

Interpretive Policy Analysis
on Enhancing Education Equity and Empowerment for Girls in Rural India

by

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ABSTRACT

The *Kasturba Gandhi Balika Vidyalaya* (KGBV) policy scheme launched in 2004 by the Ministry of Human Resource Development, the Government of India, aims to provide secondary level education (grade 6–8) for girls residing predominantly in minority communities, the Scheduled Caste (SC), the Scheduled Tribe (ST), and the Other Backward Caste (OBC). Since its launch in 2004, the Government of India established 2,578 KGBV schools in 27 states and union territories (UTs). The present study examines the new policy and its implementation at three KGBV schools located in rural villages of Uttar Pradesh (UP), India. The study was conducted over a four month period in 2009. Observations at three schools, interviews with teachers and staff members of the implementation agency, and surveys administered to 139 teachers were completed. The purpose was to analyze the Government of India's approach to increasing education opportunity and participation for educationally disadvantaged girls. Interviews with the program director and coordinators identified some conflicts within government policy schemes such as the Teacher-pupil ratios guidelines and a program for the universalization of elementary education. Major challenges include a high turnover rate of teachers, a lack of female teachers, and inadequate school resources and infrastructure. Recommendations include making a *Mahila Samakhya* (MS) approach of girls' education in rural settings standardized for wider dissemination and enhancing partnership among local agencies and government organizations for more effective service delivery.

DEDICATION

My husband, Matthew, and my wonderful parents helped me become who I am. Along with them, I dedicate this dissertation to our larger family in India, those with dignity, determination, and passion for learning.

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ACRONYMS

AIE	Alternative Innovative Education
AIES	All India Educational Survey
ALCs	Alternative Learning Centers
BPL	Below Poverty Line
BTC	Basic Training Certificate
DPEP	District Primary Education Programme
EBBs	Educationally Backward Blocks
ECCE	Early Childhood Care and Education
EFA	Education for All
EGS	Education Guarantee Scheme
GAD	Gender and Development
GER	Gross Enrollment Rate
ISCED	International Standard Classification of Education
KGBV	<i>Kasturba Gandhi Balika Vidyalaya</i>
MDGs	Millennium Development Goals
MHRD	Ministry of Human Resource Development
MS	<i>Mahila Samakhya</i>
MSK	<i>Mahila Shikshan Kendra</i>
NCERT	National Council of Educational Research and Training
NER	Net Enrollment Rate
NGO	Non-Governmental Organization
NPE	National Policy on Education
NPEGEL	National Program for Education of Girls at Elementary Level
OBC	Other Backward Caste
PTR	Pupil Teacher Ratio
SCERT	State Council of Educational Research and Training
SC/ST	Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes
SPC	State Program Coordinator
SPD	State Program Director
SSA	<i>Sarva Shiksha Abhiyan</i> (Universalization of Primary Education)
SWA	Sector Wide Approaches
TLM	Teaching and Learning Material
TPR	Teacher Pupil Ratio
UEE	Universalization of Elementary Education
UIS	UNESCO Institute of Statistics
UN	United Nations
UNESCO	United Nations Educational, Scientific, and Cultural Organization
UNFPA	United Nations Population Fund
UNICEF	United Nations Children's Fund
UP	Uttar Pradesh
UPE	Universal Primary Education
UTs	Union Territories

VEC	Village Education Committee
WAD	Women and Development
WID	Women in Development

Chapter 1

INTRODUCTION

Schooling contributes to a country's economic growth, longer life spans, lower infant mortality rates, lower fertility rates, improved hygiene and nutrition, and higher education attainment for children (Mehrotra, 1999; Nagchoudhuri, 2005). Recognizing these facts, India has made remarkable improvements in education related indicators since the 1980s. For example, adult and youth literacy have increased 21.1 and 25.5 points, respectively (India, 2001). Similarly, the Gross Enrollment Rate (GER) in primary and secondary schools has also improved dramatically. Nevertheless, India still faces various challenges in achieving Universalization of Elementary Education (UEE) and has the largest number of out-of-school children in the world (UNESCO Institute of Statistics [UIS], 2005). Almost 27 million children between the ages of 6 and 10 do not attend primary schools, which accounts for approximately 25.0% of the children in this age group (UIS, 2005). Although enrollment rates in primary and secondary schools and literacy rates have improved dramatically, attendance and completion rates in schools at all levels remain low (Barr, Durston, Jenkins, Onoda, & Pradhan, 2007). Furthermore, there are great disparities between genders, rural and urban settings, and different social groups in India (World Bank, 1997). These differences in educational participation at the national level are consistently observed in the state of Uttar Pradesh (UP).

