

RESIDENTIAL SCHOOLING STRATEGIES: IMPACT ON GIRLS' EDUCATION AND EMPOWERMENT



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Executive Summary

Below is the chapter-wise summary of the Report:

1. Introduction (Chapter 1)

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

2. Mapping of the schemes (Chapter 2)

There are basically four types of residential set-ups in the country: (i) Formal Schools, (ii) Hostels attached to formal schools, (iii) Accelerated Learning Programme (ALP), and (iv) the Bridge courses. The study focussed on formal schools and ALPs, and did not delve deep into hostels or the bridge courses. A number of hostel schemes exist with fund support from both union and state governments and meant largely exclusively for Scheduled Tribe (ST) or Scheduled caste (SC) students, but the information available on their functioning is almost non-existent. Bridge courses are short term interventions and hence though important links for schooling, they themselves are not means for sustained education, and therefore excluded from inquiry. ALPs are included for their specific contribution to the conceptualisation of residential schools as space for embedding girls' education and empowerment with an emphasis on building collective identity, and strengthening individual capabilities and aspirations using shared living and learning experiences as an important means for that purpose.

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

Barring some isolated small initiatives, Mahila Samakhya run Mahila Shikshan Kendras (MSK) started as part of Mahila Samakhya (MS) under the Ministry of Human Resources Development, with presence in a number of states, can be termed as one of the first major accelerated learning programme (ALP) that focussed on women / girls keeping the gender concerns as the central theme. This and other similar programmes such as Lok Jhumbish's Balika Shikshan Shivirs in Rajasthan, M.V.Foundation's residential bridge courses for girls in Andhra Pradesh, and Udaan - a CARE-India initiative for out of school girls in the age group 9-14 years, has been the major models that informed the design of KGBV, which started in 2004-05 as a pan Indian residential scheme for upper primary schooling of girls. KGBV, meant for educationally backward, low-female-literacy blocks is perceived as a major policy response to the issue of girls' dropout after primary education.

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

3. The Reach and Coverage (Chapter 3)

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

More than half of the girls in residential schools are enrolled in schools run by the education and social/tribal welfare departments. Ashram schools are the biggest providers of residential schooling among publicly funded residential schools with private sector emerging as a major player at both elementary and secondary levels. Girls form about 51 per cent of total enrolment in Ashram schools, and 37 per cent of total enrolment in JNVs. The proportion of girls served through residential schools at elementary level is the highest for Odisha (10.92%) followed by Andhra Pradesh and Maharashtra (between 3 & 5%). The number of residential madrasas and enrolment is high in Uttar Pradesh and Bihar, and girls are enrolled in significant numbers in these institutions. However, the hardly any information is available for madrasas in the public domain. The information base is extremely poor for private sector as well, and so is the case for state funded residential schools.

The representation of educationally backward communities: SC, ST and OBCs is high in KGBVs, the representation of another educationally backward group, Muslim at 7.5 per cent of total enrolment, is not high and remains an area of concern. Another area of concern is that though the girls are coming from these educationally backward communities, they are not necessarily from the most deprived sections. The incidences of artificially creating a 'dropout' situation by deliberately forcing the girl to stay away from schooling to be eligible for KGBV, has apparently been high and common. Ashram schools by definition are meant for adivasi and dalit children, and hence the girls in these schools are assumed to be from these communities. We do not know what percentage of girls in JNV comes from SC, ST or Muslim communities.

4. Physical, social and emotional environment (Chapter 4)

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

Physical Infrastructure and facilities

JNV and EMRS with much greater financial allocations for physical infrastructure and other facilities, have better norms than KGBV and Ashram Schools. However, it is not necessary that these norms translate themselves into reality, and even when complied with, these do not necessarily translate themselves into creating an enabling environment for girls. Although no formal evaluation is available, the JNVs by and large seem to follow the norms in most places, as suggested by most of the key informants interviewed. Same is not true for Ashram schools. Most evaluations undertaken

in different states at various time periods, as well as the Parliamentary committee have raised the issue of poor provisioning and maintenance. Wide variations exist in norms and conditions for ashrams supported by both state and union governments.

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

Food, health and nutrition

JNVs and KGBVs appear to be more regular in organizing periodic health checks and taking remedial steps. Site visits confirmed that most schools maintained a first aid kit, maintained a set of medicines used in common cold and fever, and had some system of having a doctor on call. This was true for schools in both State and non-State sectors, and for both the types: those running full time schools and those imparting accelerated learning courses, including JNVs, KGBVs and MSKs. In contrast, health of students has emerged as a major concern in Ashram Schools. Although food is always identified as an important reason for liking their schools; indicating that they come from backgrounds where they do not have access to adequate food on a regular basis, both the quantity and quality of food emerge as an issue in Ashram schools; and to an extent also in KGBVs and MSKs. The access to clean drinking water and sanitation facilities is poor in most cases.

Safety and Security

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

Day to day living and relationships

Residential schools were advocated for the most marginalised girls for 'the possibility and potential for providing diverse learning opportunities, having fun with the peer group and experiences of joy and excitement to counter the experiences of disadvantaged lives and opening up avenues for aspirations, dreams and resolves'. The literature suggests that KGBVs and NGO-led initiatives are relatively better in having management practices in a manner that learning becomes integrated to the whole living experiences as compared to Ashram schools where the management is reported to be poor. In general, the atmosphere in JNV is too discipline focused to allow for any spontaneous teacher-child relationship to flourish.

All schools follow a routine of combining classes, additional study time, sports and exercises, but the evidences indicate towards complete lack of any free time in JNV leading to stress and fatigue

among students. On the other hand, the girls in KGBVs, in general, are reported to be much more at ease with the daily routine and enjoy their stay. This is despite the fact that KGBVs have also turned most of the tools, such as self-defence training or children's parliament borrowed from MSK and other similar experiences into a routine exercise. Instances of clear discrimination in assigning cleaning tasks to dalit girls have also been reported in some cases. However, in spite of these limitations, living together with peer has resulted in strong bonding and contributed in building their self-confidence and aspirations for future.

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

Teacher related Issues

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

Barring some exceptions made for short term, all teachers in JNV are permanent whereas the situation varies from state to state, and depending upon how and through what source it is funded when it comes to Ashram schools. While all teachers are permanent in some cases, the studies have reported presence of temporary teachers in large number in many states. Barring a few exceptions, majority of the teachers in KGBVs are on contract. This indicates towards feminisation of low-paid, contract jobs that offer almost no protection. Some evidence of differential salary for teachers teaching Mathematics and English was also noticed signifying privileging of these subjects.

5. Learning and empowerment of girls (Chapter 5)

The evidence on the exact impact of residential schools on girls' learning and empowerment is thin, especially when it comes to large, publicly funded schemes. Sporadic evidence that is available indicates towards an uneven situation. The evidence base is stronger for accelerated learning programmes such as MSK and Udaan and the impact on both cognitive and psycho-social empowerment have been found to be strong. Use of multiple texts and methods, coupled with strong focus on (i) creating opportunities for discussions, music, dance, excursions and theatre, and (ii) feminist ideology, have helped in creating alternative socialisation experiences for these girls. The impact on the change in attitude towards marriage, and on building aspirations for a different kind of life has also been recorded. The feedback is mixed when it comes to academic performance; there are indications that content teaching at post primary levels suffer in such institutions probably because the teachers are not as qualified and professionally trained.

KGBV evolved out of success of ALPs but the curricular and transactional practices do not come across as, as intense and clearly defined as they are for the ALPs. There is no major difference

between MS run and SSA run KGBVs except that the focus on developing an alternative gender image is slightly more visible in the former. Though KGBVs have often been credited with being better than average public school in terms of girls learning and empowerment levels, a number of practices are in fact clichéd or even reinforcing the prevalent gender images rather than questioning those. The choice of vocational courses such as tailoring and beautician's without any reference to or discussion on the issues of feminisation and objectification of women to make the girls aware of these issues is one such example. Research studies have also highlighted the lack of academic rigour in KGBVs. Considering that large scale initiatives are far more rigid and lack creativity visible in small scale programmes, it can be safely concluded that in general, scaling up makes the approaches rigid and diffuses focus.

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

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

6. Cost Norms and Expenditure Patterns (Chapter 6)

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

JNV has often been termed as the school for rural elite, and the State obviously spends more for them: rough estimates suggest that per- student expenditure in JNV is more than five times higher than that of KGBV. The presence of differential norms confirms that there is no appreciation for equity and excellence goals to be embedded into each other.

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

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

Though the very act of living and learning together along with exposures to rigorous academic environment and access to facilities for sports, science and music made possible by higher allocations and better norms helps students achieve their schooling goals, the full potential of JNV into translating itself into an empowering experience for all girls and boys has not been realised. This is because the curriculum as well as the entire design for residential set up has not been designed with any consideration for transformative and gender-responsive aspects in JNV. On the other hand, the KGBV has been designed with these considerations but in absence of resources and focussed monitoring, these goals are not realised fully; lack of resources makes even the academic aspect weak in the KGBV. Ashram schools in most cases lack both: it neither has the academic rigour nor a focus on transformation. The experiments such as Udaan, though not as well-resourced as JNV, have tried to embed academic rigour to a transformative approach of schooling, and succeeded to an extent though the limitations exist on academic front. The resource allocations in Udaan and other examples from NGO sector such as VTLC includes provisions for follow up activities with those who have passed out, and hence continues being supportive for further education and other initiatives.

7. Some good practices and emergent principles (Chapter 7)

1. Reach: How to overcome 'elite capture'

Considering that residential schools are relatively high-cost exercises, especially in a situation where the differences between day-schools and residential schools are wide, and the demand for alternative allocations within the school sector is also high, it becomes imperative to ensure that residential schools are reaching the most needy and deserving. Some NGOs have identified specific communities and have worked only with them. For instance, Eklavya Parivartan Vidyalaya in Maharashtra runs a school for girls from Katkari tribal community where girls have rarely gone to school, and Nari Gunjan in Bihar works with adolescent girls from Musahar community that is categorised as Mahadalit, the lowest within the Dalit community. Certain MSKs and Mahila Samakhya run KGBVs have also attempted to focus on specific focus groups. Identification of specific deprived group/s within a particular block helps in ensuring that such schools reach the most-needy in that area.

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

a. Integrated curriculum planning with consideration for both academics and empowerment

Nirantar and MSKs offer good examples of practices such as using girls/women's own life histories and narratives to build various skills especially around Language while helping them realise about the exploitation and abuses that they have been facing and building a collective understanding of these trends in the society. Udaan curriculum integrated Social Learning as a subject alongside Language, Mathematics and Environmental Science, and developed those in close contact with each other; one was not delinked from the other – if water as a theme was being covered in Social Learning, it was not repeated in EVS in the same manner. This allowed faster learning in all the

subjects while also building a perspective that takes the various dimensions of inequality into account; water is not only an issue of science but also of society and with skewed access. This is just one example; a number of NGOs have attempted such integration with varied level of success.

b. Building non-gender-stereotypical vocational skills

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

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

Creative use of known teaching –learning experiences such as the use of library, exposure trips and inter-school competitions to strengthen learning and generate greater confidence among students emerged as an important distinguishing feature; how these processes are planned and carried out determines whether it is a good practice or not; some NGO and NGO supported programmes supply examples of good practices. Careful planning with clear linkages to the dual curricular objectives is necessary.

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

Another good practice that emerged as a precondition to success is well-planned and well-conceived teacher training strategies, largely visible in NGO run and supported programmes. Certain common principles that emerge are: (i) teacher training should be continuous and evolving rather than one time and fixed, e.g., experiences show that teachers were better equipped in places where a group of trainers interacted frequently with teachers and the training focused on both pre-planned contents and issues that teachers wanted to discuss. If required, they changed the training plan to address the teachers' needs; (ii) the content should include academics, empowerment/relational and management aspects as all these are critical in a residential school; (iii) one of the best ways of training teachers is to have the training processes (organisation, classroom interactions, activities, interpersonal relation between the trainer and teachers, etc.) should be indicative of what is expected from teachers in the school.

e. Qualified and trained teachers

The study clearly shows that though a well-conceived and planned teacher training is very helpful, it goes only that far and there is no substitute for academically and professionally qualified teachers. In the end, residential schools need both, and not one or the other: professionally qualified teachers and a well-planned and executed teacher training plan.

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

a. Involving children in school-management through well-planned processes and structures

This is a common and very useful exercise that most schools follow albeit in different ways. A number of students committees are constituted either through election or allocation for various purposes (library, cleaning, food, health, sports, etc.) and the responsibilities are usually rotated. Elections help in inculcating the sense of responsibility and democratic values, and a better understanding of democracy as an institution. Rotation is also important and if managed well it ensures that all children get an opportunity to get involved in all kinds of jobs, and it also plays a role in breaking social barriers. In co-educational institutions, rotation helps in breaking the gender stereotypes.

b. Presence of some free time in daily timetable

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

4. Engaging with and Influencing the Community

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

5. Ensuring Adequate Costs for all Relevant Activities

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

8. International Experiences (Chapter 8)

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

In Vietnam, boarding schools established in 103 disadvantaged districts in 7 provinces led to self-initiated gender responsive management systems. Student hostels, feeder hostels for secondary schools and revamping older hostels in Nepal mainstreamed girls in economic activities, improved school performance and led to positive shifts in perception about girls in intervention areas. FAWE's gender responsive school pedagogy and management and sexual maturation management programme improved girls' performances. Rwanda ensured high quality college-prep academics and access to healthcare. In Malawi, focus on extracurricular activities, scholarships and tertiary transition programme led to delays in early marriages and child births and improved completion rate for secondary and transition rate for post-secondary level.

9. Conclusions and Suggestions (Chapter 9)

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

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

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

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

4. Interim institutional measures contributing to policy development

a. Defining Essential Quality Parameters for built and social environments: This would help to develop a set of protocol and essential parameters that can serve as a ready reckoner for all relevant purposes. International Network for Education in Emergencies (INEE) has a handbook that recommends standards for access, safety and protective learning environment, quality learning and teacher management which could be used to develop the parameters. Any such guideline or protocol must have a clearly defined negative list outlining the practices that are barred coupled

with punitive provisions in cases of violation; this should especially take the safety and security aspects into consideration.

b. Review of budget and institutional norms across schemes and removing the anomalies: This is an essential step towards a comprehensive policy for residential schooling. Review followed by removal of sharp anomalies would also help in raising the morale and will give a clear signal about policy objectives. In this context it is important to allay the fears that presence of a unique vision or standardisation of norms could be detrimental to experimentation and would lead to homogenisation. Presence of a guiding framework that ensures basic rights of students and teachers should not be seen as an effort to homogenise, as widely unequal norms and practices cannot be promoted on the name of diversity. For instance, the presence of universal right to food does not mean everyone has to eat the same food; it ensures that everyone gets adequate food and desired nutrition. Similarly, it is possible to build accountability norms for residential schools such that it ensures certain degree of equality but also allows the teachers/managers at the school level an agency to act and facilitates independent action.

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

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

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

1: Introduction

1.1 Background

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

In the immediate post-independence phase, as revealed from the perusal of the first four five-year-plans, the establishment of hostels emerged as a strategy to improve the educational indicators among the socially and economically marginalised groups such as Scheduled Castes (SCs) and Scheduled Tribes (STs) largely through schemes under the Department of Social Welfare, Department of Tribal Welfare and Department of Women and Child Development (Dubey & Chander, 1973). The rationale came not only from the need for covering the living costs and making it possible to have access to physical, residential space and food in order to be able access the schooling facilities but also from the need for providing a conducive environment for education where these children are not expected to participate in work and other chores. However, it was the Mahila Shikshan Kendra (MSK) programme of Mahila Samakhya, a State sponsored women empowerment programme, and the initiatives from among the NGOs, particularly from the 1980s onwards, that brought residential schooling as an appropriate strategy for education and empowerment of girls and women from disadvantaged communities.

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

1.2 Present Study

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

1.2.1 Objectives of the Study

The main objectives of this study are:

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

1.2.2 Scheme of analysis

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

a. Mapping residential schooling programmes for girls

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

b. Review and appraisal of the policies on residential schools

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

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

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

d. Data analysis

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

e. Budget and cost analysis

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

f. Good practice analysis

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

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

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

1.2.3 The Review Framework

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

Table 1: Framework for Review and Analysis

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

1.3 Research Method and Tools Used

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

1.3.1 Document Review

As a review based study, it relies heavily on existing reports, documents and research studies on residential schools, particularly for girls. The documents reviewed are categorized into five types:

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

b) Review reports of Programmes: Multi-stakeholder, periodic Joint Review Missions (JRM) were introduced under large programmes, mostly multi-donor programmes like District Primary Education Programme (DPEP), as a 'review' or 'monitoring' mechanism. The tradition continued under Sarva Shiksha Abhiyan (SSA), Government of India's flagship programme for universalisation of elementary education. The JRMs usually based their observations on the reports and documents

provided by the states, interactions with a wide range of stake-holders, visits to schools, interactions with communities, and guided observations on teacher support. These observations were also acknowledged and their recommendations often seriously considered for due action. Although relevant, JRM observations largely remain subjective and are unable to give any trends. However, they give us an idea about different schemes are being monitored and how different aspects are prioritized. These reports, wherever relevant, have been reviewed to get an insight about different schemes.

