.53 | 14 | 0.52 |
| Sukma | 970 | 863 | 88.97 | 28 | 2.89 | 79 | 8.14 |
| Surguja | 2,027 | 1,726 | 85.15 | 285 | 14.06 | 16 | 0.79 |
| **Sub-total** | **26,978** | **24,984** | **92.61** | **1,572** | **5.83** | **422** | **1.56** |
| Non-LWE Districts | | | | | | | |
| Balodabazar | 1,888 | 1,770 | 93.75 | 117 | 6.2 | 1 | 0.05 |
| Bemetara | 1,167 | 1,114 | 95.46 | 49 | 4.2 | 4 | 0.34 |
| Bilaspur | 2,638 | 2,533 | 96.02 | 90 | 3.41 | 15 | 0.57 |
| Durg | 1,008 | 770 | 76.39 | 233 | 23.12 | 5 | 0.5 |
| Janjgir_champa | 2,426 | 2,288 | 94.31 | 132 | 5.44 | 6 | 0.25 |
| Kawardha | 1,643 | 1,455 | 88.56 | 164 | 9.98 | 24 | 1.46 |
| Korba | 2,144 | 1,738 | 81.06 | 390 | 18.19 | 16 | 0.75 |
| Mungeli | 1,021 | 934 | 91.48 | 83 | 8.13 | 4 | 0.39 |
| Raigarh | 3,022 | 2,615 | 86.53 | 392 | 12.97 | 15 | 0.5 |
| Raipur | 1,320 | 1,082 | 81.97 | 233 | 17.65 | 5 | 0.38 |
| Surajpur | 1,997 | 1,661 | 83.17 | 323 | 16.17 | 13 | 0.65 |
| **Sub-total** | **20,274** | **17,960** | **88.59** | **2,206** | **10.88** | **108** | **0.53** |
| **Total** | **47,252** | **42,944** | **90.88** | **3,778** | **8.00** | **530** | **1.12** |

Source: DISE (2014-15)

**Annexure 2.6: District-wise Student Teacher Ratio and School Student Ratio**

| Districts | School Student Ratio | Student Teacher Ratio | Avg no. of Teachers |
|---|---|---|---|
| | LWE Districts | | |
| Balod | 79 | 19 | 4 |
| Balrampur | 67 | 23 | 3 |
| Bastar | 57 | 20 | 3 |
| Bijapur | 44 | 21 | 2 |
| Dantewada | 49 | 16 | 3 |
| Dhamtari | 80 | 18 | 5 |
| Gariaband | 61 | 20 | 3 |
| Jashpur | 57 | 17 | 3 |
| Kanker | 53 | 15 | 3 |
| Kondagaon | 52 | 19 | 3 |
| Koriya | 71 | 19 | 4 |
| Mahasamund | 87 | 23 | 4 |
| Narayanpur | 49 | 18 | 3 |
| Rajnandgaon | 88 | 21 | 4 |
| Sukma | 41 | 18 | 2 |
| Surguja | 68 | 17 | 4 |
| **Sub-total** | **65** | **19** | **3** |
| | Non-LWE Districts | | |
| Balodabazar | 120 | 24 | 5 |
| Bemetara | 125 | 28 | 4 |
| Bilaspur | 122 | 24 | 5 |
| Durg | 164 | 22 | 8 |
| Janjgir_champa | 105 | 23 | 5 |
| Kawardha | 92 | 25 | 4 |
| Korba | 85 | 24 | 4 |
| Mungeli | 131 | 30 | 4 |
| Raigarh | 71 | 20 | 4 |
| Raipur | 176 | 22 | 8 |
| Surajpur | 69 | 21 | 3 |
| **Sub-total** | **110** | **23** | **5** |
| **Chhattisgarh** | **85** | **21** | **4** |

