

SOCIAL EXCLUSION AND EDUCATION

**A STUDY OF THE SCHEDULED CASTE STUDENTS IN SECONDARY
EDUCATION**

*Dissertation submitted to the Jawaharlal Nehru University in partial
fulfillment of the requirement for the award of the Degree of*

MASTER OF PHILOSOPHY
(Sociology of Education)

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2007



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30th July, 2007

CERTIFICATE

This is to certify that the dissertation entitled, "**Social exclusion and Education: A Study of the Scheduled Caste Students in Secondary Education**", submitted by me in partial fulfilment of the requirement for the Degree of Master of Philosophy (Sociology of Education), has not been previously submitted for any other degree of this or any other university. This is my own original work.

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To best of our knowledge, this is a *bona fide* work. We recommend that this dissertation be placed before examiners for evaluation.

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ACKNOWLEDGEMENT

The theme of education on which my present work is focussed has been the totemic pole since it defines a person and refines him/ her too. It shapes a human personality and helps him/her in making a better person and a better human being. Education essentialises the evolution and development of a person into a holistic personality and includes art, culture, drama, music, painting etc. Questioning and doubting oneself and searching for the “greater truth” become the ultimate goal of education. This, I think or perhaps should be the essence of education. Role taking forms a major part of the education process and it becomes important for a teacher to slip in the shoes of his pupil and try to view the problems the way a student does. In my duty as a teacher for an academic year at Shree Dronacharya Degree College in Greater Noida, U.P, I took special care to treat my pupil as colleagues and friends in order to facilitate a smoother sharing of ideas.

The present work is dedicated to my guide Prof. Geetha Nambissan, Chairperson Zakir Hussain Centre for Educational Studies (ZHCES), J.N.U. who has been more like a beacon in my life and helped me in every way possible not just in discharging my duties as a student but also as a mother trying to comfort her own child in times of personal crisis and distress. There were times when a deafening silence became the rule of the day and there was a virtual absence of any colour and joy in my life. It was in those moments that Prof. Geetha gave her helping hand, became my pole star and provided me with the proper sense of direction. She not only provided me with the much needed guidance, but also gave me small projects at regular intervals so that I could sustain myself financially.

Prof. Mohanty former chairperson (ZHCES) too has been very kind and helpful in providing assistance during my second semester when I was completely penniless and sustaining myself in J.N.U seemed to be at a peril's brink. A friendly gesture always came from Dr. S. Srinivas Rao when I went with my quota of problems and tangles of confusion and dilemmas regarding my research problems. I am indeed very obliged and thankful to him although words would seem a miniscule effort in appreciating his kindness at soothing a distressed soul like me. I am indeed very much obliged to the entire faculty members of ZHCES for their help and encouragement which came whenever I needed them.

I am indeed touched by the immense help and encouragement provided by Dr. Ajay Kumar Singh, Dr. Anupam Pachauri, both Guest Faculties in Central Institute of Education (CIE), Delhi University and Dr. Sadhana Saxena, Reader, (CIE) while I was doing my B.Ed from the same institution. I feel indebted for the help and provided by these people during my hours of crisis.

I am especially thankful to the Director of “Indian Institute of Dalit Studies” (IIDS), New Delhi and to Prof. Geetha B. Nambissan, the Project Director, for giving me the project work entitled “Exclusion, Inclusion and Education: Perspectives and Experiences of Dalit Children” and permitting me to use the data, details and statistics which came from my fieldwork in my dissertation work. The staff members of (National University of Educational Planning and Administration) NUEPA, New Delhi, Library had been quite co-operative to my demands some of which went

overboard at times. I also want to thank the office staff of ZHCES especially Rajendra sir, Ghani Sir, Seema Maam (librarian).

My special thanks to John Thomas, Ph.D student from Centre of Historical Studies (CHS), JNU, who in the last leg of my dissertation work helped me out with the translation, typing, editing and in shaping up this work in its present form. Had it not been for him, this work wouldn't have been possible. In this regard, I also want to really thank my friend, Emeni, without whose timely intervention, the completion of this thesis would not have been possible. Her prayers were an inspiration and friendly advises were a motivation.

I want to thank Saroj Kumar (Ph.D, CSRD, JNU) for helping me with the making of the statistical calculations and tables. I also want to thank for the support provided to me by my friends and classmates in this endeavour especially Shino, Subir (Ph.D, SSS, JNU), Chetan, Manish, Saheed, Vimla and Aradhana. The cheerful and enthusiastic presence of Shino at various junctures of my research gave me the needed determination to move forward.

I really want to thank the sixteen students who I was able to interview for this study. They welcomed into their midst as one of them and gave me the opportunity to know and understand them. They gave me a great deal of their valuable time and patiently responded to my queries. In Delhi, I really want to thank my best friend, Diwakar Barnwal (Section Officer, MHRD, Government of India), for providing me with the necessary official reports and data.

One person who needs a special mention is Abhineet who has been a constant source of encouragement and moral support through out my M.Phil days. She has been my companion through all my troubled days and a whiff of fresh air when things looked dull and dim.

Although the work suffers from some lacunae and drawbacks, and though the reason that I might attribute to it would stand on a flimsy and shaky ground, nevertheless, as a person who has always preferred calling a spade a spade, I take onus for the lack and absence which my work might be a victim of...

Sanjay Kumar

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Chapter 1

INTRODUCTION

Chapter 1

Introduction

This study attempts to analyse the experiences of Dalit students in schools from a perspective of social exclusion and inclusion. The main focus is on secondary education, which is seen as a crucial stage of education that is necessary for their occupational and social mobility. The study is located in the context of other research that shows unequal schooling to be the most important factor in causing educational disadvantage among the Scheduled Caste (SC) communities. Most of these studies indicate that the SCs receive poor quality education in government schools, where they are found in relatively large numbers. Further, students from SC groups face unequal educational opportunities as a result of the discriminatory social practices of caste system and the spread of elite educational institutions.

However, at the same time, it cannot be said that the government efforts in providing educational opportunities for students coming from SC groups were entirely inefficient. After independence, the Government of India did undertake various measures through constitutional provisions. Various social welfare development programmes and educational policies to improve the condition of disadvantaged groups were implemented. Further, the affirmative action, which was adopted to better the condition of Dalits in terms of education and employment in regular salaried jobs, has had positive impacts on their lives.

The pros and cons of educational policies have been discussed and debated by educationists and social scientists in its varied dimensions. The introduction of liberalization policy in the 1990s has had serious impacts on the educationally disadvantaged youth. The liberalisation policy led to the massive growth of schools run by private managements which were more accessible to the middle and upper class. In fact, the growth of private schools has been to such an extent that more than 50 percent of secondary schools are now run by private managements (including private aided and private unaided) (See Figure 2.4 in Chapter 2). Because of their poor socio-economic conditions, the Dalit community increasingly became dependent on government schools. In this respect, Jeffery et al have observed that after 1990s the government and

government aided schools, which had hitherto been offering some opportunities to the poor and marginalized, had started the process of 'cooling out' and 'ghettoisation' (Jeffrey et al 2005a:59). For example, from 1993 to 2002, on the one hand, there was 11.14 percent decline in the percentage of all community students (SC/ST not included) enrolled in government secondary schools and 13.81 percent rise in the percentage of all community students enrolled in unaided secondary schools. On the other hand, there was only 4.1 percent decline in the percentage of Dalit students enrolled in government secondary schools and 6.99 percent rise in the percentage of Dalit students enrolled in unaided secondary schools. Meaning, on the one hand, the rate of decline in those enrolled in government secondary schools was much more among all community students than Dalit students. On the other, the rate of increase in those enrolled in unaided secondary schools was more among all community students than Dalit students. (See Table 2.8) It is in this context that government schools have come to be called 'Dalit schools', while private management schools have largely remained "elitist" (Majumdar 2005:2358).

The reservation policy and other programmes for affirmative action are also being implemented in the current phase of liberalisation. While programmes for affirmative action continue to raise the aspirations of SCs for a successful future, the liberalisation policy, has led to frustration among the disadvantaged groups as their employment opportunities are declining as the public sector is being down sized (Jeffrey et al, 2005b:18). Finally, the indifferent and reluctant efforts of the government have further made the prospects of educational opportunities grim. The problem of limited and inadequate scholarships and incentives has hardly been attended to by the government. This has resulted in a situation where 'even with education, life is difficult, but without education there is no hope at all' (Majumdar 1996:121).

The secondary stage of education determines whether pupils are eligible for entry into higher education and influences access to employment opportunities. Unfortunately, the dropout rates among Dalits at elementary level are high. This results in what Majumdar calls a '... life time exclusion from other basic entitlement from employment, from social acceptance and dignity and above all from the right of citizenship' (ibid.:121). It is in this context that the role of secondary education needs emphasis.

Besides the reasons mentioned above, the socio-economic and cultural (caste structure) factors also play an important role in access and participation of dalits in education. The notion of social exclusion and inclusion allows us to explore the interlocking nature of education and existing caste realities, and enables us to look into the process that influences their experiences and opportunities.

Exclusion and Inclusion: Conceptual Framework

Social exclusion, as a concept, originated in France and gradually spread to other countries. The International Labour Organization (ILO) played a major role in popularizing the concept. The concept of social exclusion basically refers to the “process through which individual groups are wholly or partially excluded from full participation in the society in which they live – in this, it is the opposite of social integration”. (De Hann 1998:10)

The concept of social exclusion, firstly, points to various forms of deprivation, for instance the deprivation of employment, income and power. Secondly, it highlights the processes and the mechanisms, the actors and the institutions that cause deprivation. This concept is multidimensional and is useful in understanding disadvantage perpetuated through various systemic attributes historically existing in the Indian society.

According to Giddens, “Exclusion is not about gradations of inequality, but about mechanisms that act to detach groups of people from the social mainstream” (Giddens 1998). In fact, the very concept of social exclusion cannot be seen in equal terms with the concept of poverty (e.g., there is the possibility of being excluded without being poor). Nevertheless, it provides a very broad canvas and a broader view of deprivation and disadvantage than the concept of poverty. Gradually, the concept has broadened to encompass exclusion from “the social, economic, political and cultural systems which determine the integration of a person in society” (Walker, 1997).¹ According to Breman, the concept of exclusion stands for the inability to engage in gainful employment in economic sense, which yields enough income to satisfy basic requirements whereas on the other hand it refers a lack of access to a source of power and the inability to

¹ As cited in Cali Lessof and Roger Jowell (2002), ‘The Measuring Social Exclusion’, Working Paper Number 84, September 2000,CREST: UK (Available on <http://www.crest.ox.ac.uk>)

participate meaningfully in decision-making process from the household level onwards, in political terms (Breman 2004). Lastly, it is equal to denigration, the loss of respectability and dignity in one's own eyes, as well as those of *others*, in social terms. Moreover, most importantly, various dimensions of exclusion tend to reinforce each other, as a result, leading to multiple exclusions.

Scholars have dwelt more deeply on the understanding that exclusion is more than poverty and it manifests itself differently in varied contexts. Naila Kabeer while explaining the concept has made a distinction between 'redistribution and recognition' (Kabeer 2000:84). Here she specifically dwells upon Fraser's (1997) analysis of different forms of injustice such as: (a) Economic forms of injustice (b) Cultural forms of injustice (c) Bivalent forms of injustice. According to Kabeer, "Economic conceptualization of injustice deals with exploitation (the appropriation of the fruits of one's labour), marginalization (exclusion from the means of livelihood or confinement to poorly paid, undesirable forms of work) and deprivation (being denied an adequate standard of living), and the cultural form of injustice stemming from social patterns of representation, interpretation and communication."(ibid.:86) Many a times there is no clear-cut difference between the economic and cultural forms of disadvantage as they tend to be interrelated and overlap each other (ibid.:86). For example, gender, ethnicity and caste are some structures where the economic disadvantages intersect with cultural disadvantages. In India, caste on the one hand is "partly rooted in economic disadvantage, the religiously sanctioned segregation and ordering of occupation with the lower castes associated with the most stigmatised occupation while on the other hand it is structured by various forms of symbolic devaluation, which serve to define lowest castes as a despised category or having no caste at all, and to legitimate various forms of injustice, including physical harm (ibid.:86)." Kabeer says that such forms of injustice are referred to as "bivalent forms of injustice and they create what Fraser calls, 'bivalent collectivities' – social groups whose economic and cultural disadvantage is bound together."(ibid.:86)

Kabeer goes on to argue that in the case of economic disadvantage, disadvantaged groups tend to be mobilized around their interests and they articulate their demands in terms of redistribution of resources. Similarly, in the case of cultural disadvantage,

disadvantaged groups tend to be mobilized around the question of identity and they articulate their demands in terms of recognition. Finally, in the case of bivalent forms of injustice, disadvantaged groups tend to be mobilized around their material interests and on questions of social identity, and they articulate their demands in terms redistribution as well as recognition. This, however, can lead to a tension since the question of redistribution of resources is based on the logic of egalitarianism and the question of identity on the other hand is based on the logic of diversity. The demands of both aspirations therefore need to be answered.

Amartya Sen while talking of social exclusion points to the categorical distinction between two situations, namely '*unfavourable exclusion*' where some people are being kept out and '*unfavourable inclusion*' where some people are included but under deeply unfavourable terms. The latter, especially those who are met with unequal treatment may experience the same adversities as the former (Sen 2004). As Amartya Sen says, "...while exclusion is one route to capability failure and poverty, what may be called "*unfavourable inclusion*" can also be a considerable danger. Indeed, many problems of deprivation arise from unfavourable terms of inclusion and adverse participation, rather than what can be sensibly seen primarily as a case of exclusion as such. For example, when there are reasons to complain about "exploitative" conditions of exploitation, or of deeply "unequal" terms of social participation, the immediate focus is not on exclusion at all, but on the unfavourable nature of inclusions involved." (Sen 2004:23-34)

Having looked at different kinds of social exclusion, it is important at this point to explore some of the practices through which patterns of inclusion and exclusion is generated. Naila Kabeer highlights three categories of such practices. They are "mobilisation of institutional bias, social closure and unruly practice". (Kabeer 2000: 91-92) As Kabeer notes, "Mobilisation of institutional bias refer to set of values, beliefs, rituals and institutional practices that systematically operates to exclude certain people who might pose a threat to the existing status quo." (ibid: 91) In other words it is a pattern of exclusion that takes place as a result of the manner in which certain values, beliefs and rituals that preserves the existing status quo has structured institutional functioning. In this pattern of exclusion, it is not necessary that human agents consciously

decide to exclude since human action is structured by a larger biased institutional arrangement.

Social closure is a practice where, access to resources and opportunity is deliberately confined to or restricted to a limited circle of social elites. Frank Parkin defines social closure as a mechanism through which “social collectivities seek to maximize rewards by restricting access to resources and opportunities to a limited circle of eligibles.” Moreover, it is a form of collective social action “which intentionally or otherwise give rise to a social category of insiders and outsiders.”(Parkin 1979:44-45) In the moment of social closure, on the one hand there is exclusion where certain social groups are excluded while on the other hand there is usurpation where through collective action the excluded tries to win a greater share of the resources that are monopolized by the elite (ibid.:45). The caste system in India and the stratification of ethnic communities in the United States are some examples that illustrate social closure (ibid.:45).

Finally, unruly practice refers to the existence of certain official rules and the failure of such rules being implemented because of the unofficial norms that otherwise structure society. In other words, as Naila Kabeer says, it refers to “the gap between rules and their implementation which occur in practice in all institutional domains.”(Kabeer 2000:92) Exclusion as a result of unruly practice is more likely to happen in public service providers as it is they who officially claim to address social exclusion within a community but fails to do so at the level of implementation as a result of the unofficial exclusionary norms that shape society. For example, officially at the level of public policy, there are several initiatives taken by the government to address social exclusion in education but in everyday reality several unofficial factors, which includes the actions of casteist teachers and school managements, to say the least, creates hurdles for the excluded from gaining access to what they are entitled.

Having looked at different definitions of social exclusion and different practices through which patterns of inclusion and exclusion are generated, it is now imperative to examine how caste system in India is a unique form of exclusion.

State and Social Exclusion of Dalits

Historically, Dalits have been a deprived and marginalized community, facing many forms of exclusion. They were considered as untouchables because of their low status in society and they were isolated and marginalized in myriad ways. The Dalits account for about 167 million of the total population in the country (Census 2001). The term 'Dalit', literally means oppressed, but has acquired a new cultural connotation to mean "those who have been broken, ground down by those above them in deliberate and active way."(Shah et al 2006:13) It was coined by the Dalits themselves in order to draw attention to their marginalized position in Indian society. The term has also been used in order to stress that fact that the caste structure is exploitative rather than functional (V. Kumar 2005:515).

Dalits are also referred to as 'Scheduled Castes'. It is primarily an administrative category rather than a sociological category. Under Article 431 of the Constitution of India, several Dalit castes were identified and categorized as scheduled. The term was first used under the British in the Government of India Act, 1935. Prior to this, Dalits were categorized as 'Depressed Classes' (Shah 2002:30). However, several terms like 'exterior caste', 'outcaste', 'depressed class', 'Harijan', 'scheduled caste', and 'ex-untouchable' have also been evoked by the upper castes, administrators and social reformers in reference to Dalits (Oommen 1984:45).

Sociologically, exclusion and deprivation of Scheduled Castes (SCs) is closely associated with the institution of caste and the attached stigma of untouchability.² Historically, their social status in the society was very low and was stigmatized. Their occupations involved manual labour that was projected by the caste society as polluting. The institution of untouchability has made their deprivation much severe. A survey covering 565 Indian villages in 11 states reveals untouchability continues to be widely practised in one form or another in almost 80 percent of the villages (cited in Shah et al 2006). The institutionalization of untouchability and the subsequent multiple exclusions it has generated has had severe impacts on their economic condition (Thorat 2006:64).

² A stigmatized social identity is experienced as operation – it is a human day to day experience of degradation and exploitation and not simply an abstract concept. Berreman (1972) as cited in Padma Velaskar and G. G. Wankhede (1996:120), 'From Old Stigma to New...Exploring the Challenging Identity of Urban Educated Dalits', *The Indian Journal of Social Work*, January. .

Thus, they are subjected to social, economic and cultural oppression and exploitation. There has been much debate among scholars regarding the origins of caste and untouchability. It has been largely understood in two ways – either in terms of ‘book view’ or in terms of ‘field view’. In terms of ‘book view’ understanding of caste is based on ancient scriptures and textual analysis while in terms of field view understanding of caste is based on an empirical study of existing situation.

It was Louis Dumont (1980), who first presented a hierarchical theory of caste, which is based on the notion of ‘*purity and pollution*’. Dumont argues that Indian society is structured first and foremost by the principle of hierarchy as opposed to the West, which is more structured by principles of liberty and equality. Having said this, he argues that caste system should, therefore, be regarded as a hierarchical ranking. He asserts that the hierarchical ranking that pervades caste system is based on the opposition between purity and impurity. This opposition is first and foremost of a religious nature and provides the foundation of the religious and social system of the Hindus. The economic and political bases of caste system are secondary in Dumont’s work, which is largely interested in the ideological underpinnings of caste. (Deliege 1999: 36-40)

According to G. Berreman (1991), Dumont’s understanding of caste was more textual rather than contextual and his understanding of caste was based largely on the Brahmanical interpretation of caste (Sahay 2004:115). However, Dumont’s work invited much scholarly attention. In 1979, Michael Moffatt, based on his study on Endavur village, published a monograph entitled *An Untouchable Community in South India: Structure and Consensus*, which extended Dumont’s thesis, giving an impetus to studies on the culture and autonomy of some of the lowest castes in India.

The primary concern of Moffatt’s study is on whether Untouchables inhabit an autonomous cultural world or whether they share the same values and beliefs as rest of the population. Based on his field work, he argues that Untouchables do not inhabit an autonomous cultural sphere. In other words, as he says, “they are not detached or alienated from the ‘rationalizations’ of the system.”(Moffat 1979:3) In fact, the Untouchables are as much a part of the beliefs and values that structure an Indian village. There is a cultural consensus from the top to the bottom of the caste hierarchy. Because of which there is a replication of Brahmanical institutions, practices and ranking of

relations even among the Untouchables. All the constituents within a caste system are structured by the same ideological system that is based on the notion of purity and pollution, whether they are Brahmins or Untouchables.

Since the publication of his work, Moffat has come under severe criticism, especially for his argument that since Untouchables are within the same ideological system as the Brahmins, they live in consensus with other caste groups, from top to bottom. Robert Deliege argues that while Untouchables may use and legitimize caste ideology especially to explain the inferiority of castes below them, it does not necessarily mean that they are in consensus with the Brahmins regarding their own debased status in the caste system. (Deliege 1999:62-67) He also argues that although Untouchables may use the categories of purity and pollution, it does not mean that their ideological world is a replica of upper caste values. They may use the categories of caste society in order to gain respectability and legitimacy within a caste society but that does not mean they attach the same meaning to those categories as the Brahmins. While there may exist a larger theoretical construct on which caste is founded, the way in which each caste group may negotiate with it, conceptualize it and practice it would be different. In a study that dates back to 1963, G. Berreman argued that members of lower caste communities did not comply with the polluted position that was ascribed to them and they resented it but they had very few opportunities within a caste society to express this resentment (Ursula Sharma 1999:49). This absence of an outward expression of lower caste resentment, in certain cases, has often led scholars like Dumont and Moffat to the assumption that there is consensus on caste ideology across the various caste groups.

Moreover, pre-occupied with the concept of consensus, Dumont and Moffat fails to take into consideration those situations and moments where upper caste values, beliefs and institutions have been challenged, confronted or rejected by the Untouchables. At various junctures in history, the Untouchables have expressed their dissent to upper caste values and beliefs, either in an overt organized manner or in their everyday negotiations in a caste society. Especially from mid-19th century onwards, these articulations have strengthened and there have been efforts on the part of Untouchables to redefine their cultural and political identity. The Dalit movement has contributed a great deal towards the political, economic and cultural empowerment of the Dalits. Much of this has

attempted to over turn the upper caste ideology and work towards the construction of a new Dalit identity. An understanding of this process from below and its implications remain absent in the works that concentrate on consensus in a caste society. In the context of this absence, it becomes pertinent to look into some of the issues that are thrown up by the changes brought about by the political, economic and cultural empowerment of Dalits in modern India.

One of the impacts of political and economic empowerment of Dalits in the 20th century has been the emergence of a Dalit middle class. In recent decades, especially in the context of debates on reservation for SC/STs and OBCs, the caste society has often tried to portray the Dalit middle class as a 'prosperous' section. However, although this class of people have made economic gains, especially in contrast to other Dalits, they are still looked down upon by the same caste society that calls them 'prosperous'. It is common for the upper castes to keep reminding them everyday of their low caste origin and their traditional low ritual status (Jogdand 1998 as cited in Patil 2000:75). According to Bela Bhatia, although the economic condition of Dalits today is better, their overall social condition remains poor (Bela Bhatia as cited in Savyasaachi 2005:70). The Dalit middle class also face negative remarks from other Dalits. According to Nandu Ram, they are 'outcastes' for their own community, which includes their own kith and kin, and 'untouchables' for the upper castes (Nandu Ram 1988 as cited in Patil 2000:78). However, it is also a fact that they themselves fail to integrate with the rest of Dalit population because of their changed economic position. Eminent Dalit writer Sheoraj Singh Bachain comments that "after independence those who have become empowered politically and economically hesitate to call themselves Dalit" (Bachain as cited in Savyasaachi 2005:70)

In many scholarly works, there is a tendency to see the marginalization of Dalits in the same vein as in the marginalization of those who are economically poor. But economic inequality and social inequality are different. While economic deprivation enhances social inequality, both are not the same. For example, a person may be economically or politically deprived but he/she may not be excluded from the social and cultural sphere as it is in the case of Dalits. T. K. Oommen rightly mentions that Dalits are subjected to 'cumulative domination' and are victims of multiple deprivations such as

of low ritual status, poverty and powerlessness. Their experiential reality is not one that is shared by others who are economically poor. (Oommen1994: 55).

Caste based discrimination has continued to exist even after 60 years of Indian independence. At the time of independence, it was expected that modern education along with other special provisions and democratic practices, will bring about both quantitative and qualitative changes in the traditional value system that is based on inequality, exploitation, discrimination and untouchability. However, after 60 years of independence, the expected changes have been minimal and the issue continues to pervade the existing society in old and new forms. For example, in its review of the atrocities on and violations of human rights of Dalits, *Human Rights Watch* records appalling cases that range from a high court judge cleansing his court chambers which had been occupied by a Dalit judge to the reintroduction of untouchability to the rampant and everyday violation against Dalit men, women and children (as cited in Vasavi 2006:3766). As Narendra Yadav writes in his autobiography, “caste discrimination may have changed forms, but it has certainly not changed its substance.” (as cited in *ibid.*:3766)

The Government of India developed several policies for the economic, social and political empowerment of Dalits and legally banned untouchability and casteism. However, caste has continued to determine social relations and access to employment. Millions of ex-untouchables lag behind in education, employment and access to wealth. Education is viewed as one of the most important channels for mobility and change for Dalit communities. Research has also shown that it is a sphere where dalits experience exclusion and discrimination. In all, social exclusion and related deprivations continues to be a living reality for the millions of Dalits in India.

Education of Dalits: Exclusion and Inclusion

It is in this context that we come to the main concern of this work, namely, the exclusion of Dalits in the education system in India. The first attempt to address the issue of granting Dalits access to the education system was adopted during the colonial period. Under the colonial government, the Education Commission of 1882 recommended policies that would popularize education among the lower castes. This gave certain sections of the lower castes accessibility to education. But education continued to be

inaccessible for a large section of the Dalits. After independence, the Government of India initiated certain policies for economic, educational, social and political empowerment of Dalits. These policies included on the one hand protective and anti-discriminatory measures while on the other hand empowering measures (Thorat 2006:72). These measures included (a) improvement of educational infrastructure particularly in areas predominantly by SC/ST, (b) Admission in educational institutions through reservation of seats and measures, (c) financial assistance at various levels of education including scholarship/fellowship, (d) Remedial coaching to improve the quality of education and capabilities, (e) special hostels for boys and girls, (f) special attention for the education of girl students (ibid.:72). Although there has been some improvement in making education accessible for the Dalits with the partial implementation of these measures, they have not been adequate enough in reducing the historical disabilities that was enforced upon by the age old caste structure. They have not succeeded in minimizing the educational gap between Dalits and non-Dalits (ibid.:75). Some of the problems that Dalits continue to face within the existing educational system are discussed below:

Accessibility

In theory, the scheduled castes have had equal access to the public schools. But in reality, even today their accessibility to education at different stages of schooling is low as compared to other higher castes. The question of accessibility to education for the Dalits can be understood at two levels – physical access and social access. While the former is more about the physical proximity or presence of the school and problems of accessibility, the latter is more about caste politics and the problem it poses for accessibility. The physical access to a school has been a major problem for the Dalits. According to the 7th All India Educational Survey (NCERT 2007), only 42.50 percent Dalit habitations have a primary school as compared to 51.55 percent general habitations and only 3.21 percent Dalit habitations have a secondary school as compared to 5.79 percent general habitations. As the stages of schooling rises, the accessibility of Dalits to schools decline. This is the case in general habitations too. But, the extent of this decline in Dalit habitations is much more than in general habitations. (See table no 2.3 in Chapter 2)

Moreover, in theory, Dalit habitations with a population of 300 or more are entitled to a primary school within 1 kilometer. While this is favourable to those Dalit habitations that have a large population, the reality of the matter is that majority of the Dalit habitations are relatively small, in fact 50 percent of Dalit habitations have a population less than 300, and therefore, most of them are deprived of primary schools within 1 kilometer (Nambissan 2006:234). Similarly, while Dalit habitations that have a larger population, which are lesser in number (Dalit habitations with a strength ranging from 2000-4999 are 3.14 percent of total number of Dalit habitations), have much more physical access to secondary schools (Dalit habitations with a strength ranging from 2000-4999 have access to 21.69 percent secondary schools), those Dalit habitations that have lesser population, which are a majority of Dalit habitations (Dalit habitations with a strength less than 500 are 65.01 percent of total number of Dalit habitations), have lesser physical access to secondary schools (Dalit habitations with a strength less than 500 have access to 1.17 secondary schools) (NCERT 2007). From the data available, it could be argued that even in the case of general habitations this is the case. However, general have relatively greater access to schooling as compared to dalit habitations of similar population size. (See appendix II and III).

The problems that Dalits face in terms of physical access to school are compounded by the problems that social access to schooling poses. The segregation of residential areas between the upper and lower castes, for example, poses major problems in terms of social access to public schools for Dalit students. As McKim Marriot has pointed out, villages in rural India are divided on caste lines and this segregated form of settlement is one of the visible forms of untouchability (Marriot 1955). It continues to be a defining feature of Indian villages even today. In a segregated village, schools are usually located in upper caste settlements. This not only makes it physically inaccessible for Dalits but also socially inaccessible as they are more prone to be either kept out of upper caste settlements or are subjected to discriminatory practices of the upper castes (Nambissan 2006:234).

Enrolment and Attendance

Since the 1990s, the enrolment of Dalit students to all stages of schooling and to all types of schools in India has increased considerably. For instance, enrolment in primary education has increased from 1.09 crores in 1980-81 to 2.48 crores in 2004-05. In the case of secondary education, enrolment has increased from 11.52 lakhs in 1980-81 to 52.18 lakhs in 2004-05. However, in comparison to general students the enrolment of Dalit students has continued to be proportionately smaller especially at higher levels of schooling. Within the age group of 14-18 years, only 34.68 percent Dalit students enrolled for secondary education as compared to 39.91 percent general students in 2004-2005. (GOI 2007a:XI)

While there has been an increase in enrolment of Dalit students in educational institutions since the 1990s, the non-attendance of Dalit students in schools have been higher than other castes. According to NFHS-2 report of 1998-99 (IIPS and ORC Macro 2000), while the non-attendance of Dalits students in the age group of 6 to 10 was 20.5 percent, the non-attendance of general students was 10 percent; while the non-attendance of Dalit students in the age group 11 to 14 was 29 percent, the non-attendance of general students was 15.7 percent; while the non-attendance of Dalit students in the age group 15 to 17 was 54.2 percent, the non-attendance of general students was 37 percent only. Here, we notice that along with the increase in age group, the percentage of non-attendance among Dalit and general students also increased. However, the rate of increase in non-attendance among the Dalit students was much higher than the general students. Moreover, the sharp rise in the non-attendance rates especially in the older age group of 15 to 17 indicates that larger number of students leave school just after 14 years of age.

The discrepancies in the rate of non-attendance become much sharper if one is to look at the existing inequalities on the basis of gender. The non-attendance of Dalit girl students in the age group 15-17 was 64.2 while the non-attendance of general girl students in the same age group was 43.7 percent. This might be a result of the fact that Dalit girl students are the most vulnerable in comparison to every other student. They are the subjects of multiple exclusions generated by poverty, caste and gender. Another reason for their high rate of non-attendance might be the fact that most parents are

reluctant to send their daughters to distant schools for a number of cultural and practical reasons (Nambissan 2006:230-231).

Completion of School

Beyond enrolment and attendance, the consistent decline in the completion rate of Dalit students at each stage of schooling is another serious problem. In 1998, “the proportion of Dalit students who completed primary school was only 43 percent as compared to 58 percent for other castes, and the proportion of Dalit students who completed middle school was only 42 percent as compared to 63 percent for other castes.” (as cited in *ibid.*:2006:232) The above figures not only show that there is a decline in the completion rate of Dalits at each stage of schooling but more importantly, it also shows that the completion rate for other castes is on the rise at each stage of schooling. This clearly shows that non-completion of school at each stage is a serious problem among the Dalits.

Dropout Rate

The rate of dropouts among the Dalits at various stages of schooling is also much higher in comparison to other castes. In 2004-05, the proportion of Dalit students who dropped out of primary school was 34.2 percent as compared to 29 percent for other castes; the proportion of Dalit students who completed middle school was 57.3 percent as compared to 50.84 percent for other castes; and the proportion of Dalit students who completed high school was 71.3 percent as compared to 61.92 percent for other castes (GOI 2007a). These figures clearly show that the rate of dropouts among Dalit students is increasing at various stages of schooling. More importantly, these figures show that the rate of increase in the number of dropouts among Dalits is much more than the rate of increase in dropouts from other castes. All this clearly show the increasing pressure that is on Dalit students to drop out of schooling at each stage.

According to NSS 52nd Round (1998) data, 24.4 percent of students dropout because of lack of interest in studies, 22.5 percent because of the inability to cope with failure in studies, 12.4 percent because of financial constrain, 9.4 percent because their parents are not interested in education and 7.8 percent because of their participation in

other economic activities. This data suggests that the major reason for dropout is lack of interest in studies, inability to cope with failure in studies and financial constrain. What this data points to is how the whole school structure and organisation itself is a major cause for dropout. As pointed out in another study, the school structure and organisation that is informed by rigid trajectories, unchallenging curricula, poor teaching and punitive behavioural policies is a major cause for dropout (Heck and Mahoe 2006).

Stratification of Schooling System

The structural inequalities in Indian society reflect itself on the way access to educational opportunities within the existing school system is also organized. The educational system in India is biased in favour of urban, rich and upper caste. This bias has been further reinforced by the sudden growth of private schools and the indifferent attitude towards government schools since the 1990s. More than 50% of secondary education today comes under private managements. In between the years 1973-2005, the maximum number of high schools and higher secondary schools were under private managements (GOI 2007a:VI). Within private schools, different tiers of school with differing costs and differing quality of education have now emerged catering to different social groups. This has only further stratified the educational landscape (Nambissan 2006:253)

According to 7th Educational Survey of NCERT (2007), the rural areas have more than 88 percent primary schools, 70 percent high schools and 52 percent higher secondary schools. However, in terms of quality and quantity, it has been wholly inadequate to meet the demands from parents. Besides, these government schools have been largely neglected and therefore remain in very poor condition as compared to private schools that largely educate the rich and are concentrated in urban areas.

Inclusion and Exclusion in Education: Practices and Process

Besides those factors that we have looked so far, the practice of the politics of caste at an everyday basis and the historical experience of poverty, social stigma and other kinds of victimization has also affected the school education of Dalits. While it is true that the Government has initiated several policies to protect and empower the Dalits,

it has not been able to eradicate the pervasive power of caste in education. After all, the ideological and historical foundations of caste, guarded and nurtured by the upper castes, are much more powerful and beyond the grasp of governmental policies. There are several studies that point towards the levels of caste discrimination that Dalit students are subjected to on an everyday basis in and out of schools. Some of these discriminations will be examined in this section.

Recent Case of Dalit Discrimination in Education

“Surewada village in Bhandra district of Maharashtra stands out as an example for Dalit discrimination. The startling episode is that of an upper caste male teacher who ordered another female teacher to cleanse and purify the school premises as well as the students by sprinkling cow urine. According to the male teacher, the previous female teacher who hailed from a low caste had been a curse for the school and therefore had rendered the entire school premises as well as the students polluted. When this incident was objected to and raised by the parents and Dalits of the village, the teacher who had performed the act (of sprinkling the cow urine) said that she was purifying the air in the class room and that it was possible that few drops might have fallen on the students as well. It was surprising that caste based organizations like Shiv Sena, Chhava, and some teacher’s organizations also came forward to protect the culprits.”

- Jansatta, 24th April, 2007

This incident that happened in the recent month highlight the fact that caste is a frightening reality as far as Dalit access to education in India is concerned. In the following sections the different dimensions of how and why it is so will be explained.

Classroom Organization

Often the callousness of a casteist world is often recreated or reproduced within the classroom situation and this has a major impact on Dalit students. The teachers in schools are predominantly of upper caste (NCERT 1998). In fact, in 1993, only 5 to 6 percent of the total number of teachers in high and higher secondary schools was Dalit teachers. The predominance of upper caste teachers contribute towards the process of legitimising and reinforcing casteist practices and values within the classroom situation. The classroom becomes one of the main domains where he would assert his upper caste self on vulnerable Dalit students. In a study by Radhakrishnan and Kumari of the Dalit students in Bihar and Madhya Pradesh, 22 per cent of students complained that their school teacher had been discriminative and unhelpful towards them (Radhakrishnan and Kumari 1989:47).

In the classrooms, teachers subject Dalit and Adivasi students to verbal abuse, physical abuse and all sorts of harassment (Nambissan 2006:243-244). The psychological impacts of which make many Dalit and Adivasi students to drop out. This is what an Adivasi student who dropped out of middle school had to say:

“I would get beaten everyday. The teacher would say this is the Prasad (blessing) to help you memorise the lessons better. I remember once a boy had not done his homework and the teacher coloured his face with white chalk and then made him parade 400 yards from the school to the bus stop and back.”(Subrahmanian 2005:74)

Not only are the Dalit students subjected to verbal and physical abuse, they are also discouraged and demotivated by their teachers from learning. Some of the upper caste teachers regard Dalits as uneducable and unintelligent, and derogatory remarks are hurled at them. This attitude emerges from their stereotypes which portray Dalits as inherently lacking merit and skill to pursue education. Mohammad Talib cites one such instance:

“My teachers have always told me so... that my head does not contain brain but ‘Bhoosa’ (chaff). They said I did not understand the lessons in the class, convinced lack of this, I drop out of school.”(Talib 1998:200)

If on the one hand we have teachers who are abusive and discouraging on caste lines, on the other hand we have teachers who don't come to class at all. Teacher absenteeism in schools where a majority of the students are Dalits is much higher (75 percent) as compared to schools where there are mostly students from other castes (33 percent) (Nambissan 2006:244)

An upper caste teacher's casteist attitude or behaviour towards his/her students is enough for the Dalit student to internalise a sense of low self worth (Subrahmanian 2005:74). The constant barrage of abuses and derogatory remarks hurled at the Dalit student many a times makes him either accept his own inferiority or drop out of the hostile educational environment.

In educational institutions, children from the SC/ST communities are perceived to possess a low cognitive capability as well as life chances. These children are exposed to the most vulnerable situations wherein they are abused, discriminated, and are subjected to the indifferent attitude of the teachers. The recent National Focus Group on Problems of Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribe Children highlights thus: “Teachers are observed to have low expectations of SC and ST children and girls and a condescending and downright abusive attitude to poor children from slums. Teachers also have stated and unstated assumptions of ‘deprived’ and ‘deficient’ cultural backgrounds, languages and inherent intellectual deficiencies of SC/ST children. They follow discriminatory pedagogic practices of labelling, classifying and teaching styles and operate on the basis of ‘realistic’ perceptions of low caste children’s limited cognitive capacities and life chances.” (NCERT 2005: as cited in Vasavi 2006: 3768)

In addition to the casteist attitude of the teachers, Dalit students have to face discrimination from their own peers as well. Previously mentioned study by Radhakrishnan and Kumari indicates that 44 percent of the students they interviewed experienced discrimination from their class mates. Peer relations in schools are influenced by caste and class relations. For instance, friendships in class rooms are made on caste lines. While there are some studies (Balagopal and Subrahmanian 2003: 43-54)

that refer to friendships being formed across caste lines, in economically backward villages where there exist rigid caste hierarchies, Dalit students face hostilities from their upper caste peers. They are bullied around and disallowed from mixing with others (Jha and Jhingran 2002).

Curriculum

It is not only at the level of practices in educational situations that caste pervades but it also exercises its influence over the framing of curriculum in schools. The content of curriculum often becomes a means through which caste sensibilities are reinforced and disseminated among students. The curriculum represents the Dalit in a prejudiced manner, as polluted and backward. As Krishna Kumar points out, when the dominant meaning and view points, informed by caste sensibilities, reflected in the curriculum is compounded by an actual enactment of caste relations in the teacher-student interactions, Dalit students tend to internalise their 'backwardness' (as cited in Karlekar 1983). What Avijit Pathak says about schooling in the context of working class is also applicable in this context. He says, "the school is instrumental in making the children of the working class feel that their culture is inferior and that it is the culture of the dominant classes that is worth learning!" (Pathak 2002:32)

Another problem with the existing curriculum is that the subject matter is more or less irrelevant as far as the Dalits are concerned. It doesn't speak into their existential situations and much of what they learn is inapplicable in their living contexts. In such a state of affairs, the child fails to comprehend or be challenged by what is being taught in the class. This often leads many Dalit students to remain absent from schools or drop out of them altogether.

Enabling Schooling

Many instances of caste discrimination also happen at the level of 'unruly practices'. In other words, government has initiated several programmes, policies and rules to protect and empower Dalit students. But at the level of implementation, the objective and practice of these policies, programmes and rules get subverted by the

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unofficial norms, prejudices and values that are structured by the caste society. The reality of unruly practises becomes evident mostly at the level of classroom organization.

There are various government policies and programmes like mid-day meal, hostel facilities and scholarship which not only enable but give incentive for Dalit students to get education. But at the level of implementation, these programmes and policies are either not implemented or are misappropriated to suit the interests of the caste society. For instance, Dalit students rarely receive the full amount of a government scholarship that they are entitled to because of the corruption amongst teachers and bureaucrats (Jeffrey et al 2004:972). And when students go to collect their scholarship, they are often harassed and insulted. In one such case, a clerical staff reportedly called some Dalit students 'sarkari damad', meaning the 'son-in-law of the government' (Yadav 1991:46).

While the reservation policy has given and continues to give educational opportunities to many Dalit students, in the implementation of it, educational opportunities have been unevenly distributed among the Dalits. As a result of which, certain castes with better 'social capital' have benefited more from the reservation policy at the expense of certain other castes (Chitnis 1981, Jeffrey et al 2005:269). It is also the case that because of the limited seats available through reservation in proportion to the large number of Dalits aspiring for education, only a small section of the Dalits are able to acquire education while gradually easing a large number of aspirants out of the educational system. Reservation, therefore, in many ways while creating opportunities for some Dalits to acquire education, also creates tremendous frustration for a large number of Dalits who are eased out of the educational system. It is also ironic that even among those Dalits who manage to get education through reservation, a large number are only getting education that would qualify them for government job (Jayaram 1983:73).

Aspiration and Opportunities

The aspirations of Dalit students are largely determined by the cultural setting in which they live and by the opportunities that are provided to them by either certain members of the caste society or the government. The cultural setting of Dalit students is structured by the norms, institutions and sensibilities of a caste society. As a result of which, the aspirations of Dalit students in life also come to be controlled by the norms,

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institutions and sensibilities of a caste society. For instance, there is a strongly rooted notion that Dalits should do only occupation that involves manual labour. In addition to this, as we have already seen, Dalit students are often reminded by their upper caste teachers that they lack the 'merit' and 'capability' to do anything other than manual labour. These on the one hand create low self-esteem and feelings of inferiority among them and on the other hand tame or control their aspiration.

However, there are rare moments and situations where some exceptional upper caste teachers may actually encourage and motivate Dalit students. There are also various government policies meant to protect and empower the Dalits, like the reservation policy and scholarships, which also encourages and motivates Dalit students. These two factors have encouraged certain Dalit students to aspire for higher education and a wide range of occupations that are seen to have higher social standing in a caste society.