Table 2: Literature reviewed

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

c) Articles and Narratives: Wherever available and accessible, the articles based on a study of small sample or following the JRM mode, where authors base their observations on short visits to residential schools (which involve short interactions with the stake-holders, including girls in the residential schools) have been reviewed. Again, although meaningful, it is important to remember that these narratives are anecdotal and subjective.

d) Research and Evaluation Studies: All research and evaluation studies available in public domain or accessible through networked sources even if not in public domain were included in the documents review. In the Indian context researches on residential schools that are based on robust research methods, both quantitative and qualitative are few. Most of the studies reviewed had limited scope and small sample size. Most were small surveys on a specific theme like infrastructure, pedagogy or profile of children in residential schools. Research tools ranged from observation forms, interviews of select people or Focus Group Discussions (FGDs).

e) Budget Documents: Budget, cost and expenditure documents of selected government schemes and few NGO-led initiatives were also reviewed to understand their per-child costs and other expenditure related aspects. The budget/expenditure for government schemes is, however, not

always available in their evaluation reports and websites. Budget details for NGO run schemes are also not widely and openly available. Therefore, wherever information could be accessed either through public sources or on request has been included in the analysis.

1.3.2 Analysis of data from Secondary Sources

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

1.3.3 Consultations with Key Informants

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

1.3.4 Site visits for Consultation

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

Table 3: Sites covered for validation visits

S. N.	Scheme	School Type		Fund	Main Target Population	State
1.	Ashram School for Girls	SS	Formal Residential Schools	Govt.	ST	Telangana
2.	Jawahar Navodaya Vidyalaya	Co-ed		Govt.	Rural	Karnataka
3.	KGBV (MS-run) (Located next to an upper primary school and runs as a hostel)	SS		Govt.	Muslim and SC	Bihar
4.	KGBV (SSA-run)	SS		Govt.	ST	Jharkhand
5.	KGBV (SSA-run)	SS		Govt.	ST	Jharkhand
6.	KGBV (SSA-run) and NGO technical support	SS		Govt.	Muslim and OBC	Rajasthan
7.	Vivekananda Tribal Centre for Learning	Co-ed		NGO	ST	Karnataka
8.	Mahila Shikshan Kendra	SS	Accelerated Learning Programme	Govt.	SC / Muslim	Bihar

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

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

1.3.5 Tools used for site visits

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

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

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

(iii) Principal's interview: Questions relating to selection and training of teachers, interaction with parents, performance of students from different backgrounds, grievance redressal mechanisms (for teachers and students), special provisions for children with special needs,

teaching-learning materials and methods, assessments, expenditures on different heads, improvements in the students, governance, security and safety of students was examined through personal interview of the principal. The questionnaire also tried to capture the principals' perspective on residential schooling.

(iv) Group Discussion with Teachers: A group discussion with teachers was conducted to examine their teaching and non-teaching roles in the school, their interactions with parents, safety of girls, changes in attitude of girls, their aspirations for the students and challenges they faced. Their understanding of empowerment issues and how they viewed girls' education was also explored through the discussion.

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

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

1.3.6 Limitations of this study

The following enlist the limitations of the review conducted:

(a) Limited information and Information asymmetry: The limited and at times no information available about schemes, especially state governments funded schemes, in public domain has been a major impediment in mapping the schemes. Information asymmetry gets reflected in the uneven reference and analysis in this report. The information available for KGBVs is the best (yet incomplete) followed distantly by Ashram schools funded by the central government in tribal areas and then by Jawahar Navodaya Vidyalas (JNV). The information is very poor or non-existent for residential schools for Scheduled Caste children, especially those run/supported by the state governments. We had to drop the idea of including hostel schemes in the analysis due to lack of information.

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

(c) Scale and Trends: We did not come across any large scale quantitative research studies on either status or impact of residential schools. Even the national U-DISE data does not present

segregated data on residential schools. It clubs all government non-Ashram/KGBV/Model residential schools together. Despite substantial investments made in residential schools by various departments, there is no evidence of their performance and impact at macro-level being captured by researches. The innovative work of NGOs remain only as documentation of good practices, and this too in some cases, remain limited to self-reported accounts. These have not coalesced to advocate or promote an accepted model or a range of accepted principles for residential schools.

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

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

Despite these limitations, the available information definitely helps in tracing a trend and provides important pointers for policy and delivery, and indeed for future research. The report is organised into eight chapters: this chapter introduces the study and outlines the framework for review and analysis; chapter 2 focuses on evolution and mapping of various schemes related to residential school for girls in the country; physical and social environments in these residential schools have been discussed in the third chapter; focus of the fourth chapter is on learning, empowerment and influence while budgets and costs for different residential schools have been discussed in the fifth chapter; chapter 5 separates the good practices and chapter 6 maps the international examples of residential schooling for girls from disadvantages sections. The final chapter presents the conclusive remarks and lists some major suggestions that clearly emerge from the review.

2: Residential School Initiatives: Evolution and Mapping

2.1 Girls' Education and Empowerment: the Policy Focus?

Girls' education has been a challenge for independent India. Traditional beliefs and practices against educating girls acted as a major barrier in the pre-independence phase and continue to do so even now. But, what is more interesting is that even the debates surrounding the need for universal and compulsory schooling amongst the freedom fighters and leaders in the pre-independence period did not have a focus on girls' education. These debates either did not include girls' education as an issue, and if it did, it often pointed out to the need for educating them to be 'good daughters, sisters, wives and mothers'.¹ Nevertheless, significant efforts were made in the post-independence period for universalization of education, and it included girls. But much of the efforts were towards completion of primary education and the focus was on basic literacy. A definitive national vision for girls' education was first articulated in 1968's National Policy of Education, almost after 20 years of Independence. However, it was the National Policy on Education (NPE, 1986) and the Program of Action (PoA, 1992) that brought the issue of gender and girls education to the Centre stage.

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

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

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

2.2 History of Residential Schooling in India

Historically, there were two basic kinds of residential schools in India. One was the ‘ashram’ or ‘gurukuls’ that were part of ancient India’s narrative. Children of kings and other gentry went to stay with a ‘guru’ in an ashram to learn various skills and philosophical perspectives. However, these were only-boys ashrams. The second kind was that of elite ‘residential schools’ of colonial times, also called the boarding schools. Structured on the lines of British boarding schools, these schools essentially catered to elite Indians, both boys and girls. Neither was aimed at girls from disadvantaged sections from economically or / and socially backward classes. Another kind of residential school that emerged was Ashram school: there were two strands within Ashram schools. One was motivated by the thoughts of political thinkers and social reformers like Gandhi, Tagore and Vinoba Bhave. These were civil society organisations initiated residential schools largely for dalit and tribal children. These, however, were few and dispersed in different regions and states of India. Another was those started largely by religious organisations backed NGOs with a purpose of ‘refining’ and integrating the tribals in the Hindu fold or in some cases, under Christian fold. A number of these are continuing even now.

It is also important to note that though these included girls in some instances, these were not informed by any gender perspective; the objective of reaching socially backward groups like dalits and tribals was the main focus. From the perspective of reaching girls, Banasthali University² is one of the oldest private efforts in the nation that needs a mention. From a mud hut that tutored half a dozen girls in 1935, Banasthali evolved to be the first and only fully residential educational institution for girls, educating them from pre-primary to Doctoral level. However, it is an isolated example and was a result of individual efforts.

Certain other examples also emerged from civil society initiatives in the later period of 1970s and 1980s. Two significant ones among these were linked with the issue of child labour. V. Ramachandran (2003) documents how Namma Bhoomi, a resource centre and residential school – part of the field project of the NGO, Concerned for Working Children (CWC), initiated change in Kundapur in Udupi district, Karnataka during 1980s. Making a distinction between ‘child work’ which should be regulated and ‘exploitation of child work’ which should be prohibited, it neither sought to justify child labour nor stigmatise the situation. It advocated for, as well as provided, a long-haul strategy of a residential school that offered a one-year vocational course in practical skills and encouragement to those who passed out to form groups, and collectively bid for contracts. The programme succeeded in providing viable alternatives to children, albeit mostly male children, who would otherwise migrate to seek work in the Udupi hotel industry. Similarly, mobilization programmes for out-of-school children and innumerable remedial education and bridge courses emerged in the following two decades, carrying momentum from the pioneering work of MV Foundation (MVF), Andhra Pradesh, which set-up and ran its first residential bridge course in 1992 in recognition of how age-appropriate enrollment was a motivational factor for out-of-school children (OOSC) from poor and marginalised sections to return to and complete school.

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

2.3 Residential Schooling for Girls: Policy and Programmes

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

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

The Ministries of Social and Tribal Welfare³ in the Government of India as well as in a number of states started the system of Ashram schools not only for tribal children but also for dalit children (known as Harijan Vidyalayas) in many states as early as the 1960s. The policy varied in terms of having separate schools for boys and girls (e.g., Madhya Pradesh), or co-educational for both (E.g., Bihar and Andhra Pradesh). While Bihar had no particular norms for the number of boys and girls, Andhra Pradesh had specified particular norms for boys and girls (Department of Tribal Welfare, Govt. of Telangana). Later, after the bifurcation of the department at the union government level, the Department of Tribal Welfare continued to focus on running and supporting Ashram schools albeit with revised norms and guidelines, the Department of Social Welfare has focused on running hostels. This, however, is not universally true for state governments; a number of them run and support Ashram schools for Scheduled Caste students (e.g., Uttar Pradesh). The Ministry of Human Resource Development, Government of India started Jawahar Navodaya Vidyalayas (JNV) in every district for 'meritorious' students, both boys and girls, from rural areas in the mid-1980s.

It is important to note that the trajectories of these different kinds of policy initiatives were very different from each other. At a broader level, one can understand the differences by drawing analogies in the genesis: JNVs started as an effort to de-urbanise and de-eliticise the high end 'boarding schools' by having well-resourced residential schools for 'meritorious' rural students; Ashram schools were more in line with the Gandhian initiatives by civil society organisations and were meant to provide the educational opportunities to the isolated and deprived. Tribal societies and locations were perceived to be isolated and therefore Ashram schools were more to break that

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

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

Between 1994 and 1997, Nirantar⁵ worked intensively with teachers and learners at the local Mahila Samakhya team in Banda, Uttar Pradesh, to develop the MSK curriculum based on the principles of being learner-centered, holistic and feminist. Since 1997, Urmul⁶, another NGO, has been collaborating with State programmes such as Lok Jumbish to run *Balika Shivirs* in Rajasthan. The *Balika Shivar* or the *Shivar* (Girls' Education Camp) was a six-month residential education program for girls between the ages of 10-17 years who had dropped-out of school or been deprived of an education. CARE-India⁷ piloted the *Udaan* (meaning 'Flight') school in Hardoi district of Uttar Pradesh in 1999 employing the accelerated learning model, for older out-of-school girls, ages 9-14. It allowed girls to complete primary school in 11 months in a residential setting. The success of this model informed CARE's decision to replicate the model in other parts of the country.

In the post-Jomtein/Dakar/MDG⁸ phase, with the increased impetus to girls' education and gender equality, the residential school strategy received greater attention. In 2004, came the ambitious scheme of residential schooling for girls, known as Kasturba Gandhi Balika Vidyalayas (KGBV) for educationally backward blocks where female literacy rates were low and the gender disparity in literacy was high. KGBV, first started as an independent scheme was later merged with Sarva Shiksha Abhiyan (SSA). The Right to Education Act 2009, which made access to free and compulsory elementary education a fundamental right of every child in India, recognizes residential schooling as a strategy for overcoming physical, social and economic barriers. It also allows for short term residential camps for out-of-school children (OoSC) for their mainstreaming to regular schools. RTE 2009 has also set parameters for basic physical infrastructure and teachers in every school at elementary level and these are applicable to all institutions including residential ones teaching elementary level grades. Residential schools have, however, been exempted from the clause that makes it compulsory for all schools to admit one fourth of their students at entry level

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

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

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

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

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

from disadvantaged and weaker sections, except for the schools that also take day-scholars where the exemption does not apply. (Right to Education Act 2009 and F.No. 1-3/2010-EE4, MHRD (Department of School Education and Literacy; GoI). Residential facilities is also viewed as a solution in making education accessible to children from dispersed, remote and difficult locales like desert areas, mountainous region or tribal children in dense forests , or children living in internal strife situations.⁹

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

- i. Offer them an environment away from the strong gendered expectation for girls to assume charge of care work and household responsibility, including often tedious ones of fetching water and firewood, cooking, cleaning and caring for siblings and elders
- ii. Protect them from risk of sexual abuse and violence, a phenomena unfortunately present both within schools and outside, complicated further by cultural and religious notions of family honour and the desirability of early marriage. Traversing long distances to schools in rural/hilly/desert/remote hamlets pose an important security issue, especially for those from economically weaker and disadvantaged communities who cannot afford the luxury of being escorted.
- iii. Mediate against (especially when residential facilities are part of free schemes or include stipends) the influence of gender and poverty acting in tandem such that in very poor households, parents do not invest in the education of their daughters or girls are withdrawn from school. Poverty related compulsions like seasonal work or migration also affect school attendance and performance in non-residential schools.
- iv. Mitigate the effect of unfavourable perceptions or low expectations of teachers and peers stemming from class, caste and occupation-related identity issues, through special focus on addressing these, in targeted residential facilities.
- v. Address by default through residential schools the fact that from the upper primary level onwards, when girls attain puberty, water and sanitation facilities that they have access to at school, assumes even more significance.
- vi. Facilitate access to school for girls with disability, as they face all the above challenges aggravated by the additional requirements of their special need.
- vii. Address quality of the teaching-learning experience in school, to include elements of pastoral care; and greater relevance of curricula to the circumstances of their lives and the factors they need to negotiate, compared to standardized school curricula.

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

2.4 Mapping of existing Schemes and Initiatives

At present, a number of schemes and initiatives that can be loosely labeled as residential schooling exist in India. This includes formal schools, hostel schemes, accelerated learning programmes and short term bridge courses. This section attempts to map them against several parameters to have an idea regarding their type, nature and reach. Table 4 classifies the existing schemes/initiatives on two parameters: the kinds of courses they have and the funding or management. While certain government schemes are both funded and managed by the government bodies, others are open to NGOs. JNVs and Ashram schools fall in the first category whereas KGBV is the latter category. The hostel schemes ensure residential facilities for girls/boys from disadvantaged sections so that they can attend formal schools. Babu Jagjivan Ram Chhatrawas Yojana is meant for dalit and the Scheme of Strengthening Education among Scheduled Tribe (ST) Girls in Low Literacy Districts is meant for tribal girls. The latter is funded by the government but can be managed/run by NGOs as well. Grants in-aid schemes are open to NGOs and others, who can propose any strategy including residential schools funding.

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

2.4.1 Formal schools

(a) Jawahar Navodaya Vidyalays (JNVs): As stated earlier, JNV is meant for rural students and therefore at least 75 per cent of students enrolled have to be from rural areas. At least one JNV has been established in each district, leading to sanctioning of 576 JNVs across the country. Additionally, a few extra JNVs have also been sanctioned in districts with large SC and ST population. The total number of JNVs sanctioned is 596 (S. S. Sharma, Manju, 2012). The admission is through screening of those who fulfill the eligibility criteria based on selection test.

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

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

(d) Kasturba Gandhi Balika Vidyalaya: KGBVs were established under the Sarva Shiksha Abhiyan (SSA) by MHRD in 2004 to enhance the enrolment and completion of upper primary education amongst girls from disadvantaged sections. These were set up in Educationally Backward Blocks (EBBs) with rural female literacy below national average as per Census 2001. Enrolment was targeted towards girls from SC, ST, OBC and other minority communities. There are more than three thousand operational KGBVs in the country with an enrolment of 3.49 lakh girls (GoI, 2013b). Three basic models of KGBV exist, based on the nature of hostel and school facility and the number of girls it can accommodate. These models are:

1. Model I: These are schools with hostels for 100 girls.
2. Model II: These are schools with hostels for 50 girls.
3. Model III: In this model hostels are built in existing schools for 50 girls.

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

(e) Schemes of Grant-In-Aid to Voluntary Organisations: Two separate grants-in-aid schemes exist in the Ministry of Social Justice and Empowerment and the Ministry of Tribal Affairs. This scheme was first started in 1953-54 to enhance the reach of development interventions of the Government and fill the gaps in service deficient Scheduled Castes and Tribes in the sectors such as education, health, vocational training etc., through the efforts of voluntary organizations and other organizations and to provide an environment for socio-economic upliftment and overall development of the disadvantaged sections. After the bifurcation of the ministry into Ministry of Social Justice and Empowerment (MSJE) and Ministry of Tribal Affairs (MTA), the scheme was continued by both the ministries.

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

Table 4: Schemes/programmes for Residential Schooling

Type of Scheme	Union Government funded Schemes #
Full Time Formal Residential Schools	i. Kasturba Gandhi Ballika Vidyalaya (KGBV) (O) ii. Jawahar Navodaya Vidyalayas (JNV) (C) iii. Aashram Schools (AS) (C) iv. Eklavya Model Residential Schools (ERMS) (C)
Hostels attached to formal schools	i. Babu Jagjivan Ram Chhatrawas Yojana-BJRCY (C) ii. Scheme of Strengthening Education among Scheduled Tribe (ST) Girls in Low Literacy Districts – EGRS (O) iii. Construction of Hostels for OBC Boys and Girls (O)
Grants in Aid schemes	i. Scheme of Grant-in-aid to Voluntary and other Organizations Working for Scheduled Castes (O) ii. Scheme of Grant-In-Aid to Voluntary Organisations Working for the Welfare of Scheduled Tribes (O)
Accelerated Learning Courses	i. Mahila Shikshan Kendras (C)
Bridge Courses	i. SSA run residential bridge courses (12 month, 6 month and 3 month Residential Special Training) (O)

C: denotes 'closed' implying that these schemes are funded, managed and run completely by the government; O: denoted 'open' implying that these schemes receive government funding while management/implementation can be done by either government or NGO.