Source: Compiled by authors from DISE (2014-15) data

**Annexure 2.7: District-wise Distribution of Teachers and their Qualifications**

| Districts | Male Teacher Ratio (%) | Female Teacher Ratio (%) | Schools with no Professional Teacher (%) | Schools with more than three Professional teacher's (%) |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| | | LWE Districts | | |
| Balod | 61.9 | 38.1 | 9.8 | 31.6 |
| Balrampur | 68.2 | 31.8 | 20.6 | 5.8 |
| Bastar | 56.6 | 43.4 | 21.3 | 9.9 |
| Bijapur | 69.0 | 31.0 | 38.3 | 5.0 |
| Dantewada | 59.2 | 40.8 | 45.2 | 7.9 |
| Dhamtari | 57.4 | 42.6 | 6.9 | 33.0 |
| Gariaband | 71.5 | 28.5 | 8.4 | 17.5 |
| Jashpur | 58.3 | 41.7 | 6.1 | 18.5 |
| Kanker | 64.2 | 35.8 | 14.4 | 16.0 |
| Kondagaon | 68.8 | 31.2 | 9.6 | 10.9 |
| Koriya | 58.6 | 41.4 | 12.8 | 17.3 |
| Mahasamund | 62.7 | 37.3 | 9.4 | 21.8 |
| Narayanpur | 69.0 | 31.0 | 27.2 | 7.8 |
| Rajnandgaon | 59.0 | 41.0 | 8.5 | 26.5 |
| Sukma | 71.2 | 28.8 | 20.9 | 11.9 |
| Surguja | 57.1 | 42.9 | 12.3 | 16.1 |
| **Sub-total** | **61.8** | **38.2** | **14.7** | **16.9** |
| | | Non-LWE Districts | | |
| Balodabazar | 62.2 | 37.8 | 7.6 | 42.2 |
| Bemetara | 65.9 | 34.1 | 9.1 | 26.0 |
| Bilaspur | 50.7 | 49.3 | 10.7 | 33.0 |
| Durg | 33.4 | 66.6 | 15.3 | 47.0 |
| Janjgir_champa | 63.3 | 36.7 | 9.2 | 33.2 |
| Kawardha | 69.6 | 30.4 | 11.9 | 21.3 |
| Korba | 57.6 | 42.4 | 5.6 | 28.4 |
| Mungeli | 66.6 | 33.4 | 3.8 | 41.3 |
| Raigarh | 63.3 | 36.7 | 4.9 | 26.3 |
| Raipur | 32.1 | 67.9 | 14.8 | 49.4 |
| Surajpur | 63.8 | 36.2 | 17.2 | 9.8 |
| **Sub-total** | **53.9** | **46.1** | **9.9** | **31.8** |
| **Chhattisgarh** | **57.6** | **42.4** | **12.5** | **23.6** |

Source: Compiled by authors from DISE (2014-15) data

**Annexure 4.1: Educational and Occupational Backgrounds of Parents of Working Children in Bastar and Sukma Districts**

| | Mother | | Father | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| | **Number** | **%** | **Number** | **%** |
| **I.  Education** | | | | |
| Literate | 65 | 36.31 | 89 | 49.72 |
| Illiterate | 103 | 57.54 | 78 | 43.58 |
| No Response | 11 | 6.15 | 12 | 6.7 |
| **Total** | **179** | **100** | **179** | **100** |
| **II.  Occupation** | | | | |
| Agricultural | 103 | 57.54 | 110 | 61.45 |
| Agriculture allied activities | 7 | 3.91 | 11 | 6.15 |
| Casual labour in agriculture | 26 | 14.53 | 12 | 6.7 |
| Casual labour in non-agriculture | 10 | 5.59 | 33 | 18.44 |
| Own Business/shops etc. | 2 | 1.12 | 4 | 2.23 |
| Salaried | 4 | 2.23 | 4 | 2.23 |
| Traditional services | 4 | 2.23 | 1 | 0.56 |
| Housewife | 20 | 11.17 | 0 | 0 |
| Physically or mentally disable to work | 2 | 1.12 | 2 | 1.12 |
| Dead (No Response) | 1 | 0.56 | 2 | 1.12 |
| **Total** | **179** | **100** | **179** | **100** |

Source: Survey

**Annexure 4.2: Parents Education and Occupation and Work Status of their Children**

| Whether students work or not | Odds Ratio | Std. Err. | z | P>z | [95% Conf. | Interval] |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Education of mother | 1.08 | 0.499 | 0.17 | 0.867 | 0.437 | 2.673 |
| Education of father | 0.468 | 0.174 | **-2.05** | **0.041** | 0.226 | 0.968 |
| Occupation of mother | 0.959 | 0.088 | -0.46 | 0.645 | 0.801 | 1.148 |
| Occupation of Father | 0.852 | 0.072 | **-1.89** | **0.059** | 0.721 | 1.006 |
| _cons | 46.622 | 56.978 | 3.14 | 0.002 | 4.249 | 511.536 |
| Number of obs=200 | | | | | | |
| LR chi2(4)=7.28 | | | | | | |
| Prob> chi2=0.1219 | | | | | | |
| Pseudo R2=0.0542 | | | | | | |
| Log likelihood = -63.546919 | | | | | | |