In order to reach out to marginalized rural girls and address the differences among various social groups, the Government of India launched several initiatives and schemes for girls' education such as the KGBV policy. The Government of India launched the KGBV policy in 2004 to provide upper primary education (i.e., grade 6–8) for girls residing predominantly in minority communities, the Scheduled Caste (SC), Scheduled Tribe (ST), and Other Backward Caste (OBC). The goal of the KGBV is to “ensure access and quality education to the girls of disadvantaged groups of society” (Ministry of Human Resource Development [MHRD], 2009a). One of the prominent characteristics of the KGBV is that the organization focuses on bringing down the dropout rate by enrolling rural girls in residential schools rather than by placing them in traditional public schools. Since its launch in 2004, the Government of India established 2,578 KGBV schools in 27 states and union territories (UTs). Four implementation agencies manage the KGBV schools nationwide; namely, they are the SSA society, other government agencies, non-governmental organizations (NGOs), and the *Mahila Samakhya* (MS), an organization that promotes empowerment for women. These agencies have distinct understandings and management systems of the KGBV program. This study examines the policy implementation of the KGBV scheme managed and carried out by MS. Mahila Samakhya is the autonomous body of the Indian government, which aims at women's empowerment through education and self-help groups organized by village women called *Sanghas*. Through

Sanghas, women learn, form, and manage business projects using micro financing and try to be financially independent and empowered.

In this introductory chapter, I will first present the statement of purpose, research questions, and methodology and explain the significance of the study. Then, I will provide some operational definitions. Finally, the organization of the following chapters will be provided.

Statement of Purpose

The purpose of this study is to assess the KGBV's ability to furnish education opportunities for girls, empower them through programs at residential schools in the rural villages of UP, India, and to analyze implementations and meanings of the policy given by various policy actors. The findings from the field work captured the efforts and dedications of teachers, wardens, and staff members to sincerely improve the life of the girls and their families by empowering with education. Through KGBV, the girls learn, discover, and build confidence to be who they are and pursue their goals. Recommendations include orchestration with other government agencies to provide better care for the girls, expansion to accommodate them after the 8th grade, and establish better salaries for the teachers in residential schools.

Research Questions

Using interpretive policy analysis (Yanow 2000), this study examines two aspects of the girls' education program: the official policy and policy-

implementation. From the above statement of purpose, the following research questions have been developed;

1. Through what policies does the Indian government attempt to provide educational access to under-represented girls?
2. How have these policies been interpreted and implemented to provide educational opportunities and participation for under-represented girls?
3. How have teachers been recruited and trained to achieve educational equity for girls?
4. What are the conflicts between the policy and its implementation?

Methodology and Data Sources

To answer these research questions, I decided to conduct an interpretive policy analysis (Yanow, 2000). The analysis focuses on the way in which policy actors and relevant stakeholders interpret and implement the policy. Data sources for this study include policy documents, curriculum and teacher training materials, data collected from surveys with the current KGBV teachers, observations of school activities and events, and interviews with wardens, teachers and staff members at three KGBV schools located in rural villages of Uttar Pradesh, India.

Significance of Girls' Education

Girls' education brings various benefits not only to girls themselves, but also to their families, society, and the nation over generations. Girls' education, by raising the productivity, leads to increased income and promotes economic development (Schultz, 1998, 2002). First and foremost, promoting girls'

education ensures human rights. Secondly, women with more education have smaller, healthier, and better-educated families (Klasen, 1999). Girls' education is one of the most effective means to empower women in families, communities, and society as a whole (Sen, 2000). Educated women translate their knowledge into better health, hygiene, and nutritional practices, and thereby decrease the child mortality rate (Nagchoudhuri, 2005). Further, educated women tend to send their own children to school (Filmer, 2000).

Significance of the Study

This study is significant in several ways. First, it points out some limitations of the "education as human rights" perspective and emphasizes the importance of empowerment and self help along with ensuring human rights. Second, using the empowerment measure it examines the effectiveness of the MS's management strategies in terms of achieving the goals and objectives given by the policy scheme. Third, this study demonstrates and investigates the way in which social and cultural contexts interact with each other and create friction through the processes of policy implementation.

Although state and local governments are expanding their roles in ensuring girls' education, the empirical studies that analyze the effectiveness of government policy schemes and implementation of girls' education and empowerment using qualitative methods are scarce (Arnot & Fennell, 2007). Considering that there are more than 21 million out-of-school children, of which at least 11 million are girls (Huebler, 2007), it is important to document and

analyze the approaches and processes to improve girls' education in traditionally patriarchal societies. This study explores how the implementation agency understands and interprets the policy scheme developed by the government, and how they appropriate and implement it on the field level taking three KGBV schools as cases for examination.

This study is timed appropriately as well. Prompted by the agreement of achieving Millennium Development Goals, which includes providing universal primary education, and eliminating gender disparity in primary and secondary education, in 2000 the Indian Government launched a series of policy schemes and initiatives focused on girls' education. Among the variety of policies, KGBV conducts an effective approach to the girls' education in rural villages by setting up residential schools. The effectiveness of KGBV is supported by the fact that the Government ultimately decided to establish 2,578 schools as opposed to 750 schools envisaged at the outset of the policy implementation in 2004. Despite the perceived effectiveness and success of the policy, there is a limited number of studies and research on it. Given the nature of residential schools, especially in rural settings, it is important to document and analyze the policy and its implementation by MS for the further expansion of similar policies and to provide meaningful and quality education for marginalized girls.

Operational Definitions

This section presents the operational definitions of key terms used throughout this dissertation study. The detailed discussions on each concept will be provided in Chapter 3.