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

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

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

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

Source: Compiled from different sources listed in the Bibliography;

^ Scheme of Strengthening Education among Scheduled Tribe (ST) Girls in Low Literacy Districts

^^ In operation since 1989-90 but revised and renamed in 2008

*Mahila Samakhya; ** Ministry of Human Resource Development; *** Ministry of Tribal Affairs & Ministry of Social Justice and Empowerment

@ Scheme of Grant-in-aid to Voluntary and other Organizations Working for Scheduled Castes;

@@ Scheme of Grant-In-Aid to Voluntary Organisations Working for the Welfare of Scheduled Tribes

+ Construction of Hostels for OBC Boys and Girls

100 per cent funding for all AS in Union Territories and Construction of AS for boys in naxal areas while 50:50 share for other AS for boys, @ upto 16 crore in hilly areas/desert/islands

Formal Schools by Non-State Actors

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

These schools are also of different kinds in the sense that they have been guided by varying rationales and interests. Some like Spruthi is a residential school for mild and moderately mentally challenged children in Bangalore, Karnataka. There are a number of schools meant for children of tribal families: Eklavya Parivartan Vidyalaya started by Vidhayak Sansad, an organisation that works for the socio economic development of tribals, women and other deprived sections in Thane, Maharashtra, reaches out to girls from the Katkari tribe, largely the children of migrant workers (Vidhayak Sansad, not-dated). Similarly, Adivasi Ashram Shala is a regular residential school that runs classes 1 to 9 for girls and boys from the tribal families in Kamshet near Pune. Kedi Residential School for tribal girls in South Gujarat focuses on girls, who need extra help and facilitation to comprehend concepts/lessons. The girls are provided middle level schooling with residential facilities to prepare them for high school. (Kedi, not-dated). Another organization, Navsarjan runs three residential schools in Gujarat to provide primary education for dalit children. (Navsarjan, not-dated). Aadarshila Residential School in Rajasthan caters to girls who had been married very young. These girls falling in the age group of 8-13 years are provided education from pre-primary up to middle school education, using alternative teaching methods (Prayas--Pratirodh Sansthan, not-dated). Viveka Tribal Centre for Learning (VTCL) is a semi-residential school, based in Mysore district of Karnataka that aims to bring benefits of basic education to 450 children (primarily first generation learners) from surrounding tribal colonies. The school is affiliated with the State education department and has thus adopted Kannada as the medium of instruction (SVYM, various years).

2.4.2 Hostels attached to formal schools

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

The scheme does not provide construction cost and prescribes fixed financial norms. The scheme envisages the establishment of District Education Support Agency (DESA), which would be a non-government organization or a federation of non-governmental organisations, to take over varied functions like ensuring 100 per cent enrolment, reducing drops outs, arrangement of preventive health education, monitoring the performance of NGOs, etc. 54 districts and 21 blocks (outside the districts) have been identified, based on the ST population (at least 25 per cent) and ST female literacy rate (below 35 per cent) criteria, for setting up hostels for ST girls (upper limit: 100 girls for primary, 150 girls for upper primary and secondary classes) (GoI, 2008b). Although the scheme is funded by the Centre, it is implemented by Voluntary Organisations or/and NGOs (based on approval on criterion laid out) (GoI 2008). In Gujarat, the hostels sanctioned for tribal girls under this plan are called Eklavya Girls Residential Schools (EGRS). Currently, there are 35 functional EGRS in Gujarat, run by the Gujarat State Tribal Development Residential Educational Institutions Society (GSTDREIS) (GoG, 2014)¹⁰.

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

(c) Construction of Hostels for OBC Boys and Girls - Dept. of Social Justice and Empowerment: The Scheme aims at providing hostel facilities to students belonging to socially and educationally backward classes, especially from rural areas, to enable them to pursue secondary and higher education. State governments, Union Territories Administrations, Universities and NGOs with good track record are eligible for the grant. These are typically 100 seat hostels for where 5 per cent seats are also reserved for students with special needs. If a State/UT proposes three or more hostels per year, at least one of them (i.e. 1/3rd of the proposed hostels) has to be for girls. The scheme has received an annual grant of only Rs. 45 crores in the last four years (2010-14), and created additional hostel capacity for about two to four thousand students every year.

2.4.3 Accelerated Learning Programmes (ALP)

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

(a) Mahila Shikshan Kendra (MSK): The Mahila Samakhya (MS) programme was launched in 1988 in order to pursue the goals of the New Education Policy (1986) and the Programme of Action

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

(1992) as a concrete programme for the education and empowerment of women in rural areas, particularly of women from socially and economically marginalised groups. Initially implemented as a pilot in 10 districts in three states, MS is now present in more than 20000 villages across ten states.

Mahila Shikshan Kendras (MSK), residential learning centres working under MS, offer an innovative and comprehensive educational programme for drop out and never enrolled girls / women. With its specially designed curriculum within a short span of eight to eleven months the girls/women are equipped to exercise their choice about their rights regarding getting back to mainstream schools, deciding appropriate age of their marriages and selecting their future vocations. The objectives of setting up the MSKs are to provide rural poor women opportunities for learning in the shortest period in a very conducive and safe environment; to create a pool of well trained, literate and motivated women who can become change agents and leaders in their villages. Currently, 95 MSKs are functional in 121 districts (563 blocks) in the ten states where MS is functional (GoI, 2013a).

(b) Balika Shivirs in Rajasthan (run by Urmul Jyoti Sansthan) offer an accelerated learning programme with residential facility, where girls from marginalised groups, who were either drop outs or had never attended school, are readied for class 5 exams in a span of 7 months. If the students do not get to enroll in a government school after passing this exam for whatever reasons, they attend another residential camp that prepares them for class 8 exams. Although the girls are not charged any fee, parents pay one rupee per day for the 210 days of the camp or donate kitchen groceries and provisions to help Urmul meet the costs of the camp (URMUL, not-dated).

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

Table 6: Selected Residential education initiatives: Certain specific features

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

√ - Yes; X - No; ? - Not Known

Source: Compiled from different scheme related documents

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

2.4.4 Bridge Courses

The most well-known name in running the bridge course is M V Foundation in Andhra Pradesh which is one of the pioneering forces behind the strategy by running residential bridge course for 9-14 year olds rescued child labourers, better known as camps. These orientation camps equip them with the ability to read and write, readying them for age appropriate admission in the nearby government schools. Once the children are enrolled in the formal schools, they also usually get admitted to the Social Welfare Hostels (M.V.Foundation, not-dated). A number of other organisations such as Seva Mandir and Doosra Dashak in Rajasthan and Nari Gunjan in Bihar, and many more in various other parts have also started running camps as a bridging strategy. The government programmes adopted this as an effective strategy and the RTE acknowledged this by including provisions for 'special training'. Sarva Shiksha Abhiyan organises three types of residential special training/courses to mainstream out-of-school-children and those never enrolled in age-appropriate classes in formal schools. There are 12-month, 6-month and 3-month special

training courses organised, in association with different NGOs, usually during the summer months(MHRD--GoI, 2013).

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

3. Reach and Coverage of Residential Schools for girls

3.1 Coverage of Residential Schools

It is not easy to establish the reach and coverage of residential schools all levels of school education. None of the national level reports provide this information. However, DISE and now UDISE collects this data though does not include this in their national or state analytical reports. NUEPA provided us this data for 2013-14 on request. This reveals that the country has more than 34000 residential schools and they cover more than 9 million students. Out of this nearly 4.3 million, about 48 per cent, are girls. This probably does not cover Model III KGBVs as they are just hostels and therefore girls are enrolled in a day school. The girls' share remains the same at 48 per cent at all levels: elementary, secondary and higher secondary. The highest proportion of girls, nearly 42 per cent go to private schools. Nearly the same percentage of girls is enrolled in government run /supported residential schools including Ashrams, Model schools and KGBVs. The share of private schools in total enrolment is the highest for higher secondary level (Table 7). Management wise distribution of enrolment shows that the highest proportion of girls are enrolled in Ashram schools (Government plus NGO run) followed by private unaided and then private aided schools (Table 8). At elementary level, girls in residential schools constitute about 2.8 per cent of the total enrolment at that level – this proportion could go up to nearly 3 per cent or more if one takes those residing in hostels (Refer to Annexure III for the table).

UDISE data makes it clear that the state governments are also funding a large number of residential schools, especially Ashram / other schools meant for tribal and dalit populations in states such as Odisha, Chhattisgarh, Andhra Pradesh, Madhya Pradesh and Uttar Pradesh. The number of private residential schools is high in Uttar Pradesh, Maharashtra and Madhya Pradesh (Annexure III). Management wise distribution shows that the number of both recognised and unrecognised residential madrassas attended mainly by Muslim students is high in Uttar Pradesh, West Bengal, Bihar and Andhra Pradesh. Maharashtra is the only state with high number of private aided residential schools. The number of unaided private schools is high in high ST concentration states – this could be because of the presence of NGO run schools but needs to be confirmed (Annexure III). Central government perhaps refers to only JNVs and excludes Ashram schools but again, this needs to be confirmed. The dataset in distribution needs to be interpreted with caution as a high number of entries that had not reported the management code have been merged with 'others', as it is largely subject to interpretation of those who are reporting (Annexure III).

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

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

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

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

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

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

Scheme-wise information is available for the schemes sponsored by the Union Government but the detailing and periods of information do not match. The information is even more sketchy and inaccessible when it comes to state government funded schemes. Annexure I provides information captured through certain state government websites. Karnataka has a scheme patterned on the line of JNV, named as Moraji Desai Memorial schools under which 395 residential schools are operational. The state also has another scheme called Kittur Chaennamma residential schools for SCs and STs under which 114 residential schools are sanctioned. Similarly, Uttar Pradesh has an Ashram Vidyalaya scheme for dalits operational since the 1960s. Bihar and Rajasthan also have state government funded hostel schemes. Information becomes even scarcer when it comes to the functioning of these schools. It is rare to find any evaluation or feedback on the state government funded schools. Similarly, almost no information is available on the functioning of residential schools in private sector. The information base is also weak for the NGO run schools and Madrasas. It is important to strengthen this base in order to a complete picture of spread, reach and impact. For instance, at present no comment can be made on residential madrasas for girls and also Ashram schools run for dalits in states like Uttar Pradesh. These are critical gaps that need to be filled.

Among the Union government funded schemes, KGBV (MHRD) is the largest programme in terms of the number of schools and the number of girls covered followed by the Ashramshalas (MTA), JNV (MHRD) and then the EMRS (MTA) in terms of the number of schools and enrolment. 3573 KGBVs are operational out of the 3609 sanctioned, reaching out to 366519 girls (GoI, 2013b). Out of these 2290 KGBVs are Model I, 194 Model II and 1155 Model III. 941 Ashram schools were operational enrolling 1,36,611 students (MTA 2014). There are 598 JNVs with 224659 students on roll as of March 2012¹¹ and 108 Eklavya Model Residential Schools (EMRS) in 22 states¹². 95 Mahila Shikshan Kendras exist in 121 districts of seven states across the country¹³. In comparison, the NGO run programmes have much limited reach and coverage (Table 8).

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

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

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

Table 9: Coverage of selected residential schooling programmes for girls

[illegible]

3.2 Reach and Access to girls from disadvantaged sections

An important next question to understand the reach is who these girls are. Are they really the most needy, belonging to the weaker section and disadvantaged groups? The answer is that in most cases the state sponsored programmes are reaching girls from socially and educationally backward groups and that is indeed a good indication. This is especially true for Ashram and KGBVs. Barring some exceptions, Ashram schools are meant almost entirely for adivasis and dalit children. Although data could not be made available for enrolment in EMRS, all girls enrolled in those schools have to be tribal. KGBVs are also well-represented in terms of dalits and adivasi girls. OBCs and girls from BPL families are also well represented but their reach to Muslim girls has been less visible (GoI, 2013b). Site visits confirmed this trend though it was shared that particular Muslim groups included in OBC in respective states (as is the case in Rajasthan) do not count as Muslims but as OBCs, and to that extent get under-reported (Table 10). This, however, would be a small percentage.

Girls constitute 37.4 per cent of total students in JNVs, and it is not clear how many of them are from which social groups. Lack of disaggregated information within girls is itself a sign of the issue being less important for this system. About 78 per cent of JNV students are rural. The JNV and EMRS follow the process of selection tests, and it is possible that these lead to exclusion of girls from the most deprived sections. This could be especially true for the JNV where students from all social groups are admitted and non-SC/ST groups form about 57 per cent of the total students. JNV has often been accused of feeding rural elite. The issue of elite capture has been raised even in the context of KGBV where more powerful among the target groups have managed to gain reach at the cost of those who face real marginalisation.

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

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

X – information not available; NA: Not Applicable

Figures in parenthesis show the respective percentage.

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

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

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

*(including 11 children of staff)

Except for KGBVs, no school is required to maintain any information on Children with Special Needs (CWSN). Only one school out of 8 institutions visited reported representation of children with special needs. These children were given rooms in the ground floor and were also assigned less duties. Some studies have raised the issue of location, especially in case of Ashram schools. Sujatha (1990) found that there was no relation between literacy rates of a district and the provisioning of Ashram Schools in Andhra Pradesh. She also observed that largest numbers of Ashram Schools were not found in the District which had the highest concentration of tribal population. Lack of school mapping exercises and political pressure in establishing Ashram Schools were the reasons attributed by her. Veerbhadranaika et al (2012) have remarked that Ashram Schools were inadequate in reach, functioning and content. NUEPA 2013 comments on the high average distance of Ashram schools based on a study in 9 states.

An important aspect in terms of reach is how students are identified or selected for admission. As mentioned earlier, EMRS and JNV follow the process of selection tests. Admission in JNVs is based on a selection test that followed multiple-choice format and the reservation criterion (75 per cent seats for rural, 25 per cent for urban, 30 per cent for girls, 12 per cent for SCs, 7 per cent for STs, 3 per cent for CWSN). Presently, the JNV visited in Karnataka has 30 per cent of the students from BPL families and 70 per cent from APL families.

The admission process is not so well-defined and rigid in Ashram schools or KGBVs. The admission in the Thadvai Ashram School in Telangana is based on first come first serve basis. The school does not admit non-tribal students. It also does not admit children of the teachers who teach in the school. Once the seats are filled, the applicants are referred to other schools. KGBVs visited in three states reported local mobilization and identification through either MS groups, Gram Panchayats

(Bihar) or Mata Samitees (Jharkhand). In the MSK at Gaya (Bihar), the Cluster Resource Person and teachers come together every month to identify girls block by block for the ALP. The KGBV in Bihar also have been making efforts to consciously include physically challenged children through special camps.

An important critique of the KGBV identification process in recent times has been that the girls are not the real drop outs; they are artificially kept out of school for one year or so after reaching / completing class V to be eligible for admission to the KGBV (GOI 2013, various JRM reports). Andhra Pradesh KGBVs appear to be an exception where detailed micro planning was done to figure out which child would go to which educational facility. Although difficult to ascertain with full confidence, interactions with students in the KGBVs in the site visits suggested this observation to be largely true with some exceptions. Majority of girls could tell the names of the schools where they had attended grade V. The teachers in Jharkhand also reported experiencing a lot of pressure from local influential persons for admitting their wards. The institutions responsible for KGBV monitoring in states also confirmed that 'while KGBVs are full of those girls who were anyway going to the local schools, the villages are still found with dropout girls'¹⁴.

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

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

4: Physical, social and emotional environment

Learning environment, as defined by both the physical and emotional environment, and space is critical for the well-being and learning in any educational institution. It acquires greater importance in a residential setting as it involves living together and the needs of the learners go beyond the usual classroom hours. The issues related to health, safety, opportunities for all-round physical and emotional development, and peer and teacher-child relationships become all the more important in residential settings, especially in the context of girls coming from disadvantaged and marginalized contexts. ‘When it comes to girls from very marginalised communities, the argument in favour of residential schools range from getting more time to study, access to proper nutrition and healthcare facilities to academic support from peers and teachers’¹⁵. It implies that residential schools in such contexts are expected to go beyond what these girls could have expected to receive even at their homes in terms of food, nutrition, care, academic support and opportunities to think and live differently. In other words, they must have access to an enabling and secure physical, social and emotional environment to be able to learn and grow in all respects.

4.1 Physical Infrastructure and access to facilities

Most of the government schemes have clear norms and specifications for infrastructure facilities (Table 11). JNV and EMRS with much greater financial allocations for physical infrastructure, have much better norms than KGBV and Ashram Schools. However, it is not necessary that all these norms translate themselves into reality, complying with specifications. And even when the norms are complied with, it is not necessary that these translate themselves into creating an enabling environment for girls. This aspect has not received much attention in the available review and therefore the present analysis is also limited to that extent. Information on infrastructure and facilities is largely anecdotal and descriptive around specific visits and observations. However, whatever information is available does not paint a very encouraging picture.

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

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

both boys and girls. The school had laboratories and all other facilities that they are supposed to have. One teacher positioned in one KGBV in Jharkhand who herself had studied in a JNV in the same state remarked: ‘the major difference in JNV and KGBV is that of physical infrastructure and facilities with the former being much better provided for’.