Source: Authors' calculation

**Annexure 4.3: Caste, Education and Occupation of Sample Parents in Bastar and Sukma Districts**

| | Bastar District | | | | Sukma District | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | less than 25000 | 25001 to 50000 | 50001 to 100000 | more than 100000 | less than 25000 | 25001 to 50000 | 50001 to 100000 | more than 100000 |
| Total number of families | **35** | **35** | **27** | **3** | **34** | **47** | **10** | **9** |
| **I. Caste** | | | | | | | | |
| SC | 3 | 3 | 6 | 0 | 1 | 4 | 0 | 2 |
| ST | 24 | 14 | 7 | 1 | 24 | 32 | 7 | 3 |
| OBC | 8 | 13 | 11 | 2 | 7 | 5 | 1 | 3 |
| General | 0 | 5 | 3 | 0 | 2 | 6 | 2 | 1 |
| **II. Education** | | | | | | | | |
| Illiterate | 18 | 13 | 6 | 0 | 27 | 25 | 7 | 2 |
| Primary | 10 | 4 | 8 | 0 | 5 | 9 | 1 | 3 |
| Upper Primary | 3 | 12 | 6 | 1 | 1 | 2 | 1 | 1 |
| Secondary | 4 | 3 | 5 | 1 | 0 | 8 | 1 | 2 |
| High Secondary & above | 0 | 3 | 2 | 1 | 1 | 3 | 0 | 1 |
| **III. Occupation** | | | | | | | | |
| Agricultural | 25 | 19 | 9 | 2 | 25 | 33 | 8 | 2 |
| Agriculture allied activities | | | | | 4 | 8 | 1 | 2 |
| Casual labour in agriculture | 2 | 7 | 4 | 0 | 0 | 4 | 1 | 1 |
| Casual labour in non-agriculture | 1 | 3 | 6 | 0 | 3 | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| Own Business/shops | 2 | 2 | 2 | 0 | 1 | 0 | 0 | 1 |
| Salaried | 0 | 1 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 3 |
| Traditional services | 2 | 1 | 4 | 1 | 1 | 2 | 0 | 0 |
| Too Old to work | 2 | 2 | 1 | 0 | - | - | - | - |
| Others | 1 | 0 | 1 | 0 | - | - | - | - |

Source: Survey

# Appendix

## Photographs

Photo No.1: A building of a Government Residential School/Boys Portakabin, Rokel, Sukma



Photo No.2: A Dormitory in a Portakabin, Rokel, Sukma

Photo No. 3: Library of a Boys Portakabin, Rokel, Sukma



Photo No. 4: Gurukul Girl's Portakabin, Chhindgarh, Sukma

Photo No.5: A View of Gurukul Girl's Potakebin, Chhindgarh, Sukma



Photo No.6: A View of Gurukul Girl's Portakabin, Chhindgarh, Sukma

Photo No.7: A Dormitory in Balak Ashramshala, Rokel, Sukma



Photo No. 8: Mid-Day Meal being Served in the Dining Hall of Government Primary School, Ganjenar, Sukma

Photo No. 9: A photo of Mid-Day Meal Shed of a Government Primary School, Leda, Sukma



Photo No.10: Boys sitting on the floor in a Government Primary School, Bastar

Photo No.11: Girls sitting on the floor in a Government Primary School in Bastar



Photo No. 12: A classroom in a Girl *Portakabin*in Sukma District

Photo No. 13: A Boy Carrying a Drum in an Ashram Schools in Bastar

# School Schedule

**Schedule No._____**

## 1. Identification

**1.1 School Name:** _____

**1.2 Village/Location:** _____

**1.3 Gram Panchayat:** _____

**1.4 District:** _____

## 2. Basic Details

| S.No | Particulars | Response |
|------|-------------|----------|
| 2.1 | Who is the Respondent <br> (Principal:1/Head Master:2/ <br><br> Others:3 _____ ) | Name of the respondent: |
| 2.2 | Gender of the Respondent <br> (Male-1, Female-2) | |
| 2.3 | Curriculum followed in the school <br> (State board – 1, Tribal Welfare Board – 2, CBSE – 3, ICSE –4 . <br><br> Others-5 (specify)_____ | |
| 2.4 | Medium of Instruction as followed in the school <br> (Hindi – 1, English – 2, Regional (Tribal)-3, Other(specify……)-4 | |
| 2.5 | Types of School <br> (Only Boys – 1, Only Girls – 2, Coeducation -3; Others(specify…)-4 | |