While the above factors does trigger higher aspirations among Dalit students, as we have seen in the last section, many a times the exclusion that happens as a result of unruly practices and limited availability of reserved seats for education and employment often makes its difficult for Dalit students to easily avail of these opportunities that would empower them to reach the stage of education or occupation they aspire for. This often leads to tremendous frustration and disappointment among a large number of Dalit students.

Schooling and production of Inequality

Schooling can empower Dalit students to contribute towards the economic, political and social transformation of the Dalits. They can be agents of change within Dalit community and in the larger caste society, instrumental in imbuing the community with a radical consciousness. This is quite evident from the many examples one can draw from the history of Dalit movement in the last century. However, as certain writers have pointed out, schooling also imbibes in Dalit students with 'bourgeoisie values', which can curb the potential for radical political expression (Shah 2002:55). This can be supplemented by what A. Beteille has to say. He argues that education and employment does not necessarily lead to the abolition of inequality. All it might do would be to

generate or reproduce a new inequality that is based on education, occupation and income (Beteille 2000:373).

Secondary School Education and its Social Implications

Understanding the process of social exclusion and inclusion in secondary education is important largely because it is the transitional phase between primary and higher education. Secondary education does two things, namely, it prepares students for higher education and provides training for those who will end their schooling at this level. Because of the importance of this stage of education, most developed nations have made secondary education an integral part of mass education. Unfortunately, in the Indian Education System, it has received less attention as compared to higher education.

Between 1950 and 1990, secondary schools were smaller in number and were largely dominated by urban, middle class, upper caste boys and girls. Although subsidized, the rural, poor and the lower caste boys and girls were a marginal presence in secondary schools. In the 1990s, under the impact of economic liberalization, the government and aided schools began to decline in quality and rise in cost, and private schools began to be established at an accelerating rate. This further excluded the latter section of the population (Jeffrey et al 2005a:59).

Today, more than 50 percent of secondary schools come under private managements. As it was seen earlier, Majumdar's (2005) study shows that these private schools are too expensive for the majority of Dalit students to access and therefore, they just rely on government schools. Although there are various welfare programmes for Dalit students initiated by the government, the disregard and indifference towards the so called 'Dalit' schools and the consequent poor educational quality in these schools have only contributed to the further exclusion of Dalits. Moreover, with globalisation, knowledge of English language and education in an English medium school has become a pre-requisite for employment. But English medium schools, which are private schools, are beyond the access of Dalits because of the high cost involved (Jeffrey et al 2005a:257). The growth of private schools, therefore, has only sharpened the social inequality within the education system.

Along with the declining quality of education in government schools, Dalits face a myriad of other problems like lack of motivation, lack of guidance, lack of a conducive atmosphere, financial problems and language difficulties within the education system. These problems affect their motivational level and performance in education, and ultimately their employment and social life (Waghmare 1999:413).

Rationale of the Study

Most studies (Chitnis 1981, Shah 1982) concerning the secondary and higher education of SCs/STs were done in the 1980s under the project research of Indian Council of Social Science Research (ICSSR). These studies largely focused on how economic disadvantage was related to the dropouts, enrolment and educational performances SCs/STs. In other words, these studies probed into the economic aspects of social disadvantage among the SCs/STs. While recognizing the importance of these studies, it is however important to note that social disadvantages can not be measured and understood solely in economic terms. Rather, they need to be also understood as part of a socio-cultural system that is based on certain norms, values, institutions and practices. In other words, in the context of this work, social exclusion (as discussed earlier) of Dalits in the existing education system needs to be examined taking into consideration the socio-cultural factors that mould a caste society.

Since the beginning of liberalization and privatization policies in the 1990s, as it was seen earlier, the incidence of employment in government jobs have reduced and employment in the open market has hard to find as far as a Dalit is concerned. In this context, the reservation policy that has been implemented by the government intends to provide the Dalits with opportunities to new occupations and social economic status. While some Dalits manage to find their way through the opportunities provided by the reservation policy, a large number of Dalits fail to make it through. What happens to these Dalits and what are their experiences is something that has largely remained undocumented in most studies except for a few studies like that of Jeffery et al. In their study, the educated Chamar youth in U.P. who failed to make it through the system referred to themselves as “useless, empty, wondering and unemployed”. Further, they show that the reality of this large scale unemployment has led to the formation of new

generation of frustrated parents who educate their children only up to 8th standard and who question the value of higher education (Jeffrey et al 2005b:30-33). This study will examine how caste identity of dalit students access to education at the secondary stage, how they have coped with their situation and what their experiences have been. Using the framework social exclusion discussed earlier the effort will be to look at the nature of inclusion in education and to what extent dalit students continue to experience institutional rules, norms and practices as well as social relations of exclusion.

An important thrust of this work is to make an effort to understand the policy dilemma regarding SC's within the framework of social exclusion rather than merely in terms of 'unproblematic' inclusion. Government policies are usually studied in terms of how inclusive they are of all sections of the society. But the limitations that are there in the theory and practice of these policies often direct us to observe the 'exclusions' within the so called inclusive policies. Government policies in education have largely been informed by the perspective of 'equality of educational opportunity' rather than 'equity' or 'social justice'. As Geetha Nambissan points out, "the policy objective has largely been to bring excluded groups such as the Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes on par with the general population in terms of enrolment, retention and learning levels...however, the process of schooling, which is integral to the quality of the learning experience and hence equity in education, has received little attention." (Nambissan 2006:227) At a superficial level the policy may appear to be inclusive but the unruly practices that happen at the level of educational institutions exposes the exclusions that happen, thereby, indicating the inequitable inclusion of Dalits and marginal groups in schools. While it is true that a section of the Dalits have succeeded in getting through the education system as a result of the benefits availed through affirmative action, the Dalit middle class, relatively enjoy more "privileged inclusion in schools" (ibid.:260), the reality is that, a large section of the Dalits are only included in schools at the point of entry and they are included only in terms of 'unfavourable inclusion' because the institutional structure and processes that a Dalit student enters are discriminatory (Sen 2004)

Objectives of the study

- To analyse the pattern of access, participation and outcome of Dalits in secondary school education over the years in different types of schools.
- To explore the causes and consequences of social exclusion among Dalit students at secondary school.
- To do a small exploratory study on Dalit students in secondary education to understand their experience of inclusion and exclusion in secondary education. Further to understand from Dalit students, their aspirations, and perceptions of opportunities for higher education.

As mentioned earlier the study is informed by the framework of social exclusion and inclusion elaborated earlier. This will be studied both in relation to **Access** to and **Participation** in secondary education. Access (physical) and (social) is seen in relation to policy perspectives, and nature and extent of provision of facilities. **Participation** will focus on patterns of enrolment and drop out, classroom practices and processes in these schools. Some attention will be devoted to perceptions of outcomes specifically in relation to perception of opportunities from secondary education.

Methodology and analysis

The study is based on the analysis of secondary data including existing sociological literature, journals, reports and newspapers. Included in this are experiences as recorded in the biographies of 'Dalit' authors and personalities; an exploratory study was conducted of experiences of dalit students in secondary school. This is based on interviews with 16 Dalit secondary school students in Palamau district of Jharkhand state. These students were purposively selected so as to include dalits from different caste groups. Of these 5 were *Chamars*, 3 were *Dusadhs*, 2 were *Pasis*, among the rest of the respondents, each were of *Dhobi*, *Rajwar*, *Bhuiya*, *Dabgar*, *Halkhor*, *Dom* castes. All the respondents except one were male.

From the secondary data trends will be mapped in relation to access and participation comparing with non dalits as well as among dalits where data is available. Primary data from the interviews will be analysed qualitatively to attempt to understand some of the processes of exclusion and inclusion in secondary education.

The discussion that follows is divided into 3 chapters. Chapter 2 discusses the pattern of access, participation and outcome of Dalits in secondary education over the years in different types of schools. Chapter 3 discusses the state of secondary education of Dalit students in the state of Jharkhand, with a focus on Palamau district. In this chapter, there would be a qualitative analysis of the fieldwork done at Palamau. Chapter 4 presents a summary and the conclusions of this study.

Chapter 2

SECONDARY EDUCATION IN INDIA: ACCESS AND PARTICIPATION

Chapter 2

Secondary Education in India: Access and Participation

Introduction

This chapter attempts to analyse the trends in access and participation of students in secondary education in India. In order to facilitate a comprehensive analysis, this chapter is divided into two parts. In the first part, government policies in relation to secondary education are analysed. The second part deals with the current situation of secondary education in relation to access and participation in terms of the variables mentioned above. This section also looks at state-wise scenario of secondary education and focuses on the rural-urban divide. It seeks to examine the gender and caste dimensions of secondary education and public-private schooling system. The primary focus of this section would be on a deprived section of the population, i.e. Dalits.³ This is intended to look at the current state of secondary education of the Dalits. It is imperative to analyse the challenges and opportunities available for the Dalits, especially with regard to education in the era of globalisation.

It has been accepted that in the age of globalisation, secondary education, rather than elementary education, can play an important role in the progress and development of nations. Secondary education occupies a crucial position in the entire educational structure and is described by many as “the lintel of the entire educational edifice” (NIEPA 2001:v). It provides links between various sub-sectors of education such as elementary education, higher education, vocational and technical education besides work. It has been further observed that secondary education takes place at a very crucial stage in a person’s life, i.e., during adolescence. It is during this period that one develops and shapes one’s attitudes to life and work.

³ The term ‘Dalit’ means broken and oppressed. The term has been adopted by the outcaste and untouchable communities as against their reference to as *Harijans* or the children of God. The term has also taken on connotations of liberation and unity of the many sub-caste communities within. The Constitution of India have included Dalits in the Scheduled Castes category. In the current study, the terms Dalits and Scheduled Castes are coterminous.

Secondary Education: The Indian Scenario

Though many countries have hitherto focussed on compulsory basic and elementary education, the advanced nations of the world have today gone beyond the primary level education and made secondary education free and compulsory for the age group 16-18. In most parts of the developed world, secondary and upper secondary education has become the main take off stages for employment. In many such countries, compulsory education extends into secondary grades (Majumdar 2005:2351). In countries like Germany, the goals of universalising secondary education have been achieved. In Japan, the first 9 years of a child's education has been made free and compulsory (Khandelwal 2002:2). The secondary enrolment ratio is also high in developed countries as well as some developing nations. According to Human Development Report 2002, the Net Secondary Enrolment Ratio in some developed and developing nations are as follows: U.S 90%, UK 94%, Cuba 75%, Malaysia 93%, Thailand 55%, Chile 70%, China 50%, and Botswana 57%. The related figures in 2004-05 for India were 39.91 per cent (GOI 2007a: XIII)

School participation at the secondary level in India lags behind is at a disadvantaged state when compared to other countries. In a recent study, Geeta Kingdon finds that India stands 27 percent below Brazil and Russian Federation in terms of secondary school net enrolment ratio. She says that India is more than 30 years behind China in terms of the proportion of population with completed secondary and post-secondary schooling (Kingdon 2005:3). Again, India is at a disadvantage when adult and youth literacy rates are taken into consideration. Table 2.1 gives a clear picture of India's adult literacy rates (15 years of age and above) alongside similar statistics for its regional neighbours and other countries. For example, India does well when compared to Bangladesh and Pakistan whereas it lags behind among the other countries such as Brazil, China and Russia. A comparison with sub-Saharan Africa reveals the striking fact that India's overall adult literacy rate is similar to that of theirs and India's female adult literacy rate is lower than theirs. India's adult literacy is 61 percent whereas in China it is 90.9 percent. Therefore, India is 30 percent behind China in terms of adult literacy in the age group 15 and above.

Table 2.1
Adult and Youth Literacy Rates 2000-2004

Region	Adult Literacy Rate (Ages 15+)		
	Total	Male	Female
Bangladesh	42.6	51.7	33.1
Pakistan	49.9	63.0	36.0
Sri Lanka	90.7	92.3	89.1
India	61.0	73.4	47.8
China	90.9	95.1	86.5
Brazil	88.6	88.4	88.8
Russian Federation	99.4	99.7	99.2
World	82.2	87.2	77.3
Developing Nations	76.8	83.5	70.1
Sub Sahara Africa	61.2	69.5	53.3

Source: Education for all Global Monitoring Report, UNESCO, 2006

Educational achievement of India gives a picture of mixed success. Though India has 22 percent of world's population, it has 46 percent of the world's illiterates (Kingdon 2005:3). India has a very high proportion of world's out of school children. On the positive side, it gives an encouraging picture in terms of recent progress in schooling participation. Recent data shows that school participation rate is as high as 93.5 percent, as so many children of the 6-14 age groups have enrolled themselves in elementary schools in 2004-05 (GOI 2007a: XIII).

In India, in the 1990s efforts were on to universalise elementary education. The District Primary Education Programmes (DPEP) (From the early 1990s) and subsequently Sarva Siksha Abhiyan (SSA) at the turn of the century were two of the important programmes that the Government of India took up to further this ambition. Secondary education on the other hand has been neglected, as it was presumed that children need not go to the next level of schooling after primary education. Criticising the current governmental policies on secondary education, Shantha Sinha says, "We must begin to acknowledge that the poor are making wholehearted efforts to send their children to school. There is such a mismatch between parental aspirations and the half hearted policies that are unwilling to recognise and respond to parental demand for education. In the name of being practical they make plans in piecemeal fashion, saying

‘let’s do primary education’ first or let’s focus on removing children engaged in the ‘worst forms of child labour first’. Translated into action, it means that the older child who is out of school would have no redemption as she is now too old, (10 years old!) and it is perfectly alright for younger child who is asked to come to school not go beyond class 5... Such a half hearted policy has resulted in denial of children, their right to education and also in inefficiency and wastage” (Sinha 2006:6-7).

Despite all these efforts, secondary education in India is found to be the fastest growing level of school education. This is true even in the case of educationally backward states like Rajasthan, Bihar and UP. It has been claimed that the expansion of secondary education is due to the cascading effect of government’s focus on universalisation of elementary education. A steady increase in the enrolment ratio at secondary/senior secondary stage during past decade has been noticed. The enrolment ratio at secondary/senior secondary stage increased from 1.5 million in 1950 to 19 million in 1990. In 2004-05, the ratio further shot up to 37 million (GOI 2007a:VIII) Girls constituted 36.2 percent of the total enrolment in class IX to XII in 1996-97 (Baroowa 2002:199) and it further increased to 41.5 percent in 2004-05. In 2001, the population of children aged 14-18, who are likely to enter secondary education was 8.55 crores and this has been projected as 9.7 crores in 2011 (GOI 2007b). It has been estimated that if all these children are to be enrolled, 1.12 lakhs class rooms and 1.5 lakhs additional teachers will be needed (GOI 2005:35).

Aggarwal asserts that despite these developments, only 8 percent of the total population has been able to attend (or attained) matric/secondary/senior secondary level qualification in 1991 (Aggarwal 2002). It has to be mentioned here that though there was an expansion in the secondary stage of education, only 3.7 crores of the total 9.29 crores (less than 40 percent) children in the age group of 14-18 is getting secondary education in 2004-05. In other words, it is found that about two-thirds of those eligible for secondary and senior secondary education remain outside the school system today. It has to be mentioned here that entry into secondary education is highly restricted in India as there are limited entry points. In India, secondary education is accessible only to those students who successfully progress from Grade I through Grade X. Leave alone a few educationally forward states in the country, participation of students in secondary

education, especially those belonging to the deprived sections of the population, remains highly restrictive (Majumdar 2005).

Mukhopadhyay also notes that secondary education was not part of the universal declaration of human rights (Mukhopadhyay 2002:2). A reference to secondary education in an international document came first in the Convention Against Discrimination in Education – when the State Parties pledged to make the different forms of secondary education in their respective states available to everyone. The Convention on the Rights of Child has made special mention on general and vocational education. Educationists opine that increasing reference to secondary education in general and its different forms in particular, especially in the international documents is seen to indicate the shift in focus from primary education to secondary education.

Of late, a massive expansion of secondary education is being witnessed in almost all countries of the world. Statistical data shows that global enrolment in secondary education shot up from 40 million in 1950 to 398 million in 1997. The expansion is difficult to ignore as there has been an eightfold increase in enrolment ratio in a span of just 47 years. The World Education Report 2000 specifies this increase in enrolment ratio in different parts of the world. Gross Enrolment ratio increased 4.4 times in Europe, 3.6 times in North America, 34 times in Africa and 16 times in Asia/Oceania (as cited in Mukhopadhyay 2002)

Many modern educationists have consistently emphasised the importance of secondary education and have called for a shift in focus towards this stage of education in the changing world. After a thorough examination of the evolution and development of education in different parts of the world, R. H. Dave has rightly pointed out that if 20th century was the period for the development of primary education, the 21st century is to be dedicated for the development of secondary education. He says that “the emphasis on the quality of secondary education and the need to prepare ourselves well for facing the challenges of the 21st century assume special significance.” (Dave 1993 as cited in Baroova 2002: 118)

In short it can be seen that in India, secondary education has been largely ignored. It never earned the popularity of primary education, nor did it earn the focus and attention of higher education. The government never assumed full responsibility for this stage of

education, nor did this stage of education get budget allocations and grants that it should have got. The government always maintained the stance that it is not under any constitutional obligation to promote universal secondary education. However, educational policy makers have advised the government that, if it fails to focus attention on secondary education, it would soon come under immense pressure as the growing number of pupils completing primary education could not be accommodated in the existing secondary education facilities. A brief review of the policy perspectives on secondary education is given below.

The Secondary Education Commission 1952-53

In 1952, the government appointed a committee under the chairmanship of Justice A. L. Mudaliar to seek ways to improve secondary education in the country. The commission articulated the aim of secondary education in the following words: “An individual must form his independent judgement on all kind of complicated social, economic and political issues and to a large extent, decide his own course of action. The secondary education, which would be the end of all formal education for the majority of the citizens, must assume the responsibility providing the necessary training... to develop the capacity for clear thinking and receptivity to the new ideas... He must develop a scientific attitude of the mind to think objectively and base his conclusion on tested data... should neither reject the old because it is old nor accept the new because it is new, but dispassionately examine both and courageously reject whatever arrests the forces of justice and progress.” (as cited in GOI 2005:13)

In order to realise these objectives, the commission suggested that the very concept of education should transcend the narrow academic approach. It further argued that the scope of education should be broadened so as to embrace all academic activities that would ultimately help the student to earn a living. In the words of the Commission, secondary education should help infuse in the student all qualities “necessary for living graciously, harmoniously and efficiently with one’s fellow men.” (ibid.:14)

In short, the commission gave special emphasis for the development of thinking capabilities and scientific temperament of secondary school students. It also broadened the scope of secondary education by including all activities that helps in character

building and personality development of the pupils. The commission also noted that “secondary education should help integrate the nation through its advocacy for scientific temperament and should inculcate in the minds of the young people, the true spirit of patriotism.” (ibid: 14)

The Mudaliar Commission put forward the idea of multipurpose school⁴ and recommended an 11 year pattern (8+3 model) of school education for offering diversification after 8 years of schooling by providing training in various crafts/vocations. The Commission felt that at the end of this, a student should be in a position to take up some vocation and enter the world of work.

Accordingly, the government decided to develop a national system of education covering 11 years of school education – five years of primary education to be followed by three years of upper primary and three years of higher secondary education. During the first and second five-year plans, multipurpose schools were also established in some states with special emphasis on the above subjects, so as to help students develop some kind of skills at the end of the course.

However, even after the end of the third five year plan, educational authorities could develop only 25 percent of secondary schools into higher secondary schools. Moreover, lack of trained teachers in practical subjects and insufficient teaching materials including textbooks and handbooks resulted in limiting the range of elected courses. Facilities for educational and vocational assistance were also very limited (Aggarwal 2002).

The Kothari Commission: 1964-66

In 1964, the government constituted a commission under the chairmanship of Dr. D. S. Kothari to investigate into the nature and status of education in the country and to recommend changes. After examining the various dimensions of educational system in the country, the commission presented its report entitled *Education and National*

⁴ By multi-purpose schools, the commission meant those schools that offer one or more practical courses in Technology, Agriculture, Commerce, Home Science and Fine Arts, in addition to the usually taught subjects including Humanities and Science. The multi-purpose schools adopted the selective system of recruitment, by which the student, after completing class VIII, has to select his or her area of interest, and attend classes in their selected stream of courses.

Development in 1966. This document gave shape to the objectives, goals and focus of all the different stages of education in the country.

Regarding school education, the Commission suggested a different pattern, known as the 10+2 pattern to be implemented at the national level. Emphasis was also given to the development of an appropriate language policy,⁵ development of national consciousness and capability to understand international concerns. It noted that school education should help to develop appropriate attitudes, values and skills of the pupils. The Commission also recommended the development of the common school system.⁶ Under the 10+2 norm, recommendation for a uniform curriculum was made. Students who usually dropped out from school after 10th grade were especially targeted under this scheme. The commission suggested that subjects such as science and mathematics be made compulsory.

The government of the day accepted the recommendations of the report of the Kothari Commission and affirmed that “educational opportunities at the secondary (and higher education) level as a major instrument of social change and transformation” (NCERT 1970:xix) and accordingly developed the 10+2 system. Also, the +2 stage was divided into two stages namely vocational and academic. The commission envisaged 10 years of general education without any specialisation, followed by a two-year course with its courses diversified into specialised areas. The Commission also dismissed the system of diversifying courses after Class VIII as recommended by Mudaliar Commission. The Kothari Commission upheld that at the age of 12 or 13 – when usually the child passes Class VIII – they are not in a position to choose their area of study. The Commission even identified the system of selective recruitment with child marriage, saying that the child at this age is not matured to make independent decisions (Naik 1982).

The recommendations of Kothari Commission were also widely accepted by almost all the states, though the implementation of the recommendations could not be

⁵ In order to foster the country’s pluralistic character, the Commission envisaged introduction of three language formula – by which the students were supposed to learn three languages at an appropriate stage of schooling. Apart from the regional tongue, the students have to learn any other Indian language and English.

⁶ Common schools are those schools developed on the basis of those values and principles as stated in the Constitution of India. These schools are supposed to impart common education to all children of the nation, irrespective of their caste, creed or colour, linguistic background, economic or cultural status or gender.

achieved uniformly. The report is still considered a land mark document in the reconstruction and reforms in education in India. The National Education Commission 1968 was welcomed and implemented with great fanfare but due to financial constraints, and a lack of political will most of the recommendations could not be implemented till now. Moreover, where vocational education at the secondary stage is concerned, it is important that without economic and business opportunities linked to the vocations, which they sought to train for, these schemes were bound to fail. This was the fate of multi-purpose streams introduced by Mudaliar Commission on secondary education after class 8 and of vocational streams after class 10 that Kothari Commission proposed.

The commission found that in order to develop the quality of education, the efficiency and accountability of the teachers should also be improved. Further, the commission reminded pupils should be provided with adequate educational facilities and libraries and laboratories should be properly maintained as part of the pedagogical reforms programme. The Kothari Commission did not chalk out a programme of action for the universalisation of secondary education due to various reasons, but primarily since the priorities at the time and focus was basically on elementary education (Khandelwal 2002:2).

National Policy on Education 1986

The government of India released the National Policy on Education (NPE) 1986 which was revised further in 1992, promising to widen the access to secondary education. The policies advocated bringing in of new directions and expansion at various stages of education. The policy also called for removing obstacles in the path of accessibility, and to improve quality and correspondence between education and work at various levels of education, both technical and professional. It also emphasised that education must play a constructive role in bridging regional imbalances and bring empowerment and self-respect to the historically marginalised sections of society.

The NPE 1986 dealt with secondary education in relation to access, challenges, diversification of courses and social equality. The following points are worth mentioning:

- The policy noted that the problem with secondary education lies with accessibility. It emphasised the need for restructuring the enrolment process so as to assure participation of more pupils. The policy found that pupils belonging to deprived sections of the society and girls, scheduled caste, scheduled tribes should get more participation in the secondary education process. The policy further noted that specific areas of study including commerce, science and vocational streams should be open to these pupils.
- The Programme of Action (POA) 1992 provided a blue print to expand secondary education. Those areas which were devoid of middle schools especially areas which have a high concentration of SCs and STs, were to be treated as a unit at the block level and it was decided to “expand access by opening new schools in un-served, areas, the ratio between secondary schools (high schools) to upper primary (middle) schools is not lower than 1:1.86. Moreover, in general habitations it was decided to start high schools in the ratio of 1:3:5 which meant that for every 3 primary schools and 5 upper schools, it was decided to start one high school. Besides, it also proposed the upgrading and diversifying of existing schooling facilities as a short term measure. As a medium and long term measure school mapping exercise was sought to be undertaken at the state level which was scheduled to be by 1994, and a programme of necessary expansion on the basis of this exercise was sought to completed by 2000.(MHRD, GOI:1992)
- A major offshoot of the NPE 1986 was the establishment of residential schools called Novodaya Vidyalaya, one in each district to serve the objective of excellence coupled with equity and social justice (with reservation for SCs and STs) to promote national integration by providing opportunities to talented children from rural areas. These schools were expected to become catalysts of a nationwide programme for secondary education improvement.
- The 1986 policy recommended that, vocational courses be offered at the +2 stage in order to meet the demands of the labour market. The policy was a foresighted one. It envisaged that 10% students in the higher secondary would be diverted to vocational streams by 1990's and this share would increase to 25% by 1995.

Though the policy recognised the importance of secondary education and emphasised the need to expand it, several scholars lamented that it had only ‘a halting growth’. Only an articulated policy aimed at development and qualitative change should be formulated with the necessary financial support if the authorities are aiming to tackle many of the challenges and problems in the field of secondary education (NIEPA 2001). The promises made by the revised Programme of Action (1992) to formulate a medium and long term plan to develop secondary education by 2000 are yet to be fulfilled. The NPE 1986 suggested that all states switch to uniform structure of education. Many centrally sponsored schemes intended to raise the quality of secondary education never took off. For example, vocational courses offered by secondary schools failed to generate interest among the students and parents. The share of enrolment in vocational courses had stagnated at 5% which was targeted to reach 25% by 1995 (Aggarwal 2002). As a result the secondary education continues to be besieged with old problems like lack of access, inequalities in access, deteriorating quality and so on. According to Aggarwal (2002:26), the main reason for the poor development of secondary education is the lack of political will and the necessary finance, which Krishna Kumar refers to as the “culture of corruption” (Krishna Kumar 2007) and messy administrative tangles, which could also have had a negative impact on the educational scenario.

CABE Report: Universalisation of Secondary Education

The government realised the pitfalls of its earlier mistakes that is of not laying greater emphasis on secondary education, thereby showing an exponential growth in elementary education, which inevitably build up a huge pressure on secondary education. For example, the growth in enrolment of secondary schools had increased at an annual rate of 2.83% in the 1990s. It increased at 7.4 percent per annum in the years 2000-03 (GOI 2007b). The government realised the pressure that was building upon secondary education and this was one of the reasons that the government constituted a CABE committee in September 2004. This was the highest deliberative and advisory forum on education in India. The purpose of the formation of this committee was to “prepare a blueprint for the universalisation of secondary education.”(ibid.)

The Committee’s major recommendations were as follows:

- The pressure on secondary education is already high and therefore, it will not be wise to wait till 2010 when the pressure may become unbearable. In the light of this, governments at the level of Central, State and UTs should jointly initiate planning to implement the agenda of universal and free education in the first phase by the year 2015 and then extend it to senior secondary education in the second phase by 2020 (GOI 2005:18).
- The guiding principles of universal secondary education should be universal access, equality and social justice, relevance and development, and structural and curricular considerations. In order to extend the access and participation of marginalized section at the level of secondary education, the long-overdue changes in the social, cultural and pedagogic character of the secondary and senior secondary schools should not be delayed further.
- There has to be a norm for schooling. Such norms should be developed for each state with common national parameters as well as state specific parameters.
- Each state should develop a perspective plan for universal secondary education. Decentralised micro level planning should be the main approach to planning and implementation of Universal Secondary Education.
- Financial requirements for covering the cost of universal elementary and secondary education will form approximately 5.1 per cent of GDP. Hence the immediate allocation of 6 percent of GDP for education and progressive increase in this proportion will be necessary to move towards universalisation of secondary education.

The CABE report calls for a “Paradigm shift in the conceptual design of secondary education” and offers four guiding principles on which the future edifice of universal secondary education can be built on: universal access, equality and social justice, relevance and development, structural and curricular aspect. This shift is expected to simultaneously have impact on the level of access, socio-cultural character, developmental objectives and structural-cum-curricular provisions of secondary education.

The CABE Committee, in its report of 2004, held the view that secondary education, if not compulsory, should be made universal and free. The committee noted

that all children successfully completing elementary stages of education and high school should have access to higher secondary education. The committee further noted that secondary education should be made universal latest by 2015. By 2020, the authorities should ensure that all students successfully complete secondary education, and at least 60% students gain mastery in all kinds of learning tasks.

The CABE Report for the first time brought out the importance of secondary education. It pointed out that in the midst of the heightened rhetoric of universalising elementary education, the government had been indifferent to secondary education. It drew attention to the fact that “Elementary education of eight years is no more adequate – it neither equips a child with the necessary knowledge and skills to face the world of work nor does it empower her to deal with challenges of globalising economy.” (GOI 2005:13) It pointed out that if children are not given the opportunity to complete a minimum of 12 years of education, it is equal to depriving them of the opportunities to find a career.

Moreover, if the government is serious about tackling inequality in education, it needs to provide the marginalized sections access to secondary education. Policies like the reservation policy in higher education becomes useless if a majority of Dalit and tribal children and youth don't have access to secondary and senior secondary education. Therefore, the report argued that “secondary education is no more a luxury but a pre condition for equitable social development, widening participation in India's democratic functioning, building up of an enlightened secular republic and globally competitive.” (GOI 2005: 14)

Organisation Structure of Secondary Education

In India, secondary education consists of 8th to 12th classes in the 10+ 2 school structure. This is further divided into high school, consisting of 7th/8th - 10th classes, and higher secondary school, consisting of 11th and 12th classes. The secondary education is also known as intermediate/junior college education in many states of India. The secondary education caters to students between the ages of 14 and 18.

Table 2.2
Pattern of school structure in India 2002

School Pattern	States/ Union Territories
5+3+2 Pattern	Arunachal Pradesh, Bihar, Chhattisgarh, Haryana, Himachal Pradesh, Jammu & Kashmir, Jharkhand, Madhya Pradesh, Manipur, Punjab, Rajasthan, Sikkim, Tamil Nadu, Tripura, Uttar Pradesh, Uttaranchal, A & N Islands, Chandigarh, Delhi, Pondicherry. (Total 20)
4+3+3 Pattern	Assam, Goa, Gujarat, Kerala, Maharashtra, Meghalaya, Mizoram, D & N Haveli, Lakshadweep. (Total 10)
5+2+3 pattern	Andhra Pradesh, Karnataka & Orissa (Total 3)
4+4+2 Pattern	Nagaland & West Bengal (Total 2)
10+2 Schools	All States & UTs (Total 35)
Hr.Secondary+Degree colleges (10+2 System)	Andhra Pradesh, Assam, Bihar, Chhattisgarh, Goa, Haryana, Himachal Pradesh, Jammu & Kashmir, Jharkhand, Karnataka, Kerala, Maharashtra, Meghalaya, Mizoram, Nagaland, Orissa, Punjab, West Bengal, Chandigarh. (Total 20)

Source: Computed from 7th All India Educational survey 2005, NCERT.

The school structure in India is not uniform. As Table 2.2 indicates, there are several patterns of school structure but the most common are 5+3+2 and 4+3+3 (primary + middle + high schools). In the plus 2 system, a uniform structure of school education has been adopted by all the States and Union Territories of India. The 10+2 stage in 20 states/UTs is either attached to degree colleges or remains within the school system.

Typology of Schools

In India, there are three main school types: government (local body schools are also included in government schools), aided and private. Schools run by the central, state or local governments are referred to as government schools. Schools run by private managements but funded largely by government grant in aid are known as aided or private aided schools. Government and aided schools are very similar and they are both publicly funded. For instance, “teachers in aided school are paid salaries at government teacher salary rates directly from the state government treasury and are recruited by a government appointed Education Service Commission rather than by the school.”

(Kingdon 2007) Schools run by private managements without government aid are known as private unaided schools. Even these private unaided schools are further divided into 'recognized' and 'unrecognized' schools. Those schools which can issue valid 'transfer certificates' to students leaving the school are called 'recognised schools'. These certificates are required for the students to seek admission in other schools, including higher-level schools (Kochar 2001:12).

Secondary Education: Physical and Social Accessibility

At the time of independence, secondary education occupied a very low base mainly because of the focus on mass education. Over a period of time, although there was considerable growth in terms of the number of institutions (7416 in 1951 to 152049 in 2005), the access to and participation in secondary education continued to be low. Till now, large segments of the population living in rural and other remote areas have had very limited access to secondary education. The 7th AIES (2007) data reveals (Table 2.3) that 94 percent habitations do not have secondary schools within their habitation whereas 98 percent do not have higher secondary schools within their habitation.

As per the survey, 73.18 percent habitations have access to secondary schools within the accepted norm of 5 km and 62.34 percent of the habitations have access to higher secondary schools within the accepted norm of 8 km. However, there was an increase in the accessibility of 3 percent and 5 percent habitations to secondary and higher secondary schools respectively during the period from 1993 to 2002 (NCERT 1998 and NCERT 2007).

Inter state variations show that Jharkhand has the lowest accessibility of schooling in the country with only 44.56 percent (national average is 73.18) of habitations having a high school facility within a distance of 5 km. Jharkhand is followed by Madhya Pradesh (54.62) and Chhattisgarh (55.78). At the higher secondary level also, Jharkhand has the lowest accessibility of schooling in the country with 18.33 percent (national average is 62.34). The situation at the higher secondary level is so critical that even the states which are educationally advanced have lower accessibility. For instance, Andhra Pradesh (46.66), Maharashtra (53.19), Gujarat (55.79), Karnataka (56.22) have lower accessibility

as compared to Kerala (87.52) and Tamil Nadu (81.79). (See Appendix I) This scenario assumes more seriousness when it is seen in the context of caste and gender.

With reference to scheduled castes, the 7th AIES (2007) shows that about 1, 74, 700 (14.44 percent) habitations are Dalit habitations (any habitation where more than 50% of the population are Dalits). Each habitation is entitled to a primary school within 1 km, a middle school within 3 kms, a high school within 5 kms and a senior secondary school within 8 kms. In this respect, there is not much difference in the availability of schooling between general habitations and Dalit habitations (Table 2.3). However, this lack of major difference in the physical accessibility of schools within a reasonable distance does not necessarily give any indication as to how socially accessible the institutions really are.

Table 2.3
Availability of schooling in rural habitations, India (2002)

Availability of schools/section	General* Habitation (per cent)**				Scheduled Caste Habitations			
	Primary	Middle	Secondary	Higher Secondary	Primary	Middle	Secondary	Higher Secondary
Within the habitation	51.55	16.88	5.79	1.66	42.50	9.49	3.21	1.01
Within 1 km***	85.63	23.46	-	-	86.07	27.49	-	-
Within 2km	-	-	28.55	13.20	-	-	32.64	16.31
Within 3km	-	80.91	-	-	-	81.83	-	-
Within 5km	-	-	73.18	-	-	-	76.60	-
Within 8km	-	-	87.66	62.34	-	-	90.13	70.14
More than 8 km	-	-	12.34	37.66	-	-	9.87	29.86

*General habitation excludes predominantly Scheduled Caste and Scheduled Tribe habitations

** These are percentage of habitations that have each schooling facility at the given distance

*** But not within the habitation

Source: Source: Data computed from the Seventh All India Education Survey, (NCERT: 2002), <http://gov.au.nic.in/NscheduleData/main3.aspx>.

In regard to the concentration of high and higher secondary schools, within Dalit habitations it is 4.2 percent while within general habitations it is 7.45 percent. In Dalit habitations, only 9.95 percent of the population have access to high schools while in general habitations, 20.55 percent of the population have access to the same (Appendix II). Similarly, in Dalit habitations, only 3.95 percent of the population have access to

higher secondary schools while in general habitations, 8.30 percent of the population have access to higher secondary schools (Appendix III). This shows that the availability of secondary and higher secondary schools within the Dalit habitations is abysmally low as compared to the general population. Moreover, about 25.33 percent of Dalit population who are in higher secondary schools have to travel more than 8 kms per day. The distance of secondary schools from students' home and the inability to cover the long distance because of lack of money and transport further makes it difficult to access educational facilities.

Table : 2.4
Proportion of Scheduled Castes and availability of educational facility in India, 2002

Proportion of Scheduled Caste Population	No of Villages	Percentage of Villages	Percentage of villages having schools with			
			Primary	Middle	Secondary	Higher Secondary
0	157745	26.87	21.62	1.55	13.17	9.64
1- 25	277411	47.26	52.49	6.25	66.74	69.24
26 -50	96691	16.47	17.50	1.68	15.51	16.60
51- 75	29032	4.95	4.79	0.32	2.84	2.86
More than 75	26107	4.45	3.60	0.20	1.74	1.67
Total	586986	100.00	78.94	31.41	11.44	3.35

Source: 7th All India Educational Survey NCERT: 2002, Raw data taken from this website: <http://gov.ua.nic.in/NscheduleData/main3.aspx>

Despite the accepted norms of 1:3:5 (five primary schools, three middle schools, and a mandatory requirement of at least one secondary school), there are numerous villages that are deprived of schools of any type. AIES (2007) data (Table 2.4) shows that more than 50 thousand villages where more than 50 percent of the population are Dalits, the availability of secondary and higher secondary schools are abysmal. (4.58 percent secondary and 4.53 percent higher secondary schools) This is in contrast with the larger availability of secondary and higher secondary schools in villages where there are no Dalits. (13.17 percent secondary and 9.64 percent higher secondary schools)

In addition to examining the problems of physical access to schooling, one also needs to consider the problems of social access to schooling too, as far as Dalits are concerned. It is a common observation that Dalit habitations are usually in small clusters and that Dalit habitations are segregated from general caste habitations. According to Marriot villages in rural India are divided on caste lines and this segregated form of settlement is one of the visible forms of untouchability (Marriot 1955) that is still practised in a number of villages.⁷ This poses further problems for the Dalits to access schooling since most of the schools are located in upper caste habitations and for a Dalit to venture into such habitations, that is if he is allowed to do so, is to subject himself or herself to the abuses and discrimination of the upper castes. In other words, the social access of Dalits to schooling is determined by the politics of school location where most of the schools are located in upper caste habitations (Nambissan 2006:234). It is not that Dalit students are not interested in receiving education but the fact of the matter is that there are impediments and flaws within the existing system that prevents them from educational accessibility.

School Quality

The quality of basic educational infrastructure and civic amenities in schools located in rural areas, on which a large percentage of Dalits depend, are in extremely poor condition. According to 7th AIES (2007) data of 2002, more than 80 percent secondary schools (9th to 12th including both private and government schools) in rural areas have a Pucca building whereas in urban areas more than 90 percent secondary schools have a Pucca building. Similarly, 12.37 percent secondary schools in rural areas have a partially Pucca building whereas in urban areas 5.85 percent secondary schools have a partially Pucca building. In urban areas, while private unaided schools have only 4.6 percent partially Pucca building, government schools have more than 10 percent of the same. Besides, in rural areas 3.51 percent schools have a Kuchcha building while in urban areas those schools that have a Kuchcha building is below 1 percent. This shows

⁷A recent study by Ghanshyam Shah et. al. (2006) entitled *Untouchability in Rural India* also corroborates this fact which is based on the results of a large survey covering 565 villages in 11 states reveals that untouchability continues to be widely prevalent and is practised in one form or another in almost 80% of the villages.

that those schools that are government run and are in rural areas have much poorer quality of school buildings than those that are privately managed and are in urban areas. However, the data also shows that there are more number of private unaided schools in rural areas has a Kuchcha building (4.64 percent) than government schools (2.99 percent) (Appendix IV). This figure may indicate the sudden mushrooming of private schools in rural areas following the liberalization of Indian economy in the 1990s, offering poor quality of schooling but charging more fees than government schools.

Besides the quality of school buildings, the existing data also points towards the extremely poor quality of other ancillary facilities such as drinking water facility, urinal facilities and lavatory facilities. According to 7th AIES (2007) data of 2002, in rural areas, about 10 percent schools do not have a drinking water facility, about 20 percent schools do not have urinal facilities, and about 38 percent schools do not have lavatory facilities. In providing separate facilities for girl students, the condition is even worse. In rural areas, about 20 percent schools do not have a separate urinal for girls and about 38 percent schools do not have a separate lavatory for girls. The situation in rural areas is stark contrast to the situation in urban areas. In urban areas, only about 2 percent, 4 percent and 8 percent schools do not have drinking, urinal and lavatory facilities respectively. As far as separate facilities for girl students go, only about 4 percent and 8 percent schools do not have separate urinal and lavatory facilities respectively for girls. In addition to this, it should also be noted that in both urban and rural areas, private schools provide these amenities much more than government schools (Appendix V).

School quality is determined not only by the quality of infrastructural facilities but also by the quality of teaching. The 6th AIES (1998) data (Appendix VI) shows that the teachers in Indian schools are predominantly upper-caste. In the years 1993-94, out of the 95 percent seats that were filled, 6.46 percent, 3.57 percent and 22.46 percent was the composition of teachers from SC, ST and OBC communities respectively (NCERT 1998). This shows that a major composition of the teaching community is upper caste. As far as the education of Dalits is concerned, this will create certain problems in terms of the quality of education they receive. An upper caste teacher may not be sensitive towards the socially disadvantaged state of a Dalit student and may look upon him or her with caste prejudice. As Naila Kabeer points out, upper caste teachers “bring

their own understandings of the legitimacy of caste relations into the classroom.” As a result of which Dalit students are frequently expected to run errands and do menial tasks such as sweeping and cleaning the classrooms. There are also high rates of teacher absenteeism in schools which are predominantly attended by Dalit students. (Kabeer 2006:11)

Although there are no reliable quantitative data available on teacher absenteeism in secondary schools, based on the data available on primary schools, one may be able to come to some conclusions. In 2003, Kremer et al. (2005) based on his three unannounced visits to 3700 schools in 20 major states in India, found out that, on an average 25 percent of teachers in government primary schools were absent from school on a given day. Absence rates also varied from 15 percent in Maharashtra to 42 percent in Jharkhand (Kremer et al 2005:658-667). Moreover, in some schools with students from predominantly Dalit backgrounds, teachers would not take classes on certain days of the week (Nambissan 2006:244). In another instance, at one high school, formal classes were held only for two periods in a day and students often had to rely on after school tuitions (Subrahmanian 2005:76). All this indicates that teacher absenteeism is a major problem in schools, especially those schools in rural areas where Dalits students are predominant, thus affecting the quality of schooling.