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

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

Source: Compiled from different schemes/programme documents

As against JNV, where the provisioning seems standardized across the country, the level, kind and condition of infrastructure facilities in Ashram schools appear to be uneven. ‘The situation is different in different states when it comes to Ashram schools and it depends largely on the attention and investment that a particular state government makes in Ashram Shalas¹⁶. National Commission for the Protection of Child Rights (NCPCR) noted that Ashram Schools in Rajasthan suffered from lack of adequate teachers, operational toilets and proper monitoring of children’s health (Singh, 2013). Panda (1996) observed that the inadequacy of basic amenities was very common among all tribal schools, including Ashram Schools in Orissa. The need for proper

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

sanitation facilities is one key recommendation emanating from review reports for Ashram Shalas. An evaluation study of Ashram Schools in Odisha, Madhya Pradesh, Chhattisgarh and Jharkhand was conducted by the Indian Institute of Public Administration (IIPA) during the year 2006-07. It recommended that the number of Ashram school needs to be increased based on demand focusing on areas where children continue to be unenrolled, and quality of Ashram School must be ensured with required infrastructure. Poor access to toilets and water facilities was also noted during the site visit to Ashram School in Thadvai in Telangana.

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

Although a large number of ashram schools provide schooling to children in areas affected by Left Wing Extremism (LWE), there are no specific guidelines that are followed for the infrastructure in these facilities. In the LWE affected large numbers of children including girls are enrolled in residential schools. In Chhattisgarh itself State has provisioned for around 30,000 displaced children through this and other similar approach. However, there are a number of issues that need urgent attention - physical facilities, basic water and sanitation conditions, child protection issues and adult care and supervision of children in these camps. Although one acknowledges the difficulty of infrastructure development in the area the need for a sensitive planning that ensures the basic standards cannot be underscored enough. (Menon, 2010). International works in conflict areas have begun to specify norms for safe and protective learning environment for schools and other education facilities that can be referred to for guidance (INEE 2012).

KGBV Evaluation Study (GoI, 2009) observed that in many states KGBVs were being run in rented spaces. Out of six sample states, four had very poor infrastructural facilities. In Assam, it was found that the government had rented a building where there were inadequate toilets and insufficient space. The study also reported that budgets provided for construction of building was insufficient in the states of Uttarakhand, Tripura and Jammu & Kashmir. A 2007 KGBV Evaluation observed that ‘the condition of the building, sanitation and availability of toilets and maintenance of buildings remain big issues’. Design inadequacies in the new buildings like kitchen not being provided with storage facilities, platforms, chimney, absence of activity room for girls, libraries in the hostel buildings, teachers’ rooms, labs, store rooms, etc. have also been pointed out by evaluations (GoI, 2013b). The review and evaluation reports make it clear that despite similarity in the allocations and norms, the actual situation pertaining to physical infrastructure, space and facilities is uneven in different states and variations exist even within the same state (Jha, Saxena, & C.V.Baxi, 2001;

Tögel, 2013). This was evident in the site visits as well. While toilets existed in all KGBVs, running water was an issue in KGBVs visited in Gaya in Bihar, Ranchi in Jharkhand and Ajmer in Rajasthan. The reasons varied from faulty design and seepage to paucity of water. The KGBV in Bundu block in Ranchi was not moving to the new building because of the water related issues.

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

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

Wide variations exist in terms of space, infrastructure and access to facilities in the NGO run programmes. Local terrain and topography, resource availability and management, all these together determine the nature, kind and adequacy of infrastructure. Programmes like Kedi Residential School for Tribal Girls provide exclusive class rooms whereas most others, especially those offering accelerated learning programmes use the dormitory space for both living and teaching. A study based on visit to Balika Shikshan Shivirs in Rajasthan observed that considerable variation existed in terms of facilities and security, cleanliness and overall environment for learning. (V. Ramachandran, Pal, M. and Mahajan,V, 2004). The site visit to VTCL (Mysore, Karnataka) revealed that the school has separate well-designed and well-built classrooms and living spaces though cleanliness remains an issue. Pillows and mattresses given for the children did not have any covers, and storage appeared to be an issue. However, purified drinking water is available in both school and hostel premises at VTCL in Mysore, Karnataka. Many states face power shortage and that also impacts access to water. The site visits suggested that most schools had generators. One good practice observed was the use of solar lighting facility in in the KGBV in Bodhgaya (Bihar) and the provision for solar lamps to girls for studying in the night in the KGBVs in Jharkhand.

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

4.2 Health, Food and Nutrition

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

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

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

The KGBV evaluation teams visiting different states in 2013 came across students (most of whom are from socially and economically disadvantaged sections of society) who complained of persistent

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

hunger and inadequacy of food. The evaluation also provides a possible explanation in terms of the low per child maintenance cost of Rs 900 per month (revised since then), which is also used to provide meals for the teaching and non-teaching staff members, affecting the quantum of food available for children. Many evaluation team members expressed concern and shock at the situation they encountered in some of the KGBVs visited – there was one instance where the girls were beaten up for complaining that they were hungry, and one place where children were not fed any lunch because the Mid-Day Meals (MDM) was not provided on some days (like sports day) in the school (GoI, 2013b).

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

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

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

Sports and exercises are also important for good health. Regular sports activities and exercises are part of the lives in KGBVs though not necessarily so in Ashram schools or JNVs. For instance, the Directorate of Evaluation in Gujarat observed that the Ashram Schools did not have any extra-curricular activities like sports or science fairs. (Dave, 2012). The site visit to Ashram school in Telangana, however, contradicted this, as girls reported easy access to sports facilities and this being part of their daily routine. Girls were taught tae kwon do (for self-defense) and yoga in classes 6 and 7 in the JNV that was visited in Karnataka but these classes were being outsourced as

this was not part of the JNV system. These were being funded and managed through the Parents Teachers Council. Children were taught yoga and meditation at VTCL (Mysore, Karnataka).

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

The emphasis on yoga, regular exercises and sports in KGBV, wherever existent, has its roots in MS and a number of other NGO led Accelerated Learning programmes (ALP). MS used these as a means of realizing the self-worth and the importance of enjoyment for women who had never earlier experienced and hardly had any time for themselves. Udaan (CARE) used sports as a means of strengthening skills of team work, strategic decisions and also to break gender stereotypes (Jha, J and Gulati, K. 2004). When girls learn cycling and play football in areas where this is otherwise not common, it helps a great deal in breaking the gender perceptions about what is feminine and what is masculine.

4.3 Safety and Security

Safety and security of girls, and also of boys, emerges as a major concern in residential schools. Despite the fact that many cases of abuse and incidents of harassment do not even get reported, newspaper reports have often carried stories of abuses in residential schools in all parts of the country. Almost all evaluation reports refer to this as a neglected and serious issue. The latest KGBV Evaluation (GoI, 2013b) observed 'that many KGBVs visited had male staff members living inside or have unrestricted access to the hostel and even to the rooms occupied by the students'. There was one case where men from a local CRPF camp were focusing flashlights into the hostel. There was another case where district/block officials came in and out of the hostel at all times. There was another instance where the NGO coordinator of the project lived inside the KGBV (he was neither a warden, nor a teacher or a guard). In one KGBV there was a men's club on the road outside it. The girls were frightened by the loud sounds of drunken men outside their hostel after dark' (GoI, 2013b).

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

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

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

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

The complete absence of safety and security norms for Ashram Schools was pointed out as a critical issue in a consultation organized by National Commission for Protection of Child Rights (NCPCR, 2014). In Maharashtra, death of a 12 year old girl in an Ashram School under inexplicable circumstances had prompted a complete check of all the Ashram Schools in the state (Sonawala, 2013). Ashram Schools' review committee recommended that teacher/warden/hostel superintendents, especially for schools in naxal-affected areas, need to be imparted proper training and sensitisation. As stated earlier, snake bites and scorpion bites have also been reported, bringing attention to the existence of safety norms in these institutions. Even in the elite JNVs cases of sexual harassment have been reported of (ToI, 2014). The documentations for the NGO run initiatives are either silent or critical of the existing arrangements when it comes to the issue of safety and security of girls. Since majority of these are located either in small, rented spaces or in NGO premises, the situation varies from place to place.

The field observations from the site visits confirmed that though some institutions are more thoughtful in planning for safety and security, safety related concerns did not appear to be a priority. JNV emerged as the only scheme with definite system for addressing the safety and security related concerns. During the site visit we found that the JNV Doddaballapur (Karnataka)

follows a system of 14 points safety protocol that includes monthly fumigation in the campus, regulated entry at the gates, locking dormitory during the day/school building during the night, nominating counselors to counsel emotionally disturbed children and monthly updating of children's medical records (Jawahar Navodaya Vidyalaya, 2014). Monthly compliance report is also prepared on the same. There have been no cases of missing children from this school. One teacher is deputed on alert (Master on Duty – MoD) on rotational basis to oversee safety concerns. However, a recent study undertaken with a view to need the nature of counselling services required in JNVs, highlights how the concern with safety converts itself into strong 'discipline' oriented approach, which further complicates the matter as it fails to develop a culture of 'responsibility and trust' (UNFPA 2014) We return to this issue at a later stage while discussing the aspect of relationships and adolescent issues.

All KGBVs have guards; Bihar and Jharkhand follow a practice of having armed women guards whereas that was not true for Rajasthan where male guards are kept on duty. Male guards are reported to be often walking in the living premises for no reasons in some KGBVs¹⁸. The MSK in Bihar also had only armed women guards. The act of having a women guard is a conscious decision for a variety of reasons: 'there is no difference in one armed man or woman, a man can also only do as much a woman can in a situation that demands quick response. But the presence of a woman as a guard helps in avoiding other possibilities of abuse or harassment, and also helps in countering the gender stereotype'¹⁹.

All schools including KGBVs visited had the rest rooms on the same floor meaning girls do not have to walk far in the night but in some cases these are not functional due to water related issues; this confirmed the observations made by the evaluation team (GOI 2013). Students are taught self-defense techniques (such as Judo and Karate) and safety practices in Bihar and Jharkhand. The MS influence on KGBV was obvious in these choices made in these two states. MS in Bihar has been known for its emphasis on training women for self-defense. These KGBVs are run by MS in Bihar and though these are run by SSA in Jharkhand, MS has played an important role in the training of teachers and wardens. All site-visit schools follow the norm of having gates locked at particular hours. Jharkhand also faces the naxal issue but KGBVs have apparently never faced any problem. However, girls in KGBV in Jharkhand are trained to use fire-extinguisher. One particular KGBV located in a building with open terrace faced the problem of some boys trying to enter the premise through the terrace; this was resisted by students and teachers by simply chasing them away! The girls also reported an incident of a girl running away in one KGBV. But none of these has led to any systemic effort in developing and following a safety protocol anywhere.

VTCL (Mysore, Karnataka) deutes 4 teachers every day on a rotational basis to oversee all the arrangements including those for security. Restrooms are built next to the dormitories. Though there is no prescribed protocols for safety children are educated about safe practices and equipment such as fire extinguishers and solar fencing. No school included in site-visits had emergency staircases. Snake bites and scorpion bites are common in forest / tribal areas. One girl

¹⁸ Shobhita Rajgopal, Personal Interview held in October 2014

¹⁹ Urmila, Personal Interview held in August 2014

had dropped out due to fear of recurrence of scorpion bite in one KGBV in Jharkhand. But this is not taken seriously. Such incidents appeared to be common in Ashram school but JNV did not report any such incident.

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

4.4 The day-to-day living for students and teachers

How particular physical facilities, health norms, food and safety measures covert themselves into the daily life of a resident is and how these experiences aid learning in a residential setting, is what defines the living experience of a learner. Residential schools were advocated for the most marginalised girls for 'the possibility and potential for providing diverse learning opportunities, having fun with the peer group and experiences of joy and excitement to counter the experiences of disadvantaged lives and opening up avenues for aspirations, dreams and resolves'.²¹ Whether the day to day management practices allow for diverse learning opportunities in a joyous environment or not is the question that needs to be answered in this case. The literature suggests that KGBVs and NGO-led initiatives are relatively better in having management practices in a manner that learning becomes integrated to the whole living experiences as compared to Ashram schools where the management is reported to be poor or JNV where the management is too rigid. The site visits confirmed this.

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

²⁰ Vibha Puri Das, Personal Interview held in August 2014

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

An important concern in the context of engaging children in managing the school is whether this is a means of educating children through diverse experiences and improving their self confidence in the process, or these are simple means of involving children in work and hampering their education by taking away their study or play times. The difference is thin and it is easy for such activities to slip into a situation that is exploitative rather than empowering. A related question also relates to whether all girls are involved in all kinds of tasks or girls from particular social groups (e.g., dalits) are engaged in cleanliness and so on. The evidence is thin but what emerges is that NGO run programmes running one or very few schools have been successful in making these experiences rigorous yet enjoyable and inspiring (Jha and Gulati 2004, Ramachandran 2004, Ranganathan and Singh, 2012), the situation widely varies in large programmes like KGBVs. Real caution, sensitisation and a deep understanding of inclusion as well as feminist ideologies is needed to understand situations dealing with girls coming from sections that have faced discrimination for centuries (GOI 2013, Kumar and Gupta 2008, AIAMAM 2014). A linked question in the co-educational setting would relate to distribution of tasks between girls and boys. Not much evidence is available from the literature; however, the site visit to the JNV indicated that both girls and boys were given the responsibilities such as cleaning the classroom in rotation.

An important debate surrounding residential schooling, especially at early age is the undesirability of making children leave their own home and parents at an early age. 'In general, residential schools may not always be a good idea because it involves living away from home and in an environment that may not always be culturally sensitive to students'.²² Almost all documentations and evaluations have referred to 'the problem faced in getting girls adjusted to the new life in the initial phase'. The site visits revealed that active support from older girls coupled with sensitive handling by teachers / wardens/ principals help in overcoming this. This implies that teachers need to have the skills of a counsellor and pre-supposes an engaging and trusting relationship between teachers and students. Teacher training programmes in programmes like Udaan have integrated these elements in their teacher development approaches (Ranganathan and Singh 2012) but it is not necessarily the case with all the schemes.

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

²² Vimala Ramachandran, Personal Interview

A related issue is that of girls dropping out before completion of the course. It is not possible to have definite data on drop outs but the site visits indicated that every school experiences discontinuation of at least one or two, in some cases more, girls every year. Marriage was the most common reason followed by the simple lack of persuasion from parents to send the child back after vacations. If children stay back at home after vacation, teachers from VTCL (Mysore, Karnataka) go to community to bring them back to school; this is a budgeted activity every year. Children who go missing from the premises due to non interest are also followed up and brought back to school. Lack of interest, migration, home sickness, and fear of incidents like scorpion bites are other reasons for dropping out. Similar provisions do not exist elsewhere though teachers in KGBVs and MSKs reported talking to parents in their monthly visits. Drop outs from MSK and KGBV in Bihar were also reported to be due to ill health or death of a family member. The need for care work at home is also otherwise a common reason for girls' withdrawal from schools, even in non-residential settings.

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

Two other issues, somewhat related to the day-to-day experience of the girls relate to are: (i) whether the concentration of girls from the same or similar communities lead to ghettoization and therefore further marginalisation, (ii) whether single sex settings are leading to a particular kind of socialisation that further reinforces the prevalent gender images and roles. 'If we carefully look at the demographic profile of KGBV students, we realise that they already have a vast resource of diverse experiences. There are several communities within the large umbrella term of SCs. Similarly the differences in tribal groups of the same area are a demographically accepted fact. The cultural beliefs of religious minorities are greatly different from other two groups. The inherent plurality of OBCs is evident from the term and it indicates diversity in the experiences of the girls coming from that background (Kumar and Gupta 2008)'. The site visits also lent weight to the argument that KGBVs are not really leading to any kind of ghettoization; in fact it was clear that girls from different communities were able to be friends and in the process were breaking a number of prevalent social barriers.

Available literature does not delve the issue of single sex space in the context of residential schooling much. However, a number of NGOs and MS staff could articulate the rationale of developing a sense of collective identity among girls and develop the ability to critically examine the gender roles, this was not necessarily true for all the teachers including those positioned in the MS run KGBVs during the site visit. However, MSK and KGBV teachers in Bihar had a better understanding of the importance of a gendered perspective as compared to teachers in other institutions. As we later discuss, prevalence of gender stereotyped vocational courses in single-sex environment are also leading to reinforcements of prevalent gender images in some cases.

Therefore, what emerges is that how single space is used is more important in shaping the images than the fact whether the school is single-sex or not. Co-educational situations is perceived to be a safety risk in Ashram and JNV because of the possible sexual attractions and the JNV visited even discourages interactions between boys and girls. This attitude and approach had adversely affected the learning and empowerment potentials of Ashram and JNV schools- something we discuss at a later stage.

On the whole, despite certain limitations and challenges faced, in general, students in most sites that were visited expressed joy and happiness about being able to play every day, and loved their time spent with peer in signing, dancing and gardening. Also, both students and teachers expressed the experience of independently living and managing as empowering, and teachers universally identified the enhanced self-confidence and changed self-image as the biggest changes that they notice in children. This was more visible in KGBVs and VTLC as compared to other sites visited. This confirms a number of observations made earlier that the residential setting itself generates experiences that valuable for girls from marginalized groups as they are not likely to have those otherwise.