### 3. Enrolment Status in the School in 2016-17

| Class | Total Number of Students Enrolled | | | Total Number of Students present in Class on the day of Visit | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | Total | Male | Female | Total | Male | Female |
| Class I | | | | | | |
| Class II | | | | | | |
| Class III | | | | | | |
| Class IV | | | | | | |
| Class V | | | | | | |

### 4. Enrolment in the School

| S.No. | Items | Responses |
|---|---|---|
| 4.1 | Have you noticed any changes in enrolment within the last five years? (Increase-1, Decrease-2, No change-3) | |
| 4.1a | Reasons for Increase in Enrolment : | |
| 4.1b | Reasons for Decrease in Enrolment : | |
| 4.2 | Do you have cases of drop-outs in your school? (Yes-1, No-2) | |
| 4.3 | Who are more likely to drop out of school? (Gilrs-1, Boys-2, Both-3) | |
| 4.4 | In which class is the drop-out rate maximum? (Class II-1, Class III-2, Class IV-3, Class V-4;) | |
| 4.5 | Reasons for Dropouts | |
| 4.6 | Does the school take any special initiative to enrol/attract tribal students? If yes, mention the initiatives taken: 1. 2. 3. 4. 5. | |
| 4.7 | Does Government provide any scholarship for ST students? (Yes-1 No-2) | |
| 4.8 | Do the government scholarships come regularly to the students entitled for scholarships? (Yes-1 No-2) | |
| 4.9 | Do you have primers in regional language/tribal language? (Yes-1 No-2) | |

## 5. Details of Teaching Staff and their qualifications for Primary School

| S.No | Particulars | Total | Female | Male |
|------|-------------|-------|--------|------|
| 5.1 | Total No. of Teachers | | | |
| 5.2 | Number of teachers with basic training in school education | | | |
| 5.3 | Do the Tribal and Non-Tribal teachers interact with each other? (Yes-1 No-2) | | | |
| 5.4 | If no, Why? | | | |

## 6. Check List on School Infrastructure

| S.No | Items | | Response |
|------|-------|---|----------|
| 6.1 | Area of the School (less than 500 sq m - 1, Between 500-100 sq m -2, Between 1000-2000 sq m -3, more than 2000 sq m -4) | | |
| 6.2 | Status of School Building (Own – 1; Rented – 2; Others – 3_____) | | |
| 6.3 | Type of School Building (pucca – 1, semi-pucca – 2, kutcha – 3, thatched – 4, Porta-Cabin-5, others (specify) - 6 | | |
| 6.4 | Availability of Boundary Wall in school (Y/N) | | |
| 6.5 | Total number of classrooms | | |
| 6.6 | Office-cum-Store-cum-Head teachers room (Y/N) | | |
| 6.7 | Staff Room for teachers (Y/N) | | |
| 6.8 | Drinking Water (Y/N) | | |
| 6.9 | Availability of separate toilet for boys and girls (Y/N) | | |
| 6.10 | Regular cleaning of toilets (Y/N) | | |
| 6.11 | Kitchen Shed (Y/N) | | |
| 6.12 | Playground (Y/N) | | |
| 6.13 | Availability of play material, sports equipment and games (Y/N) | | |
| 6.14 | Library (Y/N) | | |
| 6.15 | What all are available in the library: (Tick off the appropriate multiple answer) | Newspaper | |
| | | Magazines | |
| | | Subject books | |
| | | Story books | |
| | | Others | |
| 6.16 | First Aid Facilities (Y/N) | | |
| 6.17 | Disabled friendly infrastructure – ramps (Y/N) | | |

| 6.18 | Special teacher for Disabled children (Y/N) | |
|------|---------------------------------------------|--|

## 7. Details of Mid Day Meal Scheme

| Sl No. | Items | Response |
|--------|-------|----------|
| 7.1 | Do you have some provision for Mid Day Meal in school? (Yes-1 No-2) | |
| 7.2 | Do you maintain Weekly Diet Chart for students? Yes-1 No-2 | |

**Investigator's rating of MDM in the school:**

| 7 a | Quality of Food Very Good-1 Good-2, Average-3, Bad-4, Very Bad-5 | |
|-----|------------------------------------------------------------------|--|
| 7 b | Quantity of Food Sufficient-1 Not Sufficient-2 | |
| 7 c | Whether it is served hot? Yes-1 No-2 | |
| 7 d | Hygiene is maintained in the Kitchen shed? Very Good-1 Good-2, Average-3, Poor-4, Very Poor-5 | |