Enrolment Rates in Secondary Schools

Gross enrolment ratio at the level of secondary education (aged 14-18) has increased from 11 percent in 1960-61 to 39.91 percent in 2004-05. While there is surely an increase in the gross enrolment rate, the increase has been stunted at certain junctures. In fact, gross enrolment rate has not improved during the 1990's and it has remained stagnant at 32 to 33 percent in the period between 1990-91 and 2000-01 (Table 2.5).

Besides, if one is to look at the gross enrolment rates of girl students and Dalit students on the one hand and the gross enrolment rate in rural areas on the other, it is evident that these gross enrolment rates are below the total gross enrolment ratio. For instance, in 2004-05, the gross enrolment rate of Dalit students at secondary level is 34.68 percent (39.76 percent for boys and 28.73 percent for girls) when the total gross enrolment ratio is 39.91 percent. In 2004-05, the gross enrolment rate of girl students at

secondary level is 35.05 percent when the total gross enrolment ratio is 39.91 percent. In 2003-04, the gross enrolment rate in rural areas is 26.22 percent as compared to the total gross enrolment rate for that year, which is 38.88 percent. What this indicates is that while there is an increase in the gross enrolment ratio, the lower enrolment rates of Dalit students and girl students on the one hand and in rural areas on the other, consistently constrains that increase.

Table : 2.5
Growth of Secondary Education (IX –XII) in India

Year	Institutions	Enrolment		Gross Enrolment Ratio**					Teachers (in '000's)	Pupil Teacher Ratio
		All (in million)	SC (in '000's)	All Categories			SC's			
				Total	Girls	Rural	Total	Girls		
1950-51	7416	1.5	-	-	-	-	-	-	127	21
1960-61	17329	3.4	-	11.00	4.60	-	-	-	296	25
1970-71	37051	7.6	-	19.70	11.00	-	-	-	629	25
1980-81	37051	11.0	1152	23.60	14.70	-	-	-	926	27
1985-86	65837	16.5	1810	-	-	-	-	-	1132	-
1990-91	79796	19.1	2338	32.10	23.40	-	-	-	1334	31
1995-96	99274	22.9	2741	-	-	-	-	-	1549	32
2000-01*	126047	27.6	3812	-	-	-	-	-	1761	32
2001-02*	133492	30.5	4314	33.26	27.74	-	-	-	1777	34
2002-03*	137207	33.2	4400	37.52	33.21	-	-	-	2033	33
2003-04*	145899	35.0	4760	38.88	34.25	26.22	-	-	2035	33
2004-05*	152049	37.1	5218	39.91	35.05	-	34.68	28.73	2083	33

Source: MIRD (various years) Selected Educational Statistics, MHRD, New Delhi
Growth of Enrolment in School Education, 1950-51 to 2004-05, MHRD, New Delhi.

* Provisional

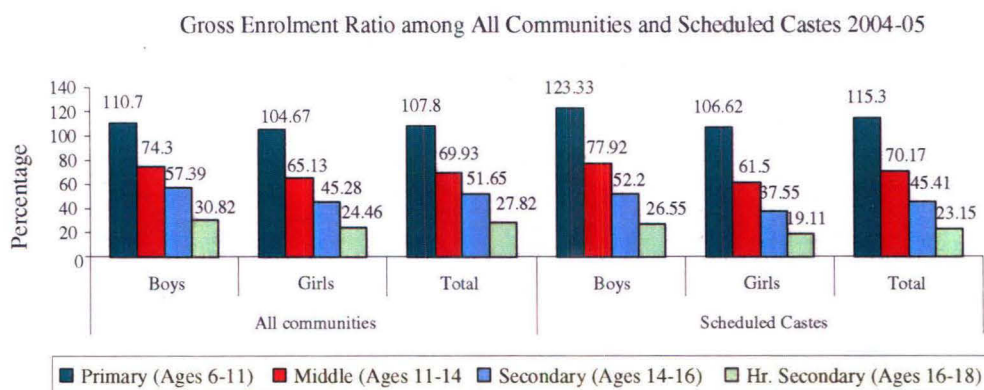
** GER at 14-18 age groups

- Not Available

Another aspect that brings out the character of gross enrolment ratio is the drastic change it indicates at different stages of schooling. For instance, in primary school (ages 6-11) the gross enrolment rate for the year 2004-05 is 107.80 percent; in middle school (ages 11-14), it is 69.93 percent; in high school (ages 14-16), it is 51.65 percent; and in higher secondary school (ages 16-18), it is 27.82 percent (GOI 2007a). What these

figures indicate is that, while there is an increase in the gross enrolment ratio if one is to analyse it chronologically, there is a decrease if one is to analyse it in terms of the rise in stages of schooling. This trend is evident in the case of Dalit students and girl students as well. Moreover, what this trend indicates is the increasing number of students who dropout or withdraw from schools at each stage of education. In fact, only one-fourth of the total number of students who enrol for education in primary schools actually manage to complete their higher secondary education.

Figure: 2.1



Source: Selected Educational Statistics 2004-05, MHRD: GOI (2007)

When we compare data of gross enrolment ratio at state level, huge variations are witnessed (Appendix VII). The national average of gross enrolment rate at high school (ages 14-16) is 51.65 percent in 2004-05. In the gross enrolment rates at high school level, Bihar was found to be the lowest (22.47 percent) and Himachal Pradesh to be the highest (134.89 percent) in the country, in the same year. In states like Kerala, Tamil Nadu, Maharashtra, Andhra Pradesh, Karnataka and Delhi, gross enrolment rates were found to be moderately high, between 50-90 percent in the same year. In educationally backward states like Bihar and Jharkhand, gross enrolment rate was below 30 percent and in states like Chhattisgarh, Uttar Pradesh, and Rajasthan it was less than 50 percent. A look at the gross enrolment rates of various states at higher secondary level is even more serious. The lowest gross enrolment rate at the higher secondary level is in Jharkhand (2.45 percent) as compared to the national average (27.82 percent), followed by Bihar (9.82 percent). The highest is in Himachal Pradesh (127.72 percent). The figures for

educationally advanced states are the following: like Kerala (27.85 percent), Maharashtra (42.32 percent), Andhra Pradesh (42.17 percent), Tamil Nadu (43.87 percent) and Karnataka (43.85 percent). In respect to Dalit students, the lowest gross enrolment ratio at high school level is in Bihar (13.73 percent, national average is 45.41 percent), and the lowest gross enrolment ration at higher secondary level is in Jharkhand (2.20 percent, national average is 23.15 percent) (Appendix VIII).

School Attendance Rates

Current attendance rates⁸ can be a more reliable indicator of schooling participation than enrolment rates mainly because the large enrolment rates measured at the beginning of a school year can hide the non-attendance and/or dropouts that happen as the school year progresses. According to the NSS 61st Round (2006) (Table 2.6) 82.1 percent of students between the age group 5–14 are attending schools in 2004-05. Among students in the age group 15–19, however, the school attendance rate is only 45.4 percent indicating a high rate of school dropouts. School attendance rates at all ages are much higher in urban areas than in rural areas. Also, school attendance rates are similar for male and female children in urban areas, but in rural areas, male children are much more likely than female children to be attending schools.

The non-attendance of Dalit students is much higher than general students. While the non-attendance of Dalits students in the age group of 5 to 14 is 21.7 percent, the non-attendance of general students is 12.2 percent; while the non-attendance of Dalit students in the age group 15 to 19 is 62.7 percent, the non-attendance of general students is 43.6 percent. Here, we notice that along with the increase in age group, the percentage of non-attendance among Dalit and general students also increase. However, the rate of increase in non-attendance among the Dalit students is much higher than the general students. Moreover, the sharp rise in the non-attendance rates especially in the older age group of 15 to 19 indicates that larger number of students leave school just after 14 years of age.

⁸ The current attendance rates refer to whether a person is currently attending any educational institution or not. While every person who is attending an educational institution is necessarily enrolled in that institution, it may so happen that a person who is enrolled is not currently attending the institution. While most of the official educational statistics are based on enrolment, the NSSO Survey, because of its household approach, bases its analysis on the current attendance status.

The discrepancies in the rate of non-attendance become much sharper if one is to look at the existing inequalities on the basis of gender. The non-attendance of Dalit girl students in the age group 5 to 14 is 25.3 percent while the non-attendance of general girl students in the same age group is 13.3 percent. The non-attendance of Dalit girl students in the age group 15 to 19 is 68.4 percent while the non-attendance of general girl students in the same age group was 47.9 percent. This might be a result of the fact that Dalit girl students are the most vulnerable in comparison to every other student. They are the subjects of multiple exclusions generated by poverty, caste and gender. Another reason for their high rate of non-attendance might be the fact that most parents are reluctant to send their daughters to distant schools for a number of cultural and practical reasons (Nambissan 2006:230-231).

Table 2.6
Household Population Aged 5-29 Attending School by Gender, Residence and Social Groups in India, 2004-05

(In percent)

Age (Year)	Total			Rural			Urban		
	Total	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female
<i>Scheduled Castes</i>									
5-14	78.3	81.5	74.7	77.5	80.9	73.7	82.2	85.0	79.3
15-19	37.3	41.8	31.6	34.8	39.6	28.8	45.8	49.5	41.2
20-24	8.2	11.6	4.9	6.5	9.7	3.5	13.9	17.0	10.2
0-29	39.6	42.9	36.1	39.1	42.8	35.2	41.9	43.3	40.2
<i>Other Castes*</i>									
5-14	87.8	88.9	86.7	86.0	87.6	84.2	91.4	91.5	91.4
15-19	56.4	60.3	52.1	49.1	54.8	42.7	68.6	69.4	67.6
20-24	16.5	20.4	12.4	10.5	14.9	5.9	24.9	27.8	21.6
0-29	46.9	49.1	44.5	44.7	47.8	41.3	50.8	51.4	50.2
<i>All**</i>									
5-14	82.1	84.7	79.2	80.3	83.5	76.7	88.5	89.0	87.9
15-19	45.4	50.4	39.6	40.7	47.1	33.3	58.3	59.3	57.1
20-24	11.4	15.1	7.7	7.9	11.4	4.5	20.0	23.2	16.4
0-29	42.7	45.9	39.3	41.2	45.0	37.0	47.5	48.2	46.5

* (excluded Other backward castes), ** (included SC/ST/OBC and other castes)

Source: NSSO 61st Round, Emplo517.employment and Unemployment Situation among Social Groups in India, 2004-05, Report No 516/61/10/2

The highest attendance rate in the age group 5-14 is in Kerala (97.6 percent) followed by Tamil Nadu (96.1 percent), Mizoram (95.3 percent) and Himachal Pradesh (95 percent). The lowest attendance rate in the age group 5-14 is in Bihar (65.2 percent). The highest attendance rate in the age group 15-19 is in Nagaland (79.9 percent) followed by Manipur (79.8 percent), Himachal Pradesh (72.9 percent) and Kerala (68.7 percent). The lowest attendance rate in the age group 15-19 is in Orissa (29 percent). The highest participation rate of female students in the age group 15-19 is in Manipur (77.3 percent) followed by Nagaland (74.9 percent), Kerala (71.1 percent). The lowest participation rate of female students is in Orissa (24.8 percent) before which comes Rajasthan (26.3) percent. In Bihar, Jharkhand, Madhya Pradesh, Rajasthan and Gujarat, the participation rate of female students is below 35 percent (GOI 2006).

For both boys and girls, the cost of schooling is the most frequently mentioned reason for not attending school and the child is not interested in studies is the most frequently mentioned reason for not currently attending school. For both boys and girls, work (in the household, on the family farm or business, or outside the home for payment) and for girls, looking after siblings along with rest of the chores mentioned above, are some of the other important reasons for not attending school.

Dropout

Apart from unequal coverage of secondary educational institutions, the quality and efficiency of this level of education continue to be on shaky grounds. Generally, dropout rates are taken to be indicative of the efficiency and quality of the system. It can generally be said that dropout is an 'endemic problem' of the Indian education system, which reflects itself in all levels of education, so much so in secondary education. According to Selected Educational Statistics (2004-05), (Figure 2.2) the drop out rates in primary school is 29 percent, middle school is 50.58 percent and secondary school is 61.92 percent for the year 2004-05. It is clearly evident from this that as the stages of schooling rises, the dropout rates also increase dramatically. Moreover, the rise in dropout rates is much sharper following primary education. Drop out rate among boys is marginally higher in the primary school (31.81percent to 25.42 percent) and dropout rate among girls is marginally higher than boys in the secondary school (63.88 percent to

60.41 percent). The increasing rate of girl students dropping out of school, especially as one move from primary to secondary school, could be a sign of the increasing pressure on girl students during that stage in their lives to confine to the domestic sphere.

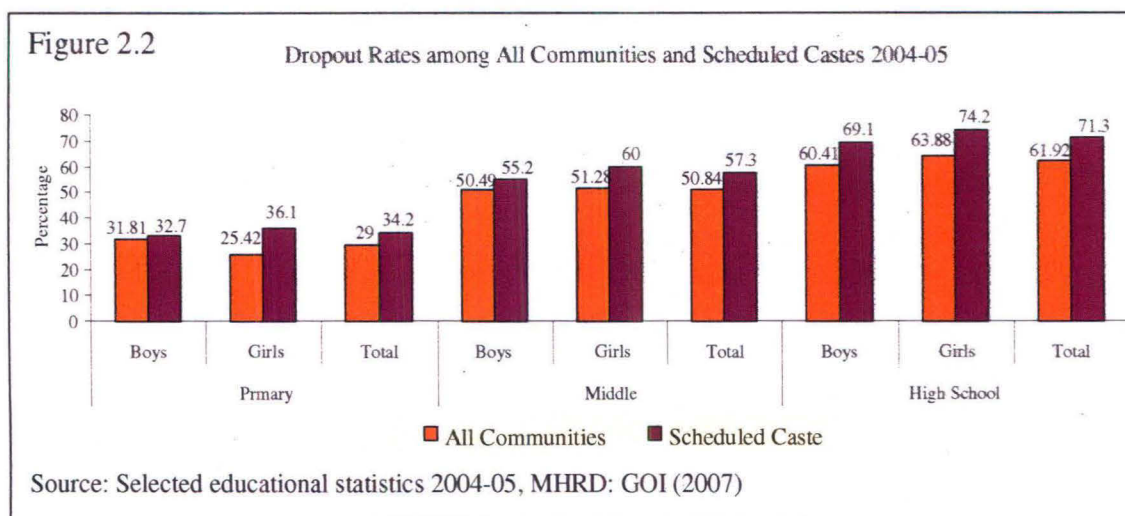
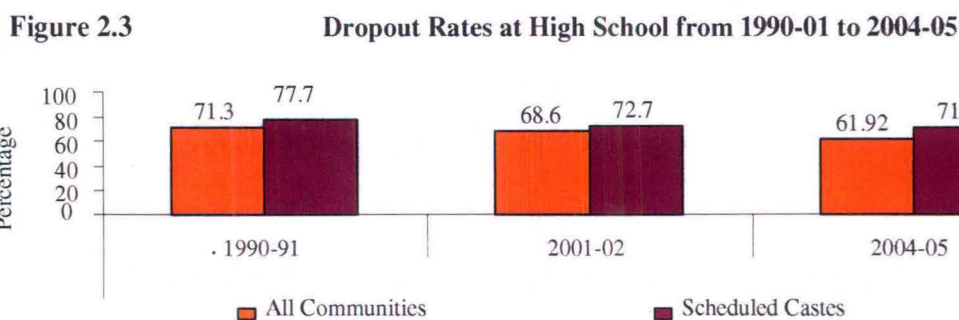


Figure 2.3 shows that drop out rate has not declined during the 1990s at the level of secondary school. It remained stagnant at 71-69 percent in the period between 1990-91 and 2001-02. However, it has declined by 6.68 percentage point between 2001-02 and 2004-05 from 68.6 to 61.92 per cent, which is an encouraging trend.



When we study the variables of drop out rates, at the secondary level, there is a large variation between different states. The drop out rate is highest in Bihar (83.06 percent) and lowest in Goa (40.65 percent). Even in places like Delhi it is 46.92 percent and in states, which are educationally advanced, like Maharashtra, Karnataka, Andhra Pradesh, Tamil Nadu and Gujarat, the drop out rate is 54.16 percent, 59.38 percent, 63.69 percent, 55.19 percent and 59.29 respectively. (Appendix IX)

Among the Dalits, the dropout rates are much higher as compared to general students. The Dalit dropout rate in secondary school at the national level is 71.25 percent. The dropout of Dalit girls is marginally higher in primary school (36.1 per cent to 32.7 per cent) and secondary school (74.2 per cent to 69.1 per cent). The dropout rates at the state level are very alarming. Maharashtra, Karnataka, Tamil Nadu, which are educationally advanced, there are 50 to more than 60 percent Dalits who dropout at secondary level. Even in Kerala, the dropout among Dalits at high school level is almost double the percentage of dropouts among general students - 18.74 percent dropouts among Dalits as compared to 7.15 percent dropouts among the general population.

A variety of factors are responsible for the astounding dropout rates in the Indian school system. The data on 'out-of-school-children' indicates that in poor states where the dropout rate is high, the major reasons for not being in school are 'working on support to family' and 'sibling care'. School related factors such as distance and curriculum are relatively less important. This implies that while better school building, facilities, and teachers are definitely necessary, they are not sufficient in order to reduce dropout rates (Mukherjee 2007:1274). In fact, the first two major reasons for not being in school points towards the structural limitations that poverty imposes on a student's educational growth. Moreover, in the popular discourse, there is an assumption that Dalit students are discouraged by their parents from going to school. This assumption does not hold much ground as it is clear from the existing data that it is poverty and unaffordability of education that is responsible for a large percentage of dropouts (Ravi Kumar 2006:338).

Learning Levels in Secondary Education

The standard of learning at each stage of schooling differs from school to school based on the examination system, curriculum, syllabus and more importantly, the quality of inputs in schooling and the learning environment. In other words, the achievement level of a student at a certain stage of education in a good learning environment is high compared to a student at the same stage of education in a bad learning environment. The study by Pratham shows that the achievement levels of children they tested in the rural areas of 549 Indian districts was very low. Their basic skills of reading and

comprehension, and arithmetic were very poor. In 2006, nearly 47 percent of children who were in school and students of class 5 could not read the story text that designed for class 2 level. In arithmetic, 55 percent students of class 5 and 25 percent students of class 8 could not solve a simple division problem (Pratham 2006). What this indicates is that the learning environment and the specificities of a particular learning context is an important factor in determining the achievement level.

Moreover, the achievement level of a student in the elementary school has a bearing on how equipped he or she actually is for high school. In fact, the low achievement level when complemented by a large percentage of dropouts at elementary level (50.84 percent) makes it difficult for a large percentage of students to make it to high school. In 2002, for instance, in rural schools only 23 out of the 100 students enrolled in class 1 managed to get into class 10. Compared to urban areas, very few students in rural areas manage to get into high schools (NCERT 2007). The situation is even graver when it comes to Dalit students as the learning environment and the quality of inputs they get in schooling is much lower than general students. In regard to the Dalit students, for which data for 2002 is unavailable, in 1993 only 12 out of the 100 Dalit students enrolled in class 1 managed to get into class 10 and only 3.1 percent managed to get into higher secondary schools. In the case of Dalit girls, below 2 percent managed to get into higher secondary schools (NCERT 1998).

If the quality of inputs that students receive during schooling and the learning environment has a bearing on the achievement level of students and the fact that it can vary from school to school, village to village, state to state, etc. determining pass rates become quite shaky. It is also the case that in the case of high school pass rates, most times it cannot be taken at face value as they are much inflated as a result of wide spread cheating during examinations. Moreover, “inter-state comparison is meaningless since curricula, exam papers, passing requirements, etc. all differ from state to state.” (Kingdon 2007:15)

Having recognized this limitation, let us take a quick look at the pass rates in the two major public examinations which are the only ones that make it possible for some kind of standardized evaluation to take place. The Indian education system has a public or centralised examination in order to evaluate students and to select them for further

education - the secondary and higher secondary examination taken at the end of class X and XII. Though each state has got its own examination boards, its own curricula and examination system, there are no national level data base on common standardised achievement test in India (Kingdon 2007:15). Selected Educational Statistics (2004-2005) provides pass rates in high school and higher secondary schools (Intermediate) in different states. In 2005, the national average of success rates in the two terminal public examinations was 64.4 percent and 68.8 percent respectively (Appendix X). In 2005, the pass rates in high school varied from 41.5 per cent in Madhya Pradesh to 87.3 percent in Jharkhand (GOI 2007a).

However, there are indications of large scale withdrawal of students between Grades IX and X, as a result of dropouts, push-outs, or strict evaluation and detention in school or a combination of all these factors. It is certainly possible that school authorities follow an unwritten practice of rigorous screening before students proceed to the final grade in the secondary school stage. But, the transition of Dalit students from upper primary to the secondary school stage appears to be a much bigger hurdle, when compared to the total percentage of transition. Based on available data (Appendix X) the corresponding pass rate of Dalit students was only 55.8 percent in 2005. This pass rate in the High School examination varied from 30.6 percent in Jammu & Kashmir to 71.1 percent in Jharkhand. In states like Assam, Chattisgarh, Orissa, MP and Rajasthan, pass percentage of Dalit students are even below 50 percent. It has been noted that the pass percentage of Dalit students in Class X is much below 50 percent even in the so-called developed states like Goa (34.9 percent), Gujarat (49.1 percent) and in Maharashtra (45.1percent), whereas pass percentage of SC students in backward states is comparatively better like in Bihar (63 percent), Jharkhand (71.1 percent) and UP (58.4 percent). Pass percentage of SC students in Jharkhand is found to be the highest in both class X and class XII in the country. It is interesting that states like Bihar and Jharkhand who has high levels of dropouts, enrolments and attendance has the highest pass rates. It in fact only further raises certain questions about the reliability of pass rates as an indicator of achievement level in schools.

Repeaters in Secondary Education

While pass rates can be inflated and used to show high rates of achievement level, the rate of those who fail school examinations and are therefore made to repeat their education indicate a more truer picture of the education system. Though, it too has its limitations as it too is measured within a context of differing learning levels as the pass rate is. According to 6th AIES (1993) (Appendix XI) data, 8.42 percent students repeat their class 9, 5.29 percent their class 10, 3.48 percent their class 11 and 5.16 percent their class 12. This shows that a greater number of students repeat their class 9 and passing high school seems to be more difficult than passing higher secondary school. The decreasing rate of repeaters from high to higher secondary school is a trend that can be seen in both rural and urban areas, although in the urban areas, the rate of repeaters are comparatively lower.

The rate of repeaters among Dalit students is much more than the general rate of repeaters. According to the same data, 11.08 percent Dalit students repeat their class 9, 6.96 percent their class 10, 4.59 their class 11 and 5.8 their class 12. Being socially disadvantaged, the Dalit students face more difficulties than the general students in order to perform well in examinations. This is a major reason behind the higher rate of repeaters among the Dalit students.

Besides, if one is to take the rate of repeaters as an indicator of the quality of education, it is evident that government and private aided schools have much higher rates of repeaters than private unaided schools, in both urban and rural areas. This can be explained by the negligence and indifference that government secondary and higher secondary schools encounter as compared to private unaided secondary and higher secondary schools. This point will be further explained later in this chapter when one takes a look at the social stratification that is generated by the growth of private unaided educational institutions and the decline of government and aided educational institutions.

The inter-state variations in the rate of repeaters follow the same trend as national level rate of repeaters at various classes in high and higher secondary schools (Appendix XII). However, the discrepancies in the inter-state variations in many ways expose the extent to which rate of repeaters can be taken as a reliable determinant in measuring achievement levels. While educationally advanced states like Kerala (9.17 percent in

class 9, 1.22 in class 10, 1.60 in class 11 and 1.06 in class 12), Maharashtra (7.24 percent in class 9, 0 percent in class 10, 1.56 percent in class 11, 0 percent in class 12), West Bengal (12.86 percent in class 9, 9.69 percent in class 10, 5.50 percent in class 11 and 4.98 percent in class 12) and Tamil Nadu (15.43 percent in class 9, 5.70 percent in class 10, 4.57 percent in class 11 and 5.30 percent in class 12) have comparatively higher rates of repeaters, an educationally backward state like Bihar (3.07 percent in class 9, 1.71 percent in class 10, 0.95 percent in class 11 and 1.68 percent in class 12) has one of the lowest rate of repeaters. These figures, to a large extent, question the reliability of the rate of repeaters as an effective indicator of the levels of achievement in various stages of education.

Completion of Secondary Schooling

Looking at the educational attainment of population (15 years and above), focussing in particular on the proportion of secondary educated people. According to NSSO (61st Round, 2006) data (Table 2.7), only 10.2 percent of the population (15 years and above) complete secondary education and only 5.8 percent of the population (15 years and above) complete higher secondary education. In rural areas, only 8.2 percent complete secondary education and 4.1 percent complete higher secondary education as compared to urban areas, wherein, 15.3 percent complete secondary education and 10.4 percent complete higher secondary education.

The rate of female students who complete secondary and higher secondary education, especially in rural areas, is very low compared to male students. According to the same data, in rural areas, only 5.7 percent complete secondary education and only 2.7 percent complete higher secondary education as compared to 13.5 percent in secondary education and 9 percent in higher secondary education.

The contrast between urban and rural in this case is significant. The pressures on female students to not complete their secondary and higher secondary education is much more in rural areas. It could be that the patriarchal control of community structures in rural areas is much more than in urban areas.

The rate of Dalit students who complete secondary and higher secondary education is also very low compared to general students. While 14.3 percent of the

general population (other castes except OBCs, SCs and STs) complete secondary education and 9.0 percent of the general population complete higher secondary education, only 6.8 percent of the Dalit population complete secondary education and 3.6 percent of the Dalit population complete higher secondary education.

Table 2.7
Percentage of persons (15 years and above) by level of general education
2004-05 (India)

Caste Category	Secondary			Higher Secondary		
	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female	Total
Rural						
Scheduled tribe	5.5	2.5	4.0	2.8	1.3	2.1
Scheduled caste	7.6	3.5	5.6	3.9	1.8	2.9
Other Backward caste	10.8	5.5	8.1	5.3	2.5	3.9
Others*	15.0	9.1	12.1	8.1	4.4	6.3
All Categories**	10.7	5.7	8.2	5.5	2.7	4.1
Urban						
Scheduled tribe	15.7	10.7	13.2	10.7	9.9	10.3
Scheduled caste	14.0	8.6	11.4	7.8	4.6	6.3
Other Backward caste	15.6	12.1	13.9	9.8	6.7	8.3
Others*	18.9	16.1	17.6	14.2	11.9	13.1
All Categories**	16.9	13.5	15.3	11.6	9.0	10.4
Total						
Scheduled tribe	6.5	3.3	4.9	3.6	2.2	2.9
Scheduled caste	9.0	4.5	6.8	4.7	2.3	3.6
Other Backward caste	12.0	7.0	9.5	6.4	3.5	4.9
Others*	16.6	11.9	14.3	10.6	7.3	9.0
All Categories**	12.5	7.8	10.2	7.2	4.4	5.8

*Excluded SC/ST/ and OBC Population, ** Included SC/ST/OBC/and Others.

Source: NSSO(2006), 61st round, Employment and Unemployment situation among Social groups in India, Report No 516/61/10/2

The inter-state variations reveal that the lowest completion in secondary education is in Rajasthan (6.2 percent) and the highest in Punjab (17.5 percent), and the lowest completion in higher secondary education is in Orissa (3.5 percent) and the highest in Nagaland (13.3 percent). It also reveals that even in educationally advanced states like Maharashtra, Tamil Nadu, Kerala and Andhra Pradesh, class, caste and gender are major impediments for students from completing their secondary and higher secondary education, though in varying degrees. For instance, in Kerala, while 20.7 percent of general population complete their secondary education, only 10.1 percent of the Dalit

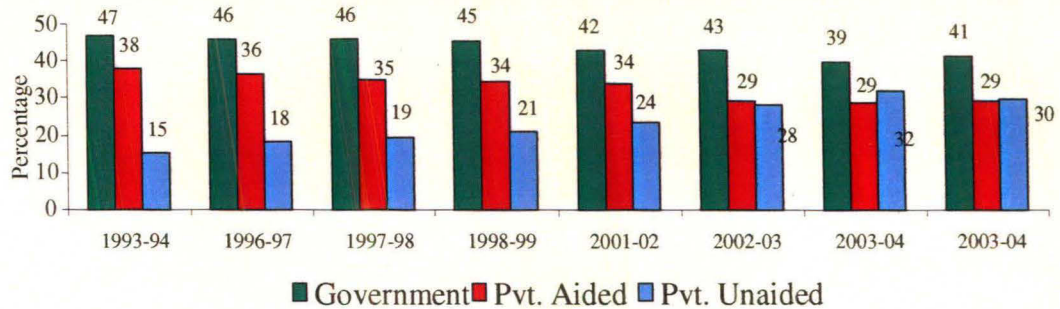
population complete their secondary education. This wide gap in the completion of secondary education between the general population and the Dalit population indicates that, despite being educationally advanced, the disparity in secondary education in a state like Kerala is stark. In Maharashtra, while 15.7 percent of general population complete their secondary education, only 11.6 percent of the Dalit population complete their secondary education. The gap in the completion of secondary education between the general population and the Dalit population is much less compared to Kerala. The inter-state variations also indicate that the situation of Dalit women in rural areas, especially in certain states, is very grave. For instance, in Jharkhand and Chhattisgarh, Dalit women who complete secondary education are below 1 percent. Interestingly, in West Bengal which has a progressive political tradition, Dalit women who complete secondary education are below 2 percent, on similar levels as Bihar. What this indicates is that even those states, which have otherwise commendable developmental indices, have failed to address the caste, class and gender inequalities in education system.

Social Composition of Private and Public Schools

Since the 1990s, as it was seen in the first chapter, there has been a major expansion in the number of private unaided schools in India. This process has been accompanied by tardiness in the growth of government and private aided⁹ high schools and higher secondary schools and related underdevelopment of this sector. However, despite the lack of initiative on the part of government in the secondary school education, interestingly, there has been a growth in the number of secondary schools during this period. Clearly, the expansion in secondary education could be said to have been driven by the growth of unaided private institutions to a large extent.

⁹ 'Private aided schools are privately managed, but are financed almost exclusively by state governments. According to G. B. Tilak (1990) 95% or more of the total expenses of private aided schools are borne by state governments.' As cited in Kochar (2001:11).

Figure: 2.4 Percentage of Secondary/Higher Secondary Schools under Different Management from 1994 to 2004



Source: Selected Educational Statistics 2004-05, MHRD: GOI (2007)

Figure 2.4 shows that, in 1993-94, the percentage of both government and local body secondary schools combined was 47 percent while the percentage of private aided secondary school was 38 percent and private unaided was 15 percent. In 2004-05, the percentage of both government and local body secondary schools combined was 41 percent while the percentage of private aided secondary school was 29 percent and private unaided was 30 percent. What we see here is that in between the years 1993-94 and 2004-05, the percentage of government and private aided secondary schools declined while the percentage of private unaided secondary schools increased considerably. In other words, what we have is on the one hand an increasing number of private unaided secondary schools and a decline in growth of government and aided secondary schools on the other hand. The social implication of this trend in secondary education is immense.

The social implication of increasing privatization of secondary education can be understood better if one is to look at the social composition of private and public schools. According to 7th AIES (2002) (Table 2.8) data, in 1993, 44.4 percent students enrolled in government secondary school, 46.4 percent in private aided and 9.1 in private unaided. In 2002, 36.86 percent enrolled in government secondary school, 40.23 percent in private aided and 22.91 percent in private unaided.

This on the one hand indicates that there is a decrease in the enrolment rates in government and aided schools, however, despite the decrease, a large percentage of students continue to depend on government and private aided secondary schools. On the

other hand, it can also be seen that the rate of increase in the enrolment in unaided schools is quite high.

While this is the general situation, to really understand the social composition of private and public schools, one needs to look at the enrolment rates in secondary education of Dalit students under all the three managements. The trend of growth in the enrolment of Dalit students in all the three managements between the years 1993 and 2002 is similar to the general trend. However, the concentration of Dalit students in government and aided schools is very high in both 1993 and 2002. In 1993, the concentration of Dalit students in government and aided schools combined was 93 percent and in 2002 it was 86.01 percent. Although there is a decrease in the concentration of Dalits in government and aided schools, it is difficult to deny the fact that a large number of Dalit students depend on government and aided schools since private unaided schools are very costly and therefore, beyond their economic reach.

Table 2.8
Percentage of enrolment by management in secondary schools (class IX-XII)
1993 & 2002

Management	All Communities				Scheduled Castes			
	1993		2002		1993		2002	
	Total	Girls	Total	Girls	Total	Girls	Total	Girls
<i>Rural</i>								
Government	49.5	48.6	44.61	44.67	51.3	51.5	48.33	48.83
Private Aided	43.7	45.1	41.06	42.26	41.8	42.5	40.75	41.33
Private Unaided	6.8	6.3	14.33	13.07	6.9	5.9	10.92	9.84
<i>Urban</i>								
Government	39.3	40.3	28.25	30.05	39.3	40.3	39.15	41.34
Private Aided	49.3	48.5	39.31	39.94	49.3	48.5	42.20	41.65
Private Unaided	11.5	11.2	32.44	30.00	11.5	11.2	18.66	17.02
<i>Total</i>								
Government	44.4	43.9	36.86	37.36	48.8	49.2	44.69	45.62
Private Aided	46.4	47.0	40.23	41.10	44.2	44.3	41.32	41.47
Private Unaided	9.1	9.0	22.91	21.54	7.0	6.5	13.99	12.91

Source: Data computed from 6th All India educational Survey (1993), Vol IV, New Delhi: NCERT (1998) and 7th All India Educational Survey (2002), NCERT, (2007)

<http://gov.ac.nic.in/NscheduleData/main3.aspx>

The interstate variations only seem to further prove this point that government and local body schools accommodate a large proportion of Dalit students, followed by aided schools while unaided schools remain relatively inaccessible. According to the study of Manabi Majumdar, (2005:2357) who uses the 6th AIES (1998) (Appendix XIII) data, in Andhra Pradesh, in rural areas, 20.4 percent SC/ST students out of the total enrolment in high school are in government schools; 21.3 percent are in aided schools; 9.4 percent in unaided. In Kerala, in rural areas, 13.4 percent in government schools, 11.5 percent in aided schools and 2.4 percent in unaided schools. In Maharashtra, in rural areas, 32.6 percent in government schools, 20.6 percent in aided schools and 21.4 in unaided schools. In Tamil Nadu, in rural areas, 26.2 percent are in government schools, 20 percent in aided schools and 12.8 in unaided schools. This trend is similar at the higher secondary level also. It is interesting that even in socially advanced states like Kerala, it is not only that the enrolment of Dalit students in high and higher secondary schools are comparatively low, but Dalit students hardly find it possible to access unaided schools. In fact, the enrolment of Dalit students in the unaided schools of Kerala at the higher secondary level was 0 percent in 1992-93.

What are the social implications of the large concentration of Dalit students in government and aided schools? As already been indicated earlier, the general quality of education in government schools are poor. They have poor infrastructure and civic amenities, high rates of teacher absenteeism and low quality of inputs in schooling and a relatively bad learning environment. However, economically and socially disadvantaged, the Dalit students have no other option but to depend on government and to some extent aided schools. As a result of which, the private unaided schools which supposedly give good quality of education become the school of the rich and the upper caste while the government schools become “Dalit schools” (Majumdar 2005:2358). Besides, since the cultural capital¹⁰ of those going to private unaided schools is much higher than of those going to government schools, the pressure on unaided schools to maintain its good quality is much more as compared to government schools. As a result, most poor and

¹⁰ Cultural capital refers to a range of goods, titles and forms of behaviour that tend to confer distinction in social situations. This includes academic qualifications, a person’s demeanour, speech and manners and material possessions. Piere Bourdieu (1984) as cited in Jeffrey et al (2005:3)

Dalit students, who are keen on carrying forward their education, have had to rely on private tutoring. Today, most parents, even among the poor, see private tuition as an important input in school education. A fifth of the children whose parents were agricultural labourers were sending their children for private tuitions (Nambissan 2006).

While on the one hand government schools are being neglected, government has been establishing Navodaya Vidyalaya schools in rural areas. However, the establishment of Navodaya Vidyalaya schools have not been sufficient to either address the demand for education in rural areas or to improve the quality of education in rural areas. In fact, Navodaya Vidyalaya has only created a creamy layer within the state as there is only one of them in each district and only a few manage to get into them. Similarly, government has been establishing Kendriya Vidyalayas for the education of central government employ's children. However, as Vinod Raina points out, the managing cost of these schools is much higher than government schools. If the national annual average per learners cost for ordinary government schools is about Rs. 1800 (varying state to state), for Kendriya Vidyalaya it is around Rs. 11000 (Raina 2006:30). The question is if the government can spend so much money on managing these exceptional schools, why not it spend lesser money and manage government schools that is accessible to all. Or is it in government's own interest that their school system deteriorates and die? (Sadgopal 2004)

To sum up, it can be said that the process of privatization in secondary education has only reinforced the inequality in the Indian education system. It has further stratified the educational landscape. While private unaided schools have been allowed to expand without much regulation thereby, providing the upper caste and the economically well off with access to better education, the government schools have been largely neglected, thus depriving Dalits and the poor of a better education.

Poverty and Schooling of Dalit

Many policies and programmes have been legislated and implemented for the protection and empowerment of Dalits such as improvement of educational infrastructure particularly in areas predominantly by SC/ST, admission in educational institutions through reservation of seats and measures, financial assistance at various levels of education including scholarship/fellowship, remedial coaching to improve the quality of

education and capabilities, special hostels for Dalit boys and girls, special attention for the education of Dalit girl students (Thorat 2006:72). Besides, incentives are also provided in the form of free text books, uniforms, hostels etc. While all these policies and programmes provide incentives for Dalits to enter and move ahead in the education system, the character of the social and economic structures within which they live makes it difficult for them to access these incentives provided by the government.

In a study done by Suma Chitnis in the early 1980s of 15 states, it was found that out of the 3,644 Dalit high school students only 12 percent claimed to come from 'financially comfortable' backgrounds (Nambissan 1996:1019). Around 46 percent claimed their economic status to be 'difficult'. In another study done by M. B. Chitnis in 1986, 73 percent Dalit students studying in Milind College, Maharashtra in 1971-72, came from landless workers families (ibid.:1019). These studies indicate that a large majority of Dalit students come from economically poor backgrounds and that they are constantly "haunted by the spectre of poverty" (Chitnis 1981:35 as cited in ibid.:1019). Considering the poor circumstances from which most Dalit students come, the financial assistance and scholarships that they get from the government is both limited in terms of covering all Dalit students and inadequate in terms of the amount (according to NSSO (1989) data, Rs. 167 per annum on an average in secondary school) (as cited in ibid.:1019). NSSO 42nd Round data of 1989 indicates that only about 15 percent of Dalit students in institutions of general education received scholarship in 1986-87 (as cited in ibid.:1017).¹¹ The same data also shows that only 9.93 percent of all rural and 6.91 percent of all urban secondary school students received scholarship, of which, only 39.99 percent students in rural area and 45.49 percent of students in urban area were Dalits (as cited in ibid.:1017). In regard to a special scheme, namely 'attendance scholarship', which has been instituted to encourage schooling among girls students, the 6th AIES (NCERT 1998) data (Table 2.9) show that only 13.64 percent of secondary and 12.72 percent higher secondary schools are covered under this scheme. Besides, only 42.34 percent of Dalit girl students in secondary schools and 39.97 percent Dalit girl students in higher secondary schools received attendance scholarship.

¹¹ Recent data is not available.

Table 2.9
Schooling incentives for Scheduled Caste students (1993)

Incentives schemes	Schools Covered by Schemes				Scheduled Caste Beneficiaries			
	Primary	Upper Primary	Secondary	Hr. secondary	Primary	Upper Primary	Secondary	Hr. secondary
Mid Day Meals	12.45	15.42	11.49	14.03	20.61	15.77	19.27	24.75
Free Uniforms	26.18	24.26	22.05	24.74	22.76	19.20	22.99	21.97
Free Textbooks	48.83	43.19	52.81	48.52	24.02	18.20	24.25	29.43
Scholarships for girls	12.54	17.13	13.64	12.72	34.38	24.14	42.34	36.97

Source: Data computed from 6th All India Educational survey (1993), Vol VI, New Delhi: NCERT (1998)

Similarly, free uniforms and textbooks (which subsidize the direct 'cost' of schooling for individual families) are not available to all Dalit students although they are entitled to it. According to the same data, only 22.05 percent secondary schools and 24.74 percent higher secondary schools are covered under this scheme. Moreover, only 22.99 percent Dalit students in secondary school and 21.97 percent Dalit students in higher secondary school receive free uniforms. In regard to free textbooks, 52.81 percent secondary schools and 48.52 percent higher secondary schools are covered under this scheme. Moreover, only 24.25 percent Dalit students in secondary schools and 29.43 percent Dalit students in higher secondary schools receive free text books.

Besides the limited and inadequate supply of scholarships and other incentives, the bureaucratic delay and apathy which pervade the implementation and monitoring of these schemes make them further ineffective. Recently, Jeffrey et al found out that because of corruption amongst teachers and bureaucrats, Dalit students rarely received the full amount of government scholarships to which they were entitled to (Jeffrey et al 2004:972). Moreover, when students go to collect their scholarship, they are often harassed and insulted by the clerical staff. In one such case, a clerical staff reportedly called some Dalit students 'sarkari damad', meaning the 'son-in-law of the government' (Yadav 1991:46). Another study (Balagopal and Subramanian 2003) also points to situations where many teachers are disapproving of incentives being given to students

and reproachful remarks are made about Dalit parents “being more interested in the monthly grain installments that they received and the scholarships that their children brought home rather than in their children’s academic performance.” (as cited in Nambissan 1996:1016)

As far as hostel facility for Dalit students is concerned, studies show that the situation is relatively grim. According to the Basumatari committee report (1970), which is referred to by Suma Chitnis (1981) in her study, the hostels for Dalit students are “housed in totally unsuitable buildings and surroundings, and that the living conditions of inmates are far from satisfactory.” (Nambissan 1996:1016) In Andhra Pradesh, a survey of 1972 indicates that many of the hostels that were listed were non-existent (ibid.:1016). Nambissan also points to the 21st report of the commissioner of scheduled castes and tribes wherein it is said that hostels for Dalit students are generally overcrowded and small, “leading to congestion, and unhygienic conditions.” (ibid: 1016)

It should be borne in mind that these constraints are located within the larger hostile social and educational environment Dalit students have to cope with. From the time they are born, their social status and opportunities, are already determined by the caste society. In other words they are born unequal and are forced in many ways to remain so by the caste elite. The first step that a child takes which militates against the norms and rules of a caste society is when he or she ventures into a school. However, when they do venture into a school, they are constantly told by the caste society, which had deprived them of education for ages, that they lack the merit and capability to receive education. At various junctures in their life inside and outside the classroom, they are discouraged from schooling. They are rebuked as being worthless. Moreover, they are subjected to all kinds of physical and verbal abuses, and other discriminative practices by their teachers and their peers. They are also subjected to a curriculum that neither speaks of or to their life situations nor facilitates applying what they learn in their everyday lives. The difficulty they face in physically and socially accessing school also puts hurdles for them in advancing educationally.