However, it is important to add that this does not preclude the fact that the day-to-day experiences can be made much more enriching; while the girls in JNV had access to better facilities but it missed a focus on building independent and changed gender perception, the girls in KGBVs were being made to do with minimal of facilities but somewhat greater emphasis on being self-dependent. We are discussing this issue in greater detail at a later stage.

The teachers

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

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

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

^including 11 children of staff

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

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

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

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

KGBVs (Model I) are handled by five to six teachers who have all the responsibilities of teaching as well as managing everything else including additional supervised studies, sports, food, health, gardening, reporting, parents contact, security and so on. The work load is high and the compensations are extremely low. Repeated national KGBV evaluations have highlighted this issue. Although the situation varies from state to state but the situation remains worrying in most places

except states like Karnataka where the regular teachers are being placed in the KGBVs. The teachers in the KGBVs (including model III where there are only 3 teachers) visited are working for a monthly salary of 6-11000 for the last six to eight years. They receive no other benefit and have no protection: no paid or earned leave, no paid maternity leave, no health benefit. This undoubtedly adversely affects their motivation. KGBVs in Bihar facing a particular problem because of a legal case and the teachers had not received their salary for the last seven months at the time of the site visit.²³ In Jharkhand, the teachers clearly expressed their unwillingness to take up the additional responsibility of warden, as it 'amounts to a lot of additional workload and dealing with political interference in admissions without any support from the system'.

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

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

JNVs are best placed in terms of teacher provisioning; by virtue of being a central government institution following Central Board of School Examinations (CBSE) norms, they have more qualified and higher paid staff at all levels. Although they felt burdened with non-academic duties and found the life in the campus as monotonous (Gayatri Agayya Jakkan (2014), it was only in JNV that the teachers were given incentives to handle the additional responsibilities. They were also given special allowances in terms of holidaying. Unlike all other schools visited, including the NGO run VTLC, teachers at JNV had no worries about their children's education as they could be admitted in

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

the JNV itself, without any admission test. This reflects a careful planning for and response to teachers' needs - an essential element for maintaining their motivation and accountability. Though some concerns have been expressed in terms of having a large number of contract teachers, e.g., Gayatri Agayya Jakkan (2014) finds that most of the teachers of JNVs in Maharashtra were Post Graduate Trained teachers recruited on a contractual basis, this does not seem to be universally true (4 out of 29 teachers were on contract in the JNV visited in Karnataka) and this arrangement helps them to have adequate number of teachers to deal with time the recruitment process takes. EMRS follows most of the JNV norms though details are not accessible in the public domain.

5: Learning, Empowerment and Influence

The need for a comprehensive curriculum for the girls from most marginalised contexts has been articulated well in the context of MSK and other similar initiatives. Integration of gender perspectives in content areas and delivery processes taking note of the social, economic and cultural experiences differentiates it from others. International experiences delving into aspects such as male underachievement in school education has also pointed out to the need for integrating gender perspective in all curriculum approaches, even for boys, and even for those who do not necessarily come from the most marginalized contexts (Jha and Kelleher, 2006). The space and possibility for integrating gender perspectives leading to empowerment and more equal gender relations are greater in residential schools simply because of the fact that children are also living together and therefore the time available is higher and so is the potential for creating additional learning experiences of diverse kinds. An important aspect of residential schools is 'to create a transformative experience for girls where they move from a life of subsistence to a life of leisure, care and nurturance'²⁴. The depth and diversity of learning experiences is what is cited as the unique selling point - USP - by votaries of residential school as a desirable choice for girls' education and empowerment.

5.1 Teaching-Learning and Evaluation Approaches

As pointed out earlier, the information available for different schemes and initiatives remain uneven, which acts as a limitation in having a clear and comprehensive understanding of the approaches present therein, and therefore, the analysis remains limited to that extent. Having said that, what the analysis suggests is that while KGBVs by design are supposed to have a diversified and comprehensive learning curriculum that integrates empowerment with subject learning, the same is not true for either Ashram or JNV. What emerges is that though the delivery is widely varied in case of KGBVs and it is not reaching anywhere close to its potential, the conceptualization itself is leading to an empowering experience for girls in some places despite poor provisioning and poor delivery. In contrast, despite the lack of articulation of having a comprehensive curriculum focusing on transformation, significantly better provisioning in JNV has the potential for creating an empowering experience for girls but is severely limited because of the lack of a guiding framework and heavy emphasis on 'discipline'. Ashram schools suffer on both counts: it neither has the advantage of better provisioning nor has there been any articulation of clear education goals for girls, or for that matter, for boys, coming from socio-economic disadvantaged and often even physically isolated contexts. In addition, students in Ashram schools also face alienation because of the insensitive imposition of the 'mainstream' language, cultural norms and ethos.

²⁴ Dipta Bhog, Personal Interview held in August 2014

The residential schools are a microcosm of the larger school system and they mirror the same quality related issues as any other schools. The KGBV evaluations reinforce this observation. KGBV Evaluation (GoI, 2007) observed that in most states the teaching, learning and assessment processes remained textbook oriented and not very different from the formal schools. The report observed that KGBVs largely were not utilising the residential context creatively for learning 'by integrating the non-academic with the academic'. It was observed that even in cases where the state had developed a bridge course that was in use in other programmes, the course was not used in KGBVs. The teachers were not offered in-service training or orientation in assessment, classroom teaching methodologies or accelerated learning techniques. In particular, the evaluation expressed concern that even highly innovative and empowering approach of Mahila Samakhya was filtered in KGBV run by MS in Karnataka. Similar observations were made again by the 2009 national evaluation report. Kumar (2008) argued that KGBVs use 'the same curricula which has no vision or understanding of girls' life and the role of education in their growth'. He observes that this 'indifference to pedagogic issues' is a serious impediment in the success of KGBV's reach and impact.

The KGBV Evaluation undertaken in 2013 observed that the vocational courses and classroom transactions were gender stereotypical and lacked professional planning (GoI, 2013b). The NCERT study on KGBVs in Uttar Pradesh reported that only MS run KGBVs ran vocational courses that questioned prevailing gender stereotypes (Motor repairing, book binding, cycle repairing, self-defense); others were mainly limited to tailoring (NCERT, 2010). Site visits largely confirmed this observation and also suggested an increased tendency towards centralization, therefore adversely affecting the local ideas and freedom. In MS administered KGBVs in Bihar, MS personnel used to decide what vocational training should be given but that has undergone a change as the state has decided to outsource this component to BBOSS (Bihar Board of Open School and Examination). This means now it is life skills for class 6, sewing for class 7 and computers for class 8 in all KGBVs, whether run by MS or KGBV. In MSK, Bihar where the choice of course is in hands of MS, the training is usually on vocations with greater potential for enterprise such as painting, dye making, tailoring, making soap/phenol, and so on.

In Rajasthan, vocational component in KGBVs has been linked with National Institute of Open Schooling (NIOS) whereby all KGBVs serve as AVI (Accredited vocational institution). While it is a welcome step as it ensures certification, it also limits the choice of courses and runs the risk of gender stereotyping if not countered consciously. The KGBV in Tabizi, Ajmer ran courses in tailoring and beautician's, and both teachers and students reported satisfaction with the way these teachers come regularly and teach with interest. However, the interactions with the girls also suggested that they were not looking at any of these critically and it was clear that nobody, neither their own teachers or the vocation course teachers or the resource persons from the NGO that acted as support institution had engaged them on these issues from a gender perspective. This meant that these courses further strengthened some of the existing notions such as 'girls must look beautiful' and also introduced new ideas that could have undesirable consequences, e.g., 'one has to trim the eyebrows to look beautiful'. On the other hand, the state has taken another step of providing a set of 3 computers and a computer teacher to each KGBV in Rajasthan, which is a welcome step, and was observed to be received very well by girls.

KGBV evaluations have expressed concern about learning issues in Model III. 'The situation in most of the Model III KGBVs was quite alarming – as there was little teaching learning happening in the attached schools. The girls were therefore, entirely dependent on the tutors in the KGBV, who were often very inadequately qualified. In some cases the tutors were not able to handle the load. They had to effectively teach the entire curriculum to the students. In many KGBVs the tutors were not competent to handle mathematics and science. In some instances teachers from the government upper primary schools were engaged as tutors and were also on the rolls of the KGBVs' (GoI, 2013b). The site visits presented a similar yet a little different picture reflecting that the situation is really diverse, and the choice of site can make a difference in the observation. The upper primary school where the KGBV Bodhgaya girls were enrolled came across as a school where teachers were well-qualified and came regularly; they could analyse the profile of their students and acknowledged that supervised teaching in KGBV makes those girls perform better than those who come from outside. The girls in all KGBVs visited could read Hindi well and had basic mathematical abilities.

Balgopalan (2014) raises the issue of KGBVs using the same textbooks which states prepared for the government schools without giving attention to the fact that these girls had earlier dropped out from the same system, and it can be intimidating to come across those same books again. The recent KGBV evaluation also made specific recommendations to include multilingual teaching, urgent attention to the bridging stage, need for innovative, interactive and child-centered teaching methods and material. Need for computer education, trained computer teachers and well equipped libraries were also observed. Nevertheless, despite the challenges, the fact remains that girls in KGBVs reported higher level of learning than others, as observed by most JRM reports. For instance, the 19th JRM (SSA, 2013) places on record that students living in the KGBV hostel fared better than their peers in regular schools. The report gives credit to additional academic support, a stress free environment, provision of appropriate time and space to study and opportunity to learn from peers as key factors contributing to the success of students. Sandhan (2014) has also documented the impact Project Based Learning can have on achieving holistic education. Allowing the girls to understand the utilisation or rather, application of information from various sources, teachers' role as facilitators in the process also enables girls to hone their social and intellectual skills, in addition to the academic skills.

Sujatha (1990), Panda (1996) and NUEPA (2013) emphasise the importance of having teachers from among the tribal groups for its role in cultural connect, sense of belonging and aspirations of tribal children in Ashram Schools. In Kerala, the tribal students were forced to use Malayalam as against their dialect, which eventually led to drop outs in the school (Kakkoth, 2012). The Parliamentary Standing Committee recommended that tribal teachers from the same community should be recruited while special training should be imparted to non-tribal teachers to help them relate to tribal language, culture and behavioural patterns. In this context, Kakkoth (2012) recommends that educational planning demands 'cultural ecological approach' with localized decision making that ensured community's participation so that the content must boost their cultural norms rather than belittling them. Veerbhadra Naika et al (2012) also second this thought as they find that there is total lack of innovative pedagogy in Ashram Schools that could help in

retaining the positive ethos of the tribal culture and simultaneously create space for the tribal children to be able to relate to the larger world.

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

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

All KGBVs and Ashram schools follow the respective State Examination Boards prescribed syllabus. This is also true for most NGO run schools including VTLC. JNVs follow the CBSE curriculum. JNV follows the practice of classroom teaching which is preceded by detailed planning and preparatory activities are conducted. They also have provision of remedial and supervised tutoring based on internal evaluations. Highly qualified school teachers who compulsorily reside in schools are responsible for these classes as well. Detailed planning is also undertaken for activities related to sports, art education, NCC, Scouts and Guide, security, etc. Some regions develop detailed guidelines for their tests and continuous evaluations. The presence of separate Music teacher, Art teacher and Sports teacher facilitates detailed planning for, training on and participation in activities related to music, art, theater, local performing arts and sports.²⁵ SUPW (Socially Useful Productive Work) is also part of the curriculum in JNV; gardening was the chosen activity in the JNV, Mysore (site visit). All these help in creating an enabling environment and fostering an all-round development among students but it needs further inquiry in the shape of well-designed researches and evaluations to know how much of this translates itself into empowerment and widening of opportunities. The available research undertaken in the context of examining the counselling services in JNV points out to a situation where strict disciplining, reporting to parents and suspension are perceived as the solutions for issues related with adolescence, gender and sexuality; the notions of positive

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

discipline, sensitive counseling and supportive relationships are either non-existent or weak (UNFPA 2014).

At the secondary and senior secondary levels in the Ashram school, students also face the scarcity of teachers for particular streams, especially for the Sciences and Commerce. This is also the case for KGBVs in Jharkhand that have been extended to class XII. JNV has found a solution in developing particular streams in one school in the neighborhood and allowing students to migrate depending on the seats available, i.e., one school in one cluster develops the science stream, while the other could develop humanities or commerce. No such arrangement has been reported for Ashram school or any other school system.

Access to books, other teaching learning materials coupled with the time and opportunities to use those, and capacity to creatively plan and integrate such use in teaching also determines the quality and depth of learning experiences. As stated earlier, although some library books are available in all KGBVs, it is a limited stock and the use is generally very limited. A study conducted on KGBVs in two districts of Bihar (AIDMAM, 2014) reported that students expressed the need to have access to a larger set of books. Inadequacy of teaching aids, text books and other teaching learning materials is a serious cause for concern in Ashram schools (Panda, 1996). JNVs have a full-fledged library available but how creatively it is used is not known. In contrast, the use of library was regular and enabling in VLTC. They do not use any prescribed textbook till class IV. Teachers develop their own learning materials with the students. The school follows an unstructured curriculum till class 4, a semi structured curriculum from class 5 to 7 and then an integrated curriculum prescribed by the Government of Karnataka for the higher classes. Children are enabled to appreciate their culture and also taught the value of accepting others²⁶. The TLM used included computer, audio-visual aids, radio, TV, projector, posters, cards and magazines. The focus is on encouraging children to question, reflect and form collective identity.

NGO run schools and NGO supported schools also emphasise the use of well-planned exposure visits to various sites (post office, bank) or a nearby historical city or a cinema (VTCL site visit, Sandhan supported KGBV Ajmer site visit, Ranganathan, 2005). In VTCL, the activities like nature camps and exposure visits were used to aid to children's learning. Sandhan, a known education resource agency in Rajasthan supported the well-planned activities of watching a film or an exposure trip to nearby city and using the activity 'for development of a multi-level teaching strategy, creation of learning environment that adopts multi-level teaching techniques, use of multiple texts, library, addressing health issues and creative aspects such as music, dance, drawing, theatre as a part of the curriculum' (Sandhan 2012). CARE supported Udaan (ALP) and the KGBVs in Gujarat for which it works as a resource agency, also adopts similar strategy. The KGBVs in Bihar and Jharkhand also reported taking girls out for such visits to historical places, planetarium and zoo. But they also expressed the resource constraint with no separate allocation for such trips as a barrier for organising those.

²⁶ Bala, Personal Interview, September 2014

Box 1: Watching Mary Kom: An exciting experience

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

Source: CBPS Site visit, (Oct 2014)

KGBVs and Ashram schools visited use textbooks and a few additional materials as teaching aids. The teachers in the JNV visited were allowed to spend three afternoons every week on preparing TLM, without any extra responsibilities coming in the way. Discussions on academic matters, activities and co-curricular activities are extensively discussed during staff meetings. Department wise staff meetings were also held to facilitate the process. In MSK Gaya (Bihar), teachers made the TLM using different materials available around the campus with the girls' help. Group learning is focused more with girls divided into groups depending on their levels of learning. Based on the monthly assessment and reported growth, groups are changed or shuffled. Special trainers are also invited to educate the girls on special topics such as vermin compost, tailoring, dance, karate and reproductive health. Legal studies is imparted for older women, with a specific focus on dowry, registering complaints at the police station, earning, female feticide, child marriage and domestic violence. Despite the low motivation and routinisation that characterises MSKs in many places, the emphasis on women's empowerment was visible in the MSK visited. The KGBVs in Bihar and Jharkhand are using a life skill package, known as Udaan, which has similar elements and the girls everywhere described as 'very enjoyable and educating'.

In nutshell, the JNV follows a rigid but well planned approach to teaching and co-curricular activities where the gender and empowerment related issues have no place whereas the emphasis on such issues is high in the KGBV but the implementation quality is highly varied and academic rigour is either absent or weak. One overarching issue that the KGBV evaluation team (GOI 2013) highlighted is that the no-detention policy should not mean no learning and no assessment. There is no clarity on the kind or frequency of assessments done in the KGBVs. This differs from district to district and also from state to state. In some of the KGBVs visited, the team noticed that the KGBV teachers did not understand the concept of learning outcomes. In the schools visited for validation, it was observed that regular tests (weekly, monthly, term-wise and annual) are the main mode of assessments and evaluation for students and the marks obtained in these tests form the basis for promotion. The JNV and Ashram school mentioned Continuous Comprehensive Evaluation (CCE) as being followed but further probing revealed that CCE is primarily in the form of periodic tests. They have segregated their evaluation into formative and summative assessments. While the JNV conducts tests for both types of assessment (with 30 minutes of activity-based evaluation integrated in the formative assessment) Ashram school conducts formative assessment through homework and project work. They also have weekly, periodic and annual examinations for summative evaluations.

KGBV teachers have not received any specific training for CCE. Though they reported using a variety of methods for assessing progress, it did not come out of any clear evaluation approach. VTLC indicated a wide range of activities such as quizzes, Question & Answer sessions, projects, surveys that they utilise for evaluation; this, out of all schools visited, emerged as the best example of CCE. MSK also mentioned about grouping girls with similar learning charts and integrating evaluation aspects in the lessons itself. Lack of requisite training in CCE, rigid school evaluation systems (e.g. indicating marks for formative assessments based on activities/projects) and lack of initiative to upgrade to newer models of evaluations/assessments also affect the quality of learning as promotions based on written tests promote rote learning. The residential settings also allow the possibility of identifying different potentials of different girls, and nurture that while appreciating the difference, but this was not visible anywhere. Teachers need a very different kind of training to be able to question their own experiences of subordination at personal, educational and professional spaces, and to develop the competence to identify and appreciate the differences, and nurture those.