## 8. Details of Available Teaching Aid

Does the school/ teachers use any of the following gadgets while teaching?

| Teaching Aid | Y/N | Source of Procurement ** |
|--------------|-----|--------------------------|
| Computer | | |
| Smart Boards | | |
| Internet | | |
| Talking Pen | | |
| Interactive Board | | |
| Others (specify) | | |

**Govt. Funding-2, CSR Funding-2, NGO Funding-3, School Management Fund-4, Others (specify)-5

# STUDENT SCHEDULE

**Schedule No._____**

1. **Identification**

    **1.1 School Name:**_____

    **1.2 Village:**_____

    **1.3 Gram Panchayat:**_____

    **1.4 Block:**_____

    **1.5 District:** _____

2. **Basic Information**

| S.No | Particulars | | Response | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| 2.1 | Name of the Student | | | |
| 2.2 | Gender <br>(Male-1 Female-2, Transgender-3) | | | |
| 2.3 | Age (completed in years) | | | |
| 2.4 | **Class V** (Note: Interview only Class V student) <br> Is he/she is regular or irregular in the school? | | ◯ regular <br> ◯ irregular | Plz. √ the appropriate box |
| 2.5 | Education of mother (Literate-1 Illiterate-2 Do not know-3) | | | |
| 2.6 | If literate, the highest class completed by her? (specify) | | | |
| 2.7 | Occupation of mother <br>(Agricultural-1; Agriculture allied activities(animal husbandry/fishery/goat rearing)-2; Casual labour in agriculture -3; Casual labour in non-agriculture -4; Own Business/shops etc.-5;Salaried -6; Traditional services(artisan caste occupation)-7; Housewife -8; Too Old to work-9; Unemployed-10; Collection of forest products-11; Physically or mentally disable to work-12; Other(Specify.........)-13) | | Code: <br><br> Specify occupation: | |
| 2.8 | Education of father (Literate-1 Illiterate-2 Do not know-3) | | | |
| 2.9 | If literate, the highest class completed by him? | | | |
| 2.10 | Occupation of father <br>(Agricultural-1; Agriculture allied activities(animal husbandry/fishery/goat rearing)-2; Casual labour in agriculture -3; Casual labour in non-agriculture -4; Own Business/shops etc.-5;Salaried -6; Traditional services(artisan caste occupation)-7; Housewife -8; Too Old to work-9; Unemployed-10; Collection of forest products-11; Physically or mentally disable to work-12; Other(Specify.........)-13) | | Code: <br><br> Specify occupation: | |

## 3. Barriers to Education

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| 3.1 | What is the age at which you started your schooling? (In years) | | |
| 3.2 | How far is your present school from home? <br>(Less than 1k.m-1; 1-3k.m.-2, 3-5k.m.-3, Above 5k.m.-5) | | |
| 3.3 | How do you commute to your school? <br>(Walking-1, School Bus-2, Bi-cycle-3, Dropped by parent-4, Public Transport—5, <br>Others-6 (specify)..........................................................................................................) | | |
| 3.4 | Do you work side by side your study? <br>(Yes-1 No-2) | | |
| 3.5 | If yes, then the type of work? <br>(look after younger siblings-1, help mother in domestic work-2, help father in his professional <br>work-3, cattle rearing-4, <br>other-5(specify)...........................................................................……................) | | |
| 3.6 | Do your teachers take classes regularly? <br>(Yes-1 No-2) | | |
| 3.7 | Do you usually understand the lessons taught by your teachers in school? <br>(Yes-1 No-2) | | |
| 3.8 | Do you face difficulty in understanding the subject due to the medium of instruction? <br>(Yes-1 No-2) | | |
| 3.9 | Have you ever been abused by any of your school teacher? <br>(Yes-1 No-2) | | |
| 3.10 | If yes, then the types of Abuses <br>(Physical Abuse-1, Verbal Abuse-2, Sexual Abuse-3;Others-4 (specify) …..........) | | |
| 3.11 | If Yes, | Have you ever reported to your parents about teacher's abusive behaviour? (Yes-1 No-2) | |
| 3.12 | | Have you ever reported to your head teacher about teacher's abusive behaviour? (Yes-1 No-2) | |
| 3.13 | | If yes, does the head teacher take action against the concerned teacher? (Yes-1 No-2) | |
| 3.14 | Have you ever stopped going to school because of teachers' abusive behaviour? <br>(Yes-1 No-2) | | |
| 3.15 | Does your teacher give special treatment to particular student? <br>(Yes-1 No-2) | | |
| 3.16 | If yes, to whom? <br>(Toppers-1, Rich students-2 Children of other tecahers-3 Children of local leaders-4 <br>Poor Children-5, non-tribal children-6; Others (specify)-7.................................................................) | | |
| 3.17 | Have you ever been examined by a medical practitioner in your school? <br>(Yes-1 No-2) | | |
| 3.18 | Did you have any health check-up camps in your school in 2016-17? <br>(Yes-1 No-2) | | |
| 3.19 | Do you get any or all of the following free from school: <br>(√ off the appropriate) | Books | |
| | | Uniform | |
| | | Bi-cycle | |
| | | Scholarships (Annual amount) | |
| | | Others : 1) | |
| | | 2) | |