Education is considered one of the most effective weapon for social mobility. However the explicit/implicit discrimination in education on the one hand, and the long queue of unemployed SC/ST youths on the other, are likely to create a feeling of

insecurity among the parents of Dalit students. The extent to which they will continue to show motivation to encourage their children to continue to higher levels of education is questionable. Dalits, lacking 'cultural capital', find themselves in a complicated situation where on the one hand it becomes very difficult for them to go back to their traditional family businesses which always carry a stigma of untouchability and pollution, on the other it is a major struggle to get through the education system and find an employment. With the liberalization of Indian economy privatisation of education is being promoted. Instead of including the socially and economically marginalised communities in the education this process is likely to excluded them from it.

Conclusion

From the account given above, it can be seen that secondary education faces various challenges from several quarters. First of all, the growth of secondary education has been very slow in the recent past. Despite some positive signs during the 2000s, the general trend suggests that the spread of this level of education has been relatively poor. The nature of provision appears to be getting increasingly privatised and hence continuity and sustainability of poor and marginal sections of the population in secondary schooling appears uncertain. The persistent low level of participation is a cause for major concern.

There are many hurdles for universal participation of students in this level of education – disparity between social and economic groups being a major factor. Many scholars claim that secondary education is one of the major factors that can break the 'chains of inequality' (Jeffrey et al 2005). But ironically, inequality has prevented universal access and participation in the educational scenario of the country in general and secondary stage in particular. As Thorat rightly points out, blind adherence to the policy of privatisation in the field of education has only helped to augment the already existing inequality, as premature entry of private players in the field has initiated a new form of exclusion – based on internal hierarchy within public education system. He adds that central schools are created for central government employees, military schools for children of armed personnel, Navodaya schools for meritorious children and so on (Thorat 2004).

Most importantly, the secondary education system in the country is facing a major challenge when it comes to quality of education. Because of low quality there is high drop out rate and low level of graduation at terminal examinations. Successful policies have focussed on increasing participation and access to secondary education while the quality factor which is particularly crucial for marginalised groups such as the dalits has taken a back seat.

Chapter 3

**SECONDARY EDUCATION OF
DALIT STUDENTS:
AN EXPLORATORY STUDY**

Chapter 3

Secondary Education of Dalit Students: An Exploratory Study

This chapter focuses on the educational experiences of dalit youth in relation to access and participation in secondary education. It situates the experiences of students within the larger context of secondary education in the recently formed state of Jharkhand (formerly part of the state of Bihar. As was shown in the last chapter, Jharkhand is educationally the most backward State in India. The chapter is divided into two main sections. The first discusses patterns of access and participation in secondary education in Jharkhand. The second discussed the findings of the exploratory study based on in depth interviews with 16 youth who are enrolled in/dropped out of secondary schools in Palamau district in the State of Jharkhand.

The state of Jharkhand was carved out of southern Bihar in November 2000. It was created as a 'tribal state' with Scheduled Tribes making up 26.3 percent of Jharkhand's population of about 27 million. Jharkhand holds 14th position among all the States / UT's in terms of the population of Scheduled Castes. The scheduled castes constitute 11.8% of the total population of Jharkhand and are largely concentrated in 'non-scheduled areas where Rajputs, Brahmins, Kurmi, Mahtos and Yadavas are the major land owning castes (Sunder 2005:62). According to Census 2001, the State has a total of 22 Scheduled Castes. At the district level, the SCs have registered the highest proportion (31.9 per cent) in Chatra district, followed by Palamau (25.7 per cent) and Garhwa (23.9 per cent). Pakaur and Lohardaga have the lowest proportion of SCs (3.3 – 3.5 per cent) (Census 2001b). Out of 22 SC's, Chamar is the most populous caste, constituting 26.3 per cent of the total SC population. It is followed by Bhuiya (21-32%) and Dusadh (10.95%). The other SC's in descending order of population size are Dhobi, Bhogta, Baurri, Turi and Rajwas. Along with Chamar, Bhuiya and Dusadh, eight SC's constitute 85.5 per cent of the total SC population of the State. Four castes, Musahar, Pasi, Ghasi and Dom having a population in the range of 1.34 to 4.3 percent, account for 11.3 percent of the total population; the remaining 10 castes along with the generic castes constitute the residual 3.2 per cent of the State's SC population. Bantar, Choupal,

Halalkhor and Kanjar are the other Scheduled Castes which are small in number each having less than 1000 population. Chamars are in large number in the districts of Palamau, Giridih, Hazaribagh and Garhwa. They have the highest percentage of the total SC population in Giridih district (49.7 per cent). Bhuiya constitute more than half of the total SC population in Chatra (52 per cent) district. Dusadh are concentrated in Palamau district and the other five large groups, namely, Dhobi, Bhogta, Baurri, Turi and Rajwas, are mostly concentrated in Dhanbad, Chatra, Giridih and Bokaro districts respectively (Census 2001b).

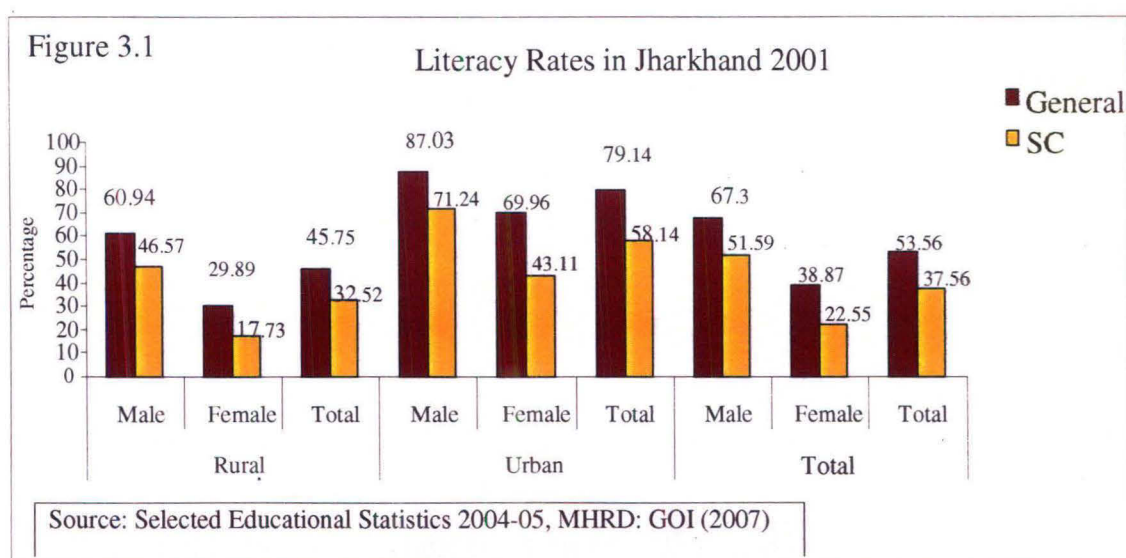
According to the NFHS-2 (IIPS and ORC Macro 2000) survey, 80 percent of the population of Jharkhand lives in rural areas and 80 percent of the population in Jharkhand is dependent on agriculture. The Dalit communities in Jharkhand comprise mainly of agricultural labourers constituting 47.1 per cent of the total agricultural workers (Census 2001b). This figure is slightly higher than the national average of 45.6 percent recorded of this category (ibid).

The incidence of poverty incidence is very high and a large population lives in rural areas without any support system. According to National Sample Survey 55th Round, surveyed in 1999-2000, the poverty ratio of rural Jharkhand is 49 percent, which is the highest among all Indian states, the second highest being Orissa (48 percent), followed by Bihar (44 percent), Assam (40 percent), and Madhya Pradesh (37 percent) (as cited in World Bank 2007). The divide is sharper when the rural and urban areas are compared. Compared to rural areas, the incidence of urban poverty is only 23 percent, which is similar to or better than Andhra Pradesh and Maharashtra (27 percent), Karnataka (25 percent), and Tamil Nadu (23 percent), and much lower than in Orissa (44 percent) and Bihar (34 percent) (as cited in ibid). Despite this, 9 of the 22 district in Jharkhand are amongst the 18 poorest districts of the country (Singh 2006:xviii). According to Sundar, "The state's misplaced priorities are also reflected in the state regarding human development indicators and poverty level gets amply reflected in terms of large scale migration to other states for work and the periodic reports of starvation deaths from Palamau." (Sundar 2005:4462)

The Dalits in Jharkhand are one of the most vulnerable in the country. While the Scheduled Tribes in the state are protected under the Chotanagpur Tenancy Act of 1908 and the Santhals Pargana Tenancy Act of 1949, as also by the Fifth Schedule of the Constitution which upholds their constitutional rights, the Dalits on the other hand are not provided with any safety cushion (Louis 2001). Among the factors seen as responsible for the relative backwardness amongst Dalits in relation to development indicators have been attributed to their comprising low proportion of the population, poor literacy rates, absence of political awareness and mobilization, and poverty.

Literacy and Elementary Schooling

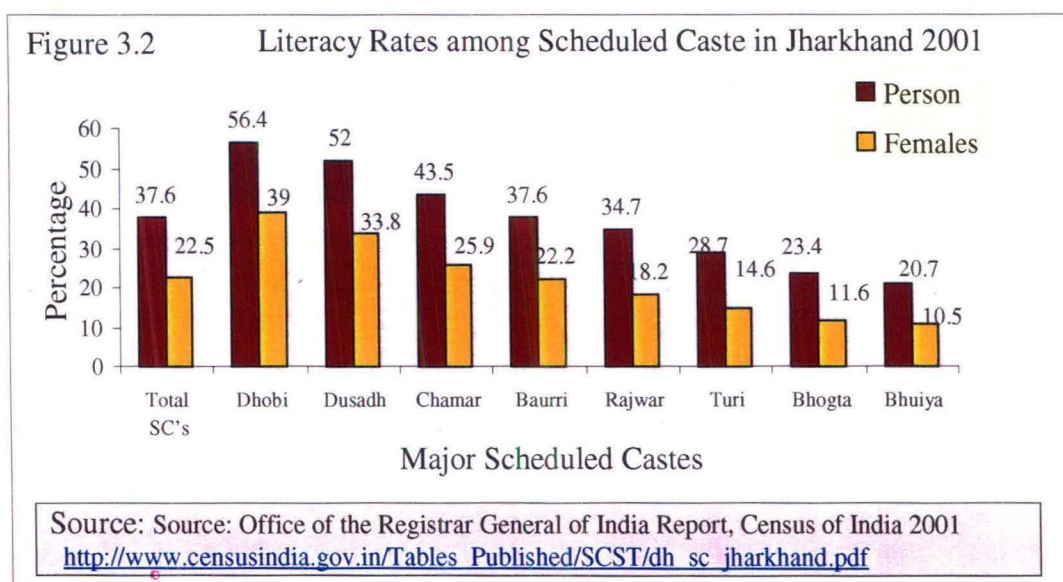
Jharkhand is one of the most backward states in education in the country (after Bihar). As per 2001 census, Jharkhand ranks second lowest in literacy in the country and stands at the 33rd position, which is the second lowest in the country after Bihar.



The literacy rate in Jharkhand is 53.56 percent as against the national average of 65.4 percent. The male literacy rate is at 67.3 percent and the female literacy rate is at 38.87 percent. (Figure 3.1) The state has the second highest gender disparity in literacy in the country, after Rajasthan. In rural areas, one-third of the men and two-thirds of the women cannot read or write. Literacy rates also varied across districts - with the lowest in

Pakur district (30 percent) to a highest in East Singhbhum (69 percent) (Appendix XIV). The study also found that 13 out of 22 districts of Jharkhand are amongst the 150 least literate districts in the country (Singh 2006:55).

The literacy rates of the SC and ST population in the state are as low as 37.6 percent and 40.7 percent respectively. Gender-wise, the literacy rate of SC males is 51.06 percent and for females it is 22.50 percent. It is still lower if compared with that of all SCs at the national level (54.7 per cent). Male and female literacy rates also continue to be lower than those at the national level (66.6 percent for male and 41.9 percent for female). Literacy rates among SCs also varied across districts - with a low of 3.3 percent in Pakur district to a high of 58.5 percent in East Singhbhum (Appendix XIV).



Among SCs, *Dhobi* has the highest literacy rate including that among females followed by *Dusadh*, *Chamar* and *Baurri*. *Bhuiya* and *Bhogta* have registered the lowest literacy rates (Figure 3.2). Though a relatively small proportion of SCs have attained literacy in the State, Table 3.1 shows that the SCs, 37.3 percent have less than primary education, 28.9 percent have primary and only 15.7 percent have attained education till middle school education. The different sub-castes vary in relation to the extent of the population that has completed primary and middle school education (see Table 3.1). The actually level of schooling attained is extremely low.

Table: 3.1
Levels of education among major scheduled caste in Jharkhand, 2001

Major SCs	Literate Without Education Level	Educational Level Attained						
		Below Primary	Primary	Middle	Secondary/Hr. Secondary / Intermediate etc	Technical & Non-Technical	Graduate and above	
All SC	3.1	34.1	28.9	15.7	14.9	0.1	3.0	
Chamar	2.7	33.2	28.4	15.6	16.2	0.1	3.8	
Bhuiya	5.7	42.9	30.8	11.8	8.0	0.0	0.8	
Dusadh	2.5	28.5	27.5	17.2	20.0	0.2	4.2	
Dhobi	2.0	27.0	26.9	18.1	20.5	0.2	5.2	
Bhogta	4.8	45.9	30.0	10.9	7.3	0.0	1.0	
Baurri	3.7	37.2	29.9	17.1	10.9	0.1	1.1	
Turi	3.9	43.0	30.9	12.9	8.4	0.0	0.9	
Rajwas	3.0	33.2	30.2	18.1	13.8	0.1	1.6	

Source: Office of the registrar general of India report, census of India 2001

http://www.censusindia.gov.in/Tables_Published/SCST/dh_sc_jharkhand.pdf

Facilities for Schooling

The NSS (Round 58th/2002) data describes the accessibility of the various levels of schools, i.e. the pre-primary, the primary, secondary schools and colleges. The pyramid like structure of education is quite evident as seen in the sharp decline in the availability of schools from primary to higher levels (Table 3.2). The 7th AIES (2007) which provides data for the year 2002, shows that in comparison with the country as a whole, Jharkhand accessibility to schools is poor in Jharkhand. Table 3.2 shows that 63 percent of the habitations in the state did not have primary school within the habitation (as compared to 48 percent for all India). However, 76 percent of the habitation had access to schools within the prescribed norm of 1 km (as compared to 86 percent for all India). Similarly, 63 percent of the habitations have middle school facility within 3 kms in the state (as compared to 81 percent for all India). At the secondary level, 45 percent of the habitations have secondary school within the prescribed norm of 5 kms (as compared to 73 percent for all India). Only 18 percent habitations have higher secondary school

within the prescribed norm of 8 kms (as compared to 62 percent for all India). NSS Data for 2002 (GOI 2003) gives availability of schools in relation to the village (as against the habitation as given by the AIES surveys). According to NSS (GOI 2003) 46.2 percent villages in Jharkhand have primary school facilities within the village, 18.5 percent have middle school facilities and only 6.8 percent have secondary school facilities within the village. Only 36 percent of villages in the state had access to secondary education facility even within 5 kms. (Appendix XV)

While provision of schooling is poor in the state as a whole, dalit habitations are deprived to a far greater extent. AIES (2007) data shows that primary schooling is available within 30.67 percent Dalit habitations (as compared to 37.3 percent of general habitations), middle schooling within 4.90 percent Dalit habitations (in comparison with 7.11 percent of general habitations) and secondary schools in barely 1.10 percent Dalit habitations (the proportion of access is almost similar in general habitations, 1.38 percent).

Table 3.2
Availability of schooling in rural habitations, Jharkhand (2002)

Availability of schools/section	General* Habitation (per cent)**				Scheduled Caste Habitations			
	Primary	Middle	Secondary	Higher Secondary	Primary	Middle	Secondary	Higher Secondary
Within the habitation	37.37	7.11	1.38	0.13	30.67	4.90	1.10	0.12
Within 1 km***	76.12	16.56	-	-	72.57	18.16	-	-
Within 2km	-	-	12.68	1.98	-	-	13.80	2.06
Within 3km	-	63.41	-	-	-	62.64	-	-
Within 5km	-	-	44.56	-	-	-	45.73	-
Within 8km	-	-	68.65	18.33	-	-	66.80	19.18
More than 8 km	-	-	31.35	81.67	-	-	33.20	80.82

*General habitation excludes predominantly Scheduled Caste and Scheduled Tribe habitations

** These are percentage of habitations that have each schooling facility at the given distance

*** But not within the habitation

Source: Source: Data computed from the Seventh All India Education Survey, (NCERT: 2002), <http://gov.au.nic.in/NscheduleData/main3.aspx>.

The provision of secondary schools is poor in both general and dalit habitations, less than in 2 percent (1.38 percent in general habitations and 1.10 percent in Dalit habitations). A recent report World Bank shows that for a predominantly rural state like Jharkhand, secondary education tends to be more of an urban phenomenon. As of now, for every 11 primary schools and 3 upper primary schools, there is one high or higher secondary school in the state (World Bank 2007:85). The 7th AIES (NCERT 2007) also shows that between 1993 and 2002, the secondary education facilities increased by 13 percent in rural Jharkhand and by 17 percent in urban Jharkhand. (ibid: 85)

In terms of school infrastructure and other civic amenities, the overall situation in Jharkhand is very grave and is the same at all the different stages in education. According to the World Bank report that was referred to above, 48 percent of primary schools do not have urinals for girl students (World Bank 2007) (Table 3.3) data shows that 47.77 percent secondary schools in rural Jharkhand do not have a urinal facility and 44.79 percent secondary schools in rural Jharkhand do not have a lavatory facility for girl students. As far as drinking water facility is concerned, ASER (Pratham 2005) data shows that 40 percent of primary schools in the state do not have drinking water facilities and approximately 10 to 12 percent have the facility but not in usable condition (as cited in World Bank 2007:83). According to 7th AISE (NCERT 2007) data, 12.4 percent secondary schools in rural Jharkhand do not have drinking water facility.

Table 3.3
Percentage of Secondary Schools (IX-XII) having ancillary facilities,
Jharkhand, 2002

Area	Schools having			Schools having separate facility for girls	
	Drinking Water Facility	Urinal facilities	Laboratory Facilities	Urinal Facilities	Laboratory Facilities
Rural	87.60	51.85	46.25	52.23	55.21
Urban	93.50	88.15	79.73	91.38	92.74
Total	89.87	65.79	59.10	66.86	69.24

Source: 7th All India Educational Survey, 2002, NCERT: 2007
<http://gov.ua.nic.in/NscheduleData/main3.aspx>

The quality and availability of teachers in is equally grim. According to the World Bank report, the average Pupil Teacher Ratio (PTR) was 52:1 in 2002/03 and worsened to 57:1 in 2003/04 as the pace of teacher recruitment remained lower than the growing rate of enrolment and far below the prescribed PTR of 40:1. About 1/10th of the government primary schools in Jharkhand have only a single teacher. In March 2005, only 68 percent of regular teacher vacancies were filled due to lack of adequate funds (World Bank 2007: 83). The teacher shortage at secondary level is equally bad. There has not been a single recruitment of high school teachers in that last 25 years. As a result, the vacancies that are opening up have been filled by temporary teachers who are often the educated people from the local community itself. These teachers are deputed by the school management and their salaries are paid through a collection made from the students.¹²

Besides the lack of availability of teachers, the lack of regular teaching and quality of teaching also poses problems. Kremer et al's survey of teacher absence in rural India found that the highest rate of teacher absenteeism is prevalent in Jharkhand (42 percent) (Kremer et al 2005). ASER (Pratham 2006) data shows that on average, in a single day, only 50 percent of primary school teachers and 27.8 percent of middle school teachers were present (as cited in World Bank 2007). The data for high school is unavailable.

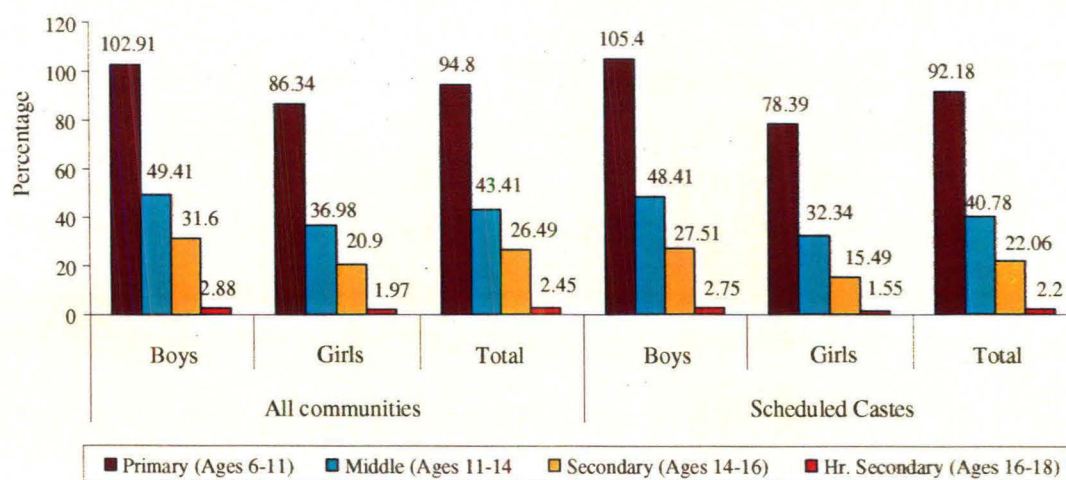
Enrolment in School

As far as educational scenario in Jharkhand is concerned, Selected Educational Statistics (2004-05) (Figure 3.3) shows that there is a sharp decline in the gross enrolment ratio from the secondary level (26.49 percent) to the gross enrolment ratio at the higher secondary level (2.45 percent). Both the figures are the lowest in the country. The enrolment of girls in high school is 20.90 percent and 1.97 percent in the higher secondary level. The enrolment of Dalit students in the secondary level is 20.06 percent in 2004-05, which is the lowest in the country after Bihar. At the higher secondary level, there is a sharp decline in this rate and it comes down to 2.20 percent. In Jharkhand, the gross enrolment ratio of Dalit girls is 15.49 percent in secondary schools and 1.55 percent in higher secondary schools. The sharp decline that is evident from the rate of students

¹² Based on a discussion with the District Education Officer, Palamau District. 28th February, 2007.

enrolling in high school to the rate of students enrolling in higher secondary school indicates that a large number of students either withdraw or drop out of schooling after secondary education. This portrays the critical situation of secondary education in Jharkhand.

Figure 3.3 Gross Enrolment Ratio in Jharkhand at different stages of schooling 2004-05



Source: Selected Educational Statistics 2004-05 (MHRD: GOI 2007a)

School attendance

The NSSO (GOI 2006) (Table 3.4) data show that 76.7 percent of children in the age group 5-14 are attending school in rural Jharkhand (79.9 percent boys and 72.8 percent girls). In the age group 15-19, only 45.4 percent population are attending schools (54.6 percent boys and 34.5 percent girls).

Non-attendance rates among dalits are more or less similar to the general population, in the age group 5-14 years (23.6 percent for dalit as compared to 22.9 percent for general students). However, non-attendance of Dalit students in the age group 15 to 19 is as high as 60.3 percent, whereas, among general students it is 36.6 percent. Here, we notice that along with the increase in age group, the percentage of non-attendance among Dalit and general students also increases. Moreover, the sharp rise in the non-attendance rates especially in the older age group of 15 to 19 years suggests that a relatively large number of students leave school just after 14 years of age i.e. during/after middle school.

Table 3.4
Household Population Aged 5-29 Attending School by Gender, Residence and Social Groups
in Jharkhand 2004-05

(In percent)

Age (Years)	Total			Rural			Urban		
	Total	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female
Scheduled Castes									
5-14	76.4	79.5	73.0	74.0	76.7	71.1	88.6	92.5	83.7
15-19	39.7	46.5	32.3	33.7	36.5	30.9	57.9	76.0	36.9
20-24	7.1	11.8	3.0	2.6	4.8	0.7	24.3	40.0	11.3
0-29	40.3	44.0	36.5	38.4	41.2	35.5	48.6	11.3	41.2
Other Castes*									
5-14	77.1	78.6	75.3	68.7	70.1	67.0	95.9	95.9	95.8
15-19	63.4	69.2	58.6	50.3	59.9	42.9	86.7	84.3	89.0
20-24	22.7	20.9	24.6	8.0	9.4	6.4	47.3	41.9	52.1
0-29	44.4	47.2	41.3	35.9	38.8	32.9	62.0	63.7	59.9
All**									
5-14	76.7	79.9	72.8	74.1	78.1	69.2	91.8	90.8	92.8
15-19	45.4	54.6	34.5	39.1	48.2	28.2	71.1	81.2	59.6
20-24	13.3	17.2	9.5	5.4	7.9	3.1	45.0	50.7	38.4
0-29	40.5	45.7	34.8	37.4	42.9	31.5	56.2	59.6	52.3

* (excluded Other backward castes), ** (included SC/ST/OBC and other castes)

Source: NSSO 61st Round, Emplo517.employment and Unemployment Situation among Social Groups in India, 2004-05, Report No 516/61/10/2

The discrepancy in the rate of non-attendance become much sharper if one looks at the existing inequalities on the basis of gender. The non-attendance of Dalit girl students in the age group 15 to 19 years is 67.7 percent while the non-attendance of general girl students in the same age group is 41.4 percent. This discrepancy is evident in urban/rural comparison also. Dalit girl students are the most vulnerable in comparison to every other student. They are the subjects of multiple exclusions generated by poverty, caste and gender. Another reason for their high rate of non-attendance might be the fact that most parents are reluctant to send their daughters to distant schools for a number of cultural and practical reasons (Nambissan 2006:230-231).

Dropout from School

The above discussion suggests that drop out from school is likely to be a serious problem in Jharkhand. However data on dropout for Jharkhand is unavailable and is combined with the figures for Bihar. According to Selected Educational Statistics (GOI 2007a), dropout rate in Bihar at primary level is 51.59 percent, middle level is 74.69 percent and secondary level is 83.06 percent. These figures are way above the national average. In regard to Dalit students, dropout rate at primary level is 54.83 percent, middle level is 81.84 percent and secondary level is 90.61 percent. The magnitude of retention in schools in Jharkhand can be estimated from the 7th AIES (NCERT 2007) data. Out of 100 students who enrol in class 1, only 13 students manage to reach class 10. The situation is worse in rural Jharkhand, where, out of 100 students who enrol in class 1, only 7 students manage to reach class 10. (Appendix XVI) The current data on the retention rate among Dalit students is unavailable though, from the above figures, it can be assumed that it would only be lower than the general retention rate. It is interesting that despite having a very high dropout rate, the percentage that passes out of high/higher secondary school in Jharkhand is the highest in the country. According to Jharkhand Academic Council (2007) data, the pass rate for 2007 is 82.66 but those who got first division were only 22.49 percent. (Table 3.5)

Attainment of Secondary Education

Following the above discussion it isn't surprising that the proportion of the population that has actually attained secondary education is very low as compared to the all India level. According to NSSO 61st Round (GOI 2006) data (Table 3.6), only 7.7 percent of the population (15 years and above) complete secondary education and only 4.2 percent of the population (15 years and above) complete higher secondary education in Jharkhand. In rural areas, only 5.6 percent complete secondary education and 2.6 percent complete higher secondary education as compared to urban areas, wherein, 16.8 percent complete secondary education and 11.5 percent complete higher secondary education. While the completion rate in rural Jharkhand is below the national average (8.2 percent in secondary education and 4.1 percent in higher secondary), the completion

rate in urban Jharkhand is above the national average (15.3 percent in secondary education and 10.4 percent in higher secondary)

Table 3.5
Jharkhand school Examination Results 2005 & 2007

Sex	All Students		Scheduled Caste	
	High School	Hr. secondary	High School	Hr. Secondary
Boys	78.9	84.7	72.7	85.7
Girls	76.5	91.8	66.4	93.0
Total	78.0	87.3	71.1	87.5

Source: Selected educational Statistics 2004-05, MHRD:GOI (2007a)

Jharkhand Secondary school Examination 2007		
Number Of Students	284098	99.15
Number Of Students Appeared	281684	22.49
First Division	63915	44.4
Second Division	126147	15.76
Third Division	44795	82.66
Total Passed	234857	16.34
Failed	46423	0.14

Source: Jharkhand Academic council (2007) , accessed in July 2007
http://jac.nic.in/2007_anaysis.htm

The percentage of female population (15 years and above) who complete secondary and higher secondary education, especially in rural areas, is very low compared to the male population (15 years and above). According to the same data, in rural areas, only 2 percent complete secondary education and only 1.1 percent complete higher secondary education as compared to 14.3 percent in secondary education and 8.9 percent in urban areas (ibid.). The contrast between urban and rural in this case is significant. The pressures on female students that constrain completion of secondary and higher secondary schooling is much more in rural areas. One of the major factors behind this is that, accessibility to secondary schools is limited in rural areas of Jharkhand and families are reluctant to send their girl children to a distant place for education.

The percentage of Dalit population (15 years and above) who complete secondary and higher secondary education is also very low compared to general population (15 years and above). While 14.3 percent of the general population (other castes except OBCs, SCs and STs) complete secondary education and 8.2 percent of the general population complete higher secondary education, only 5.1 percent of the Dalit population complete secondary education and 2.4 percent of the Dalit population complete higher secondary education (ibid.).

Table 3.6
Percentage of persons (15 years and above) by level of general education
2004-05 (Jharkhand)

Caste Category	Secondary			Higher Secondary		
	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female	Total
Rural						
Scheduled tribe	6.2	1.6	3.9	2.0	0.9	1.4
Scheduled caste	5.1	0.7	2.9	3.1	0.4	1.7
Other Backward caste	10.7	2.3	6.6	4.8	1.1	3.0
Others*	13.9	3.0	8.5	6.5	2.4	4.5
All Categories**	9.1	2.0	5.6	4.0	1.1	2.6
Urban						
Scheduled tribe	13.2	12.6	12.9	10.2	10.5	10.3
Scheduled caste	22.4	5.3	14.2	6.3	3.6	5.0
Other Backward caste	17.1	8.2	13.1	16.3	7.6	12.4
Others*	21.3	22.8	22.1	15.1	11.4	13.3
All Categories**	19.0	14.3	16.8	13.9	8.9	11.5
Total						
Scheduled tribe	6.7	2.6	4.6	2.6	1.7	2.1
Scheduled caste	8.6	1.6	5.1	3.7	1.0	2.4
Other Backward caste	12.6	3.2	7.7	4.7	2.0	4.5
Others*	17.0	11.5	14.3	10.1	6.2	8.2
All Categories**	11.0	4.2	7.7	5.9	2.5	4.2

*Excluded SC/ST/ and OBC Population, ** Included SC/ST/OBC/and Others.

Source: NSSO 61st round, Employment and Unemployment situation among Social groups in India, Report No 516/61/10/2

The situation of Dalit women is really grave in rural Jharkhand. While 3.0 percent of general women population (15 years and above) complete secondary education, only 0.7 percent of the Dalit women population (15 years and above) do so. While 2.4 percent of general women population (15 years and above) complete higher

secondary education, only 0.4 percent of the Dalit women population (15 years and above) do so (ibid.). This indicates that Dalits, especially Dalit women, are educationally far more vulnerable as compared to general population in Jharkhand.

Education in Palamau

Palamau is one of the most backward districts in the country, especially in terms of literacy, poverty, health and educational facilities. Nine out of 22 districts in Jharkhand are amongst the 18 poorest in the country, and Palamau is one among them. Similarly, 13 out of the 22 districts of Jharkhand are amongst the 150 least literate districts in the country. Here also, Palamau finds its place amongst the least literate districts in Jharkhand (Singh 2006). As per the census report of 2001 (Table 3.7), the total literacy in Palamau is 37.15 percent. Table 3.7 shows that less than 50 percent men in the district are literate, whereas the percentage of females is less than 25 percent. Except for two blocks out of the total 12 blocks in the district, the literacy rate is found to be below 40 percent. Similarly, in all other than four blocks out of the total 12 blocks in the district, female literacy rate is found to be less than 25 percent. As regarding the data concerning the Scheduled Castes, the total literacy rate in Palamau is found to be less than 22 percent. It can be seen from the table below that gender disparity in the literacy rate among Scheduled Castes in Palamau is grave. While the literacy rate of men is less than 32 percent, literacy rate of women is a mere 12 percent. Except for one block (Daltonganj) where the literacy rate is 22.35 percent, in the whole of Palamau district, the literacy rate of Scheduled Caste females is less than 15 percent. The situation of Scheduled Caste men is slightly better off. Other than in Daltonganj (District Headquarter), the literacy rate of Scheduled Caste men in Palamau is found to be less than 40 percent.

In addition, from time to time, prevalence of hunger and starvation deaths has been reported in the district (Sundar 2005, Bhatia and Drèze 2002). In a striking account of the situation in Kusumatand, a village in Manatu Block in Palamau, Bela Bhatia and Jean Drèze say that the people in the region are “trapped in a vicious circle of poverty, hunger, illiteracy, and powerlessness.” They add that most of the people are unaware of their

rights or entitlements. The concept of *Sarkar* (Government) does not have any bearing on the day to day life of the people. “The village has no approach roads, no schools, no electricity, no health facility”, leave alone facilities for recreation and library. One can expect dire problems in the interior villages, because, the lack of facilities abovementioned are situated only in the three kilometre radius around the block headquarters (Bhatia and Drèze 2002).

Table 3.7
Literacy Rates among SC and General Population in Palamau, Census 2001

S. No	Block	Percentage of SC Population	Literacy rate					
			General Population			Scheduled Castes		
			Male	Female	Total	Male	Female	Total
1	Hussainabad	32.67	52.82	28.84	41.28	38.25	14.55	26.87
2	Hariharganj	35.76	49.17	26.19	38.12	32.39	11.78	22.76
3	Chhaterpur	29.99	38.42	15.78	27.49	25.33	9.02	17.42
4	Bisrampur	28.38	48.76	22.58	36.23	33.08	10.27	22.18
5	Patan	29.11	48.40	22.08	35.83	32.34	10.27	21.80
6	Manatu	29.16	39.53	16.97	28.60	22.97	7.71	15.55
7	Panki	26.07	41.86	19.20	30.92	21.34	7.24	14.48
8	Satbarwa	24.33	44.30	21.61	33.21	24.60	9.21	17.03
9	Lesliganj	32.73	52.49	26.41	39.76	36.13	15.68	26.13
10	Daltonganj	14.86	67.01	50.05	59.79	43.91	22.35	33.64
11	Chainpur	21.76	42.36	17.66	30.42	27.50	8.93	18.57
12	Pandu	15.68	-	-	-	37.49	10.97	24.70
Palamau*		27.39	48.40	24.89	37.15	31.36	11.52	21.82
Jharkhand**		11.84	67.00	53.56	38.87	51.59	22.55	37.56
India**		16.20	75.26	53.67	64.84	66.64	41.90	54.69

Note * Data from Latehar District are not included as it got separated from Palamau. Latehar got elevated from sub divisional statuses to a district on 4th April 2001 vide Jharkhand Govt. Notification No 946 dated 04.04.2001.

Source: computed from, Jharkhand primary census abstract, census of india-2001

** Selected Educational Statistics, 2004-05, (MHRD: GOI, 2007 a)

AID India, an NGO that works in the region, says thus about Palamau: “Socially the entire region of Palamau district in Jharkhand is under the spell of feudal tradition. The influence of the high caste groups on the social and economic resources is almost total. The Dalits’ education and employment thus depend on the goodwill of the landlords. The Dalit children were not allowed to sit on par with the feudal lords children

and take up education. This worked out to literally pushing them out educational arena.” (<http://www.aidindia.net/cseia.htm> 8th March 2007).

Schooling in Palamau

The given data (Table 3.8) clearly illustrates that the accessibility and availability of schools in Palamau are out of reach for the students. As per the 7th All India Educational Survey (NCERT 2007), in Palamau, 60 percent habitations in rural Palamau did not have even a single primary school and more than 90 percent habitations did not have a middle school within the range of their habitations. Only 8 percent of habitation has access to middle school within the habitation. Chhaterpur block in Palamau is a glaring example of the abysmally low accessibility of schooling. Here only 26.36 percent habitations have access to primary school and less than 4 percent habitations have middle school within them. In Lesliganj block primary schooling facility is available for less than 10 percent of the habitation, which is the lowest in the given 12 blocks. This also shows that 90 percent of the villages do not have any schooling facility within a range of 1 km.

Palamau has the highest concentration of dalits (27.39 percent) in Jharkhand. Though the 7th AIES (NCERT 2007) has not analysed the data on SC/ST habitation neither in block level nor in district level, one can very well assume the situation of schooling in Dalit habitations. From available data, it can be seen that 22 percent of Dalits and only 12 percent of women in these communities were literate in Palamau in 2001.

In Palamau, less than 40 percent children are enrolled in primary schools and less than 50 percent are enrolled in middle schools in the district (Table 3.9). The enrolment of Dalit children is slightly more than 45 percent in primary and middle level (GOI 2004-05a), which is in fact slightly better than the total enrolment ratio of the general population. But when we see enrolment at secondary level, the situation is poor for the general population and particularly so for the Dalits. The 7th AIES (NCERT 2007) data shows that, in Palamau, only 10 percent of students are enrolled in high schools and at higher secondary level it is less than 4 percent. In Lesliganj block, only 19 percent of the student population is enrolled in high school level and in Hariharganj and in most of the other blocks, enrolment in high school varies from less than 3 percent in Chainpur to less

than 20 percent in Lesliganj block. Enrolment in high school at most of the blocks varies between 4-8 percent. (Appendix XVII)

Table 3.8
Availability of schooling facilities in habitations at primary and upper primary stages in Palamau

S. No.	Blocks	Total no of habitation	No of habitations having schooling facility at					
			Primary stage			Upper Primary stage		
			Within them	Within 1 km but not within them	Beyond 1km	Within them	Within 3 km but not within them	Beyond 3 km
1	Bisrampur	186	52.69	33.87	13.44	6.45	25.27	68.28
2	Chainpur	262	45.80	30.15	24.05	8.40	59.92	31.68
3	Chhaterpur	440	26.36	22.27	51.36	3.64	32.95	63.41
4	Daltonganj	107	46.73	42.06	11.21	10.28	81.31	8.41
5	Hariharganj	172	37.21	43.60	19.19	7.56	78.49	13.95
6	Hussainabad	349	42.12	46.42	11.46	9.74	70.20	20.06
7	Lesliganj	151	50.33	40.40	9.27	10.60	80.79	8.61
8	Manatu	203	31.03	48.77	20.20	6.40	67.49	26.11
9	Pandu	96	45.83	30.21	23.96	12.50	66.67	20.83
10	Panki	244	37.30	45.49	17.21	9.84	74.18	15.98
11	Patan	215	46.51	20.00	33.49	10.70	53.49	35.81
12	Satbarwa	110	40.91	47.27	11.82	9.09	80.00	10.91
	Palamau	2535	40.00	36.17	23.83	8.13	60.08	31.79

Source : Data computed from 7th All India Educational Survey 2002 , New Delhi : NCERT (2007)
<http://www.7thsurvey.ncert.nic.in/1568910/tableps1.asp?flag=1&distcode=02&distname=Palamu>

The AIES (NCERT 2007) has not yet provided data on Scheduled Castes. However, the district level data shows that less than 7 percent of Dalit students have access to high school and only less than 1 percent of Dalit was enrolled in 10+2 level in 2004-05. Overall girls' enrolment in Palamau is very low at every stage of schooling. Some crude figures on enrolment have been collected from the district headquarters. In

2005, enrolment in the class VIII in Palamau among SC's was 2575, which declined to 1862 in 2006. Again, in 2005, in the 10th grade, enrolment among SC students was 1905 but only 64 students managed to get past the 10th grade in 2006. (Appendix XVIII)

Stages of Schooling	No of Schools	No of Teachers			Percentage of enrolment to total enrolment						Teacher Pupil Ratio
		All	SC	Percentage of SC teachers	All Categories			Scheduled Caste			
					Boys	Girls	Total	Boys	Girls	Total	
Primary	747	1289	283	21.96	37.74	42.62	39.84	43.45	49.81	45.98	89.04
Middle	376	1679	274	16.32	48.29	47.89	48.12	47.99	44.78	46.72	82.55
High school	51	450	9	2.00	12.02	8.49	10.50	7.76	5.08	6.70	67.22
High school/ Intermediate	3	52	3	5.77	1.95	1.00	1.54	0.79	0.32	0.61	85.5
Total	1177	3470	569	16.40	100	100	100	100	100	100	-

Source: Statistics of education in states, Palamau district report 2004-05, MHRD: GOI (Unpublished)

There are 747 primary schools, 376 middle schools, 51 high schools. The higher secondary stage of education is either offered in school (these are called plus two schools) or attached to college (called intermediate colleges). There are three higher secondary (+2 level) schools and 10 intermediate level colleges in Palamau. However, it has to be noticed that in six out of 12 blocks, there is not even a single +2 level schools or intermediate college. On the other hand eight, (including three +2 schools) out of 13 intermediate colleges/+2 schools are concentrated in district headquarters. There are only four pre-degree (those colleges where the intermediate college is attached to the degree college) colleges in Palamau which too are situated in the district headquarters. At the block level, only five out of 12 blocks have privately managed intermediate colleges. There is only one private school at the 10+2 level and only three high schools are run by private managements. (Appendix XIX) The available records also indicate that 34 percent of the total enrolment of plus 2 level is concentrated in the District headquarter (see,

Appendix XVII). Thus it seems likely that secondary school enrolment rates are low partly because of the lack of availability and easy access to secondary schools.