5.2 Teacher Training and School Support

Teacher training for teachers in residential schools, especially to fulfill the role of fulltime mentors, has to be different from that for the day schools. This becomes even more challenging when it comes to gender perceptions and developing a deeper understanding of equality and equity related issues. A perusal of literature as well as site visits revealed the absence of a comprehensive teacher training strategy except in case of JNVs. In JNVs, teacher training programmes are arranged by the Navodaya Vidyalaya Samiti (NVS)²⁷ which is an autonomous organization under the Department of School Education & Literacy, MHRD. Teachers receive the 21-day induction training on joining. Trainings are organized during holidays and all teachers attend at least one training every year. Training for teachers is given at the regional, cluster and national levels by the Navodaya Leadership Institutes in every region. In addition, the Samiti also collaborate with other leading institutions such as NCERT and the IIMs to organise their training for teachers in JNV (Kumar and Gupta 2008). Teachers mentioned 'classroom management, content enrichment, nature therapy and de-stressing sessions' as some of the topics that figured in these trainings.

The National Policy of Education (NPE) 1986 and the Programme for Action Plan, 1992 accorded priority for establishment of Ashram schools on a large scale. The policy documents favouring Ashram schools expected these to develop a cadre of teachers who are much more aware of the local culture, language, traditions, resources, knowledge, and therefore would understand the pedagogic and developmental requirements of tribal children. However, these intentions do not seem to have been translated completely into reality though some efforts are definitely made. NUEPA 2013 reports that on an average, only about one third teachers in Ashram schools in most states (except in Maharashtra) had received any training on local culture and history. Although

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

majority of teachers reported using local examples in their teaching, one has to interpret the self-reporting with caution. It is not an issue of receiving one-time training but a deeper understanding of respecting diverse cultural practices in the pedagogical practices. The available information does not indicate towards presence of any such example in Ashram schools, not even in Eklavya Model Residential School. Mukhopadhyay's (2005) review of eight Eklavya Model Residential Schools in the states of Gujarat, Karnataka, Rajasthan and West Bengal indicates that 'there was little or no localisation with attention to either content and teaching-learning approaches or to the management of the institutions. As with other government schools, the EMRS were sites for routinised teaching-learning in the conventional classroom methods, but with inadequately trained teachers and poorly paid or part-time principals. In his conclusion, Mukhopadhyay indicates that these EMRS now suffer from 'loss of vision resulting in the trivialization of a beautiful concept into ordinariness, losing the meaning of 'model' school for others to emulate.' (Veerbhadranaika et al (2012))

Teacher training process for KGBV teachers has also lacked a clear approach. Successive JRM and KGBV evaluations reports have pointed out to the need for having a definite and comprehensive teacher development strategy, especially in view of the fact that 'these children come to school with varied experiences and different learning levels' (KGBV Evaluation, 2007). All India Dalit Mahila Adhikar Manch (2014), based on a study of two districts in Bihar, observed instances of discrimination against SC girls, and opined that 'to undo years of socialization that ingrains values of subordination amongst Dalit girls, a highly trained and sensitive cadre of teachers is required'. The limited capacity of DIETs in imparting the needed training has also been highlighted by different sources (All India Dalit Mahila Adhikar Manch, 2014; Kumar and Gupta, 2008; GOI, 2013).

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

While the government programmes largely appear to be fighting the issues related with scale and bureaucracy, some NGOs appear to have developed more comprehensive strategies. Ramchandran (2004) cites the example of teacher training in Doosra Dashak, a short residential programme for four months, to stress the importance of training girls' residential school teachers in a holistic manner. "Four to six full time trainers are given the responsibility for initial teacher training as well as numerous follow-up trainings. Half of these trainers are females. Special training is organized for trainers with the help of Sandhan. It is observed that there is a remarkable difference in participants' capabilities and attitude. There is a deeper understanding of gender issues that helps increase gender sensitivity amongst participants". At VTCL, teachers are sent to the tribal colonies to learn and understand tribal life, so that they can imbibe tribal values in the process of teaching.

VTCL also follows a policy of allocating 7 per cent of working days in an academic year for teacher training.

In some cases, NGOs have successfully been transferred to state programmes such as KGBV. GOI 2013 appreciates CARE's role as a resource agency and working closely with the SSA for training of KGBV teachers and classroom monitoring. CARE borrowed from its experience of Udaan where engagement with teachers has been a continuous process, and the teacher development strategy includes a range of activities starting from village visits to discussions on gender and equity issues, training on content and use of computer, and supportive monitoring. Sandhan's support to selected KGBVs in Rajasthan has also helped in widening the teachers' understanding of varied pedagogical tools. Mahila Samakhya and MSK's training strategy has also impacted KGBV teacher training, especially in states where MS is managing the latter but the approach is largely ad-hoc and lacks the continuous engagement with the issues of gender, learning and empowerment.

The school support system is weak for residential schools. KGBVs are not linked with CRCs and BRCs in most places. This is true even for states where the KGBVs are managed by the SSA, and not by MS or NGOs. GoI (2013b) reported that in states where KGBVs were implemented by the NGOs or the MS, there existed weak coordination between the State SSA offices and these institutions. In states like Bihar, MS organizes meetings of KGBV teachers but such opportunities are also shrinking with increased SSA control and emphasis on homogenous approach.²⁸

Since Ashram Schools are managed and administered by different departments in different states, there is no homogenous system of teacher development. In case of schools supported by the central government, states are responsible for running/administering Ashram Schools and they are required to submit physical and financial progress reports to the Ministry of Tribal Affairs. The emphasis on teacher development seems to be either missing or low. There is a District level Vigilance and Monitoring Committee constituted by the Ministry of Rural Development that also reviews all programmes of the Ministry of Tribal Affairs. While lack of adequate staff restricted the number of field visits by the state officials, states have hardly explored the possibility of engaging parents/community members/village Panchayats in the monitoring process at the village level (GoI, 2013-2014). The focus here is much more on fulfillment of physical and teacher norms rather than on teacher development, as these gaps are high in Ashram schools.

JNV is the only school system to follow a process of academic audit. This is an annual audit of school activities conducted by a team comprising of two to three Principals from the neighbouring JNVs, an Educationist from the State Government and an Officer from the Regional Office. The team reviews in totality the activities conducted through the day. Beginning from the review of morning routine activities, cultural programmes, sports activities, class room activities, lab activities, scouts/guides programmes, are all reviewed by the team.

²⁸As emerged from site visits in Bihar

5.3 Influences beyond academics and schooling

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

In a situation where there is hardly any clear evidence of impact on learning and empowerment, Udaan emerges as one programme that have been studied more systematically using diverse and innovative ways (Ranganathan and Jaimini, 2005; Ranganathan and Singh 2012). These studies credit Udaan curricular and transactional practices with providing a strong scaffolding base which helped to enrich the cognitive abilities and equipped them with psycho-social skills that they need in their life to negotiate their space, take decisions of their life and emerge as future leaders. The impact study of Udaan (CARE-India, 2013) reveals that the daily activities have equipped girls with psycho-social skills that they need in their life to negotiate their space, take decisions of their life and emerge as future leaders. Similarly, Ramachandran 2004 also documents the positive impact of residential ALPs on girls' negotiation skills and aspirations.

Udaan's strategy of community mobilisation through four phases (awareness, participation, involvement and ownership) has been very effective in involving the community members in changing the community's perception on several gender and equity related issues, and also for monitoring the progress of the girls. Beginning with awareness promotion on education of girls through different means, tools like mapping and FGDs are used to facilitate interaction with key stake holders in the community. These interactions also help the implementing team, which also often includes teachers, in understanding the prevalent perceptions and stereotypes in the community. Community seminars are organised where several activities related to gender identity and unequal relations are arranged with the parents and community members; in addition, they are also invited to assess and review the progress of the girls. These seminars have helped in developing greater appreciation of changes that they see in their girls (e.g., questioning, aspirations, negotiation skills) and inculcated a sense of ownership among the community members. Udaan also reports an upward shift in the average marriage age of girls in the main target villages, but this needs to be examined more rigorously. A number of NGOs running residential schools for girls report engaging the community members at all levels and has promoted an attitudinal change towards the education of girl children from their communities (Ekalavya Parivartan Vidyalaya, Vidhyaka Sansad).

M.V. Foundation is another well-known case where community mobilisation has been used alongside education of rescued child labourers in influencing the practice of child labour. They worked with key stake holders, especially those who employ children at work and parents who

send children for work, and use the means of felicitating them in public to declare their outfit – shop or residential apartments or other establishments - being declared child labour free. This puts a moral responsibility on them not to go back in employing children. ‘The involvement of gram panchayat in tracking children and also monitoring the classroom practices and learning outcomes of children has also been useful and accepted by the teachers’ (M.V.Foundation, not-dated)

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

KGBVs allow parents to come and meet their wards once a month and the occasion is used to interact with parents on a number of issues, though the main focus is on the girls’ retention and progress. A common issue is that of marriage: convincing parents not to get their daughters married off before they complete their education. This was an issue that all site schools reported as a major challenge. Girls in all these schools expressed their keen resolve not to get married before they turn 18, and were well-aware of the legal provisions of minimum marriage age. One KGBV in Jharkhand also reported discussing adolescence related issues with parents. These are, however, not necessarily planned interactions with parents. VTLC, on the other hand, uses its monthly meetings with parents for some planned inputs as well. For instance, they organize training on opening bank accounts for parents in the course of monthly meetings, and later also helped them manage those.

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

6: Budget and Expenditure: Norms and Patterns

6.1 Budgets and Norms for different schemes

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

Kumar and Gupta (2008) undertook the exercise of comparing per capita costs for target groups under KGBV and JNV, and found the former to be much less under each budget head (Table 16). They also pointed out that it was not only the lower per unit cost that mattered but also the fact that the kind of detailed planning that exists for JNV costing is not visible in the KGBV costing. A basic cost-expenditure analysis of different government schemes depict that the JNV has the highest budget allocations and per-child expenditure norms despite the fact that they serve a very small proportion of the relevant age-group population. For instance, in 2003, JNVs received more than 40 per cent of the Central Government's outlay on secondary education, yet served less than 1 per cent of students in classes IX-XII (G. Sharma, 2012; Tögel, 2013).

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

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

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

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

Table 16: Budgets of KGBVs and JNVs

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

Source: Reproduced from Kumar and Gupta, EPW, 2008

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

Norms	JNV	KGBV	Ashram Shala (AP)	VTCL	MSK	Udaan
Food	1,200 per student per month for 9 months; 1,800 for those in hard and difficult situations (terrains).	900 per child per month for maintenance which also covered food expenses	750 per child per month for classes 3 to 7; 850 per child per month for classes 8 to 10	627.02 per child per month	1,020 per child per month	1,255,741 for boarding and lodging for 2014 batch, i.e., 1255.74 per student per month
Toiletries/Health-Hygiene items	1,000 per student per year (about 83 for a month)	no separate provision	50 per child per month for boys 75 per child per month for girls	42.73 per child per month	Not available	66,550, i.e. 633.81 per student for the 2013-2014 batch of 105 students
Uniforms/dresses	2,000 per student per year	no separate provision	Not available	1131.53 per child per year	720 per child	no separate provision
TLM/Text books/Stationery	400 per student per year for text books 1,400 (covers stationery, travel, medical, CBSE fees, etc) and 300 for school bags to be provided in classes VI, IX and XI	600 per child per year in Model I 300 per child per year in Model II & III	Not available	976.12 per child per year <i>(including laboratory materials for high school)</i>	780 per child per batch	63,392, i.e. 603.73 per student for the 2013-2014 batch of 105 students
Medical/Contingency	Rs 1,117 per student per year*	750 per child per year	Not available	111.65 per child per year	18,000 per batch, i.e. 514.28 per child	11,550, i.e. 110 per student for the 2013-2014 batch of 105 students
Sports	200 per student per year	no separate provision	Not available	228.74 per child per year	no separate provision	10,000, i.e. 95.23 per student for the 2013-2014 batch of 105 students

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

Sources:

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

We updated and extended the comparison of norms for recurrent expenditure to five different schemes: three formal school systems and two ALPs, one in state and one in non-state sector. It clearly emerges that JNV has the highest per student norms in most cases (Table 17). KGBV has the lowest allocation for food and maintenance, and no separate provision for sports, co-curricular activities and excursions. This goes against the very basic conceptualization of KGBVs as the ALPs that contributed to the evolution of KGBV model have such provisions. VTLC, MSK and Udaan have separate allocations for co-curricular activities; VTLC and Udaan also have allocations for sports, and in addition Udaan also has allocations for the community seminar. These three also have separate provisions for spending on follow-up activities with the students who have completed the course. These reflect a more comprehensive planning and budgeting as against what exist for KGBVs. The MTA funded Ashram schools also have very poor budget norms when compared with the JNV. Most NGO funded residential schools have budgets in the range of what 12000 to 25000 per student per year. Out of these, VTCL is the only one that collects a nominal fee of Rs 10 per month from non-resident children and Rs 15 to 20 from resident scholars.

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

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

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

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

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

Table 19: Annual Expenditure in Jawahar Navodaya Vidyalayas

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

Source: [http://www.nvshq.org/display_page.php?page=Budgetper cent20andper cent20Accounts;](http://www.nvshq.org/display_page.php?page=Budgetper%20andper%20Accounts;)
30.06.2014

Table 20: Funds Released for KGBV 2008-09 to 2013-14

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

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

The Government of India spends nearly 1,600 crores annually on JNV, which is an entirely union government funded scheme (Table 18). As against this, the allocations have been smaller and much more erratic for the KGBV, which support a much higher number of schools (Table 18). KGBV is a centrally sponsored scheme with 65:35 sharing pattern between Centre and states. However, an area of concern for KGBVs has been the low utilisation rate. For instance, the average utilisation rate for the country as a whole against total allocation was only 45 per cent in 2011-12 (Annexure II). The utilisation rates were as low as 9 and 4 per cent in Gujarat and Haryana respectively followed by about 25 per cent in Bihar. The irony is that the KGBVs on the ground report paucity of funds to carry out activities while allocations remain unused due to a

variety of procedural and bureaucratic reasons. GOI 2013 noted various reasons for the flow of funds being slow: delay in submission of utilisation certificates by the states, delay in contributing state shares and the way in which states distributed funds received from the GoI between the various components. The evaluation has also been critical of financial control resting in the hands of District SSA office and lamented on the weak system of audits.

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

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

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

The information on budget and expenditure for Ashram and other residential schools coming from Social and Tribal Welfare departments are incomplete as bulk of this comes from state governments. Attachment I gives some idea about funds for this purpose in a few states. Even the central government fund is divided under different schemes and it is difficult to separate those meant for residential schools alone. Ashram Schools in Tribal Sub Plan areas partly draw their funds from the Ministry of Tribal Affairs, who has been allocating in the range of 40 to 75 crores annually for establishment of Ashram schools. The fund sharing pattern for Ashram schools established under this scheme are shown in Table 21. If any state is unable to meet its share for the establishment of Ashram Schools, 'any MP/MLA can provide the state's share from his/her MPLADS/MLALADS funds'. Additionally, financial assistance in the pattern of 50:50 is being provided for non-recurring items of expenditure like furniture and library books. Studies have recommended that the Centre should finance the recurring costs, as the burden on the states has led to poor management, lack of basic facilities and acute shortage of teachers among others. Review Committee (GoI, 2013-2014) had also noted that states were unable to run Ashram Schools well due to the lack of sufficient funds.

The Ministry of Tribal Affairs finances EMRS in the states under Article 275(1) of the Indian Constitution. The funds under this Article are allocated to states to assist their efforts in promoting the welfare of STs in that state or improving the level of administration of Scheduled Areas in the said State. Since implementation of the RTE, EMRS have been required to follow the prescribed norms for establishing the school buildings. Other specifics in terms of layout and structure are provided in the guidelines updated in 2010 (GoI, 2010b). But the budget figures provide only the total sum allocated under this Article; the break up for the schemes that are supported through these funds is not available in public domain. The guidelines estimate the non-recurring cost for a school complex at Rs 12 crores (can go up to Rs 16 crores in hilly areas; additional expenses must be borne by the State Governments) and recurring cost per child at Rs 42,000.

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

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

7: Some Good Practices and Emergent Principles

The residential school programmes across the country have indeed thrown a number of challenges and concerns but alongside several good practices also emerge showing enough promise for adoption and adaptation both in India and elsewhere, especially in developing countries with similar contexts. This section analyses these practices using the same framework of inquiry that has guided the research. One word of caution here is about the authenticity of results: the lack of external, rigorous evaluations in most cases makes it difficult to establish the claims made; self-reported claims are not necessarily untrue but it is difficult to establish the validity. The analysis presented here is mindful of this reality and the focus is on practices that have either been validated through evaluation or have been commented positively by diverse and multiple sources.

7.1 Reach: How to overcome 'elite capture'

Considering that residential schools are relatively high-cost exercises, especially in a situation where the differences between day-schools and residential schools are wide, and the demand for alternative allocations within the school sector is also high, it becomes imperative to ensure that residential schools are reaching the most needy and deserving. As stated earlier, the issue of 'elite capture' has often been raised in the context of JNV and KGBV meaning that these are not necessarily getting the most needy; those who are more 'powerful' get the access. In that context, some of the practices that seem to ensure better targeting are identified as good practices.