**4. Barriers to Education for Girls**

|     | Questions are only for GIRLS | | |
| --- | --- | --- | --- |
| 4.1 | Have you ever been harassed by any male teacher in your school?(Yes-1 No-2) | | |
| 4.2 | If Yes, | Have you ever reported to your parents about harassment by the teacher? (Yes-1 No-2) | |
| 4.3 | | Have you ever reported to your head teacher about harassment by the teacher? (Yes-1 No-2) | |
| 4.4 | | If yes, does the head teacher take action against the concerned teacher? (Yes-1 No-2) | |
| 4.5 | Have you ever stopped going to school because of teachers' abusive behaviour/harassment? (Yes-1 No-2) | | |
| 4.6 | Do you find it difficult to come to the school during menstrual cycle? (Yes-1 No-2) | | |

# Investigators remarks and observation:

# PARENT SCHEDULE

## 1. Identification

    **1.6 Village:** _____

    **1.7 Gram Panchayat:**_____

    **1.8 Block:** _____

    **1.9 District:** _____

## 2. Basic Information

| S.No | Particulars | Response |
|------|-------------|----------|
| 1.1 | Name of the Respondent Parent/Guardian | |
| 1.2 | Caste<br>(SC-1, ST-2, OBC-3, General-4, Others-5 (specify_____ ) | |
| 1.3 | Religion<br>(Hindu-1, Muslim-2, Christian-3, Sikh-4, Parsi-5, Jain-6, budhist-7, Others-8(specify)_____) | |
| 1.4 | Do you have a BPL card<br>(Yes=1, No=2) | |
| 1.5 | Education of Respondent<br>(Iliterate-1; Primary -2,Upper Primary-3, Secondary-4, Higher Secondary-5, Graduation-6, Post-Graduation-7, Technical Diploma & Degree-8, Others-9 (specify)_____) | |
| 1.6 | Occupation of Respondent(Agricultural-1; Agriculture allied activities(animal husbandry/fishery/goat rearing)-2; Casual labour in agriculture -3; Casual labour in non-agriculture -4; Own Business/shops etc.-5;Salaried -6; Traditional services(artisan caste occupation)-7; Housewife -8; Too Old to work-9; Unemployed-10; Collection of forest products-11; Physically or mentally disable to work-12; Other(Specify.........)-13) | |
| 1.7 | Education of spouse<br>Iliterate-1; Primary -2,Upper Primary-3, Secondary-4, Higher Secondary-5, Graduation-6, Post-Graduation-7, Technical Diploma & Degree-8, Others-9 (specify)_____) | |
| 1.8 | Occupation of spouse(Agricultural-1; Agriculture allied activities(animal husbandry/fishery/goat rearing)-2; Casual labour in agriculture -3; Casual labour in non-agriculture -4; Own Business/shops etc.-5;Salaried -6; Traditional services(artisan caste occupation)-7; Housewife -8; Too Old to work-9; Unemployed-10; Collection of forest products-11; Physically or mentally disable to work-12; Other(Specify.........)-13) | |

### 3. Education Profile of Children in School-Going Age (Standard I to V)

| | Name of the student | Class | Gender (Male-1, Female-2) | Type of School presently attending* | Distance of school from home @ | Medium of Instruction ** | Reasons for sending children to school *** | Are you happy with the education your child is receiving? (Yes=1, No=2) |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1 | | | | | | | | |
| 2 | | | | | | | | |
| 3 | | | | | | | | |
| 4 | | | | | | | | |

**\*** Government -1,Govt.Aided-2, Private-3, Pvt Missionary-4,  Porta Cabin-5, Others (specify)- 6

@ Less than 1km-1, 1-3 km- 2, 3-5km-3, More than 5km-4.