The schools in Palamau face a severe lack of teaching staff. Bela Bhatia and Jean Drèze while talking about a survey done on governmental schemes and programmes, points toward the appalling educational situation in Manatu block, comprising of 36 villages, of Palamau district. In Manatu block, only 17 of the 36 villages have a primary school, of which, 9 schools have been closed for more than a year. Out of the 8 schools that are functional, 5 have only a single teacher each. In all, the 36 villages have only 12 teachers for more than 2,000 children in the age group 6-11 years. Bhatia further points out that in Kusumatand village, very few children have ever been to school, as there are no schooling facilities within a reasonable distance. In the case of other villages, the situation was no better. In Daltonganj, “some of the schools looked as if they had been bombed” and some of them “had been converted into warehouses, cattle sheds, residential premises, or put to other creative uses. Only two or three schools boasted a semblance of educational activity.” (Bhatia and Drèze 2002)

Experiences of Dalit Youth: From the Field

This section discusses the finding from an exploratory study based on in depth interviews with 16 Dalit students (one of whom was a dropout from school) from Palamau District.¹³ The sample was purposively chosen to include youth who were in/had completed higher secondary schooling and belong to the local SC sub castes such as *Chamars* (5), *Dushads* (3), *Pasis* (2). One respondent each was included from *Dhobi*, *Rajwar*, *Bhuiya*, *Dabgar*, *Halkhor*, and *Dom*¹⁴. No student from the *Musahar* community who was enrolled even in primary school could be found; hence this

¹³ These interviews were conducted as part of a project entitled ‘Exclusion, Inclusion and Education: Perspectives and Experiences of Dalit Children’ for Indian Institute of Dalit Studies, New Delhi. Permission has been granted by the Project Director, Prof. Geetha B. Nambissan, for using this material for the current study.

¹⁴ One student from Dom community who had dropped out of 8th grade was included in the sample since there was no student from this community studying in High school or college.

community has not been represented. While 15 of the respondents were male students, one of them was a female student¹⁵. (Appendix XX)

The age group of students varied between 16-20 years. Other than fathers of two of the youth who were graduates and one who had passed matriculation, parents of all other respondents were non literate. The majority of youth were hence first generation learners. The families of most dalit youth did not possess land beyond 0.2 acres. The fathers of two students were Government servants, one was a primary school teacher, another, a chowkidar in the police department and yet another was a political activist. Of the remaining, six were farmers, and five were landless labourers. . Of the 16 students 11 were enrolled in school and one had dropped out of class 8 and another had just done his 12 board exam. Fourteen were currently enrolled, 9 in government colleges in the district head quarters and five at the private intermediate college at Hussainabad block in Palamau district. Two students were doing their graduation while the remaining were in classes 11 and 12. Majority of the respondents were first generation school goers.

1. Accessibility

As mentioned earlier, in Palamau district, there is an uneven geographical distribution of schools. Schools are concentrated in certain blocks only. Furthermore, most of the higher secondary schools or intermediate colleges are concentrated in the district headquarters. This has affected the school accessibility and availability for the students, particularly for the Dalit respondents

Interviews with students indicated that higher secondary schools or intermediate colleges are in far-flung areas which make their accessibility to educational institutions (that are near the district headquarters) very difficult. Of the 16 students included in the study, 14 students were from villages that are far from the district headquarters. Though policy documents emphasise the importance of hostels to enable SC (and ST) children to access higher levels of school education the availability of such accommodation is very poor. Only six youth were residing in scheduled caste hostels run by government in the district headquarter. Three were trying to get such accommodation.

¹⁵ It was difficult to persuade female students to allow themselves to be interviewed. In some cases parents did not agree, in others they were not prepared to give to give time to the researcher.

While five were studying at private intermediate college at Hussainabad block in Palamau, and most of the students (14) were from villages in two blocks, namely, Hussainabad and Hariharganj. They reported that there are no 10+2 level schools or intermediate level colleges within a reasonable distance of their homes. They further said that Most of these schools/ intermediate colleges are within a range of 10-40 kms. Moreover, according to them, there are no degree colleges within the range of 80 kms. It can be seen that the accessibility of schooling stands as one of the major impediments for the Dalits to proceed with their studies. They cannot afford to stay in the district headquarters and do their studies and therefore, they have to come from their villages every day and very often the students find it difficult to pay for their transportation.

Income poverty

As mentioned above, Palamau district is one of the most backward districts in the country. It is a poverty ridden area due to lack of natural resources. It is a rocky landscape where agricultural production is minimum due to shortage of rainfall and thus people have very restricted choice in terms of employment and income generation. Many cases of starvation deaths have been reported in the past. People choose migration as a way to escape these tough conditions and to get some meaningful employment in order to generate income. These conditions i.e. poverty, unemployment, non-availability of schools at reasonable distance etc. altogether become a barrier in accessing schools.

There is no a substantial difference in the fee structure between the government and private intermediate college. Most of the respondents reported that in the government intermediate college, they pay 800-1000 per annum as admission fee and others expenses. For those who are enrolled in private intermediate colleges, respondent say, there is no laid down formal fee structure regarding admission and other charges. It is entirely at the discretion of college management to decide upon the fee that should be charged. Often students' social status and interpersonal networks are considered as a criterion while charging fees. Usually the charges range from Rs. 900-1500 per annum. Due to high levels of poverty and unemployment, respondents say they find it extremely difficult to

afford to pay according to the fee structure set up either by the government intermediate college or the private intermediate college.

There are problems in getting admission after completion of class X. Students who have successfully passed the high school examination are compelled to leave their studies due various reasons i.e. logistic, social, and economic. Because of direct and indirect expenses, they are constrained in their choice of institution and are often forced to remain in poor quality institutions, which are near by. Two students reported that in order to take admission they had no other option but to borrow from a money lender who charged interest rates of 5 to 10 percent. This scenario is clearly brought out in the case one of those two students, who is from *Dusadh* community. He stated his problem as thus:

“I did not have sufficient money to take admission in 10+2. The admission fee was about 1000 rupees for the first year. It was the only private college in that area. I thought that I will lose my upcoming academic year. The admission form cost only 15 rupees, but unfortunately I was unable to buy that too. One day, one of my friends, who was monetarily sound bought the admission form for me and asked me to fill it up. Then I went to my mother and begged her to arrange the required amount for my admission purpose. Then my mother borrowed 1000 rupees at an interest of 5% per month and gave it to me. Now almost a whole year has passed but the money is yet to be paid back”.

Further, due to their abject poverty, students are hardly able to pay their school fees and additional expenses like the board examination fees. Many a times this situation compels these children to become child labourers in highly laborious work like brick kilns, road repairing etc., for which they are also underpaid. If the work continues for a longer period of time, they are forced to remain out of study for a long period of time, which in turn lessens their interest in studies. One student from Chamar caste reported thus:

“The fee for filling up the examination form for board examination was Rs.500 and since I didn't have the required amount, I took a loan of Rs.500 from a road contractor (Palji, an OBC), on the promise that I would pay off his loan by doing the road repair work whose contract Palji had taken. I worked for 10 days and according to the legal

daily wages (Rs.73) I should have got Rs.730 but instead Palji, taking me for a kid, offered me Rs.500 which I didn't take."

Dalit children have to do some work or the other in order to earn for their family, as the low income of their parents is not sufficient for livelihood and education. Muralidharan in his study found that "at least one out of every 10 Harijan children was condemned to adulthood tasks before they reach adulthood." (Muralidharan 1997:170) This was reflected in the study as Dalit students mentioned that they are thrown into a vicious cycle of poverty which makes it mandatory for them to seek employment of any nature. Thus, in order to support their education, they are forced to work alongside their studies or during their vacations. One student from Pasi caste community says;

"After getting admission in intermediate class, I was looking for some work and in that process I went to Chhattisgarh and Maharashtra. I worked at both the places for two years and was getting a monthly wage of Rs.2000. I came back home in order to appear for my intermediate board examination... I managed to pass my exam in 2nd division. Now, I feel that I should invest my time wholeheartedly in my studies so that I can get a permanent job somewhere as we are all living in an age of cut-throat competition."

Despite a situation of acute poverty, their aspiration for education was real and alive. And, they would do any kind of work and struggle through any kind of situation so that they could pay their way through in school and college.

Hostel facilities for Dalit Students

As a policy, the Government of Jharkhand has built special hostels for the Scheduled Castes in the vicinity of the schools. These hostels have come as a saving grace for Dalit students. It gives them better access to education although these hostels are inadequate and fewer in number as compared to the large number of students aspiring for education. Moreover, it is a stated policy of the government that hostel facilities should be provided for SC/ST girls in educationally backward districts, particularly those predominantly inhabited by SC/ST and educationally backward communities. However, not a single girl's hostel was found in Palamau district.

There are two SC hostels in Palamau, which in popular parlance is known as 'Harijan' hostels. The larger of the two hostels consists of 37 rooms and accommodates approximately 500 students. Each room, which is meant for 4 inmates, usually accommodates around 10-13 boys and that too of the same caste. In fact, the caste ranking and division that exists amongst Dalits its way into the hostel. For instance, the superior Dalit castes occupy larger number of rooms than the lower Dalit castes. Although, it is not necessary that all the 10 or 13 students are regularly staying in the hostel since many of them would either go away to do some job or the other in order to pay for their education or go back home, only to come during the time of examinations. The smaller hostel consists of 20 rooms and has similar living conditions. This hostel, which officially is an SC hostel, is generally called ITI (Industrial Training Institute) 'Harijan' hostel because for one, it is near the ITI College and for two, once it was occupied by ITI Dalit students, it became difficult for other Dalit students to find accommodation there. Contrary to Government norms, now this hostel houses only students of the ITI College.

Few students also reported that networks and connections do matter if one wants access to any of these hostels. They also said that there are no formal rules laid down as guidelines and even if there are, no one follows them. Moreover, there is corruption in the provision of hostels and it is difficult to get a seat without any contacts or bribe. A student from Chamar community reported thus:

"In Daltonganj, I wanted to stay in a Harijan hostel, but I haven't got a hostel up till now. Students got hostels with the help of other students who are already residents of the hostel. Suresh Paswan who has been staying in this hostel for the past 20 years has even got his son, a graduate student to stay with him. Suresh Paswan takes Rs.200 in order to provide seats in the hostel but I did not broach on the issue with him although I am trying my level best to get a seat in the hostel.

Five students reported that they got hostel facility through their kin who were already residing in these hostels or through other networks. Other students were still awaiting a hostel seat. The situation doesn't become better with the getting of a hostel since many students are forced to quit due to monetary problems. However, the government hostels

for these students still provide some respite, as the private facilities nearby are too expensive. A student Som Nath Ram said:

“I am unable to stay here on a regular basis due to lack of money. I stay here for two months and then proceed for home and then come again after few months when I have some money. If there were no accommodation facility in Daltonganj (District Headquarters), then I wouldn't have come to study here (because the private facilities in the vicinity are too expensive).”

All these facts amply prove that even if there are some arrangements made by the government like providing Dalit youths with hostel facilities, it is difficult to access them without proper networks and bribe. Even when they are able to access them, they are crowded and congested.

2. Subject Choice and Performance

There were 9 students from the Science stream, 3 from the Arts stream, 2 were undergraduates and 1 had not entered high school. Out of 14 students (two out of sixteen were below matriculation), 4 had attained first division in their high school, 7 had attained second division and 1 had attained third division. Those students who were in the Science stream had got more than 60 percent marks in high school. 2 out of the 3 students who were in the Arts stream did not want to disclose the marks they had attained in high school. Higher marks appears to be an important factor in determining the aspiration of the Dalit students to study Science. It is generally argued that Dalit students mostly opt for Arts stream as they are weak in science subjects. However, in this study, it is seen that a large majority of those interviewed were from the Science stream. In fact, even those students who are in the Arts stream, had initially preferred to join the Science stream but circumstances did not allow them to do so. For instance, one of those Arts students (he had 68 percent in Maths) who had wanted to do Science said thus:

“I wanted to go for science but then it would have become necessary to take private tuitions had I gone for Science stream. I am staying here with great difficulties. Last year there was a drought, and because this year we had a good rice harvest I came here to study. I have been looking for some work for the past two months. I have joined

ICICI Bank as a peon and am getting a salary of Rs. 800 per month. I wanted to give private tuitions to children but nobody seems to be interested in taking tuitions in Arts stream.”

It is not that Dalit student don't take to Science stream because they are intellectually incapable of it but mostly because of the high costs involved in learning Science. Besides, economic factors and higher passing marks, the achievement, encouragement and influence of elder siblings or relatives was also a factor behind the choice of a subject area. Two students who were studying in ITI had elder brothers who had already studied in ITI and had been also availing hostel facilities. This became easier for the two younger brothers to tag on to their elder brothers and avail of the same facilities that their elder brothers were getting.

As mentioned in the last chapter, with privatization of secondary education, private tutoring has become necessary due to the increasing negligence of teachers in government schools. In this study, 6 out of 9 students pursuing Science stream were going for private tuitions held by teachers, which included some of their own college teachers. For these tuitions, they had to pay Rs. 2000 to Rs. 2500 for one subject per annum, which means, if they took tuitions for all the four subjects that was part of the science stream, they would be paying Rs. 8000 to Rs. 10,000. Interestingly, it was also the case that if a private tutor charged Rs. 2000, a government teacher turned private tutor charged Rs. 2500. The fee for private tuitions had to be given as a lump sum and not in instalments. This put more economic pressure on the Dalit student who took tuitions. Private tuitions were held in the mornings and evenings and in each class about 40 to 50 students were taught, which means a private tutor would generate an income of Rs. 80,000 to 1 lakh per year. Jeffrey et al points to a similar scenario in their study. They point out that it was common for teachers in government schools, who otherwise neglect their responsibilities in the school, to hold private tuitions where 2-3 classes were held daily for 15-20 students at a time, generating an additional monthly income of between Rs. 4,000 to Rs. 12,000 (Jeffrey et al 2005a:50).

There was added advantage in taking private tuitions under one of their own college teachers because, during the annual Practical examinations, the teacher would

give more marks to those who he is tutoring outside class. One of the respondents explained the situation as thus:

“I took private tuitions for all the science subjects (Mathematics, Physics, and Chemistry) and had to part with Rs.10000... no classes are held in the college therefore taking tuitions become a compulsion. The teacher in my college takes Rs.2000 per subject in the first year and this coaching helps me in getting good grades in the practicals.”

There were 3 students from the Science stream who did not go for private tuitions. In fact, two of them gave private tuitions to school children and were earning Rs.500 each per month. They studied their subjects on their own with very little expense. One of these students, Ranjan Bhuiya, an intermediate science student, said thus:

“I did not take any tuition at intermediate (science) but used to give tuitions, I earned 500 per month, I could attend only one month class in two years due to this reason. I prepared on my own, I bought one book of biology for 170 rest of subjects managed with guess papers. One paper cost 20 rupees, despite this I passed with second division”

This respondent was further probed as to how he, as a Science student, managed to pass with a second division without spending as much money as the rest in private tuitions. He replied that ‘cheating’ in exam was a major factor that contributed to him passing the examination with a second division. This is what he had to say:

“I also engaged in cheating like others. Students cheat but teachers do not say anything. When there is inspection by officers then teachers warns the student to be alert. Ask them to take precaution with their cheating slips. Sometimes when teachers do not allow, students say “*sir career ka sawal hai nakal karne dijiye* (sir for the sake of our career, allow us cheating). Then teachers do not object due to fear of being beaten up by the students after exams are over”

According to local newspapers, cheating in examinations is a prevalent practice in Palamau district (Appendix XXI). It has a prominent role in determining the level of performance in secondary school education in the district. It also is a practice that is legitimized and justified by students and teachers within the school. On being asked about how he perceives the practice of cheating during annual examinations, one high

school teacher said that while cheating is a bad practice, for a student coming from economically and socially deprived background, for whom classes don't happen regularly, cheating provides an avenue for him to climb up the different stages of education, thereby enhancing his aspiration for education.

To sum up, it can be said that the choice for a subject stream at the intermediate or higher secondary level is determined by the passing marks in high school, the economic capability of the student and the influential role of elder siblings and relatives. To perform well within the education system, students resort to various methods. In the context of Palamau, taking private tuitions and cheating are two major avenues through which higher levels of performance is determined.

3. Quality of Schooling

The unpleasant learning environment in the schools and classrooms points toward the very poor quality of schooling that Dalit students receive. Teachers from the government college appear least committed and least accountable to their profession. They barely take classes. Teacher absenteeism is a major problem in higher institutions (college education). The entire 14 college going students who were interviewed complained of teacher absenteeism and irregular classes. In fact, the situation is so bad that students many a times are even unaware of who some of their teachers are. One of the students from B. N. College (Government), Daltonganj, narrated a related incident thus:

“On one occasion 20 of us went to the college and on being asked as to who the Science teacher was, someone from the college jokingly said that the peon of the college was the person we were looking for. We then asked the peon the same question. He took us to the Science teacher but we were shocked to learn from the first class that he had not read Science books properly after being appointed as a teacher in the college. After that incident, we stopped going to the college.”

Although there were different versions to this incident, each of them pointed to the fact that teachers hardly come to class and how this was discouraging for the students to attend classes. In another instance, one student complained of the fact that he had

attended classes regularly but for a two year course work the teacher took classes only for 48 days. Another student from a well known college, G. L. A. College (Government), Daltonganj, complained how the irregular attendance of teachers affected the retention and continuity of what was taught. He said:

“Although the teachers teach well but there is a huge gap (sometimes it is 15-20 days) between one class and the other in the same subject and by the time we are ready for the next class, the subject matter and the lessons taught in the previous class is completely lost.”

One of the driving forces behind teacher absenteeism and irregular classes was the practice of giving private tuitions. As it was seen in the previous section, most teachers preferred giving private tuitions at the expense of their classes in the school/college, since within the context of privatisation, it gave them an extra avenue to make money. This had an adverse effect on the students. They were discouraged to get any learning from attending classes as teachers would not come there and instead felt compelled to attend tuitions where actually the teacher would take classes.

In private institutions, teacher absenteeism and irregular classes had another dimension. One of the students studying at Saheed Bhagat Singh Intermediate College, Hussainabad, which is under a private management said thus:

There is one professor (intermediate college teachers are called professors) named Dileep Singh, he teaches history, he never comes on time, when asked he says I get only 600-700 rupees per month and I do not receive money on festivals too, how can you expect me to come regularly...

In this case, the teacher himself justified his irregularity in coming to classes by pointing to the poor pay he receives from private management. It is to be noted that this private institution was an unaided institution. In other words, the institution was not funded by the government and it was solely up to the private management to pay the salary of the teachers. Falling outside the regulation of the government, private institutions was free to pay the teachers lesser salary as compared to government scale. And this became a rallying point on which the teacher justified his irregularity in taking classes. However, the other side of this story was that the private institution under question belonged to and

was managed by people from a particular caste, namely, Rajput. The teachers were also recruited from the same caste and came from economically well off landed families. Therefore, it is likely that the argument of less pay and increments was being used more as a ploy to justify his lack of interest in coming to class regularly.

The prevalence of teacher absenteeism and irregular classes discouraged students from coming to class. With teachers who were not interested in teaching them, they felt they were wasting their time in the classroom. One of the common responses to the question why some of the students did not want to go for classes was this: "If teachers don't take classes and classes don't happen, why should we go to college?" Another important factor that discouraged them from going to classes had to do with the quality of education. This was especially the case in private colleges, where teachers who came to class were not qualified enough to teach the subject. Most of the students, especially those from the private college, remarked that teachers just taught from and dictated notes from guide books. In fact, one of the respondents felt it was of no use coming to classes even when classes happened because after all, the teacher just taught from the text book and he could as well read the text book by himself than waste time by attending classes.

Besides, the absenteeism of the teachers and the poor quality of teaching, the quality of schooling is also affected by the rampant corruption in the school/college. All the respondents said that bribes had to be given especially nearing the time of practical examinations or else it would be difficult to pass and get good marks. This was a common practice and this is how one of the students narrated as to why it is necessary to give bribes:

"All the students have to pay an amount of Rs.250 unofficially as a bribe to all the teachers in whose subjects, practicals are mandatory. This is a passport to fetching good marks in the practicals. On the contrary if somebody fails in meeting up his promises of paying the desired amount, then he/she is bound to either fail or just get pass marks. On asking as to why they demand money from the students, these teachers are curt in replying saying "how will my children study and survive?"

Taking of bribes during practical exams is a common practice in both government and private institutions. In fact, in the private college in Hussainabad, taking of bribes for

practical examination had become institutionalised, whereby, bribes were taken along with the examination fees. These instances of corruption in the schools/colleges sometimes get reported in local newspapers. Some of that reportage is appended.

To sum up, it can be seen that in Palamau district, the quality of schooling is marred by high levels of teacher absenteeism and irregular classes; poor quality of teaching methods and rampant corruption. Within such a learning environment, Dalit students feel discouraged to attend classes and many of them stop coming to classes. While it is true that some of them do not come to classes because of work at home and other compulsions, the poor quality of schooling is a major factor in discouraging them from the school system.

4. Teacher, and Support

Teacher-student relationship is central to a school life. G. Wallace, in her study of secondary school students, found that various approaches to subject teaching were less important to students compared to the interactive relationships teachers established with students (Wallace 1996). In this study, students' relationships with teachers surfaced as one of the most salient features of the educational experience. Especially in a context where most of the teachers are upper caste, this study is more concerned with how teachers relate to and the nature of support they give to Dalit students.

According to this study, 14 out of the 16 Dalit students that were interviewed received some economic or moral support and encouragement from their teachers during their school education. Only 2 students said that they never got any kind of support from their teachers. Out of the 14 students who got some form of support or the other, 5 students said that it was Dalit teachers who were supportive towards them, 6 students said that it was OBC teachers who were supportive towards them and 3 students said that it was upper caste teachers who were supportive towards them.

Most respondents said that they got support from teachers in the primary and middle schools. This encouragement that is evident at the primary and middle level is primarily due to the fact that at these levels, students as well as teachers get more of an opportunity to interact with each other. The support they got from their teachers was not

consistent and widespread. It also did not come from all the teachers but only from a few. In narrating their experiences of schooling as Dalit students, they brought to the fore their recollections about the primary and middle school days. This goes on to prove that the experiences at those formative levels of growing up had a role in shaping their identity and way of looking at the world.

By the time the student reaches high school, he/she is aware of his/her social and caste background. They are able to understand the intended and embedded meanings in the behaviours exhibited towards them by their peer group and teachers. For example, it is common to see teachers paying more attention to children of their own caste by providing them with more opportunities and thereby encouraging them and the Dalit student understands this pretty well that he doesn't form a part of that privileged sphere.

It can also be noticed that the support from the teacher's side came in the form of small monetary help, moral boosting and academic help. There were various factors behind the nature of encouragement teachers gave to the students. Some of the teachers encouraged these Dalit students because they were taking private tuitions from these teachers, they were always at the beck and call of teachers to perform menial jobs and tasks, and some teachers were really concerned about their students. Some experiences from the field will elaborate some of this.

One youth from Pasi community said:

“The teacher (Brahmin) always encouraged me to study when I was in primary school. He used to tell me that government gave you stipends and other facilities, so you must study hard to become someone...I used to massage his leg that's why he likes me. He asked me to do his work but he did not believe in caste system because some times he did not take school fees from me. There was no one like him after the primary school.”

Most of the respondents said that the teachers who behaved badly to them while in class, was encouraging to them after they joined their private tuitions. A girl from Intermediate class from *Pasi* community said,

“There was an OBC caste teacher in class 9th. He paid attention to those students who took tuition from him. He used to ask (in class) those questions that he taught at the

tuition. That's why those who took tuitions answered quickly. When I asked him questions, he used to say 'my head does not contain brain but chaff' (*Tumhare dimaag me bhusa bhara hua hai*)... after this, I also started taking tuitions with him. Then he paid attention to me also. I am handicapped that's why he asked me to study hard. He said that 'you come from far away, I feel sympathy for you. I will be proud of you if you became something.'

Pankaj, a student of intermediate class from *Chamar* caste had a similar experience. He said:

"In high school, a Mathematics teacher (Upper caste) used to punish students from Harijan community. In a physical scuffle with upper caste students, he used to beat up only Harijan students. He never made a student from SC community to stand first in the class and always assigned him/her a position after third in the class. He never paid any attention to me but later joining his private coaching classes, he encouraged me by saying that I should elevate the position of my caste."

Subrahmanian, in her study of two districts in Rajasthan and Madhya Pradesh, points to a similar situation. She says that "sometimes, teachers themselves also made decisions that had an exclusionary impact. In one high school, formal classes were held only for two periods each day and students relied on after-school tuitions. Students were often encouraged – or even pressured – to take private tuition with their teachers to boost their performance. In one school, students who took extra tuitions reported being treated better by their teachers." (Subrahmanian 2005:76)

A few teachers were genuinely kind and considerate towards Dalit students and sometimes gave extra attention towards them without asking anything in return like attending private tuitions or running errands for them. One student from Pasi community said:

"Mehta sir (OBC) used to give us tuitions in his free time in middle school without charging us. He motivated us by describing about his struggles in life so that we can get inspired to achieve higher goals in life and realise our dreams."

Some students also reported that a few teachers even waived their fees or else paid it from their own pockets. One student said:

“In middle school, Ganesh Ram (SC) and Uday Singh (upper caste) always encouraged me to study hard and never insisted on me paying my school fees. Sometimes they themselves paid my fees and on several occasions, I even took small loans from them.”

A particular relationship that involved a Dalit student and Dalit teacher is also quite revealing of the genuine encouragement that a student got from a teacher. The Dalit youth who was from Dabgar caste said the following:

“In the middle school, Gopal sir (Dalit) motivated me and asked me to study hard as education was important for the development of SC/ST’s. He used to say that education is like a priceless property for SC/ST’s. This particular version of my teacher inspires me till this date.”

As far as academic help is concerned, only three students said that their teachers had helped them with free textbooks, notebooks and provided them with suggestions to improve academically. This is substantiated by what a student from Chamar community said:

“In middle school, Krishna sir (OBC), used to encourage us by telling us to study hard as my community was backward. He even told us to buy good dictionaries so that we can get to know more words and their meanings. This according to him would get us a good job after clearing our B.A examinations. He even informed us about the reservation in government jobs and insisted on the fact that if we study hard, then we can realise our dreams. These words of encouragement motivated us to study and think about our future goals in life.”

Similar instances regarding the academic help provided were narrated by students from other Dalit communities as well. In a government SC residential school, one of the students said:

“Two Dalit teachers gave me free textbooks, notebooks, and other stationary items. Sometimes they also provided me with a new glass lamp when it broke down.”¹⁶

¹⁶ In this particular Residential school, a Brahmin teacher was in charge for distributing lamps, stationary items and school uniform. Apart from providing these amenities, he also helped those students who did his work. In class 10th, he didn’t provide a student with the necessary textbooks despite the fact that he asked him. The teacher kept assuring him but he still didn’t provide him with the same. Finally, the exams came to an end.

In all, it can be said that most of the Dalit students did get some form of encouragement and support from one teacher or the other, especially in their primary and middle school education. This was generally not because of their genuine concern for the plight of Dalit students although there were a few exceptions like the ones mentioned above. Many teachers offered support and encouragement in return for some favour or the other like enrolling in their private tuitions or running errands for them.

5. Unequal Treatment

On enrolling in a school, every student idealizes a teacher who would be supportive and encouraging, who they can feel inspired by. But the reality often turns out to be something entirely different. This is true especially in the context of Dalit students. The social relationships in school are shaped by the same caste relations that the society in which the school is located is shaped by. In this context, the experiences of Dalit students, of their unpleasant relationships with predominantly upper caste teachers is something important that needs to be taken note of. The attitude of teachers towards Dalit students is reflected in their everyday behaviour in the school premises. Ramya Subrahmanian points to the fact that the attitude of teachers towards Dalit students, which is routinely ritualised, is central to the construction of a Dalit child's identity (Subrahmanian 2005:74)

As mentioned earlier, according to Annual District Educational Statistics Report (2005-06) of Palamau district, in High School there are only 12 Dalit teachers out of 495 teachers in total. Moreover, there non-recruitment of high school teachers at the high school level for the last 25 years has further kept Dalits out of the teaching community. In primary and middle schools, the number of Dalit teachers is comparatively more than in the high school. Therefore, what one notices here is that the teaching community, especially at the high school level is predominantly upper caste and this in many ways would have a bearing on the nature of attitude and behaviour of teachers towards Dalit students.

The predominance of upper caste teachers posed a real problem for the Dalit students in pursuing their schooling. Their negligent and discriminatory attitude towards Dalits students in the class room situation made the learning environment a hostile and discouraging one. A student of 10+2 belonging to Chamar caste had this to say:

“All teachers were of high caste in high school and whenever I asked questions, I was told that they didn’t have the time to answer my questions.”

What the above statement indicates is the negligent attitude of teachers towards Dalit students. The teachers hardly cared to check, comment and help in the academic work of Dalit students. The neglect that Dalit students felt in the class room situation is reflected in what a student of 10+2 student from Dusadh caste had to say:

“I expected teachers to pay attention to me, to talk to me nicely and to address me as ‘son’ that would have motivated me, but unfortunately there was no one to pay attention to me.”

Another student from Chamar caste also complained of a similar attitude from the teachers. He said:

“I expected my teacher to pay extra attention on me, check my homework properly, explain me things in a nice manner and appreciate me for doing homework. But I never found this kind of behaviour from our teachers in the school.”

What is seen here is that the upper caste teachers did not even check the homework of Dalit students. When the students enquired if the answers they had written for homework were correct or not, the teacher would normally instruct them to tally their answers with the homework of Brahmin students whose work had already been checked. One of the respondents indicated that certain teachers paid special attention only to their caste students and neglected the rest. This is what a 10+2 student who belonged to Chamar caste had to say about his teacher:

“He used to pay special attention on his own caste students. While reading in class if Harijan students committed a mistake, they were immediately ordered to sit. But the upper caste students were made to understand things properly in a loving manner. The Harijan students on the other hand were told that they didn’t know anything and ordered to sit down.”

Besides the everyday classroom situation, the discriminatory attitude of the upper caste teachers was also evident in the evaluation of examination papers. It was bad enough that teachers neglected and were indifferent to the academic work of Dalit students. To add to their misery, teachers also tampered with the evaluation of examination papers of Dalit students. This is reflected in what Savita Kumari, the sole female respondent had to say:

“Upper caste teachers used to discriminate Dalit students, I used to feel very bad when 20-30 Dalit students were made to fail by these upper caste teachers. I thought that we are really bad at studies and that is why we fail. Later I got to know that Dalit students are made to fail intentionally...”

Om Prakash Valmiki, in his autobiography entitled, *Joothan*, recounts the instance when he was continuously kept out of the chemistry lab ‘on some pretext or the other,’ and despite protesting against it to the head master, nothing was done about it. Finally, he ended up doing poorly in the lab tests in the public examination. He also indicates that in the oral examination, despite answering all the questions correctly, he was given low marks (Valmiki 1997:81). This experience of Valmiki in the 1960s and the Dalit students of Palamau in 2007 points to the flaw in institutional ideology of meritocracy, which claims that students are graded according to performance rather than caste identity.

Behind the indifference of teachers towards the academic work of the Dalit students and the discrimination meted out to them in the evaluation of homework and examinations, is a certain mentality that perceives Dalits as incapable and unworthy of education and therefore, unwelcome in school. As Subramanian says, this “notion of educability was crucial to how the mindset of meritocracy and the phenomenon of caste come together to define the child’s very right to be in school (Subrahmanian 2005:72)”. Many of the comments that upper caste teachers made towards Dalit students in Palamau reflected this mindset and its efforts to discourage Dalits from pursuing education. A student from Pasi caste pointed out:

“In middle school, upper caste teachers always used to question our interest in education. They also say that we can earn some money if we sell toddy (*tadi*) drinks and that we won’t get jobs after completing our studies.”

Similarly, a student from Dusadh caste was challenged by the teacher to show his capability to pass the matriculation. This how he narrated the incident:

“Once Pathak Sir told me that you will never pass matric and this is my challenge to you until you worship Saraswati Maa (Goddess of Learning). I was a bit afraid and sceptical about this myself but after that I worked very hard and passed the examination without worshipping the Goddess of Learning Saraswati Maa”

Vasant Moon, in his autobiography entitled *Growing up Untouchable in India: A Dalit Biography* writes about a similar instance:

“Dev Master was the teacher of English Grammar in the 6th standard. One day Dev Master gave me a curse; “Moon you cannot pass matric for ten years...” However in that year 1949, I easily passed the matric examination, while expert English speakers like Kshivisagar were not even found in the list of results.” (Moon 2001)

The discriminatory practices of the upper caste teachers were not just confined to academic work and examinations, but also reflected in the general behaviour of upper caste teachers towards Dalit students. Out of the 14 students, 4 students said that upper caste teachers were very rude and inhuman towards them and 5 students said that upper caste teachers never paid any attention to them. It was common for teachers to use abusive language with casteist overtones against the Dalit students. Vikash, a 10+2 student belonging to Dabgar caste narrates an instance where he was humiliated and discriminated against:

“In middle school, the teacher Alok Yadav treated me so badly that I wanted to leave the school. He allowed students of other castes who came late to sit in the class but he didn’t allow us and we were told to stand outside the class. Many a times he asked us to go back home. He always saw me with a sense of hatred and used to say that what I will do with this education.”

One of the occasions when Dalit students were humiliated and abuses were hurled at was when they were unable to pay their school fees on time – a moment when they were the most vulnerable. Mukhalal, a student from Pasi community said:

“In class 7, I had to pay an annual fee of Rs.12 but since my parents, despite assuring me that they would give the money the next day, were unable to do so, the upper caste teacher made me stand up in the class and told me that if I was unable to pay the fee by the next day then I shouldn't come to the school. Since I was not able to pay my fee; I was out of school for one year.”

It is interesting that Mukhalal, who was thrown out of school, was able to regain admission only when he took a reputed elderly upper caste person from the village along with him. This is what Mukhalal had to say about this:

“When I went back to the same school for readmission, the same teacher who had earlier told me to leave school for a year again refused to readmit me. He said that I had a bad behaviour. But then, I took an elderly person of upper caste of my own village with me then I got readmission.”

What this whole instance indicates is that, while economic deprivation of a Dalit student becomes the point on which an upper caste teacher keeps the Dalit student out of school, at the final instant, it was his social status and social capital that determined whether he should be in or out of school. In other words, it may not really matter if the student pays the fees or not as long as he or she either has a superior social status or the right contacts. This incident also indicates that without social capital, the Dalit student is subjected to the rude and inhuman attitudes of the teacher, in this case, at the time of readmission.

The abusive and rude behaviour of upper caste teachers towards Dalit students many a times make the latter feel neglected and inferior, and their experiences become part of their lifelong memory and identity. Om Prakash Valmiki in his autobiography '*Joothan*' expressed his experiences from the school days during the 1960's and wrote:

“The ideal image of teachers that I have encountered is still fresh in my memory. Whenever someone talks about an ideal teacher I am reminded of the many teachers who have hurled mother-sister abuses at me, who have caressed the faces of handsome young boys and who have been called to their teachers' homes only to be molested.”(Valmiki 1997:14)

Dharmendra, a student from Chamar caste recounted another instance of abusive and demeaning treatment:

“In middle school, our teacher Uma Kant Pandey (Upper Caste) addressed us as ‘children of pigs’ (Suwat-haram) and often remarked that since we are a people who take pork meat and that our parents take alcohol, we shouldn’t bring water for him. We didn’t fear him and told him that since he was our guru, he should treat us all equally. Then, he would say that we all have become too courageous and starts beating us. One day, we planned to serve him drinking water. When all the teachers were in the office, we served water to Uma Kant Singh and requested him to drink the water in a very polite manner. He turned angry and addressed us as ‘children of pigs’ and shot back saying, how dare we bring drinking water for him. He later added that many times he had said that he won’t drink water from our hands and told us to leave the place”.

Casteist abuses and jokes with reference to eating pork seem to have been common. Again, Om Prakash Valmiki, in his autobiography recounts an instance when the “Master (Pulling the author towards him who was a child then) asked, “How many pork pieces did you have? And later telling him that, “You can easily have 250 grams.” (Valmiki 1997:29)

It is often said that the attitude and behaviour of upper caste teachers have a role in instilling a certain sense of low self-worth, inferiority and lack of self-confidence among Dalits (Subrahmanian 2005:74). However, the above mentioned incident shows that there were times when Dalit students challenged or confronted the casteist attitude of a teacher. These situations of confrontations show that Dalit students were not always passive victims who allowed themselves to be shaped by the inferiority that their upper caste teachers imposed on them. Rather, at times, they affirmed their self-worth and asserted their agency in confronting the casteist attitude of the teacher.

Besides verbal abuses, physical abuses are also committed on Dalit students. In one instance, a teacher used to mercilessly beat up Dalit students on the one hand and hand out Pintu to upper caste students on the other, thereby indicating the stark difference in how punishments are meted out people of different castes. One of the 10+2 respondents from Dusadh caste had this to say about his class 10 Hindi teacher:

“In 10th class, Pathak, a Hindi teacher (upper caste) used to beat Harijan students mercilessly whereas he used to hand out Chocolates (*Lemchus*) to Rajput students after slapping them once or twice. It was because of this reason that students used to call him

“lemchusiya sir”. Since our school was located in a Rajput dominated area, this particular teacher beat up one of the schools so badly that he was on drip for a week.”

To sum up, it can be said that the casteist attitudes and behaviour of a predominantly upper caste teaching community makes the learning environment hostile for the Dalit students. The teachers, informed by a mindset that perceives Dalits as ‘incapable’ and ‘unworthy’ of education, are indifferent towards the academic work of the Dalit students. They turn a blind eye towards their academic development and discourage them from pursuing education. During examinations, they make efforts to fail Dalit students through whatever means available. Moreover, it is not uncommon that humiliating remarks and jokes with casteist overtones are directed at them. Dalit students are also subject to worst forms of verbal and physical abuses of teachers for the slightest of reasons. All this makes schooling a discouraging and hostile process as far as Dalit students are concerned.

6. Dalit Teachers and Students

The relationship between Dalit teachers and Dalit students is complicated, largely because of the precarious position Dalit teachers find themselves within the power hierarchy of school and society. On the one hand, they themselves struggled through the education system to become who they are and therefore, are aware of the struggles of Dalit students. On the other hand, for their own job and personal security within a caste society, there are more pressures on them to compromise with the existing system and thereby, limiting the extent to which they can be of help and support to Dalit students. In Palamau, out of the 16 students interviewed, the opinion of 9 students about Dalit teachers was positive, the opinion of 3 students was negative and 4 students did not share an opinion on the matter.

Students who had a positive opinion about Dalit teachers felt comfortable with them as they were aware of the social background and struggles of Dalit students, and therefore, sympathetic towards them. One student said:

“We felt that Harijan teachers paid more attention towards us, checked our homework, corrected our mistakes and explained us what we didn’t understand. They praised us for doing good work which no other teacher had done.”

In comparison to the attitude and behaviour of upper caste teachers, as it was seen in the previous section, Dalit teachers attended to and helped in the academic work of Dalit students. This was a marked relief as far as Dalit students were concerned. However, while Dalit teachers generally sympathised with Dalit students, in schools situated in upper caste localities, Dalit teachers were afraid to help Dalit students as it was evident from the response of Vinod who said:

“Harijan teacher taught well and paid more attention to us but he always feared that if he paid attention to Harijan children, then upper caste villagers would beat him up.”

This fear of Dalit teachers who were employed in schools in upper caste localities was real. Any show of sympathy towards Dalit students or equal treatment of everyone, would invite the ire of the upper castes and they would be threatened with dire consequences by upper caste students. This is what one of the Dalit students had to say:

“Whenever a Dalit teacher scolded any upper caste student, he used to challenge this Dalit teacher with unforeseen consequences and at times beat him up outside the school campus in full view of the public. That is why the teacher never scolded upper caste students even if they did any wrong.”

In the face of upper caste threat, Dalit teachers generally went out of the way to show that they would not be partial or sympathetic towards the Dalit students. This often led them to conduct themselves in similar lines as an upper caste teacher. For instance, as one of the Dalit students, Savita from Pasi caste says:

“Harijan teachers are even worse because he thinks that if he maltreats upper caste students then they might beat him up. The SC teacher regularly asks the upper caste students in the class whether their fathers would be at home or not since he wanted to visit them. I felt bad as to why only those students belonging to the upper castes are asked this question and why not us?”

The Dalit teacher feels compelled to go out of his way to visit the homes of upper caste student and thereby, appease his Dalit self with the upper castes. He also wants to keep

his distance from the Dalit students so that he could be accepted within the system. Another instance of this attitude of Dalit teachers is reflected in the account given below by Manish Paswan from Dusadh caste:

“In High school there were two SC teachers namely Rampujan Ram (Dusadh) and Ram Dular Ram, Headmaster (Chamar). No one respected Rampujan Ram not even the students. He did not know teaching and other teachers in the class used to question his credentials as a master since he did not even know to speak Hindi. I also felt that he was a beneficiary of the reservation policy...On the other hand, the headmaster being an SC used to create tension for SC children. He did not pay attention to SC children. He talked very nicely to upper caste children, ‘Ok beta (son), your work will be done’. While he talked harshly to SC children and asked them to go away, he never came to school regularly, he came to school only four-five days a month.”

As in the earlier case, here too, Dalit teachers try to become more like their upper caste colleagues so that they would be secure within the system. Like their upper caste counterparts, they talk to upper caste students cordially and are harsh on Dalit students. Over a period of time, some of the Dalit teachers, like the ones mentioned above, become so much like their upper caste counterparts that as Mohammad Talib says in the context of education among working class in Delhi, “Those who come from the lower middle class or a modest economic position did not see themselves as belonging to the lower strata of society” (Talib 1998:203). Sanoj, a student from Chamar caste recounts the story of another Dalit teacher whose personal quest for power in an upper caste world made him inconsiderate towards Dalit students:

“In the Harijan Residential School, Mr. Baitha (Dhobi) was the Principal. He used to tell that he would give all the benefits if we supported him. He promised us to give some clothes to wear but didn’t fulfil his promise. The BDO demoted him from the post of Principal since he was always busy minting money. The Principal didn’t even come to save us when criminal charges were framed against us by the BDO. He exploited Harijan students although he was a Harijan himself.”

There were also instances of Dalit teachers exercising corporal punishment on students, just like the upper caste teachers. This is what a student from Rajwar caste said:

“There was no difference between the handling of students by SC teachers and others. Both used to teach us and beat us whenever they felt we had committed a mistake. I never felt as if Harijan teachers paid more attention to SC children...In the 3rd and 4th grade, Vifan guru jee (Chamar) used to beat us and that is why we stopped going to the school and started grazing the cattle from our respective homes.”

Dalit teachers physically and verbally abusing was not uncommon. B. K. Anitha, in her study, also found that Dalit teachers used to beat children and “was more rude to SC students. He called them as “Kadu-jana” (forest people) and believed that they would not learn without beating. According to him, these students had no brains or the will to study and only beating would help.” (Anitha 2000:88)

From all this, it can be said that while there were instances where Dalit teachers sympathised with Dalit students and tried to support and encourage them, there were also instances where, under pressure from the caste society, Dalit teachers became submissive and behaved more like their upper caste colleagues. The pressure on them to show they were at times biased against Dalit students and often did not support their students.