Some NGOs have identified specific communities and have worked only with them. For instance, Eklavya Parivartan Vidyalaya is a residential school initiated by the organisation named Vidhayak Sansad where girls from Katkari tribal community in rural areas of Thane district (Maharashtra) come; girls from this community commonly work as a balgi (caretaker for younger siblings or a landlord's children) and as gowari (cattle herder). The reports suggest that the girls here not only become literate but are also made aware of their rights as citizens as a result of the residential schooling. Another example is comes from the residential school programme of Nari Gunjan in Bihar that works with adolescent girls from Musahar community that is categorised as Mahadalit, the lowest within the Dalit community. Victims of untouchability, acute deprivation, discrimination, exploitation, violence and sexual harassment, their struggle for survival makes education a lesser priority for girls in this community. Once at the Nari Gunjan's hostel, the girls take part in a regimented schedule incorporating education, exercise, fun and lessons about living a healthy and more fulfilling lifestyle. This means that focusing on one or two known deprived groups ensures reach to the most needy.

Certain MSKs and Mahila Samakhya run KGBVs have also attempted to focus on specific focus groups. For instance, the MSKs in Bihar decided to focus on those girls who are physically challenged and identified a number of such girls in a particular year. The training also focused more on those issues that year. MS run KGBVs in a number of states have also used their own network to zero in on more deprived communities within the block, and then convince the

parents to send the girls using the means of women collectives. MS run KGBVs in Andhra Pradesh have used detailed micro planning to identify the drop outs. A number of evaluations have pointed out that the representation of drop-outs and more needy ones is better in MS run KGBVs. This reinforces that focusing on one or two communities / specific groups helps. However, the operationalization of such an approach presupposes the presence of a localised network with deep penetration and credibility in the area: mahila samooch (women's collectives) in case of MS and NGOs' own relationship and groups in their areas of work make such an approach possible. Those eager to borrow the good practice should also be mindful of this precondition.

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

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

Ensuring both academic rigour and building-in experiences that help girls overcome their socialization as well as allows them to develop an alternative world view, fills them with aspirations of a transformed life and gives them confidence to explore the opportunities is an important objective of residential schools for girls coming from deprived contexts. MSKs and to an extent MS run KGBVs in some states have been successful in building in the elements of empowerment but have sometimes been questioned on the issue of academic rigour. On the other hand, some government run programmes such as JNV and also NGO run programmes/schools such as VTLC have been relatively more focused on academics but lacked the emphasis on addressing gender issues and relations. The NGOs such as Nirantar, and the programmes like Udaan and to an extent Doosra Dashak have relatively been better credited with combining the two though certain academic elements have been identified as being weak. A perusal of all together throws the following principles and practices as being critical ones for success; some can be integrated at policy level while others are a matter of institutional shifts and more creative planning for implementation:

a. Integrated curriculum planning with consideration for both academics and empowerment: It is very clear that unless these are planned and executed in an integrated fashion, both remain weak. For instance, Udaan curriculum integrated Social Learning as a subject alongside Language, Mathematics and Environmental Science, and developed those in close contact with each other; one was not delinked from the other – if water as a theme was being covered in Social Learning, it was not repeated in EVS in the same manner. While in Social Learning, the discussions went around sources of water, its use, distribution and access with various socio-economic-religious-gender dimensions, EVS piggybacked by introducing some elements of its constitution, purity and related aspects. Language made use of this by taking examples from the

same theme for its exercises of communications and Mathematics too included problems that could be linked to water. This allowed faster learning in all the subjects while also building a perspective that takes the various dimensions of inequality into account; water is not only an issue of science but also of society and with skewed access.

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

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

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

d. Teacher training and support -- well-planned and reflective of the integrated curriculum planning: Another good practice that emerged as a precondition to success is well-planned and well-conceived teacher training strategies, largely visible in NGO run and supported programmes (e.g., Udaan, Doosra Dashak, Shivir). The experiences suggest that it also helps to have both men and women trainers. Certain common principles that emerge are: (i) teacher training should be continuous and evolving rather than one time and fixed, e.g., experiences show that teachers were better equipped in places where a group of trainers interacted

frequently with teachers and the training focused on both pre-planned contents and issues that teachers wanted to discuss. If required, they changed the training plan to address the teachers' needs; (ii) the content should include academics, empowerment/relational and management aspects as all these are critical in a residential school; (iii) one of the best ways of training teachers is to have the training processes (organisation, classroom interactions, activities, interpersonal relation between the trainer and teachers, etc.) indicative of what is expected from teachers in the school, e.g., if trainers are very hierarchical in their behavior with teachers, the teachers cannot be non-hierarchical in their classrooms, and (iv) teachers who understand the contexts of girls make better teachers; a number of NGOs and also MS run KGBVs make teachers visit the areas from where the girls are coming to the residential school and then reflect on the observations; it helps them to understand the context and in establishing a relationship with both parents and students.

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

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

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

A number of management practices clearly emerge as good practices:

a. Involving children in school-management through well-planned processes and structure: This is a common and very useful exercise that most schools follow albeit in different ways. A number of students committees are constituted either through election or allocation for various purposes (library, cleaning, food, health, sports, etc.) and the responsibilities are usually rotated. The effectiveness varies but the practice is universally acknowledged as important in contributing to the child's learning, promoting the equality-related values and in better managing the school. Elections help in inculcating the sense of responsibility and democratic values, and a better understanding of democracy as an institution. Rotation is also important and if managed well it ensures that all children get an opportunity to get involved in all kinds of jobs, and it also plays a role in breaking social barriers (e.g., upper caste children cleaning toilets and lower caste children managing the library). In co-educational institutions, rotation helps in breaking the gender stereotypes.

b. Presence of clear norms for infrastructure, food and other entitlements based on established standards: Presence of infrastructural, food and other norms based on established standards and requirements (e.g., nutritional levels of adolescent girls) in JNV has helped in maintaining the quality of life of students. This is a policy initiative and hence not subject to variation and varied interpretation. It is important to add here that presence of such norms and standards does not necessarily mean promotion of homogeneity; presence of freedom of speech does not mean that everyone say the same thing. In the same manner presence of nutritional standards based food norms does not mean everyone is served the same thing; if JNV in Karnataka chooses to serve Ragi, a commonly eaten nutritious cereal there, the JNV in Punjab chooses to serve wheat. What it ensures is that students everywhere get a minimum of nutritional requirements and there is no compromise on that.

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

7.4 Engaging with and Influencing the Community

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

7.5 Ensuring Adequate Costs for all Relevant Activities

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

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

Table 22: An overview of Good Practices

SN	Criterion	Indicators	Nature of Good Practice	Programme	Impact
1.	Reach	(a) Representation of girls from marginalised communities	(i) Enrolment of girls from the most marginalised communities	(1) KGBVs (managed by Mahila Samakhya) (2) Eklavya Parivartan Vidyalaya (3) Nari Gunjan	Ensuring access to education to girls from the most needy sections of the communities
2.	Curriculum /Teaching Learning	(a) Ensuring both academic rigour and empowerment	(i) Support from Resource Agencies for academic support across various KGBVs ¹	(1) Sandhan (Rajasthan) (2) CARE India (Uttar Pradesh and Gujarat) (3) Mahila Samkhya (Bihar) (4) Nirantar (Uttar Pradesh)	Promotes use of library books, development of newsletters, organization of games and exposure visits in teaching and learning; support and train teachers and SSA functionaries in assessment of students' learning competencies, development and adoption of a multi-level teaching strategy, use of multiple texts, library, addressing health issues and creative aspects such as music, dance, drawing, theatre as a part of the curriculum
			(ii) Inter-KGBV competitions ¹	(1) KGBVs (e.g., Himachal Pradesh, Jharkhand)	Contributes to confidence-building and acts as a platform to showcase individual and group skills
			(iii) Special bridging materials and supplementary workbooks designed	(1) KGBVs (e.g., Andhra Pradesh, Gujarat)	Acts as accelerated learning for dropped-out girls
			(iv) Integrated curriculum planning	(1) Udaan (2) MSK (3) Nirantar	Udaan curriculum integrated Social Learning as a subject. Nirantar and MSKs offer good examples of practices such as using girls/women's own life histories and narratives to build various skills.
			(v) Non-stereotypical vocational training	(1) MSK (2) Selected KGBVs	MSKs and some KGBVs have introduced skill development courses in areas that are otherwise not commonly offered to girls: mechanic, plumbing, etc. The KGBV tie-up with NIOS for vocational training.
			(vi) Teacher Training and support	(1) NGO-run and supported programmes (2) MS-run KGBV	Teachers who understand the contexts of girls make better teachers.
			(vii) Qualified and trained	(1) JNV	Qualified and trained teachers helps in maintaining

			teachers		the clear focus on academic rigour.
SN	Criterion	Indicators	Nature of Good Practice	Programme	Impact
3.	Management	(a) Using management experiences for enhancing learning	(a) Involving children in school-management through well planned process and structure	Common in both state and NGO run schools	A number of students committees are constituted either through election or allocation for various purposes (library, cleaning, food, health, sports, etc.) and the responsibilities are usually rotated.
			(ii) Presence of clear norms for infrastructure, food and other entitlements based on established standards	(1) JNV	It ensures is that students everywhere get a minimum of nutritional requirements.
			(iii) Provision of Computers and Solar Panels ¹	(1) KGBVs in Rajasthan	Encourages computer-aided learning and ensures consistent supply of electricity
			(iv) Making their own sanitary napkins	(1) KGBVs in Andhra Pradesh	Reinforces values of hygiene and develops vocational skills
			(i) Kitchen management by girls	(1) Udaan	Builds managerial and leadership skills as well as ensures nutrition awareness and ownership of the programme
			(ii) Presence of some free time in daily timetable	(1) MSK (2) Udaan (3) Shivar	Used for chatting, dancing, playing and facilitates friendships and discussing various issues.
		(b) Safety and Security	(i) Safe toilet and bathing facilities: pit, flush or open field toilets and close door, temporary makeshift space to open spaces for bathing	(1) Udaan (2) MV Foundation (3) Doosra Dashak (4) Mahila Shikshan Kendra (5) Some KGBVs (6) JNVs	Enhances knowledge and practice of cleanliness, hygiene and builds confidence

SN	Criterion	Indicators	Nature of Good Practice	Programme	Impact
4.	Influence	(a) Transforming influence on community	(i) Local upper primary school Parents' Teachers Association managing the associated KGBV	(1) KGBVs in Madhya Pradesh	Reflects the community engagement and commitment towards girls education
			(ii) Visible changes in girls' personality led to changes in perspectives of family and community members	(1) Udaan	Many social changes, like a reduction in family size, more patronage to girls education, enhancement in the age of marriage for girls, resistance to dowry in some cases, women now being more expressive and outspoken etc. were also attributed to the Udaan impact. The importance of cleanliness and leading an organised life were also perceived as significant family learning from Udaan.
		(b) Influence on girls	(i) Gender orientation and perspective on holistic education	(1) Balika Shikshan Shivir (2) Udaan (3) Mahila Shikshan Kendra (4) VTLC	Influences empowerment of girls
5.	Cost effectiveness	(a) Adequate costs assigned for different activities	(i) Adequate costs for various academic, sports and extra-curricular activities is assigned	(1) JNV (2) Udaan (3) VTLC	Core requirement for the overall development of the girls

8: International experiences of Residential Schooling

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

8.1 Examples from Asia

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

8.1.1 Vietnam

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

Intervention: The Asian Development Bank's **Lower Secondary Education for the Most Disadvantaged Regions Project**, was an intervention to promote girls education in Vietnam (ADB, 2007). Approved in 2007, the project aimed at improving the net enrolment rate in lower secondary education, particularly for ethnic minorities and girls through its boarding school initiative, in 103 of the most disadvantaged districts in 17 targeted provinces (ADB, 2007). The report shows that boarding facilities has helped increased girls' access to lower secondary schools. The construction of schools and classrooms in remote areas provided opportunities for girls to enroll in secondary schools closer to their homes, without having to travel far and worry about their safety. In areas where students still have to travel far to reach their schools, one of

the strategies for improving girls' and minorities' access to education was the establishment of boarding schools.

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

Impact: Though the project addressed several issues impeding girls' education, the semi-boarding facilities for girls has been the most pivotal in contributing to girls' education. Girls residing in the boarding facilities have shown tremendous improvements in their overall learning achievements. In semi-boarding facilities, especially those in mountainous and remote areas, girls are now becoming empowered through education and much more encouraged to go to school because of the safety and girl-friendly environment of boarding schools. As the study shows, conversations with parents indicates positive attitudinal change towards secondary education for daughters, and increasing acceptance of semi-boarding for girls which they see as essential for their female children empowerment and education. Mothers explained that educated women who speak Vietnamese are less dominated by men in families, and viewed education as important for their daughters. Some parent-teacher associations (PTAs) are proactively mobilizing community support to families with daughters at risk of drop-out (ADB, 2007).

8.1.2 Nepal

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

(i) Socio-cultural barriers: Social and cultural beliefs, practices and attitudes often do not favour girls in their pursuit of education to the same extent as boys. Discriminatory values and norms against girls and women are deeply rooted in Nepali culture and society. The incidence of poverty is acute in rural areas, where the majority of the population lives.

(ii) Economic barriers: Poverty discourages families from sending their children to school. Schooling requires a substantial commitment of time and resources, as well as sacrifices related to household production.

(iii) Psychological barriers: Schools are not always girl-friendly. They do not protect girls' privacy and safety and do not meet cultural expectations. As girls become older, having separate

latrine facilities in school is essential. Most schools in Nepal do not provide separate latrine arrangements for girls. The studies also seem to suggest that where private toilet facilities are not available at school, the majority of young girls, especially at the secondary level, do not attend school during menstruation.

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

Intervention: The Asian Development Bank (ADB) designed the ***Secondary Education Support Project***, Co-financed by the Danish International Development Agency and the Government of Nepal to address these daunting challenges affecting girl child education in Nepal. According to the Bank's report, the project built 190 secondary schools in Nepal's poorest districts, added 200 classrooms to existing schools, and developed new textbooks and other training materials designed to make the curriculum more relevant and responsive to current market needs. In addition, 60,000 student scholarships were awarded, two-thirds of which went to girls from poor backgrounds, dalits or 'untouchables', and minorities. Student hostels in mountainous and other high-poverty areas were provided to address issues of distance and safety. Ten "feeder hostels" were built in poor areas to accommodate girls attending any secondary school in the area while seven existing girls' hostels in mountainous areas were renovated (ADB, 2013). All of which were in furtherance to the project's aim of prioritizing girls education and empowerment. In the boarding facilities, especially those boarding facilities in mountainous regions of the country, special gender specific programmes were formulated and organized to mainstream girls into economic activities. The girls are been taught by mostly female teachers who also serve as role models. Some of the girls took training in animal husbandry, cooking, art and crafting, etc. to improve their social and economic development.

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

Most of the girls, many of whom are adolescent in one village, are opting to start up their own income generating activities based on the skill sets acquired from the program (ADB, 2013). For example, in Parsa district where one of the project's boarding facility is situated, the promotion rate of girls increased to 84.3 percent from 56.6 percent. Around 28 percent growth on promotion was achieved also. Furthermore, qualifications standards for teachers were established to maintain quality of teaching. Scholarships for management training were also

provided to female teachers from disadvantaged communities while special rental allowances were arranged for teachers to stay nearer to the school.

8.2 African Experiences in Residential Schooling for girls

8.2.1 Kenya

Several countries in East Africa have set up special boarding schools, some specifically targeting girls. In Kenya, the Christian denominations controlled 75 percent of schools as late as 1955 (Kratli, 2001). Kratli explains that during the 1970s, Kenya set up the Remote Areas Boarding Programme (RABP) to provide education through low-cost boarding schools. However, the schools were flooded by non-poor students, and the poor and indigenous communities did not participate.

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

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

Intervention by FAWE: FAWE adopted the use of Tuseme philosophy (Tuseme is a Swahili word, meaning "let's speak out") in Centers of Excellence (COE) as a way for girls to identify factors that lead to their social and academic marginalization and to be actively involved in finding solutions. It is a process meant to train girls to express their views openly on matters that affect their personal, academic, and social development, and to learn to actively take part in finding solutions to those matters (FAWE, 2006). Tuseme utilizes a human rights-based approach to promote inclusive and persuasive gender responsive discourse in girls' education. According to Mlama (2005), Tuseme is "designed to enable girls to understand the gender construct of the society they live in, to identify and analyze the emergent problems and how they hinder their academic and social development, to speak out about the problems, and take action to solve them" (Mlama, 2005).

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

Impact: The COE serves as a safe haven for girls from different backgrounds, including those rescued from pre-arranged marriages and female genital mutilation. For poor, nomadic communities with entrenched practices of early marriages and poor communities support for

girls education, the center has maintained high retention of girls, rescued 52 girls from early marriage, 12 of whom are reconciled with their families, girls school results have increased from 65 per cent to 85 per cent, local chiefs participate in workshops and are actively involved in advocacy for girls' education. In the wake of such achievements, the government of Kenya has requested FAWE to replicate its Center of Excellence in two other districts, Athwana, and Meru (Diaw, 2008). In the COEs, guidance and counseling desks are established and various workshops and training are undertaken to impart life skills such as leadership, assertiveness, decision making, and critical thinking. As the result of this, girls' empowerment has been visible through improved academic performance. In Kajido district, for example, the average scores on national exams improved from 66 per cent in 2000 to 75 per cent in 2002. In 1997, 67 per cent girls passed while in 2001 the number went up to 85 per cent. By 2003, 100 per cent of the girls from Kajido COE went to secondary school (FAWE, 2006).