** English-1, Hindi-2, Regional (Local Dialect)-3, Others (specify)-4

*** To make the child literate-1, Better Job Prospect-2, Peer Group/Family Pressure-3, To avail government benefits-4, Others (specify)-5

### 4. Profile of Children who have never been enrolled in school (Age between 6 to 14 years)

| Name Of the Child | Age | Gender (Female=1, Male=2) | Reason for never enrolled* |
|---|---|---|---|
| | | | |
| | | | |
| | | | |
| | | | |

*No appreciation for education-1, Absence of School in vicinity-2, Fear of de-tribalization-3, education is not important for girls-4, language barrier-5, safety & security(including Naxal, Police, Military)-6, to earn money and support family-7, others (specify)-8

### 5.         Profile of Children who have drop-out from school (Age between 6 to 14 years)

| Name Of the Child | Age | Gender (Female=1, Male=2) | Last Attended Class | Reason for drop-out* |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| | | | | |
| | | | | |
| | | | | |
| | | | | |

*Distance from school-1, Language barrier-2, Safety & Security-3, Look after younger sibling-4, to contribute to family labour-5, to earn for the family-6, Abuse/Harassment  in the school-7, Migration-8, Others (specify)-9

**6. Family Income and Indebtedness, if any**

**6.1 Sources of Income (2014-2015) (Fill either of the two)**

| Sl. No. | Source | | Monthly Income (Rs.) | Annual Income (Rs.) |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1 | Agriculture | | | |
| 2 | Animal husbandry | | | |
| 3 | Artisan work | | | |
| 4 | Trade/Self Employment/Business | | | |
| 5 | Manufacturing other than artisan | | | |
| 6 | Agricultural wages | | | |
| 7 | Non-agricultural wages | | | |
| 8 | Traditional Services (repair, maintenance, caste based occupation, carpentry, blacksmith, etc.) | | | |
| 9 | Remittances from other family member | | | |
| 10 | Earning from Forest Product | Honey Rearing & Collection | | |
| | | KenduPatta | | |
| | | Fruits Collection | | |
| | | Kalaniji | | |
| 11 | Others (specify) | | | |
| | 1. | | | |
| | 2. | | | |
| | 3. | | | |
| | 4. | | | |
| | 5. | | | |

**Details of Outstanding Loan**

| | | Credit 1 | Credit 2 | Credit 3 | Credit 4 |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 6.2.1 | Do you have any outstanding Loans (Yes=1, No=2) | | | | |
| | If yes, details of loan | | | | |
| | Particulars | | | | |
| 6.2.2 | Principal Amount of Credit/ Loan | | | | |
| 6.2.3 | Purpose of Loan/Credit * | | | | |
| 6.2.4 | Rate of interest | | | | |
| 6.2.5 | Source of Credit ** | | | | |
| 6.2.6 | Conditions of Credit*** | | | | |
| 6.2.7 | Credit Received**** | | | | |
| | | | | | |
| | | | | | |

*Daily Consumption=1, Marriage=2, Health=3, Purchase of Home/Land=4, Maintenance/ Construction of House=5, Repayment of old Loan=6, Purchase of Assets=7, Purchase of livestock-=8, For Business/Agricultural activity=9, For Ritual purposes/cremation= 10, others=11 (specify)

** Institutional Loan=1, Business Loan=2, Urban Money Lender=3, Rural Money Lender=4, Landowner=5, Relative/Friends=6, Loan from Upper/Middle caste=7, Others=8 (specify)

***Rate of interest=1, Loan against work=2, Education= 3, Loan against services=4, Mortgage of Household Item=5, Mortgage of Land=6, Others=7 (specify)

****cash=1, goods=2, both=3.


# Investigators remarks and observation:

# TEACHER SCHEDULE

**Schedule No._____**

1. **Identification**

    1.10   **School:** _____

    1.11   **Village:** _____

    1.12   **Block:** _____

    1.13   **District:** _____

2. **Basic Information**

| S.No | Particulars | Response |
|------|-------------|----------|
| 2.1 | Name of the Teacher | |
| 2.2 | Gender (Male-1 Female-2, Transgender-3) | |
| 2.3 | Age (completed in years) | |
| 2.4 | Education Qualification (Secondary-1, Senior Secondary-2, Graduation-3, Post Graduation-4,Diploma-5, Certificate-6, B.Ed-7, Non-B.Ed-8, Others (specify)-9…) | |
| 2.5 | Year of Service: | |
| 2.6 | Nature of Appointment (Permanent-1, Contractual-2) | |
| 2.7 | If Contractual, type of appointment, (Contract for 1 year-1; Contract for 2 year-2; Contract for 3 year-3; More than 3 year contract-4; Para teacher-5; Shiksha Mitra-6) | |