7. Incentives

Over the years, the government has initiated several programmes and policies for the protection and empowerment of Dalits in education. However, the unruly practices at the level of local institutions have made the implementation of these programmes and policies ineffective. Corruption and other social factors at the local level have not allowed Dalit students from benefiting from any of these programmes and policies. This study made an effort to understand how this was happening in Palamau district of Jharkhand.

Every SC student in government school is entitled to get free uniform. However, the study found that no uniform was distributed to any of the interviewed students. This reveals that the recommendation regarding the distribution of free uniforms was not followed by any of the rural government schools.

Regarding the distribution of free textbooks, every SC student in government school is entitled to get free text books. However, 11 out of 16 students responded that they did not get any textbooks during their school education. The 11 students had to buy

all the textbooks on their own and sometimes they were unable to buy Maths and Science textbooks because they were expensive. For these two subjects, they had to study from guide books which they borrowed from their friends. The other 5 students got some free textbooks in some of the classes but not all in all the classes. For instance, Sanoj from Chamar caste, who studies in a government residential school where every SC student is entitled to free text books, free uniforms, free lodging and food, free supply of other basic amenities, had this to say:

“I had got some free textbooks in classes 8th and 9th. I had bought guides for rest of the subjects for which I spent hundred rupees. In class 10th, I spent hundred and fifty five rupees for Science and Maths books and two hundred rupees to buy guides for rest of the subjects.”

Manish got four books in class 8th and bought two books for hundred and fifty rupees; Ashok got books in class 7th but did not get any books in class 8th and 9th. Ranjan is the only student who got free textbooks from class 1st till 10th.

All these responses show that the provision of free textbooks to Dalit students was not followed by the administration of the schools they went to. In other words, Dalit students are not getting the incentives that they are entitled to in order to fulfil their educational needs. In a situation where teacher absenteeism is high, often textbooks are the only source of school education in rural areas. However, even this bare minimum is not provided at every stage of education.

Another incentive that the government is supposed to provide for girl students below poverty line is free bicycles. In order to avail this provision, the students were asked to pay two to five hundred rupees as a bribe. The sole female student among the 16 respondents, Savita, refused to pay the bribe. Consequently, she was not provided with a cycle while other girl students who paid the bribe were provided. Another respondent Vinod of Dusadh caste said:

“The Jharkhand government gives cycles to girls below poverty line. But those Harijan girls who don't come from families below poverty line, used to give money to the school inspector and register their daughter's name in the below poverty line list. After that, the

headmaster also took money. When my sister was supposed to get the cycle, the middle school headmaster took 500 rupees.”

All this indicates that the incentives, which government provides for Dalit students hardly reach them. On the one hand, incentives such as free uniforms, free text books and free bicycles are not made available to meet the needs of all Dalit students. On the other hand, even if they are made available, accessing them is difficult because of the corruption at various levels of distribution, as it was seen in the case of accessing bicycles in Palamau.

8. Scholarship

In Jharkhand, every Scheduled Caste student from class 7th to 10th is entitled to Rs. 660 per annum. In class seven, 5 students got the stipend; in class eight, 9 students got the stipend; in class ninth, 8 students got the stipend; in class tenth, 5 students got the stipend and in class eleventh and twelfth, 5 students got the stipend. In class eleventh and twelfth, every Scheduled Caste student is entitled to Rs. 1,680 per annum. Besides being SC, the only other criterion was 75 percent attendance.

This data shows that not all the students received stipends in the various classes. It is also clearly evident that most of the students did not get stipend in class 6th, 7th, and 10th, which made them bear the expenses of education on their own. Moreover, only five out of sixteen students received stipend in class 10th, when they had to prepare for their matriculation examination, for which they needed books and other materials for preparation. This indicates that many Dalit students don't get the stipend that they are entitled to, especially during crucial years of their school life. The inability to meet the educational expenses due to lack of availability of scholarship is a major factor leading to dropouts among Dalits.

Among those who received their stipends, most of them did not receive the full amount. Most times, they had to pay after receiving the stipend, some amount of the money as bribe to school officials and those teachers who are in charge of the distribution of stipends. One of the students, Mukhalal from Pasi caste says:

“Teachers used to take fifty rupees per student to provide stipend. In High School, the teacher used to take our identity card and return it only after the payment of rupees fifty.”

Pankaj also had a similar experience. The other students also said that they paid twenty to fifty rupees for receiving their stipends. Pintu Kumar said:

“Teachers asked us to pay rupees fifty while filling up the stipend form and rupees hundred while receiving the money. They scolded those who did not want to pay by saying that they would not get stipend in the coming year (next year)”.

Vinod also experienced something similar. He said:

“In middle school, the Head master Mandip Singh (Rajput) asked us to pay rupees fifty after receiving the stipend. When I and others refused to do so, he warned us by saying, ‘if you do not pay the money, then you will not get the stipend next time?’”

The late availability of stipends was also a major problem. Most of these students complained that they received their stipends very late (after one year) when the courses had already gotten over. Because of which, they faced difficulties in buying books, guides and other study materials.

In most of the classes, students did not receive stipend even after filling up the forms. Brijlal pointed out that sometimes, if a student was absent to collect his stipend, teachers asked some other student to do the signature in absence and they divided the money between the two. In 10+2, students had to open an account in the State Bank of India to receive the stipend. This was a major problem as far as Dalit students were concerned since they needed money to open an account and if they didn't have the money to open an account, then they would not get the stipend. One of the students, Sanoj said:

“It is necessary to open an account in SBI Bank to fill the stipend form. I did not have money, so I sold my goat in rupees five hundred to open an account”.

Brijlal also said:

“In B.A., I opened my account by giving bribe of rupees fifty. We had to take out the money from the bank as soon as it reached in the Bank; otherwise it returned to the Welfare Department”.

Although the government has provided Dalit students with stipends, it is a struggle in itself to receive the full amount without delay. Many students don't get it and when they get it, they don't get the full amount and they get it very late. Moreover, often the process of getting the stipend itself is fraught with problems. Bribes have to be given and bank accounts have to be opened. This means further expenditure on the part of students who are already economically deprived. One of the students, Vinod very aptly describes the problem thus:

“We used to get stipend only after one year. If we were supposed to get stipend then it should have been within six months. If we had got it within six months, then books and stationary could have been bought. But when we were done with our studies, then we got our stipends. How could we buy books then? With that money, we would then buy clothes and upper caste students would remark that we are doing fashion with the stipend money.”

The upper caste peers and teachers generally resented the preferential treatment that a welfare state bestowed upon Dalit students. As a result of which, the most talked about incentive of the government, stipends, became a point on which many comments and insults were hurled at Dalit students. It would all begin with the time when the stipends were announced, teachers would single out all the Dalit students in class by calling them 'Harijan' and telling them to stand up. Then their names would be read out in front of the whole class. Many Dalit students found this singling out process to be humiliating and insensitive. Savita describes that moment thus:

“During the announcement of the names of the stipend holders, the teacher asked us to stand up saying, 'all the Harijan boys and girls, stand up! Your stipends have reached. Go and collect it from the block.' I felt very bad. Most of the SC students did not want to stand up. I also did not want to stand up. I didn't care whether I would get money or not”.

The other respondents also experienced the something similar. They said that whenever the scholarships reached the Block Office, the teacher used to come to the class and say, “those who are Harijans, stand up! Your stipends have reached. Go and collect it from the Block.” Asking children to stand up in the class hurt them very much and made them feel excluded. This experience also engraved in those students a feeling of inferiority.

Besides this, teachers and upper castes students passed several sharp comments at Dalit students. Regarding stipends, the teacher of one of the students commented that “when you (SCs) get stipend and rice, then only you come to school and the rest of the time you remain at your home.” Another student, Pankaj, pointed out that it was common for teachers to say that “they only come to school for stipend and they will not come after getting the stipend.” These comments indicate the general loathing with which upper caste teachers looked upon Dalit students. The latter were portrayed as good for nothing people who don’t come to school to learn but to make money from the stipends.

Sometimes, even the Dalit teachers treated these students as the excluded other. One of the students, Manish, said that once, the upper caste boys had enquired with a Dalit teacher why only Dalit students get the scholarships and not the general students. The teacher answered that it is for buying books and copies. In response, the students said that harijans already have books and copies. Then the teacher replied, “don’t you see that they wear slippers. When they will get money, they will buy shoes”. The teacher again commented sharply that “they will not join tuition with this money. Instead, they will buy clothes. I don’t know why the government provides them scholarship for no use.” This Dalit teacher was only airing what was generally accepted among the upper castes.

One of the students, Ashok, indicated that it was common for teachers to say “government is giving so many facilities to Harijans. They are receiving stipend, free books and free bicycles. Even then they do not study.” Teachers gave these kinds of comments in front of all the students. These comments reveal not only the attitudes and prejudices of teachers towards Dalit students but also their resentment towards government policies that are meant to empower Dalits.

Upper caste students also felt jealous with Dalit students for receiving scholarship. They blamed the government for giving stipends to those who don’t study and for not giving stipends to general students. Sometimes, Dalit students have to hear their comments too. One of the students, Mukhalal, said that upper caste students always used to argue over “why the government provides scholarships to these SC students and not us.”

Another student, Pankaj, said upper caste students would mockingly pass comments such as “Stipends have come. Go and receive it. Government is yours. Enjoy!”

Pintu Kumar, another student, said that Rajput students (upper castes) asked him to spend the money by giving them treat. They often used to comment that “government provided money to SC students so that they would no longer be poor, but instead we (upper castes) have become poor not receiving any money.” They also commented that even after receiving stipend money, SC’s are poor in their studies.

9. Friendship Pattern

Suma Chitnis (1981) in her study observed that in the mid 1970s, friendships among Dalit students “were confined to members of their own caste, members of their own sub caste or those who were closer to them in terms of ritual status.” (Nambissan 2006:246) This study observes a change in this early pattern. Out of the 16 Dalit students interviewed, 13 students said that they have more friends from OBC castes; 3 students said that they have more friends from their own caste; 5 students said that they have friends from other SC castes; 3 students said that they have friends from the upper castes. These figures indicate that the friends’ circle of Dalit children had expanded much more from the earlier days, with most friends being made with those from OBC castes as they have similar socio-economic background. One student from Dusadh community said:

“I feel comfortable with my friends of backward castes. They are as poor as we are. We have similar socio economic background. That’s why there is similarity in our thinking and behaviour. Backward castes are also oppressed by the upper caste, that’s why they help Harijan whenever they are in need.”

Some upper caste students too made friends Dalit students and behave well with them but at the same time, their relationship with other Dalit students was characterized by principles of caste and untouchability. Savita said:

I have three friends who are upper caste (Rajput) girls. These girls behave with me nicely. They come to my house and have food. But they behave with other Harijan girls very rudely and they believe in untouchability with them.”

Some upper caste students talk to Dalit students but they refrain from becoming friends with them. Some of the Harijan students want to be friends with upper castes but are unable to do so because of the belief of untouchability among upper caste students.

One of the students, Pankaj, expressed his interest in having friends from among the upper castes. But on account of him being a Dalit, they never interacted with him well. Something similar was expressed by Brijlal (Dhobi) as well:

“Friendship with upper castes group is not based on emotional bond. Their family members believe in untouchability. That’s why I don’t want to have friends of upper castes group”. Salendra once went to a Rajput classmate’s house in class 9th and had breakfast with him. At that moment his parents started scolding him for letting Salendra (Chamar) inside the home and having breakfast with him. He was slapped by his parents for opposing them. So I went home without any fuss”.

Dharmendra also talked of a similar situation:

“The border of friendship with upper castes do not go up till their homes. Their family members consider us as untouchables. That is why we don’t take much interest in becoming friends with them.”

Some Dalit students don’t want to become friends with upper caste students because they are unable to identify themselves with the latter in terms of their style of communication and interaction, attitudes, dress style etc. Som Nath from Chamar caste and Manish from Dusadh caste expressed their hesitation to talk to upper castes because of their different looks, styles, clothes, etc. Because of these differences, a close interaction with them would produce a sense of inferiority. Moreover, upper castes would frequently show their negative attitudes to Dalits which would make them feel inferior, neglected, and lowly. Vinod from Dusadh caste said that he doesn’t like to be friends with upper castes because they will not come to the help of Dalits when they are in difficulty. Ashok from Rajwar caste, said:

“In Class 6th I had a good upper caste (Rajput) friend. I had never been to his home. In the annual exam of class 6th, I borrowed his scale and gave it to a boy in my village. The scale was broken. After that, my Rajput friend asked me for his scale immediately, and we failed to give him. Then he took out his belt to beat us. But we gave our pen to him and went away. After that I had decided that I will not be friend of anyone.”

Bhaskar (Halkhor) also said that “upper caste boys are ready to fight with you even after being a friend.”

It was common for upper caste students to often physically harass Dalit students by pinching, hitting or pulling them. Muralidharan in his study also found that “at the height of mischief, they used to form of group (gang) of their own and beat the Harijan child, bruise his arm or leg. Nearly one out of every 10 Harijan children was a victim of such boyish banditry.”(Muralidharan 1997:169) These instances which portrays the hostility Dalit students faced from the upper castes, led them to keep away from the upper caste students.

While keeping away from upper castes, these students expressed that it is good to have friends of their own caste, since they understand each other’s situation and also share similar socio-economic and cultural background. With friends from the same caste, they conduct themselves as the members of the same family and build emotional bonds that are very strong. They frequently go to each other’s house without any hesitation and eat with them. Dalit friends feel comfortable in sharing their feelings with each other and are always ready to comfort each other in their distress.

Two students replied that they wished to have friends from upper castes in order to get help from them, as they are perceived to be ‘intelligent’. Some young Dalits think that they will learn the dressing and speaking style of the ‘educated’ if they are in the company of upper caste friends. As one of the students, Salendra, said:

“Sometimes I feel that if I had friends of upper castes then I would have been to their homes and would learn their manners and life styles. They are fluent in speaking and arguing, intelligent in studies because they get all the facilities at home. I they were my friend, I would get some kind of help from them.”

What is interesting is that a good number of student silently or openly admitted that they were uncomfortable talking about caste even among themselves. Seven out of sixteen students did not want to say anything about whether they discuss caste among friends. Four students said that they felt hurt and uncomfortable when friends discussed caste or religion. Two students said they try to escape from the group when one broached on such discussion and two other students said they try to change the topic when such a discussion happened. Only five students admitted that they did not feel uncomfortable talking about it and would discuss it among friends of the same caste. This indicates that, for many Dalit students, friendship was a means of escaping from the hostile reality of

caste. In friendship, they tried to create an alternative space which would be a negation of the reality they faced outside friendship. On the contrary, for the few who discussed about caste among friends, friendship provided a space where they could comfortably and freely talk about the hostile reality they encountered, come to terms with it and find ways of dealing with it.

To sum up, it can be said that as compared to earlier times, there is more intermixing of castes as far as making friends is concerned. However, in the last instance, most Dalits feel that it is better to have friends from their own castes since they shared similar socio-economic and cultural backgrounds, understood each other and was there for each other. Many of the Dalit students felt they could trust a person from their own castes much more than someone outside it.

10. Role Model

The role models that students have are a reflection of the aspirations that they have, according to which they would like to shape their identity and their history. In other words, understanding role models of students provides an opening into the trajectory in which students would like to be involved in the process of self-fashioning. In a caste society, the role model that a Dalit student has points towards what he or she sees himself or herself to be doing in the present, to what they did in the past and what they might do in the future.

Four out of sixteen students said that their role model is Dr. Ambedkar. They said that they want to be like him by following his path. One of the students, Sanoj, looks at Ambedkar as a role model because he fought for the development of Harijans, especially for their development in the field of education. Another student, Pankaj, wanted to be like Ambedkar because he was very intelligent and “gave his life for the enhancement of the Harijans. He was like a god for the Harijans.” And, Ashok was influenced more by Ambedkar’s brilliance.

Four students were influenced by Mahatma Gandhi. One of the students, Dharmendra, liked his three favourite phrases “*bura mat dekho*”, “*bura mat bolo*”, “*bura mat suno*”. He wants to follow Gandhi also for emphasizing on the idea of self-help, whereby Gandhi spun his own clothes and cleaned his own toilet. Vinod likes

Gandhi because he was a freedom fighter who fought for the freedom of the nation and also tried to wipe out untouchability. Som Nath liked Gandhi because he was the “great man of India” who “liked all human beings equally and asked them to live in brotherhood”. He also was “against untouchability and fought for the freedom of the nation.” Pintu liked Gandhi for bringing social change in the country - by naming low castes as ‘Harijan’.

One student Mukhalal wanted to be like Subhash Chandra Bose. He was impressed by his guerilla war against British and his victory. Salendra was influenced by Shahid Bhagat Singh. Prashant’s role model was Abdul Kalam and Savita’s role model was Pushpa who was doing B.Ed course. Four students did not have any role model.

What is interesting about the different role models that most students had and reasons behind choosing them as role models, is that almost all the personalities mentioned were involved in different struggles against oppression. What impressed most of them about these personalities, was their stand on caste and their determination to fight. In many ways, the role models mentioned, represented what Dalit students yearned and aspired for within a caste situation. In the case of Savita, it is interesting that while all the male respondents projected different prominent leaders in Indian history as their role models, she just talked of another woman who she knew and was impressed by. She was inspired by and found role models in people she encountered in her own everyday existence. As far as the four who did not have any role models go, it could be said that they may not have aspired for certain larger goals or ideals, and may have felt at ease just confronting their daily struggles and coming to terms with their everyday needs.

Four out of sixteen students were inspired by their teachers who motivated and helped them in their studies. Within a hostile learning environment, it was these teachers who provided some comfort and encouragement for the Dalit students. Therefore, they became an important part of a student’s life and memory. Six students were inspired by others who encouraged them to study hard and make it through the education system. Interestingly, rest of the six students were not inspired by anybody. It could be that they never had the opportunity to experience teachers or other personalities in their life who could have been a source of encouragement and support.

The role models that Dalit students have, come largely from what they have read about those personalities in their school text books. In this context, the question is did Dalit students ever read about personalities from their own communities in their school text books? Eleven out of sixteen students responded that they had never read anyone or anything about their castes/communities in the textbooks. Only one student, Dharmendra, said that he had read something in the textbook about a saint named Raidas. He said that in class 7, he “had read about Raidas ji, who was of my own caste. He was a great saint. He always used to say that we don’t find god by worshipping Him. We should have a good heart in order to find Him.” Four students did not have anything to say regarding people from their communities.

It is evident from this that Dalit characters are totally excluded from the textbooks. Thorat points out that “SC’s face problem in the curriculum and courses...as they are unable to relate themselves to what they study. The courses don’t reflect the life experiences of the society in which they live.”(Thorat 2004:47) It is the dominant culture that gets represented in the curriculum and it is this curriculum that becomes the prescribed and universal curriculum for all. Such a curriculum does not provide space for other cultures, especially that of marginal groups. Anand and Yadav points out that “the curriculum and textbooks are by and large silent about experience of the disadvantaged groups and social oppressions faced by them.” (Anand and Yadav 2006:126) Moreover, even the revised version of school textbooks is silent about caste oppression. As Sumit Sarkar says:

“Even after the recommendation of 1986 policy, which states that de-culturation, de-humanization and alienation must be avoided, it is not so in ‘dalit’, but even ‘Harijan’ is omitted from the revised version. Gandhi’s condemnation of untouchability as sinful is omitted, and his work is grossly diluted in to “social work among depressed castes and untouchables.” (Sarkar 2005:205)

Eleven out of sixteen students knew something about Dr. Ambedkar. Among these eleven students, one of the students, Salendra , read about him in class 6 Civics text book; two students, Brijlal and Vikash, read about him in class 7 Hindi textbook; and one student read only when he got to B.A. 1st year. The other six students did not read about Ambedkar in their textbooks but came to know about him through their family members,

neighbours or public speeches. What is evident from this is that these Dalit students knew very little about Dr. Ambedkar. Only a few of them heard about him through the school text books.

Moreover, what did they know about him? Manish read in the textbook that “He was of Chamar caste. He was the leader of the low castes and was not allowed to sit in the class. He used to sit at the gate. He was intelligent. He was discriminated, beaten and seen as untouchable. He was the founder of our Constitution.” Brijlal also read that “Dr. Ambedkar was of low caste. Upper castes people exploited him very much. He was not allowed to enter in the temple. He wrote our Constitution.” Vikash said that he came to know about Ambedkar through a film that he had seen in Doordarshan. He said that:

“Upper caste people oppressed him. They treated him such that he might leave his studies. Even the barber did not cut his hair. People did not let him drink water from the tap. Once he drank water from the dirty pond- even then also he was beaten up with the hunter by the upper castes people. He continued his studies in spite of all these things. He went abroad to study. He studied so much that he wrote the Constitution. At that time, nobody was so intelligent like him.”

Bhaskar heard about Dr. Ambedkar on Ambedkar Jayanti, when he came to know that “he was of Chamar caste and fought for harijans. He wrote our Constitution.” This indicates that even though an awareness of Ambedkar through the school system was limited, he was a personality that evoked some amount of inspiration and imagination among Dalit students. Five students had just heard his name in the course of the interview and didn’t know anything about him. They didn’t even know who he was. This is indicative of the power of dominant culture to erase the name of Ambedkar from imagination of Dalits.

In all, it can be said that a good number of Dalit students had some role model or the other but then there were also those who didn’t have one. Among those who had one, the personalities that figured and the reasons they figured highlight the yearning and aspiration among young Dalits to struggle against caste and become somebody in a world that considers you a non-entity. Those who didn’t have a role model may not have aspired larger goals and ideals but may have been satisfied just managing their survival on an everyday basis. They may also not have had to opportunity to encounter personalities who can really inspire them. Finally, it can be seen that school text books are silent about

Dalit realities and personalities who have challenged those realities, thus making it difficult for Dalit students to get a sense of their own history and identity through school text books.

11. Aspirations and Opportunities

During their schooling, it is common for students to have aspirations of doing higher education and getting an employment of their liking. Dalit students too have such aspirations and dreams, however, the social exclusion they face and their economically deprived status often tends to tame those aspirations. The social and economic opportunities that a Dalit student has to meet his or her aspirations is very low compared to general students. As a result, the number of Dalits who meet their aspirations is minute compared to the general students.

Most of the respondents wanted to complete their high school graduation. Out of sixteen students nine students wanted to complete their B.A.; one student wanted to only complete 10+2; one student wanted to complete double M.A. (It is a popular assumption in Palamau that the highest level of education is a double M.A.); and two students wanted to do B.Ed course.

Students have high aspirations regarding their future career. Four out of sixteen respondents said they wanted to become teachers. Three students said they wanted to become doctors. One student said he wants to become a radio news reader while the other three students said they want to become engineers, however, if that doesn't work out they will try for IAS, a job in Air Force or the Police. Savita, the female respondent, said that she wants to become a doctor, an officer or a lawyer. Three students wanted to do any kind of job, whether it is in Railway, Banking, Government job etc.

While they have these high aspirations, the opportunities available to achieve them seem to be grim. For one, there is none from their villages who has ever become those officers and professionals who they aspire to become. There is none in the villages who has reached those aspirations before them and therefore, can be an inspiration for them. Fourteen out of the sixteen students have not encountered anyone from any caste

who has become the officers they dreamt of becoming. Two respondents said that they have not encountered anyone higher than a Police Inspector and a teacher.

Moreover, there is none in their villages who can provide them with help and guidance to reach the goals they aspire for. None of the Dalit students interviewed, except one, got any sort of help, guidance or encouragement. The student who was an exception said that there was an Inspector (Dhobi) in his village who had asked him to study hard and promised to help him by giving him some money for his further studies.

More importantly, the biggest obstacles towards achieving what they aspire for are economic and physical constraints. In the course of this study, it was found that economic constraints played a major role in determining to what stage each student studied and what their future aspirations and careers were. Because of economic constraints, Dalit students are dependent on their parents' interests and abilities to educate them, and parents' interests depend largely on their economic status. It was not their 'free choice' that determined whether their children got educated or not, but it was their economic condition that determined their decision - whether they were able to bear the cost of education or not.

As it was mentioned earlier in this study, there are also many physical constraints that come in the way of the aspirations of Dalit students. Physical access to schools, colleges and other institutions are difficult. They are usually located in the district headquarters and are far away from their villages. Finding accommodation in the district headquarters to pursue education is also difficult. The direct and indirect cost of education multiplies as a result of this.

The way in which physical and economic constraints tame the aspirations of a Dalit student is highlighted well in the case of Ranjan from Bhuiya caste. He wanted to become a doctor, was encouraged by his brother and the latter even promised to financially support him. But when they found the fee for medical coaching to be really high (Rs. 18,000), he had to give up his plans to become a doctor. The fee was way beyond what his brother could support him with. Moreover, the coaching centres for medical and engineering entrance tests are located in the capital city, Ranchi, which is far from his village. The direct and indirect cost of living in Ranchi is much and it would

further increase the expenses. Disappointed, this student said: “I have stopped dreaming about becoming a doctor. I am ready to do any kind of job”.

Government has provided certain incentives and opportunities for meeting the educational needs of Dalit students. All the respondents were more or less aware of the incentives, government programmes and facilities that were available to them although they did not know the details. As it was seen earlier in this chapter, they knew about stipend, bicycle, books, uniforms etc. and many of them were also aware of the concession in fees, and relaxation in marks and age in government jobs. In regard to reservation policy, they all had heard of the word ‘reservation’ but did not know much about it. While these opportunities provided by the government for the empowerment of Dalit students in education and employment, as it was seen earlier in this chapter, accessing these opportunities is fraught with problems.

Moreover, Dalit students also have to face the comments, taunts and prejudices of the caste elite when they try to utilize the government opportunities. Imbued by jealousy, there is much hate that is targeted at Dalit students as they avail government opportunities. One of the students from Bhuiya community said:

“The upper caste boys are jealous and say that we are government’s son-in-law (*sarkari damad*). We get free railway pass whenever we go for railway examinations, for which they say that ‘be a Chamar, so that government will make you his son-in-law’. I felt very hurt. They are in large numbers, that’s why we don’t say anything to them.”

The hostility with which the upper castes look at reservation policy arises from the fear that the existing status quo would change and those who you subjugated for so long could now become your equal. The fear and anxiety of the upper castes over reservation is aptly pointed out by one student from the Chamar community:

“Upper caste peoples in our village are angry with us. Whenever we cross the street, they start talking nonsense about harijans. They are ready to beat us for opening our mouth to speak. They say that, ‘now Harijan domination will remain. We will not have power to control. We will move backward, we will not be valued. Sometimes they raise quarrel among harijans or file cases against us in police station, so that we cannot study smoothly.”

From all this, it can be seen that, in contrast to the argument that “the majority of Scheduled Caste people being poor, ignorant, illiterate and socially discriminated...have

low level of aspiration” (Sachidananda 1974:50), this study argues that many Dalit students indeed have high aspirations. They aspire to become personalities and professionals that are unfound even in their own villages. However, these aspirations are gradually tamed and controlled by the social, physical and economic constraints they face at every stage of schooling. Government provides opportunities and incentives for the Dalits to aspire but the flaws in the implementation of these policies and the hostile reactions of the caste elite to these policies, make it difficult for Dalit students to utilize these opportunities.

12. Education and Identity

Being involved in the educational process, individuals and collectives develop an understanding about themselves in relation to others. In the context of this study, being educated or having had access to education, the Dalit students studying in secondary and higher secondary schools in Palamau district defined their self, their values and their aspirations in relation to other members of their own family and caste who are not educated, and in relation to the upper castes.

One of the ways in which one can get a sense of how Dalit students of Palamau understood or perceived their own self is by looking at how they look at and the meaning they give to words that are used to ascribe their collective caste identity, such as ‘Harijan’, ‘Dalit’, ‘SC’ etc.

Almost all the students who were interviewed were aware of the word ‘Harijan’ except two of them. Six students out of the sixteen have never heard the word ‘Dalit’. Some of them have heard the word but did not know its meaning. Thirteen out of sixteen students have heard the word SC except three of them. Some students who come from upper caste dominated villages were also familiar with other words that were used by the upper caste to describe Dalits, namely ‘Rarh-Reyan’, ‘Shudra’ and ‘Neech’.

Fourteen out of sixteen students said that they don’t like the word ‘Harijan’ or ‘Dalit’ because those words made them feel inferior (*neech*) or untouchable. One of the students, Pankaj, from Chamar caste said that “I don’t like ‘Harijan’ word as it sounds like an abusive word.” Two other students from Chamar caste, Dharmendra and Vinod,

also shared a similar view. One of them said that “The word ‘Harijan’ is used for Chamar and Dhobi. That’s why I don’t like this word.” Some students also said that although they knew that ‘Hari’ means god, they still did not like to call themselves ‘Harijans’.

All the respondents liked the word ‘SC’ as it did not denote one’s particular caste. It also did not make them feel low (*Neech*). Pintu Kumar from Dusadh caste said that Rajputs use the word ‘Dalit’ as ‘Dalider’ (bad person or poor) and the word ‘Reyan’, meaning low, bastard etc. Therefore, he liked to be called a SC. Ranjan said that “most of the people don’t enquire much about SC word”.

From the different likes and dislikes over the words used to categorize themselves and the meanings ascribed to them, it becomes evident that ‘Harijan’ is a despised term among Dalits. In Palamau, it is commonly used by the upper castes to address Dalits and thereby, it is taken as a demeaning and humiliating word that reminds them of their ‘inferiority’. Interestingly, ‘Dalit’, a term that has been coined by Dalits themselves in politically articulating their identity, is also detested. It could be that these students are not yet politically conscious enough to know etymology of the term. The most accepted term and the only term that did not make them feel inferior or low is ‘SC’. It could be that ‘SC’ seemed more like a neutral term which was not used at an everyday basis by any of the characters in a caste society - An official term that is external and neutral.

The Dalit students who were interviewed felt strongly about education and saw themselves as a class apart – the educated Dalits. When enquired, all of them responded positively about the importance of acquiring education. All the respondents were in favour of being educated as they felt that only education can solve the problem of untouchability, as it gives one the power to defend oneself from the upper castes. A person who is educated can become conscious of his rights and fight for it. As Jeffrey et al aptly says, “through attaining literacy and acquiring new notion of their individual dignity distinct from caste, they have become more confident about advancing arguments against caste discrimination and claiming entitlement to equal treatment.” (Jeffrey et al 2005c:273)

They felt that education provides them with information and capabilities with which they could become independent in whatever they think or do. They can solve the problems on their own and don’t have to depend on others, who otherwise would take

advantage of them. Because of the lack of education, non-educated Dalits become easy prey for those who want to take advantage of them. For instance, Mukhalal said:

“Uneducated people have to face many problems. Suppose there is any work in the Block office or you want to enquire about some scheme or you want to make a caste certificate – for all these things, uneducated have to depend upon others, and for this reason they are sometimes exploited by others. Agents take money to fill a small form. But educated people do their work on their own. They never hear what others say. Thus, there is a big difference between being educated and being uneducated.”

These Dalit students also saw education as an instrument of bringing change in society. They felt that only education can make a difference in their position in the social hierarchy, as it is revealed in what Savita had to say:

“Educated people behave well. They try to understand things better. Due to education, the position and the name of the family/castes is raised high. The differences occur when Harijans become educated. Educated Harijans can argue with upper caste people. Uneducated Harijans fear upper caste people and believe in their own destiny.”

Similarly, in the words of Vinod:

“I think that if the people of my caste were educated, they would have moved forward (upward). But they remained the servants of Rajputs. They were and are still bounded laboured. I think that people of my caste should be educated. When I asked people to send their children to school, they scolded me and said, O! You have become more intelligent.”

Something that is striking in the above passage is the indifference within Dalit community towards education. This is something that bothered all the respondents. They felt that their community people did not want to educate their children largely because of the lack of inspiration and the fact that a family might lose a working hand in the generation of their family income. Children are married off at an early age and sent away from their village to earn their livelihood. There is very little thought given to their children’s future. According to one of the students, Pankaj:

“People of our castes do not have the patience to educate their children for long time. Upper caste people educate their children even by selling their land. But harijans do not do this. They marry their children as soon as they reach class 10th or they send them to earn money. Harijans do not have much interest in education.”

Sanoj also shared Pankaj’s sentiment. He said:

“People of our village don’t want to educate their children. They say that there is no use of education because you are not going to get any job. Why do we spend so much on education? If you want you can study, but my children will not study.”

The critique that these students were making about their community’s attitude towards education was not unfounded. From their own subjective experiences and struggles, they have felt that in addition to the caste society that wanted to exclude them from the educational process, their own communities often discouraged them from going to school. The general attitude of the people was ‘what will you do with all this education?’ Many of these students militated against these attitudes of their own family members and community to come to school. Because the school gave them a sense of self-worth and dignity that was otherwise not felt.

These students also felt that education can change the life style of their own people, for example, people would learn to refrain from using abusive language and be well mannered. According to Golu, “those who are uneducated, their way of speaking are not good. They talk in uncultured manner and use abusive language”. Salendra said that “the difference of being uneducated is that they are unclean and remain dirty. Their language is rough.” This is similar to what Jeffery et al found in their study of Dalit youth in Bijnor district,

“Young people’s discussion of education often began with reference to speech as form of cultural distinction. Educated young men said that educated people speak politely in clipped, rounded and correctly punctuated Hindi while illiterates (*unpadh, Kuparh, Jahil log*) utter sentences strewn with aggression, expletives and inappropriate familiarity.” (Jeffrey et al 2004a:969)

In all this, what can be seen is that going through the educational process, the Dalit students of Palamau defined themselves in terms of the education they have received and as a result, how ‘culturally distinct’ (ibid.) they have become from their own uneducated family and caste members. They look upon their outlook, their attitudes and their aspirations in an entirely different light from that of their uneducated family and caste members. Moreover, having become a class apart in relation to their uneducated community members, the way in which the upper castes looked at them also becomes important for them in terms of their identity formation.

Seven out of sixteen students said that upper caste people give respect to educated people rather than uneducated. They talk to them in a polite manner. Three students said that an educated and uneducated Dalit was meted with differential treatment by the upper castes. The upper castes would call the uneducated in a rude manner, "Are sun! Idher aa" (Hey listen! Come here) and would call the educated in a polite manner, "Suno idher aa" (Listen, come here).

Rest of the nine students argued that it was not so. They said that even if SCs become educated, they don't receive the same respect and status as upper caste people in the society. Bhaskar said that "upper caste people call educated Harijans 'dull'." Savita said:

"Rajputs don't want Harijans to be educated. They try to annoy the educated Harijans. They file false cases against them so that they would discontinue their education. Rajputs fight with the parents of those boys who are studying in the cities. They beat them and file cases in the police station, in which they register their son's name also even though he is not in the village and is not involved in the quarrel."

Pankaj shared something similar:

"Upper caste people will respect educated Harijans in front of them, but they will make a fuss about them behind their back. They wonder how Harijans are progressing so fast. They fear and feel jealous of our progress. They don't respect the uneducated Harijans."

Upper caste people fear the progress of Dalits as they knew that they will lose their hold on them. They knew that after getting educated, Dalits will become conscious of their rights and identity, and will refuse to work for the upper castes. So, they tried different means to discourage the education of Dalits. Vinod recounts how it was done in his village:

"In our village, Rajputs treat uneducated Harijans well and they are told that to educate their (SCs) children is useless. Because, at the end, they either have to work in the field (agriculture) or in the factory. Rajputs fight with educated Harijans and live with uneducated Harijans."

Here, uneducated Dalits are befriended by the upper castes and told not to send their children for education. They create division between the educated and uneducated Dalits.

Many a times, the uneducated Dalits fall into this trap of the upper castes. What Dharmendra has to say is quite revealing:

“There is no unity among our castes. Uneducated people fear the Rajputs of our village. I don’t know why these people fear so much. They say that Rajputs have guns and we don’t have any thing. Uneducated people don’t educate their children and they send them to work in Rajput house.”

One of the dilemmas that confronted these Dalit students who were carving out an identity for themselves was that on the one hand they felt a sense of self-worth and dignity in getting education, and had high aspirations to become ‘someone’ in life and thereby show his or her community what education can do; on the other hand, the reality of unemployment and the ridicule with which their community looked at an educated unemployed youth haunted them. One of the students, Brijlal from Dhobi caste aptly portrays this dilemma especially in the context of how his community looks upon educated unemployed youth:

“Only 4-5 people are graduates in our village. People don’t give much importance to educated unemployed people. They look at whether you do a government job or not - even if it is the job of a peon. How much ever educated you are and you don’t have a government job, then your status is less than a dog...sometimes I feel that even after getting educated, people are on the road and I am too junior than them. All these things bring various feelings in me, which makes me confused to take decision.”

Mukhalal of Pasi caste also pointed towards a similar sentiment which was shared by his community. He said that uneducated people of his community, looking upon educated unemployed youth, often said that, “poor parents of these educated unemployed spent money for 20 years for their children education and yet they are unemployed. They are not doing any work. It’s better that we remain uneducated.” Dharmendra also indicated that “villagers mostly give respect to people who are doing some kind of job- even if they are peons, guards etc.”.

Alongside these comments from their own communities, the ever discouraging upper castes also ridiculed those Dalits who are educated and unemployed. Vinod said:

“I don’t get respect as an educated person in my village. Upper castes people see me with hateful eyes. They give a bad comment, that’s why I don’t want to go to my village. I

think that when I would get the job, then only I would go to my village and show them that what I have done after getting educated”.

In contrast to the uneducated members of their community and the upper castes, there are a few in each village who are aware of the benefits of education and therefore, encourages and supports the educated youth even when they don't find employment. According to Sanoj from Chamar caste,

“Educated people say that, even if you have not gotten a job, your manner and behaviour has changed, and one will get a job if one works hard.” Som Nath from Chamar caste also said that the “educated people say that if they work hard, they would get job.”

In the context of this dilemma, in the context of the ridicules of their own community and the upper castes, many educated Dalit youth dread the idea of coming back to their villages and often prefer to stay away until they find a job. After which, they can come back to their village confidently and show everyone what education can do. This is what Vikash from Dabgar caste earnestly had to say:

“I feel fear to see the unemployed people. But I think that I'll work hard and study and will become a successful man and show the villagers – so that their faith may increase and they may be motivated to educate their children.”

It is ironic that on the one hand we have a section of Dalit youth who withstanding the pressures of their community and the upper castes keep their faith in education alive and continue to aspire for more education; while on the other hand, we have an education and socio-economic system that is so ill equipped to meet those aspirations.

Although some of the Dalit students aired their frustration in coming back to their communities and villages, almost all of them still felt the urge to come back at some point and work for the development of their community. Fourteen out of the sixteen students did not want to leave their own castes and community. Instead they wanted to work for the development of their community in order to bring change in their socio-economic status. They did not want to see their coming generation suffering what they had suffered. As Brijlal said, “I had studied in poverty. But I don't want them to suffer, as I had suffered.” They wanted to raise their own castes' status so that they might live life respectfully without any discrimination. They wanted to have their own social identity, which would not be stigmatized, so that they can hold their head high. Savita said that “I

would try to raise my caste high. I would take special care of them and would ask them to leave their traditional occupation and opt for some other occupation.”

These students accepted that it is very important to be educated in order to raise social status, as education is the tool which can help us to discard humiliation, subordination and exploitation in order to become enabled to fight for our own rights. It is only through education that SCs can get some kind of self-respect in society.

Only two students wanted to leave their community as they disliked their way of living which they found to be dirty, their eating of meat, fish etc., and their drinking habits. They wanted to go away from their villages after getting employment in the city. These two students represent another trend among educated Dalit youth. In responding to their subjugated status, these students do not bother much about their community and prefers to escape from their community and live as an individual citizen in the anonymity of city life. However, it is interesting that in order to do that they also feel the need to adopt certain brahmanical values that perceives Dalits as ‘dirty’, ‘meat eating’ and ‘drunkards’.

Six out of sixteen students said that they wanted work for the enhancement of education. In the words of Mukhalal, “people of our caste suffer from poverty and superstition. I want to change them. I will work for the enhancement of education.” Students would like to motivate uneducated people to educate themselves and their children. They wanted to open schools and hospitals for the poor people of their castes. Bhaskar did not want to distance himself from his caste, even after disliking the menial work and dirty lives of his community. He wanted his community to be educated as he said, “education can only change the situation of dalits. I would try to persuade people to leave these menial works. I want them to use not broom and axe but pen”.

Some students wanted to help their community by sharing what they have whether it is by giving financial assistance or by providing opportunities for their education, by taking special care of them when in need or by finding jobs for them once they become officers themselves. All this clearly indicates that these dalit students did not want to leave their own caste identity even after getting educated and having jobs. Instead, they wanted to raise their castes/community vertically upward in the social hierarchy through educating them.

To sum up, it can be said that through the educational process, Dalit students have carved out an identity for themselves. This identity has been defined in terms of their relations with the uneducated members of their own family and community on the one hand, and the upper castes on the other. Dalit students who were interviewed in this study refused to be categorized under the labels ascribed to them by the caste society. They felt comfortable being categorized by a 'neutral' and less value added term, namely SC. Despite being discouraged by the upper castes and their own community, they were conscious of the importance of education, the dignity and self-respect it gave for a Dalit. They were also conscious about the potential that education had to transform their existential situation. They feared the prospect of being unemployed and the social stigma that came with being unemployed. Yet, they felt the need to defend education and utilize education to transform their existential situations.

Chapter 4
SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

Summary and Conclusions

This study was an attempt to understand the extent to which Dalits were included and excluded in secondary school education in India. In order to do this, firstly, it attempted to look at the pattern of access, participation and outcome of Dalits in secondary education over the years. . Secondly, it attempted to analyze the nature of social exclusion and inclusion experienced by among Dalit students in secondary education and some of its consequences. Finally, through field work done in Palamau district of Jharkhand, it attempted to understand from Dalit students themselves as to how they have experienced social exclusion in secondary education at various different junctures of their school life and what their aspirations of the future are.

In India, as compared to elementary education, secondary education has received much less attention and has often remained an area that has been neglected at the policy level. This neglect has affected the education system as a whole since secondary education is a major link between elementary and higher education. The very high rate of dropouts at the level of secondary education and the fact that a large section of the population who enroll in elementary school, never make it to higher education only prove the point that there is a deep crisis in secondary education.

In terms of physical accessibility, most of the secondary schools are at great distance; and in terms of social accessibility, most secondary schools are located in areas that are dominated by upper castes; thereby making it difficult especially for Dalits and women to access them. The quality of secondary schools especially in the rural areas is really poor. A considerable number of schools are even without basic civic amenities like drinking water, urinal and lavatory facilities. Moreover, the enrolment and attendance rates at the secondary school level are very low and even lower when it comes to Dalits and women. On the other hand, as it has already been said, the dropout rate at this level is very high and even higher when it comes to Dalits and women. This already pitiable state of secondary education has been made worse by the increasing privatization of education since the 1990s. At the secondary level, this has meant an increase in the number of private unaided schools and a decline in the number and quality of government schools. This has only reinforced the already existing inequality in the education system as on the

one hand there are private unaided institutions catering to the rich and on the other hand there are poor quality government schools catering largely to the Dalits.