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

8.2.2 Rwanda

In Rwanda, 97 per cent of girls go to primary school, but less than 13 per cent attend upper secondary school. Secondary school capacity is very limited, so only those with the highest test scores are able to attend. Even for a bright girl who is qualified to attend, she may face obstacles to success and graduation, including household responsibilities and safety concerns (Huggins & Randell, 2007). The societal effects of girls receiving educational opportunities are widespread: increased educational opportunities, positively affect the economic earnings and productivity of the girl as she reaches adulthood, increases the health of both herself and her children, and is a key component to ending the cycle of poverty (Diaw, 2008).

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

Intervention: By virtue of the academy's focus, girls are the main stakeholders that the academy is trying to reach. A variety of activities are designed to empower girls to effectively participate in education and development. Designing a curriculum that addresses on-the-ground realities and investing in extracurricular activities that set the tone for girls' independence and empowerment has been the academy's priority. The institution's focus on girls as a target audience has helped to ensure that attention is paid to the problems that affect girls, while also benefitting the entire school community. The Gashora Girls Academy approach has also ensured that all girls are part and parcel of the empowerment processes on a continual basis. On this

note, the academy has helped in educating and empowering Rwandan girls by encouraging them to continue their education even after secondary levels through its girls' boarding school initiative that emphasizes gender equity and social justice for girls' empowerment.

Impact: As the result of Gashora academy intervention, it is believed that the Gashora sector has seen tremendous change in girls' participation and empowerment. RGI (2010) report shows that the academy has a 83 per cent improvement in O-level national exams compare to 0.2 per cent before the program, 99 per cent reduction in sexual harassment, and 86 per cent improvement in end-of-year school exams compare to 37 per cent before the school's intervention. Also, girls are more assertive and responsive to societal issues that impede their access to education and are more aware of their rights (RGI, 2010). Furthermore, girls now participate in community programmes and help proficiently in their homes without any coercion. In addition to offering high quality college-prep academics, the Gashora Girls Academy is focused on addressing the needs of the "whole girl" and eliminating the impediments that exist to her receiving an education. The girls are provided mental and emotional support, access to healthcare, and a supportive learning environment with optimal conditions for assuring their future success.

8.2.3 Malawi

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

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

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

Intervention and Impact: AGE Africa three-pronged approach enables disadvantaged young women to attend and finish secondary school and to pursue opportunities beyond high school by equipping them with all the resources, knowledge, and awareness they need to succeed. Through its scholarships, extra-curricular programs, and post-secondary support strategies, the organization addresses the most prevalent causes of drop out of girls through its boarding school initiative. as the result of the institution's strategies of enhancing education for young Malawian girls, it has made efforts in delaying early marriage; 39 per cent of AGE alumnae have gotten married at a median age of 20 years, compared to 85.8 per cent of women age 20-24 who were married at a median age of 18, reducing early childbirth by age 20, only 17 per cent of AGE scholars are mothers, compared to 65 per cent of 20-year-old women in Malawi who have begun childbearing.

Also, for finishing secondary school; 88 per cent of AGE scholars finish all four years of secondary school, compared to just 8 per cent nationwide, in improving post-secondary transitions, 74 per cent of AGE Africa's alumnae are pursuing higher education, have wage-based employment, or are engaged in small businesses that put their income well above the poverty line (>\$2/day); and finally, on serving as leaders and role models, nearly 90 per cent of AGE participants feel they are a role model in their village, an increase from just 65 per cent who felt this way before participating. Almost 100 per cent said they now feel comfortable standing up to their families, compared to just 20 per cent who felt this way before (USAID, 2010).

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

Table 23: Mapping International Experiences of Residential Schooling for girls

Country	Programme	Year	Objectives	Activities	Reach	Impact	Good Practices
Vietnam (Asia)	Lower Secondary Education for the Most Disadvantaged Regions project	2007	To improve Net Enrolment Ratio in lower secondary education*, particularly for ethnic minorities and girls	Boarding schools established in 103 disadvantaged districts in 7 provinces identified	About 45.5 per cent of the girls in these provinces were staying in the semi-boarding facilities	(i) Increase in access to schooling system (ii) Livelihood skills training (iii) Attitudinal changes towards secondary education of girls (iv) Acceptance of boarding facilities (v) Involvement of Parents in mobilising community for enrolling girls	(a) Self-initiated gender responsive management system (e.g girls in new boarding facilities)
Nepal (Asia)	Secondary Education Support Project	2003	To prioritise girls' education and empowerment	(i) Student hostels for girls in mountainous regions and high poverty regions (ii) Feeder hostels for those in secondary schools (iii) Existing hostels also revamped.	10 feeder hostels in 2013; 7 existing hostels renovated	(i) Mainstreaming girls in economic activities (ii) Improvement in school performance of girls (iii) Positive shifts in perceptions about girls in intervention areas	(a) Minimum educational qualification for teachers maintained (b) Scholarships for management training for female teachers from disadvantaged communities (c) Special rental allowances for teachers

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

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

9. Conclusions and Suggestions

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

8.1 Major Conclusions

Types of residential schools

Nearly 3 per cent of girls'²⁹ total enrolment at elementary level is enrolled in residential schools in India. These schools are spread all over India though the concentration of schools is higher in states with high ST, SC and Muslim concentration. A mapping of existing residential schools reveals that these have largely evolved out of the four main trajectories and therefore can be grouped under four categories:

(i) Boarding schools focusing on academic excellence: The number of unaided private residential schools with affiliation to several boards including international ones, and charging high fee is reported to have gone up in recent years though there is no definite data available. DISE data indicates towards this sector being much larger than what is believed to be, but it needs further investigation and validation. JNV and EMRS are publicly funded schemes based on this philosophy but aimed at reaching children who otherwise do not have access to such schools; rural children from all social and economic groups in case of JNV, and tribal girls and boys in case EMRS. These are well-funded schools with major allocations from respective ministries in the Union Government and cover a small proportion of children, and even smaller proportion of girls, enrolled in residential schools.

(ii) Residential schools in the 'Ashram' tradition: These are Ashram and other schools started largely for ST and SC children, and are present in large numbers in both State and non-State sectors. Non-State sector schools are largely in the NGO sector and funded either by various Grants-in-aid schemes existing at union and state levels, or by other sources including national and international foundations / agencies, or both. Ashram schools in NGO/private sector are varied in their

²⁹ Please refer to the table in Annexure III for calculations

orientation and at one end include those experimenting with the learning and evaluation approaches while at the other end, include those that are mainly guided by the objective of bringing the tribals under the Hindu fold. Public schools are Ashram schools present in large number and funded by both state and union governments. The number of schools and enrolment in this category is one of the highest among all kinds of residential schools. Ashram schools have also emerged as an important and fast growing strategy for 'safe and secure places' for children, especially girls in conflict areas, i.e., naxalite areas.

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

(iv) Madrassas: A large number of residential madrassas exist in certain states with high Muslim concentration. These include both recognized and unrecognized ones; while the former is obliged to use the prescribed curriculum from a recognised school board in addition to the religious teaching, it is not necessary for the latter, which can remain confined to religious teaching. Recognised madrassas can access public funds through grants in aid schemes funded by both Union and state governments. Madrassas access their funding through the grants-in-aid schemes as well as, national and international foundations. The enrolment is high in certain areas, and girls constitute about 45 per cent of total enrolment in the madrassas.

Reaching girls from disadvantaged sections

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

The incidences of artificially creating a 'dropout' situation by deliberately forcing the girl to stay away from schooling to be eligible for KGBV, has apparently been high and common. This is not a new trend; a large number of affirmative action strategies, including scholarships, reservation of seats in educational institutions and in government jobs, have also been observed to be cornered by better informed and better resourced, i.e., elite capture. The responsibility of developing clear mechanisms and processes to ensure that the schemes reach the intended target rests with the

policy planners and programme implementers. However, it is also important to realise that at the ground level where everyone is deprived and power relationships are unequal, it is not easy for schools to separate 'the most deprived'. It is, therefore, important to build 'filters' that are more reliable and easy to implement rather than blame the schools for 'faulty application' of criteria for identification. There are examples of NGOs and MS run schools that successfully evolved ways to identify the most needy, and lessons can be learnt from those in devising ways to counter the 'elite capture' being witnessed elsewhere.

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

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

The funding norms and provisions for different publicly funded residential schooling schemes are very different from each other, and this reflects the lack of appreciation for equity and excellence goals to be embedded in each other, rather than be viewed as separate and distinct from each other. The quality of life and learning in residential schools is highly dependent on the physical facilities, food, safety measures, quality of teachers and the teacher-child relationship. How sports, leisure and co-curricular activities are managed and integrated, and how academic rigour is ensured in both academic and vocational streams determine the quality of extended and diverse learning opportunities that make residential schooling a more effective strategy. All these, in turn, are dependent on adequate financial allocations and provisions for all such activities that strengthen the learning experiences.

What emerges is that not only the cost and budget norms for per child spending are much higher in JNV as compared to Ashram or KGBV but also that the provisions for certain aspects such as excursions and travel, something that can enhance the learning experiences, are absent in the latter two. Budget norms for food, medical and other basic necessities are also lower in KGBV and Ashram schools. All these result into a high Per Student Expenditure in JNV. The teachers in JNV are highly qualified and highly paid as comparison to both Ashram and KGBV schools. The salary levels in

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

KGBVs vary from one state to the other but in most cases it is much lower than what teachers usually receive in in state schools, Ashram schools or in JNVs. The norms for various elements in Ashram schools including teachers are also not uniform across the states. EMRS is an exception to Ashram schools as it is modeled after JNV.

This difference in cost and budget norms clearly establishes the difference with which different strategies are viewed and treated. While the schemes like KGBV and Ashram schools are aimed at the equity goal, the quality or excellence goal is neglected, and hence the provisions are minimal. Therefore, though KGBVs and Ashram schools are successful in giving some educational opportunities to girls and boys from disadvantaged groups, and perhaps offer a life with access to better living conditions in terms of food, sports and leisure as compared to what they would have received at home, these are still not adequate in providing a full range of opportunities that would ensure better quality of life, and greater rigour in learning experiences. The norms for food and other related needs should be based on standards defined by age appropriate nutritional and developmental needs, which is obviously not the case. Varied norms imply that the policy itself under-privileges girls, and more so when they are from disadvantaged sections.

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

Whether safe, secure and enabling

All residential schools have provisions for pucca buildings and basic facilities but available feedback emphasise the need for improving the access to clean drinking water and sanitation facilities, and for increased attention to safety and security, especially in the context of KGBVs and Ashram schools. JNV is the only system with the presence of a safety protocol but in absence of any evaluation, it is difficult to comment on the real practice. Going by media reports in different states, safety of girls is an important issue in Ashram schools. The need for a detailed and clear protocol on safety and security is essential for residential school for girls. It is even more important for Ashram schools in conflict zones.

The daily life and the whole school environment, despite the issues related with low-budgets for food, sanitation and limited resources, has turned out to be somewhat enabling in KGBV because of the very design and relationships. The experience of living together with peer, with space for sports, play, excursions, leisure, music, dance and access to nutritious food and other facilities have enabled aspirations and desires for further education. Teacher student relationship also appears to be caring and has enabled trust. This may not be universally true but by all accounts seems to be largely true to a varying degree. The available information on JNV indicates towards a very strict,

rigid focus on discipline that makes the teacher child relationship also somewhat distant and not necessarily based on trust. Information is very sporadic for Ashram, making it difficult to have any conclusion.

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

Learning and Empowerment of girls: Unclear and uneven

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

Although KGBV evolved out of success of ALPs, the curricular and transactional practices do not come across as, as intense and clearly defined as they are for the ALPs. On the contrary, the kinds of vocational courses conducted in most KGBVs and the way these are executed without any questioning indicate absence of any clear focus on developing alternative gender norms and perceptions through transformational experiences. Poorly paid, poorly trained and poorly provided for teachers with heavy teaching and non-teaching responsibilities in KGBV generally translate themselves into absence of academic rigour. There are exceptions but exceptions do not make the norms. There is some difference between MS run and SSA run KGBVs in some states where the focus on developing an alternative gender image is more visible in the former. Having said that, it is also important to add that despite these criticisms, KGBVs have been often been also credited with being better than average public school in terms of girls learning as well as empowerment levels.

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

The scale makes schemes rigid and diffused in focus

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Whether residential schooling is at all desirable at a tender age

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

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

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

8.2 Major Suggestions and Pointers for Future Research

8.2.1 Strengthening Data and Information Base

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

1. Creating a Bank of all existing information from diverse sources: This involves collecting information pertaining to all schemes and initiatives that fund and support residential schools in any form. The details of spread and coverage, funding norms, expenditure patterns – all need to be collected and processed in a user friendly manner with details of sources, and placed in the public domain. The right to information becomes much more meaningful if accompanied by voluntary disclosure of information on issues that are important for public policy related discussions and choices. This bank could also include the existing documentations and evaluations of all related programmes including those on ALPs.

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

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

8.2.2 Funding and supporting Research and Evaluative studies

The absence of a credible evidence base for residential schooling is one of the weakest links in undertaking any deep analysis. Credible evidences can be created only when high-quality, well-designed research and evaluation studies are carried out. Reliable research and evaluations are as important for formulating policy decisions as for adding to the knowledge base. The need for carrying out formal evaluations of schemes such as JNV, Ashram and KGBV, following experimental and quasi experimental designs and using innovative methods, is urgent. A comparative, field based research on different kinds of residential schools for their philosophy, functioning, budgeting, reach and impact on learning and empowerment, covering a few Indian states, would be of immediate use and relevance. Gender can be an important marker for such a research.

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

8.2.3 The need for a Vision and a Comprehensive Policy on residential schools

At present, there is no clear vision and comprehensive policy on residential schools backed by any clear thought and rationale. Different schemes emerged at different points of time in history and

followed different trajectories of evolution. It is important to take a look, review, reflect and develop a clear vision comprehensive policy based on clear conceptual framework. The policy should also be able to provide clear pointers towards essential elements and non-negotiable features of any residential schooling programme: this can then act as a guide for the state and private players and help in developing their schemes and initiatives accordingly.

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

8.2.4 Interim Institutional Measures

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

a. Defining Essential Quality Parameters for safe, secure and enabling built and social environments: No generic protocol or guidelines exist on standards for residential schools in India; every scheme has its own guidelines. Every document talks about quality and monitoring but none defines quality or gives indicators of quality in terms of infrastructure and social environment of residential schools. It would help to develop a set of protocol and essential parameters that can serve as a ready reckoner for all relevant purposes.³² A negative list of what are the unacceptable practices with in-built redressal provisions should also be developed as part of the guidelines for essential built or social environment. For instance, opening of inmates for any kind of medical / clinical experiment should not only be disallowed but violations should also attract severe punitive measures. This is an extreme example but there are a number of other practices that are more common and makes girls vulnerable, and therefor need to be stopped, e.g., access of men to girls' residential areas without clear permission and purpose, and sending girls for sports / cultural programmes unaccompanied. A list can be drawn using research and evaluation reports.

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

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

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

In this context it is important to allay the fears that presence of a unique vision or standardisation of norms could be detrimental to experimentation and would lead to homogenisation. Presence of a guiding framework that ensures basic rights of students and teachers should not be seen as an effort to homogenise, and widely unequal norms and practices cannot be promoted on the name of diversity. For instance, the presence of universal right to food does not mean everyone has to eat the same food; it ensures that everyone gets adequate food and desired nutrition. Similarly, it is possible to build accountability norms for residential schools such that it ensures certain degree of equality but also allows the teachers/managers at the school level an agency to act and facilitates independent action.

c. Developing definite criteria for filtering those who are not necessarily educationally deprived for accessing publicly funded residential school schemes: Taking a cue from the experiences of NGOs and MS, it is important to build filters to avoid 'elite capture'. These filters could be a mix of policy and delivery level measures. One example of a definite policy is to make it mandatory to concentrate on one or two 'most backward' communities within dalit, Adivasi, OBC and Muslim groups in particular locations, as discussed earlier in detail. A delivery level measure could be to make the identification of students linked to exercises such as micro planning or gram sabha.

d. Ensuring higher proportion of girls in well-funded schemes such as JNV: A coherent public policy would expect the same rationale to be extended to similar schemes: if residential schooling is viewed as a good policy option to reach girls from deprived communities, the same should be reflected in all State funded schemes. Hence, JNVs should have higher reservation for girls and within that, for SC, ST and Muslim girls.

e. Comprehensive monitoring and incentivising the progress in critical areas. What is being monitored and what the processes are for monitoring are extremely critical elements for determining what receives greater attention at the implementation level. This is absolutely crucial for the programmes that are running on scale.³³ For instance, if JNV is being monitored mainly on the basis of students' performance in class X examinations, the management is obviously going to put maximum emphasis on having a high pass rates, and have high percentage of higher achievers. If the top management decides that empowerment aspects will also be monitored and incentivises that by including that in school management/teacher performance records, this would indeed get greater attention. Therefore, the presence of a clear communication plan with adequate budgeting, and monitoring plan with clear indicators that include processes as well must accompany the policy

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

for respective schemes. The choice of strategic indicators and having in-built incentive mechanisms for performance on those indicators should help in bringing the focus on empowerment.

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

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

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

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