## 3. Residential Status/ Travel Time

| S. No | Items | Response |
|-------|-------|----------|
| 3.1 | Are you a permanent member of this Gram Panchayat? <br> (Yes-1, No-2) | |
| 3.2 | If no, where do you come from? <br> (From the same block-1, From outside the block but same district-2, From outside the district but same state-3, From outside the state-4) | |
| 3.3 | Distance of school from current residence? <br> (Less than 5 km-1, Between 5-10 km-2, Between 10-15 km-3, More than 15 km-4) | |
| 3.4 | Do you face any difficulty in commuting to school? <br> (Yes-1, No-2) | |
| 3.5 | If yes, what kind of difficulty? <br> (Lack of public transport-1, Difficult geographical terrain-2, Safety/Security constraints-3, Others-4 (specify) | |

## 4. Number of Working Days/ Closure of Schools

| S. No | Items | Response |
|-------|-------|----------|
| 4.1 | How many working days were there in the last year? (Please specify) | |
| 4.2 | Did you witness any unusual closure of the school in 2016-17? <br> (Yes-1, No-2) | |

## 4.3.    If yes, then reasons for the closure

| Incident Number | Number of Days | Reasons for Closure |
|-----------------|----------------|---------------------|
| | | |
| | | |
| | | |
| | | |

## 5. Teacher responsibility/ Non-school activities

| S. No | Items | Response | |
|---|---|---|---|
| 5.1 | Are you assigned administrative responsibility by the govt? (Yes-1, No-2) | | |
| 5.2 | If yes, what kinds of responsibilities are assigned to you? (Tick of the appropriate) (If, others (Specify……………………………………)) | Election Duty | |
| | | Census/BPL Listing | |
| | | Aadhar Card Making | |
| | | Polio/Health Drive | |
| | | Community Awareness Program | |
| 5.3 | In 2016-17, how many non-teaching days were you assigned in total? (please specify) | | |

## 6. Medium of Language of Teachers

| S. No | Items | Response |
|---|---|---|
| 6.1 | Do you understand the local tribal language? (Yes-1, No-2) | |
| 6.2 | If yes, how did you learn the tribal language? (Native speaker-1, Training provided by the Govt-2, Learnt from daily interaction-3, Others-4 (specify………………)) | |
| 6.3 | If no, do you think this restricts your ability to communicate the subject to your students? (Yes-1, No-2) | |
| 6.4 | Do you think, if language training is provided, you will be able to better communicate with your students? (Yes-1, No-2) | |

# Interview Schedule for FGD (Parents)

*The interviewer will initiate the discussion by introducing themselves, and explaining their objectives and motive of the study to the group. We can conduct ice breaking session with the group to give a flow to the discussion.FGD will be conducted at working sites, weekly markets, and community halls with the help of village headman.*

## Socio-Cultural Barriers:

How important is education? Why?

Do you think children's education will help you in improving their skills in your traditional occupation? How?

What are the problems faced by your children in the school?

Do you want your children to help in your traditional occupation or want to send them to school?

Do you want your child to give up the traditional occupation and take some other profession?

Do you want to develop your skill in traditional occupation through education?

## Curriculum:

Are you able to relate with whatever being taught in school?

Are you satisfied with curriculum?

## Gender:

Do you think that the education of both boys and girls should be given the same attention?

## School Related Barriers:

What are the problems related to access and availability of school in your village/ GramPanchayat?

Do you think that the villagers remained worried about safety and security of children whenever they go to school?

Do you think that due to conflicts villagers do not send their children to schools?

Are you satisfied with the management of the school in your village?

Are you satisfied with the facilities like Mid-Day Meal, Uniform, Text-books, etc. available in the school?

# Interview Schedule for SMC members

1. How many members do you have in school management committee?

2. What is the composition structure of SMC?

3. Do all the members actively participate in SMC?

4. What is the tenure of the members in SMC?

5. How are the members selected? Is there any procedure to select the representative?

6. How frequent is the SMC meeting?

7. What are the major issues which you discuss in the meeting?

8. What are major initiatives of SMC for tribal students?

9. What is the response of the SMC to conflict situation?

10. How do they manage school in such a situation?