In this context, beaten down by the economic social deprivations, Dalits are increasingly excluded from the educational system in general and secondary education is particular. Haunted by landlessness, indebtedness, unemployment and hunger, Dalits find it difficult to even think of accessing education. With liberalization and privatization, the economic situation of the Dalits has worsened beyond imagination. This economically deprived situation is mediated by a social institution called caste which through the ages has changed in form but not in content. Governed by notions of purity and pollution, caste practices have continued to create havoc in rural and urban areas despite the many policies and articles that have been legislated in independent India. Upper caste atrocities on Dalits remain an everyday phenomenon in India.

One of the biggest challenges to the maintenance and functioning of caste order has been education. For ages, Dalits were denied access to education since according to caste norms the privilege of reading and writing was reserved solely to the upper castes. However, with the coming of modernity, various opportunities were thrown open for Dalits to access education. From the beginning, this was seen by the upper castes as a major threat to the maintenance of caste order and several were the means through which they tried to suppress it.

Following independence, the modern Indian state initiated several policies and programmes to protect and empower Dalits. In the educational system, this came in the form of scholarships and stipends; incentives like free text books, uniforms etc; hostel facilities and reservation of seats for the Dalits. On the one hand, these opportunities rouse the aspiration of Dalits to pursue education and invited the hostility of the upper castes; on the other hand, at the level of implementation, there were many flaws, for instance, corruption at the level of teachers, management and bureaucrats, limited and inadequate availability of incentives etc. Moreover, despite these opportunities, since the structure and organization of schools, the quality of education and teaching, the physical and social access to schools were all informed by caste practices and beliefs, Dalits continued to be excluded from the educational process. This has resulted in lower

enrolment, attendance and completion rates, and higher dropout rate among Dalits as compared to general students.

In order to understand the inclusion and exclusion of Dalits in secondary education as it is experienced by Dalit students, this study has complemented the facts already available on the area with a field study of Palamau district in Jharkhand. Palamau is one of the most backward districts in an already backward state, Jharkhand. It is backward in terms of literacy, poverty and health. It is an area that has witnessed starvation deaths in recent times. Much of the educational activity in the town is concentrated in the district headquarters, Daltonganj.

From the field study, it was found that the situation of secondary education in Palamau was appalling, as far as Dalits were concerned. First, accessing education entailed various kinds of expenses, which most Dalit students were unable to incur and if some were able to incur, it was only because they were doing some work or the other alongside their education. Moreover, more importantly, there were major constraints in physically accessing schools since most of the secondary and higher secondary schools were way beyond the physical reach of Dalits. Even, the hostel facilities were crowded and congested, limited and inadequate to meet the needs of the large number of Dalit students aspiring for secondary and higher secondary education.

Second, having accessed education with much difficulty and struggle, they were disappointed and discouraged by the quality of education that was provided. There were high levels of teacher absenteeism, irregular classes, rampant corruption especially during examinations, and discouraging methods of teaching. The quality of education often led many students to wonder if it was not a waste of time coming to school.

Third, their learning environment was made hostile by the casteist attitude and behaviour of a predominantly upper caste teaching community. Having a mindset that perceives Dalits as 'incapable' and 'unworthy' of education, teachers turned a blind eye towards the academic development of Dalit students, deliberately failed them in examinations and discouraged them from pursuing education. Moreover, they were subject to worst forms of physical and verbal abuses with casteist overtones, especially in primary and middle schools. Unfortunately, in the face of this discrimination, Dalit

teachers are often silent and fail to protect Dalit students. In fact, some of them even participate in the abusive behaviour of upper caste teachers.

Fourth, the government has provided several incentives and scholarship for Dalit students. But, more often, the needs of all Dalit students are hardly met and even if it does, much of it hardly reaches them as a result of corruption at various levels of distribution. In the case of scholarships, many students don't get it and even if they get it, they never get the full amount and it is delayed. A considerable percent of the scholarship money goes in paying bribes to receive the scholarship. To add to this already despicable situation, insults and comments are hurled at Dalit students by their upper caste peers when they receive stipend and other incentives.

Fifth, despite the hostility and discouragement they face in their learning environment, Dalit students make friends, preserve their hopes and aspirations, and develop an identity of their own. Most Dalit students feel comfortable making friends with people from their own castes or other castes that has a similar social, economic and cultural background. It is difficult for them to trust upper caste peers who they feel might betray them at any point. Over a period of time, through the educational process, Dalit students develop a sense of identity that keeps them apart from the uneducated members of their own family and community, and the upper castes. This identity is based on the aspirations to become 'someone' in life and set an example for others in their community. In order to fulfil their aspiration they keep tremendous faith in education and the potential it has to transform their existential situation.

It has been shown in this study that economic deprivation is a factor obstructing access to secondary education for Dalits. One has seen instances where Dalit students don't even have the money to pay admission fee not to speak of the other basic expenses of schooling. However, as this study also shows, poverty is not the sole factor behind the exclusion of Dalits in secondary education. The physical accessibility of secondary and higher secondary schools was a major problem in Palamau. The only government higher secondary school in Palamau was located in the district headquarters, Daltonganj. For many Dalits, Daltonganj was 60 to 80 kms away from their homes. There were higher secondary schools or intermediate colleges in block headquarters too but they were private schools run by managements comprising of people from a particular upper castes

providing very poor quality education and demanding higher fees. The state feels, through scholarships, incentives and other programmes, it is doing everything to include Dalits within the secondary education system. However, that may not be enough. While they are important and should continue, there should be more good quality government schools that are more accessible and good quality hostels to meet the aspirations and needs of the Dalits. The lackadaisical/apathetic attitude of the state towards secondary education, its promotion of private educational institutions and its growing insensitivity towards the needs and aspirations of the marginalized groups need to be accounted for.

While at the policy level it is essential that the government should take a pro active role in the development of good quality secondary and higher secondary school system, the impact of caste discrimination and practices in school premises can be checked only through a larger structural change. Piecemeal policies and programmes only provide temporary solutions for problems that are more deep rooted and structural as is the case with caste. In Palamau, with the growth of Maoist movement, in the last twenty years, the society has undergone vast changes. The threat posed by the Maoists has put a control on discriminative caste practices and atrocities of the upper castes, at least in the public space. Upper castes are constantly reminded of the presence of the parallel government, which in local parlance is called *Naika Sarkar* or the 'New Government'. They, therefore, tend to refrain from being abusive towards the Dalits in public. In an area that has not had a tradition of Dalit movement, the Dalits are also increasingly feeling empowered politically by the presence of the Maoist movement. This is what one of the respondents from Dusadh community had to say:

“The Rajputs used to oppress Dalits in the village. When they used to come, we were supposed to get up from our mats in respect. But things have changed now. Some two or three years back, Maoists used to stay overnight in the houses of Harijans and leave in the morning. It is due to the influence of the Maoists that the Rajputs are scared of humiliating us and we are in a position to give a befitting reply to the Rajputs. But then even now, they address us by using Derogatory slangs like *madar chod*, *bahen chod*. They threaten us by saying that they will kill us and dump our bodies in the nearby fields. I challenge them on this count and then the Rajputs respond by saying that it is your Maoist government.”

This change, brought about in how upper castes should conduct themselves in public with Dalits, has had an impact on the caste situation in schools. Most of the respondents indicated that instances of physical and verbal caste abuses have reduced remarkably over the years. Earlier, it was common for teachers to loudly comment that “if all the Harijans come to school, then who will work for us in our fields?” Now many teachers are frightened to say such comments as Dalit students themselves will confront them. Thus, it can be said that although caste continues to pervade the society, it is increasingly coming under scrutiny and this has had a positive impact on schooling as far as Dalits are concerned.

In conclusion, it needs to be pointed out that secondary and higher secondary education can be made accessible and meaningful to Dalits only through, on the one hand, an effective implementation of policies and programmes that are meant to protect and empower Dalits, and an urgent initiative on the part of the government to provide more good quality secondary and higher secondary schools with related facilities catering to the interests of the marginalized groups. On the other hand, this has to be accompanied by a larger structural change that would annihilate caste once and for all from Indian society, and thereby free education from the clutches of inequality.

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APPENDICES

Appendix I

Percentage of habitation with high schools and Hr. sec schools/ junior colleges 2002

States	Secondary schools		Hr. Sec./Junior College	
	Within 5 km		Within 8 km	
	All	SC	All	SC
Andhra Pradesh	72.50	78.60	46.66	52.32
Bihar	76.48	76.81	21.09	16.60
Chhattisgarh	55.78	72.88	55.08	73.58
Gujarat	75.30	77.11	55.79	61.12
Haryana	94.23	94.43	89.37	87.01
Himanchal Pradesh	77.77	74.97	65.54	62.67
Jharkhand	44.56	45.73	18.33	19.18
Karnataka	77.47	82.71	56.22	61.69
Kerala	89.85	83.36	87.52	73.75
Madhya Pradesh	54.62	55.99	56.91	59.29
Maharashtra	80.89	81.51	53.19	54.32
Orissa	79.55	86.47	55.90	63.46
Punjab	93.93	95.02	95.02	95.29
Rajasthan	63.27	60.92	55.73	53.25
Tamil Nadu	80.02	81.80	81.79	83.55
Uttar Pradesh	66.42	65.56	79.06	77.73
Uttaranchal	80.86	84.37	82.86	81.66
West Bengal	92.82	93.50	87.62	88.14
All India	73.18	76.60	62.34	70.14

Source: Data computed from 7th All India Educational Survey NCERT (2002)

Appendix II

Availability of Secondary Schooling in Rural Habitations (India), 2002

Population slabs	Percentage of habitations	Percentage of population in the slabs	Percentage of habitation having Secondary Schools	Percentage of population Served by Secondary Schools				
				1	2	3	4	
All								
Below 500	62.26	20.89	1.63	2.06	71.4	86.59	13.41	
500-999	20.32	22.03	4.91	5.14	76.6	90.29	9.71	
1000-1999	11.57	24.43	12.83	13.71	79.92	92.29	7.71	
2000-4999	5.00	22.12	34.84	37.29	86.51	95.08	4.92	
5000 and above	0.85	10.53	65.10	70.19	94.84	97.97	2.03	
Total	100.00	100.00	5.79	20.55	80.43	91.87	8.13	
Scheduled Caste								
Below 500	65.01	26.47	1.17	1.48	75.87	89.71	10.29	
500-999	21.33	27.40	3.53	3.69	78.88	91.19	8.81	
1000-1999	10.16	25.07	8.38	8.9	80.8	92.86	7.14	
2000-4999	3.14	15.90	21.69	23.6	84.28	94.08	5.92	
5000 and above	0.37	5.16	45.57	49.8	94.28	98.22	1.78	
Total	100.00	100.00	3.21	9.95	80.22	92.04	7.96	

Note: 1- Within the habitation; 2- Up to 5 km.; 3- Up to 8 km.; and 4- More than 8 km

Source: Data computed from the Seventh All India Education Survey, (NCERT: 2002),

<http://gov.au.nic.in/NscheduleData/main3.aspx>.

Appendix III

Availability of Hr. Secondary Schooling (12th grade) in Rural Habitations (India), 2002

Population slabs	Percentage of habitations	Percentage of population in the slabs	Percentage of habitation having Secondary Schools	Percentage of population Served by Secondary Schools			
				1	2	3	
All							
Below 500	62.26	20.89	0.41	0.52	61.32	38.68	
500-999	20.32	22.03	1.20	1.26	66.22	33.78	
1000-1999	11.57	24.43	2.97	3.15	67.62	32.38	
2000-4999	5.00	22.12	10.16	11.40	70.99	29.01	
5000 and above	0.85	10.53	36.78	43.97	84.40	15.60	
Total	100.00	100.00	1.66	8.30	68.51	31.49	
Scheduled Caste							
Below 500	65.01	26.47	0.32	0.41	69.97	30.33	
500-999	21.33	27.40	0.99	1.06	73.27	26.73	
1000-1999	10.16	25.07	2.45	2.60	76.23	23.77	
2000-4999	3.14	15.90	7.88	8.78	79.00	21.00	
5000 and above	0.37	5.16	23.95	29.18	82.83	17.71	
Total	100.00	100.00	1.01	3.95	74.47	25.33	

Note: 1- Within the habitation; 2- Up to 5 km.; 3- Up to 8 km.; and 4- More than 8 km

Source: Data computed from the Seventh All India Education Survey, (NCERT: 2002),

<http://gov.au.nic.in/NscheduleData/main3.aspx>.

Appendix IV

Management wise Secondary Schools (IX-XII) according to type of building in Rural and Urban areas (in percent), 2002

Management	Type of Building					Total
	Pucca	Partly Pucca	Kuchcha	Tents	Open Space	
<u>RURAL</u>						
Government	81.83	14.18	2.99	0.22	0.78	100.00
Local Body	81.82	12.42	4.43	0.06	1.27	100.00
Private Aided	86.49	10.17	3.19	0.12	0.03	100.00
Private Unaided	83.39	11.69	4.64	0.21	0.07	100.00
Total	83.47	12.37	3.51	0.17	0.48	100.00
<u>URBAN</u>						
Government	87.89	10.30	1.18	0.25	0.39	100.00
Local Body	91.43	7.28	1.03	0.04	0.22	100.00
Private Aided	94.79	4.38	0.77	0.04	0.01	100.00
Private Unaided	94.55	4.61	0.77	0.05	0.02	100.00
Total	93.09	5.85	0.87	0.09	0.10	100.00
<u>TOTAL</u>						
Government	83.15	13.33	2.60	0.22	0.70	100.00
Local Body	83.79	11.37	3.74	0.05	1.06	100.00
Private Aided	89.54	8.05	2.30	0.09	0.02	100.00
Private Unaided	89.73	7.67	2.44	0.12	0.04	100.00
Total	86.91	10.04	2.56	0.14	0.35	100.00

Source: 7th All India Educational Survey (2002), New Delhi: NCERT, 2007

Appendix V

Percentage of Secondary Schools (IX-XII) having ancillary facilities in India, 2002

Management	Schools having			Schools having separate facility for Girls	
	Drinking Water Facility	Urinal Facilities	Lavatory Facilities	Urinal Facilities	Lavatory Facilities
<u>RURAL</u>					
Government	87.50	74.78	58.61	74.10	57.39
Local Body	80.25	60.52	47.09	60.44	46.92
Private Aided	95.52	91.57	70.12	91.45	69.76
Private Unaided	93.03	86.54	67.72	86.23	67.41
Total	90.10	80.35	62.44	80.02	61.80
<u>URBAN</u>					
Government	94.03	88.96	82.78	88.77	81.79
Local Body	93.97	87.30	80.88	87.31	80.72
Private Aided	98.72	97.57	94.48	97.61	94.11
Private Unaided	99.18	98.30	96.76	98.23	96.66
Total	97.72	95.60	92.40	95.76	92.39
<u>TOTAL</u>					
Government	88.92	77.86	63.86	76.89	62.04
Local Body	83.06	65.99	53.99	65.48	53.26
Private Aided	96.69	93.77	79.07	93.54	78.01
Private Unaided	97.83	93.22	84.20	93.02	83.96
Total	93.19	85.81	73.17	85.40	72.24

Source: 7th All India Educational Survey 2002, New Delhi: NCERT, 2007

Appendix VI

Teachers in Positions According to Management wise Schools (1993)

Management	Secondary School					Higher Secondary				
	Percentage of Teachers					Percentage of Teachers				
	All	SC	ST	OBC	Female	All	SC	ST	OBC	Female
Government	39.41	7.85	5.32	23.71	23.71	34.95	8.89	4.04	28.94	23.18
Local Body	49.40	7.69	1.56	26.21	15.14	40.86	10.22	2.94	28.54	17.44
Pvt. Added	42.76	6.44	3.36	22.60	24.84	50.00	6.64	2.70	28.27	12.39
Pvt. Unaided	34.04	5.47	4.03	33.19	23.27	38.39	4.00	1.70	33.37	22.54
Total	41.34	7.15	4.09	24.33	23.09	42.47	7.59	3.24	28.86	17.84
Urban										
Government	19.03	5.94	3.2	21.64	49.97	30.48	6.83	1.76	18.93	42.00
Local Body	19.54	7.70	1.31	24.31	47.14	24.52	6.80	2.53	26.47	39.68
Pvt. Added	19.24	5.76	2.96	19.21	52.83	34.26	5.22	2.04	21.13	37.35
Pvt. Unaided	12.70	2.96	2.04	15.08	67.22	16.13	1.81	0.88	14.48	66.70
Total	17.55	5.23	2.64	19.13	55.45	29.78	5.37	1.78	19.55	43.52
Total										
Government	34.79	7.41	4.83	23.23	29.74	32.47	7.74	2.77	23.36	33.66
Local Body	40.85	7.69	1.49	25.67	24.3	30.6	8.07	2.68	27.24	31.41
Pvt. Added	33.52	6.17	3.2	21.27	35.84	40.85	5.81	2.32	24.12	26.90
Pvt. Unaided	19.70	3.82	2.72	21.25	52.24	20.69	2.26	1.05	18.35	57.65
Total	32.83	6.46	3.57	22.46	34.68	34.89	6.26	2.37	23.3	33.18

Source: 6th All India Educational Survey, Vol III (1993), New Delhi: NCERT (1998)

Appendix VII

State wise Gross Enrolment Ratio for All Communities in Secondary and Higher Secondary Level in India 2004-05

States/ UTs	All Communities					
	Secondary School (14-16 years)			Higher Secondary (16-18 years)		
	Boys	Girls	Total	Boys	Girls	Total
Andhra Pradesh	55.83	50.18	53.09	48.39	35.54	42.17
Arunachal Pradesh	58.12	46.60	52.58	36.10	25.05	30.82
Assam	53.60	44.93	49.41	17.54	11.00	14.38
Bihar	29.11	14.84	22.47	13.63	5.35	9.82
Chhattisgarh	52.09	35.39	43.93	35.96	24.50	30.38
Goa	77.83	74.36	76.09	41.63	41.96	41.79
Gujarat	62.12	47.52	55.30	23.95	19.32	21.78
Haryana	56.41	48.77	52.94	35.91	32.02	34.16
Himachal Pradesh	140.75	128.57	134.89	130.67	124.63	127.72
Jammu & Kashmir	47.66	38.31	43.15	30.13	24.98	27.63
Jharkhand	31.60	20.90	26.49	2.88	1.97	2.45
Karnataka	60.78	57.17	59.03	34.76	32.88	33.85
Kerala	92.76	93.63	93.19	25.90	29.83	27.85
Madhya Pradesh	55.33	34.73	45.66	29.93	20.03	25.33
Maharashtra	70.70	66.89	68.91	45.39	38.80	42.32
Manipur	73.46	72.20	72.84	26.49	20.81	23.65
Meghalaya	41.58	45.01	43.28	23.84	22.86	23.36
Mizoram	63.31	67.50	65.35	25.14	23.83	24.48
Nagaland	26.74	27.19	26.96	16.25	15.12	15.71
Orissa	58.61	48.69	53.73	45.01	20.51	32.92
Punjab	50.21	52.97	51.47	28.20	27.48	27.87
Rajasthan	57.98	27.94	43.91	28.58	13.60	21.59
Sikkim	40.46	42.35	41.41	26.24	25.31	25.78
Tamil Nadu	82.89	78.32	80.66	42.65	45.14	43.87
Tripura	59.23	55.43	57.39	23.04	17.50	20.32
Uttar Pradesh	59.47	36.70	48.92	25.03	20.43	22.93
Uttaranchal	85.63	68.19	77.27	40.27	36.49	38.45
West Bengal	45.56	37.10	41.46	24.68	17.15	21.07
A & N Islands	91.30	84.61	87.96	24.54	28.48	26.35
Chandigarh	59.64	65.63	62.30	44.44	53.15	48.29
D& N Haveli	66.64	51.55	89.93	22.84	17.28	20.06
Daman & Diu	120.85	103.80	112.33	33.77	37.65	35.32
Delhi	61.35	68.32	64.51	37.56	43.34	40.17
Lakshadweep	78.65	68.80	73.73	20.83	28.30	23.82
Pondicherry	98.16	106.87	102.29	53.35	50.52	51.83
INDIA	57.39	45.28	51.65	30.82	24.46	27.82

Source: Selected Educational Statistics 2004-05, , New Delhi: GOI: MHRD (2007)

Appendix VIII

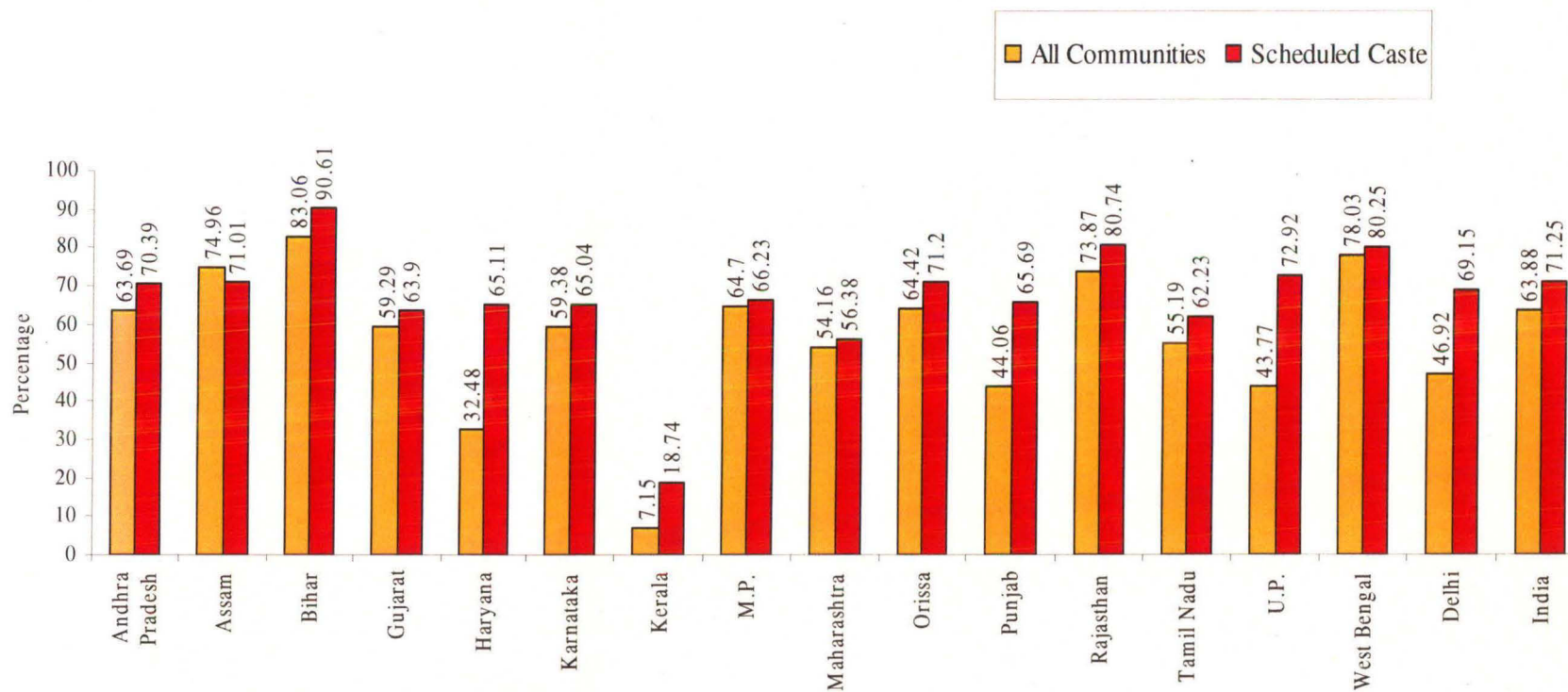
State wise Gross Enrolment Ratio for Scheduled Castes in Secondary and Higher Secondary Level in India 2004-05

States/ UTs	Scheduled Castes					
	Secondary School (14-16 years)			Higher Secondary (16-18 years)		
	Boys	Girls	Total	Boys	Girls	Total
Andhra Pradesh	62.73	55.71	59.41	58.45	41.92	50.69
Arunachal Pradesh	-	-	-	-	-	-
Assam	101.24	89.48	95.43	35.43	20.17	28.06
Bihar	17.83	8.61	13.73	4.31	4.02	4.18
Chhattisgarh	60.66	42.92	52.17	39.97	28.51	34.61
Goa	21.40	17.90	19.65	15.70	12.70	14.20
Gujarat	70.02	49.60	60.47	26.22	20.33	23.46
Haryana	42.26	36.33	39.59	24.63	19.04	22.14
Himachal Pradesh	75.35	74.59	74.99	41.74	33.16	37.58
Jammu & Kashmir	54.57	46.05	50.31	83.59	42.37	64.01
Jharkhand	27.51	15.49	22.06	2.75	1.55	2.20
Karnataka	55.48	53.60	54.60	35.07	30.55	33.00
Kerala	91.24	92.61	91.92	20.74	26.60	23.64
Madhya Pradesh	56.50	35.72	47.25	25.61	17.88	22.23
Maharashtra	96.12	91.77	94.10	57.52	44.46	51.62
Manipur	150.00	134.10	142.05	42.10	29.50	35.80
Meghalaya	-	-	-	-	-	-
Mizoram	-	-	-	-	-	-
Nagaland	-	-	-	-	-	-
Orissa	53.31	41.69	47.54	14.87	6.47	10.75
Punjab	43.90	45.78	44.77	20.41	18.65	19.60
Rajasthan	45.46	19.63	33.63	21.37	8.16	15.58
Sikkim	28.70	26.20	27.45	15.90	13.50	14.70
Tamil Nadu	71.29	66.71	69.04	34.04	36.27	35.12
Tripura	84.94	63.15	74.05	19.49	9.29	14.57
Uttar Pradesh	47.28	12.19	31.59	18.41	6.97	13.40
Uttaranchal	76.46	49.58	63.56	35.10	21.23	28.56
West Bengal	39.55	27.17	33.63	20.88	14.53	17.91
A & N Islands						
Chandigarh	18.85	18.28	18.56	14.63	12.43	13.53
D& N Haveli	-	-	-	-	-	-
Daman & Diu	-	-	-	-	-	-
Delhi	34.15	34.15	31.03	13.25	15.24	14.20
Lakshadweep	-	-	-	-	-	-
Pondicherry	93.10	93.10	93.26	39.60	39.70	39.65
INDIA	37.55	37.55	45.41	2655.00	19.11	23.15

Source: Selected Educational Statistics 2004-05, New Delhi, GOI: MHRD, (2007)

Appendix IX

Dropout Rates at Secondary Level in Major States 2004-05



Source: Selected Educational Statistics 2004-05, MHRD: GOI (2007)

Appendix X

Pass Rates among All Communities and Scheduled Castes at Secondary and Higher Secondary Level 2005

S.No.	States	Secondary (10 th Board)		Higher Secondary (12 th Board)	
		All	SC	All	SC
1	Andhra Pradesh	73.1	65.4	45.7	30.5
2	Assam	50.4	48.4	58.4	54.4
3	Bihar	70.2	63.0	71.1	67.9
4	Chhattisgarh	50.9	48.6	70.3	66.0
5	CBSC New Delhi**	86.4	78.9	86.0	83.8
6	CISCE New Delhi***	94.3	90.6	93.6	92.6
7	NIOS Delhi****	28.0	22.7	44.4	35.9
8	Goa	62.1	34.9	78.3	66.7
9	Gujarat	60.3	49.1	77.2	72.7
10	Haryana	65.7	50.6	62.9	51.8
11	Himachal Pradesh	70.8	58.6	76.3	75.0
12	Jammu & Kashmir	31.5	-	30.6	-
13	Jharkhand	78.0	71.1	87.3	87.5
14	Karnataka	71.0	58.2	59.5	53.4
15	Kerala	75.1	61.5	74.6	60.1
16	Maharashtra	57.6	45.1	62.0	53.0
17	Madhya Pradesh	41.5	34.0	79.8	73.8
18	Manipur	41.8	42.7	48.3	54.2
19	Meghalaya	45.1	-	72.7	-
20	Mizoram	54.3	58.2	50.8	51.6
21	Nagaland	65.9	69.0	73.6	75.0
22	Orissa	57.9	48.4	70.3	62.5
23	Punjab	69.0	58.4	74.4	62.9
24	Rajasthan	50.0	42.3	68.8	63.6
25	Tamil Nadu	77.8	66.3	68.8	64.2
26	Tripura	55.2	61.9	62.6	57.9
27	Uttar Pradesh	68.3	58.9	89.4	87.4
28	Uttaranchal	44.5	36.3	68.0	63.1
29	West Bengal	70.2	59.2	67.5	52.2
	INDIA	64.4	55.8	68.8	59.5

Note: *Excluding SC/ST, ** CBSC- Central Board of Secondary education,*** CISCE- Council for the Indian School Certificate Examination, ****NIOS-National Institute of Open Schooling.

Source: Selected educational statistics, 2004-05, MHRD: GOI (2007)

Appendix XI

Percentage of Repeaters in Different Classes among SC and All Communities (1993)

Management	All Communities						Scheduled Caste					
	IX	X	IX-X	XI	XII	XI-XII	IX	X	IX-X	XI	XII	XI-XII
Rural												
Government	9.82	9.83	9.82	5.78	9.62	7.55	13.34	12.28	12.89	6.95	10.92	8.59
Local Body	6.04	2.86	4.63	4.49	4.73	4.61	9.24	4.09	7.09	6.72	6.57	6.65
Pvt. Added	10.26	7.08	8.82	3.86	7.96	5.9	13.23	8.69	11.23	4.39	8.25	6.35
Pvt. Unaided	6.77	4.56	5.75	1.92	3.23	2.54	7.41	5.66	6.6	2.28	4.01	3.12
Total	9.23	7.43	8.43	4.16	7.41	5.72	12.07	9.16	10.81	4.86	8.21	6.48
Urban												
Government	8.42	6.01	7.37	3.85	5.94	4.83	12.22	9.45	11.04	5.85	8.77	7.21
Local Body	7	1.17	4.4	2.25	1.92	2.1	8.13	1.37	5.14	3.33	2.66	3.02
Pvt. Added	8	4.09	6.25	3.54	4.74	4.12	10.25	5.17	8.04	4.48	5.88	5.15
Pvt. Unaided	7.1	1.17	4.46	1.89	1.16	1.56	8.77	1.49	5.57	2.42	1.64	2.06
Total	7.79	3.59	5.93	3.2	4.2	3.67	10.23	5.06	7.98	4.46	5.8	5.09
Total												
Government	9.19	8.09	8.71	4.5	7.17	5.74	12.84	10.99	12.06	6.11	8.77	7.7
Local Body	6.69	1.71	4.48	2.57	2.34	2.46	8.59	2.29	5.8	3.85	2.66	3.6
Pvt. Added	8.95	5.36	7.33	3.63	5.66	4.62	11.58	6.76	9.48	4.45	5.88	5.53
Pvt. Unaided	6.98	2.42	4.93	1.9	1.85	1.88	8.23	3.25	5.99	2.37	1.64	2.47
Total	8.42	5.29	7.03	3.48	5.16	4.28	11.08	6.96	9.29	4.59	5.8	5.55

Source: 6th All India Educational Survey, (1993) Vol VI, New Delhi: NCERT, 1998

Appendix XII

**AREA WISE PERCENTAGE OF REPEATERS AMONG ALL COMMUNITIES AND SCHEDULED CASTE IN SELECTED STATES IN
DIFFERENT CLASSES, 1993**

Major States	All Communities							Scheduled Castes					
	Area	Classes						Classes					
		IX	X	IX-X	XI	XII	XI-XII	IX	X	IX-X	XI	XII	XI-XII
Bihar	Rural	2.35	1.57	1.99	0.51	0.83	0.67	1.98	1.14	1.61	1.11	1.85	1.48
	Urban	4.15	1.94	3.14	1.63	3.04	2.30	6.10	2.07	4.29	2.90	5.05	4.07
	Total	3.07	1.71	2.44	0.95	1.68	1.30	3.29	1.44	2.47	1.78	3.20	2.51
Kerala	Rural	9.86	1.59	6.24	1.69	1.35	1.52	15.15	2.37	9.77	2.00	1.54	1.81
	Urban	7.68	0.46	4.46	1.44	0.50	1.02	13.50	0.89	7.97	8.37	0.70	4.33
	Total	9.17	1.22	5.67	1.60	1.06	1.36	14.73	1.98	9.30	3.41	1.31	2.46
Madhya Pradesh	Rural	7.91	20.29	13.21	6.30	15.95	11.21	10.15	26.69	17.42	8.22	20.12	14.39
	Urban	6.60	12.33	9.00	4.09	7.93	5.90	10.21	21.06	14.54	8.24	15.42	11.59
	Total	7.31	16.68	11.28	4.81	10.79	7.70	10.18	24.21	16.09	8.23	17.45	12.73
Maharashtra	Rural	6.54	0.00	3.61	1.32	0.00	0.73	7.16	0.00	3.96	1.45	0.00	0.80
	Urban	7.48	0.00	4.19	1.64	0.00	0.90	8.51	0.00	4.78	1.87	0.00	1.03
	Total	7.24	0.00	4.04	1.56	0.00	0.86	8.71	0.00	4.57	1.76	0.00	0.97
Rajasthan	Rural	13.42	13.03	13.27	10.91	10.35	10.65	17.76	17.65	17.72	12.88	15.51	14.16
	Urban	8.01	8.55	8.24	5.09	8.31	6.66	11.51	12.87	12.04	9.53	14.81	12.15
	Total	10.78	10.62	10.72	6.65	8.84	7.71	14.90	15.33	15.06	10.66	15.04	12.82
Tamil Nadu	Rural	15.98	6.01	12.25	5.73	7.64	6.62	18.68	5.97	14.10	5.29	8.15	6.67
	Urban	14.74	5.39	10.71	4.13	4.45	4.28	19.06	6.65	14.25	4.10	4.82	4.44
	Total	15.43	5.70	11.53	4.57	5.30	4.92	18.84	6.27	14.16	4.46	5.86	5.13
Uttar Pradesh	Rural	9.55	16.27	13.00	6.36	17.87	12.75	9.26	16.06	12.50	6.48	16.32	12.13
	Urban	10.06	14.63	12.21	9.22	14.39	11.87	11.20	16.41	13.52	12.43	17.02	14.78
	Total	9.80	15.54	12.63	8.27	15.68	12.18	10.09	16.20	12.92	10.25	16.72	13.72
West Bengal	Rural	25.41	12.06	20.39	7.22	6.70	6.96	29.37	15.23	24.34	10.03	9.26	9.65
	Urban	18.49	5.95	13.56	4.14	3.60	3.87	26.43	11.38	21.00	8.64	6.23	7.45
	Total	12.86	9.69	17.81	5.50	4.98	5.24	28.68	14.31	23.55	9.46	8.03	8.75
Delhi	Rural	21.81	31.23	26.07	6.93	17.49	11.96	35.34	39.24	37.08	11.54	23.03	16.88
	Urban	17.89	16.13	17.15	5.57	5.79	5.67	31.52	34.59	32.74	10.37	14.79	12.46
	Total	18.21	17.49	17.90	5.64	6.43	6.02	31.86	35.08	33.16	10.45	15.38	12.78

Appendix XIII

Segmentation in Schools under Different Management in Educationally Advanced States, 1992-93

Educationally Advanced states	Percentage of SC/ST in Total Enrolment in Classes					
	Class IX-X			Class XI-XII		
	Government and Local Body	Private Aided	Private Unaided	Government and Local Body	Private Aided	Private Unaided
Andhra Pradesh						
Rural	20.4	21.3	9.4	23.8	20.2	17.3
Urban	19.1	15.7	7.9	19.2	6.4	10.8
Kerala						
Rural	13.4	11.5	2.4	7.1	6.7	0.0
Urban	10.2	7.0	2.5	4.1	8.6	0.0
Maharashtra						
Rural	32.6	20.6	21.4	29.8	20.2	20.3
Urban	22.4	17.2	12.8	16.5	16.1	12.4
Tamil Nadu						
Rural	26.2	20.0	12.8	22.6	14.6	7.7
Urban	25.2	17.5	7.8	20.5	14.7	5.7

Source: Manabí Majumdar (2005: 2357), Schooling and 'Skilling of country's Youth: Secondary Education in Four Indian States, *Economic and Political Weekly*, May 28-June 2.

Appendix XIV

District Wise SC Population and Literacy Rate among , Total Population, General and Scheduled Castes in Jharkhand, 2001

S. No	Districts	Percentage of SC Population	Literacy Rate		
			Total	General*	SC
1	Garhwa	23.9	39.2	46.7	28.4
2	Palamau	25.7	44.9	56.5	26.7
3	Chatra	31.9	43.2	54.1	21.3
4	Hazaribagh	15.0	57.7	63.7	41.2
5	Koderma	14.4	52.2	55.2	35.3
6	Giridih	13.0	44.5	49.2	31.3
7	Deoghar	12.6	50.1	55.5	36.9
8	Godda	8.6	43.1	49.6	32.7
9	Sahibganj	6.4	37.6	43.8	35.5
10	Pakur	3.3	30.6	38.0	29.0
11	Dumka	7.3	47.9	58.3	40.5
12	Dhanbad	16.0	67.0	73.5	49.6
13	Bokaro	13.3	62.1	68.7	47.4
14	Ranchi	5.2	64.6	74.8	52.8
15	Lohardaga	3.5	53.6	64.7	47.1
16	Gumla	5.0	51.7	57.5	38.4
17	West Singhbhum	4.9	50.2	63.6	48.3
18	East Singhbhum	4.7	68.5	78.2	58.5
	Jharkhand	11.8	53.6	61.9	37.6

Note- * Other than SC/ST Population

Source: Government of India (2001), Primary Census Abstract, Jharkhand

Appendix XV

Percentage of villages by distance from the nearest education facility (Jharkhand 2002)

Facility	Location of facility				
	Within village	Outside village and distance of			
		Less than 2 km	2 km to less than 5 km	5 km to less than 10 km	10 km or more
1. Pre primary schools	52.6	23.7	22.1	-	1.6
2. Primary schools	46.2	28.4	22.1	3.3	-
3. Middle schools	18.5	16.2	35.3	25.9	4.1
4. Secondary schools	6.8	7.3	22.1	49.3	14.6
5. Hr. secondary/ junior colleges	1.4	4.7	6.2	11.9	75.8
6. College with degree colleges	0.9	4.0	0.9	8.8	85.4

Source: Government of India (2003), *Report on village facility*, NSS 58th Round, (July-December 2002), , Report no 487, National Sample survey Organisation, New Delhi, pp 117

Appendix XVI

Enrolment in classes I to X against enrolment of 100 in class I, Jharkhand, 2002

Classes	RURAL			URBAN			TOTAL		
	Boys	Girls	Total	Boys	Girls	Total	Boys	Girls	Total
Class I	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
Class V	35	29	32	72	68	70	39	33	36
Class VIII	16	10	13	85	70	77	23	17	20
Class X	9	5	7	71	52	62	16	10	13

Source: 7th All India Education Survey (2002), New Delhi :NCERT (2007)

Appendix XVII

Block wise Percentage of enrolment to total enrolment at high school and Higher secondary schools/Intermediate colleges in Palamau 2002

Block	No of High School	Enrolment in high School			No of Sr.Sec/ Intermediate colleges//Pre Degree colleges	Enrolment in Sr.Sec/intermediate colleges		
		Boys	Girls	Total		Boys	Girls	Total
Bisrampur	3	7.68	0.95	5.21	1	2.55	1.87	2.30
Chainpur	4	3.38	2.20	2.95	1	1.22	1.19	1.21
Chhaterpur	2	8.10	0.95	5.80	0	0.00	0.00	0.00
Daltonganj	9	31.54	30.83	31.28	8	32.24	31.64	33.72
Hariharganj	3	12.89	10.34	11.84	2	2.00	3.34	2.55
Hussainabad	8	10.56	5.64	8.56	1	1.33	0.58	1.02
Lesliganj	2	24.03	12.67	19.38	0	0.00	0.00	0.00
Manatu	4	7.85	1.58	5.65	0	0.00	0.00	0.00
Pandu	3	5.71	0.33	3.61	0	0.00	0.00	0.00
Panki	4	6.28	5.11	5.82	0	0.00	0.00	0.00
Patan	5	9.91	4.39	7.76	0	0.00	0.00	0.00
Satbarwa	2	7.07	1.27	4.76	0	0.00	0.00	0.00
Palamau	49	11.13	6.54	9.39	13	3.49	3.20	3.52

Source: Data computed from 7th All India Educational Survey (2002), New Delhi: NCERT (2007)
<http://www.7thsurvey.ncert.nic.in/1568910/tableps2.asp?flag=1&distcode=02&distname=Palamu>

Appendix XVIII

Class wise enrolment of Scheduled Caste Students in Palamau

Classes	2004-05		2005-05	
	Total	Girls	Total	Girls
I	19861	8734	21196	9604
II	12257	5004	14916	5890
III	10287	4002	11292	4717
IV	8588	2954	9339	3715
V	6052	2107	7545	2872
VI	3839	1218	4702	1563
VII	3164	1023	3660	1099
VIII	2575	780	2686	805
IX	1675	547	1862	538
X	1905	358	1309	368
XI*	78	11	64	8
XII*	42	4	76	11
Total	69746	26742	78347	31190

Note: * Enrolment data on intermediate colleges are not mentioned in the table as related data were not available.

Source: Data computed From statistics of education in States, Palamau District Report 2004-05 and 2005-06, MHRD :GOI (unpublished)

Appendix XIX

List of Higher secondary and Intermediate colleges in Palamau ,2002

Block	Area	S.No	Senior secondary/ intermediate college	Management
Bisrampur	Rural	1	CSD. Inter College, Chenaya	Private
Chainpur	Rural	2	J.M. Inter College, Chainpur	Private
Daltonganj (District Headquarter)	Rural/Urban	3	M.K.DAV Public School	Private Unaided
		4	GLA College, Daltonganj	Government
		5	J.S. College, Daltonganj	Government
		6	B.N.College Daltonganj	Government
		7	Y.S.Mahila College, Daltonganj	Government
		8	Plus 2 Giriver High School, Daltonganj	Government
		9	Plus2 K.G.Balika High School, Daltonganj	Government
		10	Plus2 Zila High School, Daltonganj	Government
Hariharganj	Rural	11	B.K.S Inter college, Hariharganj	Private
		12	M.R.Mahila Inter College, Hariharganj	Private
Hussainabad	Rural/Urban	13	S.B.S.Inter College, Hussainabad,	Private
Lesliganj	Rural			
Manatu	Rural			
Pandu	Rural			
Panki	Rural			
Patan	Rural			
Satbarwa	Rural			

In these block no any senior secondary or intermediate college are available.

Source: Listed from:

<http://www.7thsurvey.ncert.nic.in/1568910/tableps2.asp?flag=1&distcode=02&distname=Palamu>

Appendix XX

Socio Economic Profile of Dalit Students (Palamau)

S.No	Name*	Sex	Age	Location	caste	Land**	Parent's Occupation	Education		Currently enrolled		Hostel Facility
								mother	father	Streams	Study at	
1	Savita	F	16	Rural	Pasi	2.25	Agriculture	Uneducated	Uneducated	Plus 2 (Science)	Block	NO
2	Mukhlal	M	18	Rural	Pasi	0.62	Agriculture	Uneducated	Middle Pass	B.A. 2 nd Year	DHQ	NO
3	Sanoj	M	18	Rural	Chamar	1.5	Agriculture	Uneducated	Uneducated	Plus 2 (Arts)	DHQ	YES
4	Dharmendra	M	17	Rural	Chamar	0.5	Private job	Uneducated	Uneducated	Plus 2 (Science)	DHQ	YES
5	Pankaj	M	18	Rural	Chamar	0.25	Govt. Primary teacher	Uneducated	B.A	Plus 2 (Science)	DHQ	NO
6	Vinod	M	17	Rural	Chamar	0.19	Agriculture	Uneducated	Literate	Plus 2 (Science)	DHQ	NO
7	Som Nath	M	19	Rural	Chamar	0.31	Agriculture	Uneducated	Uneducated	Plus 2 (Arts)	DHQ	YES
8	Salendra	M	17	Rural	Dusadh	0.62	Agriculture	Uneducated	Uneducated	Plus 2 (Science)	Block	NO
9	Manish	M	17	Rural	Dusadh	0.5	Police	Uneducated	Matric	Plus 2 (Science)	Block	NO
10	Pintu	M	17	Rural	Dusadh	Landless	Daily wages	Uneducated	Uneducated	Plus 2 (Science)	Block	YES
11	Brijlal	M	20	Rural	Dhobi	0.75	Agriculture	Uneducated	Uneducated	B.A. 1 st Year	DHQ	NO
12	Ashok	M	17	Rural	Rajwar	0.19	Daily Wages	Uneducated	Uneducated	Plus 2 (Science)	Block	NO
13	Ranjan	M	19	Rural	Bhuiya	0.5	Agriculture	Uneducated	Uneducated	Plus 2 Science	DHQ	YES
14	Vikash	M	17	Rural	Dabgar	Landless	Daily Wages	Uneducated	Uneducated	Plus 2 (Science)	DHQ	YES
15	Bhaskar	M	16	Urban	Halkhor	Landless	Local Politics	Uneducated	M.A	Appearing Matric Board	DHQ	Home
16	Golu	M	17	Urban	Dom	Landless	Govt. Job/Sweeper	Uneducated	Uneducated	8 th Class Dropout	DHQ	Home

Note: * All the original names of those interviewed has been changed in this study. ** Acre

14 MAR 2007 Hindustan, Ranchi

प्रायोगिक परीक्षा में नोट के बदले नंबर

मेदिनीनगर (न.सं.)। मैट्रिक की प्रायोगिक परीक्षा में पैसा लेकर नंबर देने का मामला भले ही आज पकड़ में आया हो, लेकिन यह क्रम बहुत पुराना है। पलामू जिला स्कूल में मंगलवार को जीव विज्ञान, रसायन शास्त्र, भौतिकी एवं गणित की प्रायोगिक परीक्षा के दौरान वीक्षकों द्वारा 50 से 200 रुपये तक की राशि वसूली उसी परंपरा का हिस्सा था। यह भय दिखाकर कि पैसा नहीं दोगे, तो प्रायोगिक परीक्षा में फेल हो जाओगे। जिससे विवश होकर छात्रों ने अलग-अलग विषयों के लिए पैसे दिये। कुछ डरे सहमे छात्र फेल होने या नंबर कम आने की डर से शिक्षक व आर्डीडी के समक्ष मुंह खोलने में हिचकिचा रहे थे, लेकिन जब कुछ छात्रों ने

साहस का परिचय देते हुए मुंह खोला तो सैकड़ों छात्रों ने पैसा देने की बात स्वीकार कर ली। प्रधानाध्यापक व पदाधिकारी के समक्ष यह घटना को देख कर प्रधानाध्यापक व आर्डीडी हतप्रभ रह गये। वे क्या करें क्या न करें की स्थिति में आ गये। जब घटना स्थल से सारे अधिकारी व पदाधिकारी चले गये तब वीक्षकों ने बहुत से छात्रों को 50, 100, 200 रुपये लौटाये तथा कुछ को एक घंटा के बाद तो कुछ को बुधवार को सुबह में बुलाया गया। लेकिन छात्रों को यह उम्मीद थी कि आज पैसा मिलेगा तो ठीक है, वरना कल नहीं मिलेगा। इसी मांग को लेकर छात्रों ने घटना स्थल पर प्रधानाध्यापक कक्ष में जाकर पैसा वापस कराने की मांग की।

प्राचार्य ने छात्रों को समझाते हुए कहा कि जाओ तुमलोग दिये हो तुम ही लोग मांगों। जो छात्र पैसा नहीं दिये उनके सामने में ही कॉपी पर गलत का चिन्ह लगाया गया। जिससे छात्र किसी दूसरे परिचित छात्र से पैसा लेकर वीक्षक को दिये। परीक्षार्थी अजय कुमार मेहता, अजय शुक्ला, अभय कुमार, आनंद प्रकाश, विजय कुमार यादव, रोहित कुमार गुप्ता, सिकेश वैद्य, राकेश कुमार, अनूप कुमार समेत सैकड़ों छात्रों ने पैसा देने की बात स्वीकार की। वहीं इनसे अधिक छात्रों को पैसा भी रौल नं. लिखकर वापस किया गया। लेकिन छात्रों को भय दिखाया जा रहा है कि प्रैक्टिकल में फेल कर देंगे।

दि-दुस्त्रान, लंन्ची 24 FEB 2007,

अभिभावक बने मैट्रिक व इंटर की परीक्षा में सिरदर्द



एक परीक्षा केंद्र पर अभिभावकों का जमावड़ा।

गढ़वा (प्र.)। जिले में इस वर्ष संचालित हो रहे मैट्रिक व इंटरमीडिएट की परीक्षा में परीक्षार्थियों के अभिभावकों के कारण जिला प्रशासन काफी परेशान दिखाई पड़ रहा है। परीक्षा केंद्रों पर धारा 144 लागू होने

के बावजूद भी तीन दिन के भीतर लगभग 25 अभिभावकों को विभिन्न केंद्रों से गिरफ्तार किया जा चुका है। कदाचारमुक्त परीक्षा संचालन को लेकर संकल्पित जिला प्रशासन अभिभावकों से निपटने में ही

कदाचार के आरोप में एक छात्र निष्कासित

भंडरिया (नि.सं.)। राजकीयकृत उच्च विद्यालय भंडरिया केंद्र से मैट्रिक की परीक्षा के आज तीसरे दिन अंग्रेजी विषय की परीक्षा लिये जाने के दौरान बीडीओ कृष्ण प्रसाद साह ने कदाचार के आरोप में इसी विद्यालय के एक छात्र रघिरेजन मिंज (क्रमांक 250) को निष्कासित कर दिया है। उक्त जानकारी देते हुए केंद्राधीक्षक चतुर्गुण मिंज ने बताया कि परीक्षा शांतिपूर्ण ढंग से चल रही है। परीक्षा में कुल 564 छात्रों में से 562 छात्र शामिल हो रहे हैं। परीक्षा संचालन के लिए शिक्षक कुंवर सिंह, शिवनारायण राम, अजय मिंज समेत कुल 26 वीक्षकों को लगाया गया है। परीक्षा केंद्र पर प्रखंड शिक्षा प्रसार पदाधिकारी इसहाक अंसारी, एरेन एक्का उपस्थित थे।

परेशान है।

श्री सद्गुरु जगजीत सिंह नामधारी महाविद्यालय में अभिभावकों एवं सुरक्षा कर्मियों के बीच नोक-झोंक, रामा साहू उर्वि परीक्षा केंद्र से लगातार अभिभावकों का गिरफ्तार होना परीक्षा में बाधा पहुंचा रहा है।

कुछ केंद्रों पर अभिभावक दीवाल फांदकर भी परीक्षार्थियों को चीट-पुर्जा देते देखे जा रहे हैं। हलांकि प्रशासन ने अभिभावकों से परीक्षा के सफल संचालन में पूर्णतः सहयोग की अपील की है। परंतु इस ओर अभिभावकों का कोई साकारात्मक रवैया दिखाई नहीं दे रहा है।

24 FEB 2007

हिन्दुस्तान रांची

चतरा में 18 वीक्षक निलंबित

हिन्दुस्तान (रांची)

गढ़वा में नकल कराते
होमगार्ड के दो जवान धराये
चतरा में दो परीक्षा केंद्रों की
परीक्षा रद्द

रामगढ़ में चाचा की जगह
परीक्षा देते भतीजा
पकड़ाया

24 FEB 2007



गढ़वा में गिरफ्तार होमगार्ड के जवान

की (हिटी)। मैट्रिक व इंटर की परीक्षा तीसरे दिन कदाचार के आरोप में राज्य विभिन्न केंद्रों पर परीक्षार्थी से ज्यादा हैं सहयोग करनेवाले पकड़े गये। सिर्फ चतरा में कदाचार कराने के आरोप में ठारह वीक्षकों पर निलंबन की गाज गिरी। वहीं चतरा के दो परीक्षा केंद्रों की प्रेजी परीक्षा रद्द कर दी गयी है। उधर गढ़वा में कदाचार कराते दो होमगार्ड जवान हित चार को एसपी ने खुद पकड़ा।

दिलचस्प वाक्या रामगढ़ के एक परीक्षा केंद्र पर सामने आया। यहां चाचा की जगह परीक्षा देते भतीजा पकड़ा गया। उधर कोडरमा में एक अजीबो-गरीब मामला पकड़ में आया है। यहां में एक ही छात्र मैट्रिक व इंटर की परीक्षा साथ-साथ देते पकड़ा गया। इसकी जानकारी विभागीय पदाधिकारियों समेत इंटर काउंसिल को दे दी गयी है।

चतरा से संवाददाता के अनुसार मैट्रिक

व इंटर की परीक्षा में कुव्यवस्था फैलाने व परीक्षा में कदाचार कराने के आरोप में 23 फरवरी को हजारीबाग से औचक निरीक्षण में आये शिक्षा उपनिदेशक नागेंद्र ठाकुर ने 18 वीक्षकों को निलंबित कर दिया है। निलंबित लोगों में इंदुमति तिबड़ेवाल सरस्वती विद्या मंदिर में वीक्षक के रूप में तैनात शिक्षक अर्जुन मिस्त्री, सुनील कुमार, सुरेश रविदास, सुष्मा मिश्रा, अरविंद वर्मा, रामकुमार (शेष पेज 15 पर)

पेज एक के शेष

चतरा में 18 ...

प्रसाद, पुष्पा सिन्हा, गणेश महतो, कुलदीप प्रसाद, रामनाथ प्रसाद, अजीत कुमार, चतरा कालेज में प्रतिनियुक्त वीक्षक मनोज, रेखा कुमारी, जमालुद्दीन, शशिकांत पांडेय, अवध किशोर तिवारी तथा गल्स हाइ स्कूल चतरा के वीक्षक रीणा विश्वास व देवेन्द्र राम शामिल हैं। कदाचार के आरोप में शिक्षा उपनिदेशक ने इंदुमति तिबड़ेवाल सरस्वती विद्या मंदिर और चतरा कालेज चतरा परीक्षा केंद्र में संचालित मैट्रिक की अंग्रेजी विषय की परीक्षा रद्द कर दी है। इस केंद्र पर प्रत्येक बेंच पर पांच-पांच परीक्षार्थियों को बैठाया गया था। केंद्र के अधिकांश परीक्षार्थी नकल करते हुए पकड़े गये। यही हाल चतरा कालेज परीक्षा केंद्र में भी पाया गया। आरडीडी ने इन दोनों केंद्रों से दो बोरा पुर्जा बरामद किया। गढ़वा से संवाददाता के अनुसार शहर के रामासाहू आर्यवैदिक उच्च विद्यालय परीक्षा केंद्र पर मैट्रिक की परीक्षा में परीक्षार्थियों को चिट पहुंचाने के दौरान एसपी मो. नेहाल ने होमगार्ड के दो जवान सहित चार लोगों को रोहथो धर दबोचा। तत्पश्चात एसपी ने सभी को गिरफ्तार कर थाना भेजवा दिया। गिरफ्तार जवानों में होमगार्ड संख्या 116 संतोष दुबे (सहिजना गढ़वा) तथा होमगार्ड संख्या 413 बिंदु राम पासवान (धरौ, धुरकी शामिल हैं)। रामगढ़ से संवाददाता के अनुसार रामगढ़ कालेज केन्द्र

पर चाचा की जगह परीक्षा दे रहे भतीजा महेश कुमार को पकड़ लिया गया। चाचा-भतीजा को हिरासत में रखा गया है। भतीजा महेश संत कोलंबा कालेज हजारीबाग का छात्र है।

14 MAR 2007

विद्युत् नगरी

आरडीडी ने वीक्षक को पैसा लेते पकड़ा

गजेन्द्र कुमार

14 MAR 2007

मेदिनीनगर। पलामू जिला स्कूल परीक्षा केन्द्र पर मैट्रिक की व्यावहारिक परीक्षा में नंबर देने के एवज में पैसा लेते शिक्षक आरएन उपाध्याय को पकड़ा गया है। इन्हें आरडीडी ने रंगे हाथों पकड़ा, वहीं इस केन्द्र पर 200 परीक्षार्थियों से अवैध वसूली करने का फंडाफोड़ किया। आरडीडी हरेंद्र प्रसाद सिंह ने कहा कि अवैध राशि लेने वाले शिक्षकों पर कार्रवाई होगी। बताते चलें कि मंगलवार को आरडीडी ने गुप्त सूचना के आधार पर

जैसे ही परीक्षा भवन में प्रवेश किया, वैसे ही गणित व

पैक्टिकल में नंबर के एवज में 50 से 200 रुपये की अवैध वसूली का खुलासा

भौतिकी विषय की व्यावहारिक परीक्षा ले रहे वीक्षक आरएन उपाध्याय को एक छात्र से 50 रुपये लेते पकड़ा। इसके परचात उन्होंने रसायन शास्त्र, जीव विज्ञान के वीक्षक क्रमशः महेन्द्र सिंह व संजय शेखर द्विवेदी को भी छात्रों से अवैध वसूली करते पाया। प्रायोगिक परीक्षा में प्रति विषय 50 से 200 रुपये तक की अवैध वसूली का मामला उजागर हुआ है। आरडीडी शिक्षकों पर आग बबूला हो गये। उन्हें अंदेशा है कि अन्य विद्यालयों में भी स्थिति इसी प्रकार की होगी। वीक्षकों द्वारा परीक्षार्थियों को पैसा नहीं देने पर मानसिक प्रताड़ना देने का मामला भी सामने आया है।

14 MAR 2007

विद्युत् नगरी

अवैध वसूली के खिलाफ शिक्षकों का घेराव 15 को

विरमित होंगे दोषी शिक्षक : डीसी

हैदरनगर (नि.सं.)। राजकीय उच्च विद्यालय (हैदरनगर) में मंगलवार को विज्ञान विषय की प्रायोगिक परीक्षा में शिक्षकों द्वारा अवैध वसूली को लेकर मैट्रिक परीक्षार्थी एवं अभिवावक आग बबूला हो गये। छात्रों ने गोलबंद होकर 15 मार्च को विद्यालय एवं शिक्षकों का घेराव करने की रणनीति बनायी है। इस संबंध में पलामू के उपायुक्त नागेन्द्र प्रसाद सिंह, हुसैनाबाद एसडीओ गोपीनंदन प्रसाद एवं जिला शिक्षा पदाधिकारी सलोनी टेटे को तत्काल सूचना दी गयी है। इस संदर्भ में उपायुक्त ने दूरभाष पर बताया कि इस कार्य के दोषी शिक्षकों को तत्काल विरमित किया जायेगा। साथ ही एसडीओ को स्वयं से मामले की जांच का उन्होंने निर्देश दिया। जबकि डीओ ने कहा कि उक्त परीक्षा केन्द्र की परीक्षा रद्द कर शिक्षक को सजा दिलायी जायेगी। एसडीओ ने पत्रकारों को बताया कि चुनाव में व्यस्तता के कारण परीक्षा केन्द्र पर जाना संभव नहीं है। समर्थ पाते ही इसकी जांच की जायेगी। प्रशासन को विद्यालय के संबंध में यह सूचना दी गयी कि प्रतिछात्र पहले सौ रुपये लेने के बाद ही प्रायोगिक परीक्षा की कॉपी दी गयी। प्रभारी प्रधानाध्यापक अवध किशोर सिंह ने इस धांधली को स्वीकार करते हुए कहा कि इस पर नियंत्रण उनके वश से बाहर की बात है। जबकि सलिल शिक्षकों ने कहा कि यहाँ तो सौ ही अन्य विद्यालयों में दो सौ रुपये तक की वसूली की जा रही है।

चंद शिक्षक कर रहे शिक्षा जगत को शर्मसार

मेदिनीनगर (मेका)। जिला स्कूल में संचालित मैट्रिक की व्यावहारिक परीक्षा में अवैध रूप से रुपये की उगाही को आरडीडीइ हरेन्द्र प्रसाद सिंह द्वारा पकड़े जाने की घटना को शिक्षकों ने घिनौना कार्य बताया है। चंद शिक्षकों के कारण शिक्षक वर्ग को शर्मसार होना पड़ा है। इस पर प्रतिक्रिया व्यक्त करते हुए शिक्षक विजय कुमार ने कहा कि शिक्षा के मंदिर में भ्रष्टाचार बिल्कूल अनैतिक कार्य है। इससे देश रसातल में चला जायेगा।

शिक्षक सुनील पाठक ने बताया कि गलत प्रवृत्ति का बड़ावा देने वाला कार्य है। अधिकारियों को इस पर सख्त कार्रवाई करना चाहिए। शिक्षक सुस्मित कुमार के मुताबिक यह बेशर्मी का हद है। इस घटना से समाज में शिक्षकों की प्रतिष्ठा गिरी है। शिक्षक डा. आरपी यादव का कहना है कि यह कार्य बिल्कूल अनुचित है तथा शर्म की बात है।



विजय कुमार



सुनील पाठक।



सुस्मित कुमार



डा. आरपी यादव।

शिक्षकों की शिथिलता से बड़ा कदाचार

मेदिनीनगर (मेका)। कदाचार में बुधवार को जिला स्कूल ने सारे रिकार्ड को ध्वस्त

कर दिया। सामाजिक विज्ञान के व्यावहारिक परीक्षा में परीक्षार्थियों को बरामदे पर बैठाया गया, जबकि कमरे खाली थे। एक बेंच पर तीन-चार परीक्षार्थी बैठकर परीक्षा लिख रहे थे।

बरामदे में भी परीक्षार्थियों ने लचर व्यवस्था का जमकर फायदा उठाया। किताब को बेंच पर रखकर उत्तर लिख रहे थे। किताब से ऐसे लिखा जा रहा था, जैसे घर में बैठकर नोट्स तैयार किया जा रहा हो। इसमें कुल 880 परीक्षार्थी परीक्षा दे रहे हैं, जिसमें अधिकांशतः स्वतंत्र छात्र हैं।

विद्यार्थियों ने स्वीकार किया कि

एक दिन भी स्वतंत्र छात्रों को व्यावहारिक कक्षा नहीं ली गयी है। सीधे परीक्षा में ही बैठाया गया है। सारे नियमों को ताक पर रख कर परीक्षा संचालित होने की बात शिक्षकों ने ही बतायी।

स्पष्टीकरण पूछा, डीसी करेंगे कार्रवाई : आरडीडीइ

डीइओ ने पूछा दो से स्पष्टीकरण

मामला प्रायोगिक परीक्षा में पैसा वसूली का

मेदिनीनगर (न.सं.)। पलामू जिला स्कूल में मंगलवार को झारखंड अधिविद्य परिषद के तत्वावधान में मैट्रिक की प्रायोगिक परीक्षा ली जा रही थी। छात्रों से वीक्षकों द्वारा 50 से 200 रुपये नंबर बढ़ाने के नाम पर लिया जा रहा था। इसकी शिकायत मिलने पर आरडीडीइ हरेन्द्र प्रसाद सिंह परीक्षा केन्द्र पर जाकर वस्तु स्थिति से अवगत हुए। शिक्षकों पर सीधी कार्रवाई करने की जगह उन्होंने उपायुक्त के पाले में गेंद फेंक दिया। श्री सिंह ने कहा कि डीसी जिला के मुख्य परीक्षा नियंत्रक हैं तथा डीइओ सहायक नियंत्रक हैं। कार्रवाई वे लोग करें। यह मामला भ्रष्टाचार व अपराध से जुड़ा हुआ है। प्राथमिकी होनी चाहिए। उपायुक्त के पास सारी शक्तियां निहित हैं। उन्होंने कहा कि उनके पास कोई पुलिस बल नहीं है कि वे कार्रवाई करें। इसके लिए केन्द्राधीक्षक से स्पष्टीकरण पूछा गया है तथा कार्रवाई की जायेगी।

जिला स्कूल में कदाचार जारी



किताब खोलकर परीक्षा देते परीक्षार्थी।

मेदिनीनगर (मे.का)। गौरवमयी इतिहास से लबरेज जिला स्कूल में कदाचार धमने का नाम नहीं ले रहा है। बुधवार को मैट्रिक की व्यावहारिक परीक्षा में वीक्षकों के सामने खुलेआम कदाचार होता रहा। बुधवार को रसायन शास्त्र, भौतिकी व जीव विज्ञान का परीक्षा भी अव्यवस्था के बीच गुजरी। आरडीडीइ हरेन्द्र प्रसाद सिंह द्वारा व्यावहारिक परीक्षा के नाम पर कथित रूप से रुपये लेने संबंधी स्पष्टीकरण पूछे जाने के बाद भी कोई सुधार नहीं दिखा। वहीं भौतिकी की व्यावहारिक परीक्षा एक टूटे प्रीम्स के सहारे लिया जा रहा था। परीक्षार्थी उपकरण की कमी का रोना

रो रहे थे। शिक्षक आरएन उपाध्याय ने कहा कि सभी समान उपलब्ध हैं। परीक्षा कक्ष में विद्यार्थियों ने बताया कि जो व्यवस्था है, उसी में परीक्षा दे रहे हैं। पैसा मांगा जा रहा है, इसलिए देना पड़ रहा है। किताब खोलकर लिखे जाने के सबाल पर वीक्षक कोई कारण नहीं बता सके। आरडीडीइ हरेन्द्र प्रसाद सिंह ने सिस्टम को ही दोषी बताया।

मेदिनीनगर (न.सं.)। मैट्रिक व प्रायोगिक परीक्षा में घूस लेकर नंबर बढ़ाने के मामले को डीइओ सलोनो टेरे ने गंभीरता से लिया है। उन्होंने पलामू जिला स्कूल एवं उपायुक्त के विद्यालय हैदरनगर के प्रधानाध्यापकों से 24 घंटे के अंदर स्पष्टीकरण पूछते हुए कहा है कि जांच के बाद कार्रवाई की जायेगी। गौरतलब है कि इन दोनों परीक्षा केन्द्र पर शिक्षकों द्वारा छात्रों को प्रैक्टिकल के नाम पर पैसे की उगाही करने की खबर हिन्दुस्तान प्रकाशित की थी। इसी खबर के आधार पर डीइओ सलोनो टेरे उचित कदम उठाते हुए स्पष्टीकरण पूछा है।



Eight expelled for using unfair means

Hindustan Times, Ranchi

MATRIC & INTER EXAMINATIONS

nations in the district.

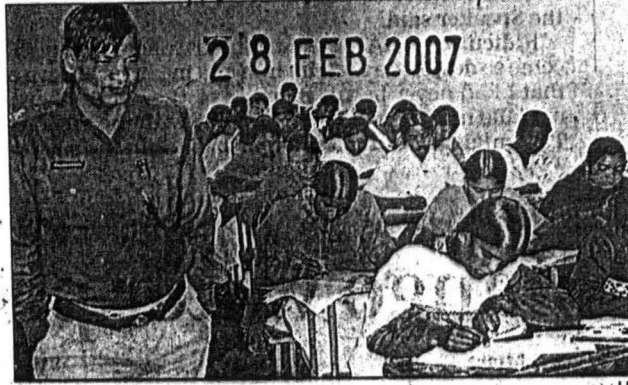
The Superintendent of Police, Subodh Prasad, SDO, Dharmendra Pandey, DWO, AP Singh and others officials inspected several exams centres today.

Three inter science boys were expelled at Women's College centre while five matriculation examinees that included two from Balika Girls High School, one from Chunni Lal High School, one from Kasturba Girl's High School and one from Saint Stanislas High School centre were expelled.

HT Correspondent
Lohardaga, February 27

EIGHT EXAMINEES including two girls were expelled allegedly for using unfair means during the ongoing matriculation and intermediate examinations here on Tuesday.

About seven thousands students are appearing in the aforementioned exami-



Students appear in matriculation exam in Lohardaga on Tuesday.

Fake admit card racket surfaces in Ramgarh

HT Correspondent
Ramgarh, February 27

AN INCIDENT of students' exploitation by some so-called 'teachers' has come to light in Ramgarh.

According to reports, some so-called teachers are allegedly exploiting local students by providing them fake admit cards for the matriculation examination-2007, conducted by Jharkhand Academic Council.

The matter came to fore when three students, Vikash Kumar Ram, Amit Kumar Singh and Deoraj Singh of CCL Central Hospital, Naisarai Colony reported the matter to SDM, Ramgarh, Vimal. They alleged that one Vikram Yadav of Ramgarh had given fake admit cards for matriculation examination. The SDM ordered a probe into the matter. Police are conducting raids to arrest the accused.

नौ फर्जी परीक्षार्थी पकड़ाये हजारीबाग में रैकेट सक्रिय

हिंदुस्तान, रांची

अमरनाथ पाठक



हजारीबाग जिला स्कूल में परीक्षा देते फर्जी परीक्षार्थी।

हजारीबाग। झारखंड एकेडमिक काउंसिल की ओर से ली जा रही मैट्रिक परीक्षा में फर्जी परीक्षार्थियों को शामिल करानेवाला रैकेट सक्रिय है। अब तक जिले के विभिन्न केंद्रों से नौ फर्जी परीक्षार्थी पकड़े गये हैं।

मंगलवार को हजारीबाग जिला स्कूल में विज्ञान की परीक्षा के दौरान दो फर्जी परीक्षार्थियों को पकड़ा गया। ये दोनों पिछले पांच दिनों से दूसरे के नाम पर यहां परीक्षा दे रहे थे। पकड़े गये दोनों परीक्षार्थी अमरजीत और महेंद्र बरही के पड़रिया गांव के रहनेवाले हैं और इस केंद्र पर (शेष पेज 15 पर)

नौ फर्जी परीक्षार्थी...

कटकमसांडी उच्च विद्यालय के प्राइवेट परीक्षार्थी अशोक प्रसाद यादव और राजू यादव के नाम पर परीक्षा दे रहे थे। उधर बरकट्टा प्रखंड में एक मदरसा स्थित परीक्षा केंद्र से अजमल नामक फर्जी परीक्षार्थी को पकड़ा गया। वह अफजल के नाम पर परीक्षा दे रहा था। हजारीबाग जिला स्कूल केंद्र से पकड़े गये परीक्षार्थियों ने स्वीकारा कि दीपूगढ़ा के मधु नामक एक व्यक्ति ने दोनों को दो-दो हजार रुपये देकर दूसरे के नाम पर परीक्षा में बैठने को तैयार किया था। इसके पहले बरही में बरही कॉलेज स्थित परीक्षा केंद्र से भी दो फर्जी परीक्षार्थियों बासुदेव प्रसाद मंडल और मनोज कुमार चौधरी को वहां के डीएसपी ने पकड़ा था। इधर रामगढ़

में फर्जी एडमिट कार्ड से परीक्षा देने पहुंचे तीन छात्रों विकेश कुमार राम, अमित कुमार सिंह तथा देवराज सिंह को परीक्षा देने से वंचित कर दिया गया। रामगढ़ में ही एक परीक्षार्थी को अपने रिश्तेदार की जगह परीक्षा देते पकड़ा गया था। इस संदर्भ में जब क्षेत्रीय उप शिक्षा निदेशक नागेंद्र ठाकुर से बात की गयी तो उन्होंने भी फर्जी परीक्षार्थियों को परीक्षा में शामिल कराने के पीछे रैकेट सक्रिय होने की आशंका से इनकार नहीं किया।

इंटर के 11 परीक्षार्थी निष्कासित

परीक्षा केंद्रों पर दंडाधिकारी व पुलिस बल तैनात

मेदिनीनगर (न.सं.)। झारखंड माध्यमिक एवं इंटर परीक्षा की शुरुआत कड़ी सुरक्षा व्यवस्था के बीच करायी गयी। इस दौरान इंटरमीडिएट के 11 परीक्षार्थियों को कदाचार के आरोप में निष्कासित किया गया है। सभी केंद्रों पर दंडाधिकारी समेत पुलिस की व्यवस्था करायी गयी है। सहर प्रखंड अंतर्गत मैट्रिक के 11 और इंटर के 6 परीक्षा केन्द्र बनाये गये हैं। मैट्रिक परीक्षा के दौरान महिला महाविद्यालय में 1067 में 1057 परीक्षार्थी शामिल हुए। जीएलए कालेज में 1130, जेएस कालेज में 1277 में 1257, गिरिवर इंटर कालेज में 1029 में 1016, गणेश स्कूल में 593 में 591, ब्राह्मण उवि में 664 में 661, केजी स्कूल में 565 में 564 परीक्षार्थी उपस्थित रहे। इंटर के 6 परीक्षा केन्द्रों पर परीक्षार्थी परीक्षा लिख रहे हैं। गिरिवर इंटर कालेज में जीएलए कालेज के एक छात्र को कदाचार करते पकड़ा गया और जीएलए कालेज में कामसं के तीन छात्र कदाचार के आरोप में निष्कासित किये गये। प्राचार्य डा. डीएस श्रीवास्तव ने कहा कि गुप्त कैमरा के सहारे परीक्षार्थी को कदाचार करते रंगहाथ पकड़ा गया।



महिला कॉलेज में इंटर की परीक्षा देती छात्राएं

एक बेंच पर बैठे तीन से चार परीक्षार्थी

मेदिनीनगर (न.सं.)। झारखंड माध्यमिक परीक्षा के सफल संचालन के लिये शिक्षा सचिव समेत सरकार ने प्रत्येक जिला के उपायुक्तों समेत शिक्षा विभाग के पदाधिकारियों को निर्देश दिया है। उसके तहत एक बेंच पर दो से अधिक परीक्षार्थियों को नहीं बैठना है। लेकिन एक बेंच पर तीन से चार परीक्षार्थी बैठ रहे हैं। जिला स्कूल में तो छात्राएं बेंच डेस्क के अभाव में दरी पर बैठकर परीक्षा दे रही हैं। वहीं दूसरी ओर कुछ केन्द्रों पर अभिभावक एवं परीक्षा दिलानेवालों की भीड़ दिनभर लगी रही, जबकि परीक्षा केन्द्र से 100 गज की दूरी तक धारा 144 लगा है। इसके बावजूद महिला महाविद्यालय एवं केजी स्कूल के गेट के सामने भीड़ लगी रही। यहां तक कि एडीएम सुंदरराम ने भी महिला महाविद्यालय के पास भीड़ लगाये अभिभावकों को पुलिस के सहयोग से भगाया।



जिला स्कूल के बरामदे में बैठकर परीक्षा देते परीक्षार्थी

हिन्दुस्तान रांची, गुरुवार 22 फरवरी, 2007

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कदाचार के आरोप में तीन परीक्षार्थी निष्कासित, 18 अभिभावक गिरफ्तार

गढ़वा। मैट्रिक व इंटरमीडिएट परीक्षा के प्रथम दिन जिले भर से मैट्रिक की परीक्षा में कदाचार के आरोप में तीन परीक्षार्थी निष्कासित किये गये। जबकि कदाचार कराने के आरोप में लगभग डेढ़ दर्जन अभिभावकों को भी गिरफ्तार किया गया। जिन्हें बाद में थाना से छोड़ दिया गया। निष्कासित किये गये परीक्षार्थियों में जिला मुख्यालय स्थित श्री सद्गुरु जगजीत सिंह नामधारी महाविद्यालय स्थित परीक्षा केंद्र से क्रमांक 471 खुशींद आलम, क्रमांक 442 सुनील कुमार पासवान, जबकि उच्च विद्यालय नगर ऊंटारी स्थित परीक्षा केंद्र से क्रमांक 389 राजीव कुमार गुप्ता का नाम शामिल है। जानकारी के अनुसार रामासाहू उच्च विद्यालय परीक्षा केंद्र पर परीक्षा हॉल में घुसकर कदाचार करा रहे संतोष राम नामक युवक को न्यायिक दंडाधिकारी भोला राम ने गिरफ्तार कर लिया।



मैट्रिक की परीक्षा देते छात्र।

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मैट्रिक व इंटर की परीक्षा शांतिपूर्ण प्रारंभ

गढ़वा (नि.सं.)। वार्षिक माध्यमिक परीक्षा एवं इंटरमीडिएट की परीक्षा जिले में 21 फरवरी से शांतिपूर्वक प्रारंभ हो गयी। जिले भर में मैट्रिक परीक्षा के लिए निर्धारित 17 केंद्रों पर 8804 तथा इंटर के छह परीक्षा केंद्रों पर 4486 परीक्षार्थी शामिल हुए। जबकि कतिपय परीक्षा केंद्रों पर कई परीक्षार्थी अनुपस्थित भी रहे। विभिन्न परीक्षा केंद्रों पर सुरक्षाबलों की कमी एवं चहारदीवारी के अभाव के कारण शरारती तत्व केंद्र के इर्द-गिर्द घुमते नजर आये। इस स्थिति में केंद्राधीक्षक एवं तैनात पुलिस पदाधिकारियों को काफी परेशानी का सामना करना पड़। पुलिस शरारती तत्वों को एक ओर से खदेड़ रही थी, तो वे दूसरे तरफ से परीक्षा केंद्र में समीप पहुंच रहे थे। परीक्षा के प्रथम दिन रामासाहू

उच्च विद्यालय में तैनात सुरक्षा पदाधिकारी यदुनांद पासवान एवं बालिका उच्च विद्यालय में तैनात योगेन्द्र प्रसाद मांझी शरारती तत्वों से काफी परेशान दिखे।

● दो परीक्षार्थी घायल : गढ़वा। गढ़वा-रंका मार्ग पर नारायणपुर के समीप बुधवार की सुबह टेम्पू प्लेट जाने से दो परीक्षार्थी गंभीर रूप से घायल हो गये। घायलों को इलाज के लिए गढ़वा सदर अस्पताल में भर्ती कराया गया है। घायलों में गढ़वा थाना क्षेत्र के हसकेर गांव निवासी रवि कुमार एवं समता कुमारी का नाम शामिल है। उक्त दोनों परीक्षार्थी वार्षिक माध्यमिक परीक्षा देने गढ़वा आ रहे थे। उसी दौरान टेम्पू तेज गति होने के कारण नारायणपुर के पास अनियंत्रित होकर पलट गयी।

गायब रहते हैं 42 फीसदी शिक्षक

रांची (हिब्यू)। झारखंड में सर्वशिक्षा अभियान और उच्च शिक्षा पर विधानसभा में करायी गयी विशेष चर्चा में शिक्षकों की लापरवाही- मनमानी और और शैक्षणिक व्यवस्था के चरमराने पर चिंता जतायी गयी। माले विधायक विनोद सिंह ने आंकड़ों के जरिये जमीनी सच रखते हुए सरकार को कठघरे में खड़ा किया। सदस्य की चिंता ग्रामीण इलाकों में शिक्षा की व्यवस्था पर ज्यादा थी। दूसरे प्रदेशों की तुलना करते हुए उन्होंने कहा कि झारखंड में शिक्षा का नकारात्मक विकास हुआ है। उन्होंने कहा कि ग्रामीण इलाकों में 42 प्रतिशत शिक्षक स्कूलों से गायब रहते हैं। शहर और गांव में शैक्षणिक पैटर्न का तालमेल नहीं है। सर्वशिक्षा अभियान के तहत पारा शिक्षकों की जिम्मेदारी और उन्हें न्यूनतम मानदेय दिये जाने पर उन्होंने सरकार का ध्यान खींचा।

चर्चा में स्कूलों में शिक्षकों की भारी कमी, खस्ताहाल भवन मध्याह्न भोजन, व्यवस्था की खामियां, अफसरशाही, पारा शिक्षकों की नियुक्ति में घूस लेने जैसे बिंदुओं पर सत्ता-विपक्ष के सदस्यों ने सरकार का ध्यान खींचा। यह बात भी सामने आयी कि हजारों का वेतन लेनेवाले

बोरा का बोरा चावल ब्लैक करते हैं मारटर

राज्य में चौपट होती जा रही है शिक्षा व्यवस्था

शिक्षकों की लापरवाही पर सदन में हुई चर्चा

से पारा शिक्षक ज्यादा काम कर रहे हैं। झामुमो विधायक अमूल्यो सरदार ने कहा कि ग्रामीण इलाकों में शिक्षा की व्यवस्था में सुधार के प्रति सरकार का ध्यान नहीं है। शिक्षक स्कूल नहीं आते। आये, तो सोये रहते हैं। बीच-बीच में बच्चों से कहेंगे: पढ़े रो, पढ़ो रे। रिवींद्र महतो ने कहा कि शिक्षा में सामनता लाना होगा। पारा शिक्षकों का मानदेय बढ़ाने पर जोर देते हुए उन्होंने संथालपरगना के सरकारी स्कूलों में चौपट व्यवस्था की चर्चा की। उपेंद्र नाथ दास ने कहा कि पैरवा से राज्य में कुलपति बन रहे हैं। शिक्षा का व्यवसायीकरण हो गया है। सरकारी स्कूलों को ठीक करना होगा। इलिट क्लास को भी सरकारी स्कूलों के प्रति नजरिया बदलना

होगा। शिक्षकों की परीक्षा कड़ी हो।

नियेल तिकी ने कहा कि सरकारी स्कूलों में शिक्षा की व्यवस्था में सुधार के लिए अफसरों पर कार्रवाई करने की जरूरत है। पारा शिक्षकों का मानदेय बढ़े और शिक्षकों की कमी दूर हो। स्कूल के शिक्षक जिला मुख्यालय में घूमते हैं और उनके जगह पर दूसरा कोई पढ़ाता है। मनीष यादव ने कहा कि सरकार शिक्षकों की कमी दूरकरे। स्कूल भवन की हालत में सुधार लाने और मध्याह्न भोजन की व्यवस्था में परिवर्तन करना होगा।

मध्याह्न भोजन की वर्तमान व्यवस्था ने पढ़ाई-लिखाई का वातावरण बिगाड़ दिया है। खीरू महतो ने भी इन बातों पर जोर दिया। उन्होंने कहा कि शिक्षक बोरा का बोरा का चावल ब्लैक करने में लगे रहते हैं। दिनेश झाड़ंगी, रामचंद्र सिंह, चित्तरंजन यादव, योगेश्वर महतो, समीर उरांव ने ग्रामीण क्षेत्रों में शिक्षा की व्यवस्था और सर्व शिक्षा अभियान की हालत पर चर्चा की। उत्कर्मित विद्यालयों में भी अप्रैल से पढ़ाई शुरू करने की जरूरत पर जोर दिया गया। डॉ. झाड़ंगी ने कहा कि सरकारी स्कूलों की विश्वसनीयता खत्म हो गयी है। इसे बहाल करना होगा।

विधानसभा में विशेष चर्चा में शिक्षा मंत्री बंधु तिकी ने स्वीकार किया

सरकारी स्कूलों से विश्वास उठ गया है

रांची (हिब्यू)। शिक्षा मंत्री बंधु तिकी ने कहा है कि सरकारी स्कूलों से लोगों का विश्वास उठ गया है। समाज को इसे चुनौती के रूप में लेना होगा। व्यवस्था में सुधार और सरकारी स्कूलों का स्तर सुधारने के लिए सरकार प्रतिबद्ध है।

उन्होंने कहा कि छह माह में 8373 प्राथमिक शिक्षकों की नियुक्ति कर ली जायेगी। शुक्रवार को सर्वशिक्षा अभियान और उच्च शिक्षा पर विधानसभा में करायी गयी विशेष चर्चा में सरकार का पक्ष रखते हुए मंत्री ने कहा कि 2012 तक शत प्रतिशत बच्चों को स्कूलों में नामांकन दाखिल करा दिया जायेगा। अभी 06 से 10 साल तक के पांच लाख 82 हजार 683 बच्चे स्कूलों में नामांकित हैं। उन्होंने कहा कि माध्यमिक शिक्षकों की नियुक्ति के लिए नियमावली तैयार की गयी है। मंत्री के मुताबिक सर्व शिक्षा अभियान के लिए पैसे की कमी नहीं है। 241.17 करोड़ की राशि सरकार ने विमुक्त कर दिया है। उन्होंने कहा कि सरकार सामान्य जाति के स्कूली छात्राओं को भी साइकिल

छह माह के अंदर होगी 8373 शिक्षकों की नियुक्ति

सामान्य जाति की छात्राओं को भी साइकिल देगी सरकार

देगी। झारखंड एकेडमिक काँसिल में सदस्यों की रिक्तता को अप्रैल के प्रथम सप्ताह में भर दिया जायेगा। व्यवसायिक शिक्षा को बढ़ावा देने की योजना तैयार की जा रही है, ताकि यूवे के छात्रों के लिए रोजगार के अवसर ज्यादा सृजित हों। मंत्री ने कहा कि विश्वविद्यालयों से कॉलेज में बीएड की पढ़ाई के लिए प्रस्ताव मांगा गया है। विधवा को बीएड की पढ़ाई में नामांकन लेने के लिए भी सरकार कड़े स्तर पर रियायत देगी। मंत्री ने कहा कि स्कूली बच्चों को किताब देने में पिछली सरकार की तरह देर नहीं करेंगे। अप्रैल में ही बाटेंगे। उन्होंने माना कि विसंगतियां बहुत हैं, लेकिन इसे दूर करने के लिए जनप्रतिनिधियों को सहयोग करना होगा। उन्होंने कहा कि सभी विधायकों से शिक्षा में सुधार के लिए सुझाव मांगा था, किसी ने नहीं दिया। सरकारी स्कूलों के बच्चों को निजी स्कूलों में समर कैंप कराने की योजना बनायी जा रही है। सरकार मध्याह्न भोजन की वर्तमान व्यवस्था में बदलाव लाने का भी विचार करेंगी।