Educationally Backward Blocks (EBBs): blocks where the level of rural female literacy is less than the national average and the gender gap is above the national average.

Recognized/Unrecognized School: A recognized school follows the courses of study and curriculum approved by the Government, University, or a Board of Education. An unrecognized school is running regular classes without recognition of previous mentioned authorities (NCERT, 2003b).

School Stages: In India, school stages vary in each state. In UP, Classes 1 through 8 are considered primary stage, serving children between the ages of 6 and 14. Classes 6 through 8 constitute the upper primary stage, serving those between the ages 11 and 14. Classes 9 through 12 constitute the secondary stage of education. (NCERT, 2003b)

Scheduled Castes/Tribes (SCs/STs): These were the groups in India who were previously called “untouchables” who were socially discriminated against. Recently recognized by the Indian Constitutions, these groups are now eligible for benefits in public employment, education, and various social services to redress their social and economic disadvantages.

Organization

In Chapter 2, I will provide the general background and situational analysis of the Indian education system for girls, especially those living in the rural areas of India and UP. In Chapter 3, I will describe the theoretical framework of the interpretive policy analysis, human rights, and empowerment perspectives that drive the data collection and analysis of this study. In Chapter 4, I will discuss the methodology of the study including site selection, data collection, and analysis. Chapters 5 and 6 present the findings. In Chapter 7, the conclusion, I discuss the implications from the findings.

Chapter 2

SITUATIONAL ANALYSIS

India has been making remarkable economic stride since the 1980s. Education indicators such as literacy rates and GER in both primary and secondary stages have also shown substantial improvement. However, there are issues that keep educationally disadvantaged girls living in rural villages uneducated. In this chapter, I provide the general backgrounds of India, UP, and the Varanasi and Chandauli districts, where the three KGBV schools in this study are located. I then present recent statistics to demonstrate the improvement in the education indicators and analyze four outstanding issues in regard to the educational access for the educationally disadvantaged girls in the area. Finally, I will present the Indian government's schemes that address the gender imbalances in education in answering research question 1. The goal of this chapter is to identify the mechanism in which rural girls are being placed in educationally disadvantaged positions and to explore the education policy to tackle the gender-issue.

Data Sources and Their Characteristics

In this section, I briefly describe the characteristics of data sources used throughout this chapter.

The All India Educational Survey (AIES)

The 7th All India Educational Survey (AIES) conducted by the National Council of Educational Research and Training (NCERT) under the Ministry of

Human Resource Development (MHRD), Government of India, collected nationwide information regarding school education (NCERT, 2003a). This survey is utilized to plan and manage national and regional educational development and to monitor the progress of government schemes. It provides detailed information about the number of school facilities and their availability, enrollment of teachers and students disaggregated by Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes (SC/ST), and gender and other social categorizations. It covers information in unrecognized schools, pre-elementary schools, alternative schools, special schools¹, and schools for children with disabilities. A limitation of AIES is that it does not provide the net enrollment rate (NER), which makes it difficult to estimate the number of out-of-school children in certain age groups. Another limitation is that the AIES was undertaken on an irregular basis. The first AIES was conducted in 1957. Thereafter, NCERT carried out six more surveys in 1965, 1973, 1978, 1986, 1993, and in 2002 (NCERT, 2003a).

UNESCO Institute of Statistics (UIS)

Covering more than 200 countries and territories, the UIS provides the most comprehensive education database in the world (UIS, 2002). Using data that is updated twice a year, the UIS monitors the progress towards Education for All (EFA) and education related indicators of Millennium Development Goals (MDGs). It covers all education levels from primary school to tertiary education and offers a variety of categories like gender, teachers, and budget. The UIS

¹ Special schools include *Sanskrit Pathshalas* (Sanskrit education), *Madrasas* (Islamic school of elementary to higher education) and *Maktabs* (Islamic school of elementary and secondary level). NCERT (2003b) refers these types of schools as “Oriental Schools.”

statistics are useful for making cross national comparison as it is standardized by International Standard Classification of Education (ISCED). Although it provides longitudinal and comprehensive data, it has some limitations. Despite the presence of longitudinal data, the UIS fails to present data for some years, which restricts temporal analyses. The UIS statistics also do not provide NER. Since the UIS aims at a worldwide comparison, it also does not provide disaggregated data on social groups within each country.

The Below Poverty Line (BPL) Survey 2002

The BPL survey is organized and conducted by the National Advisory Council in the Department of Rural Development every five years in order to identify BPL families living in rural areas (Tiwari, 2010). Based on the understanding of the scope of the BPL households from this survey, the government develops policy schemes that directly target this population to alleviate poverty and include them as productive members of society (Hirway, 2003; Tiwari, 2010). It determines whether or not a household is BPL using a chart to assess and score one's living standards. The chart includes 13 categories such as land owned, food security, hygiene, and education of the family members including children. If households score less than 14 points out of 52 maximum points, they are placed on the list of BPL (Singh, 2009). Regarding this scoring methodology, Sundaram (2003) doubts the scores and data from this survey are useful for implementing the anti-poverty programs that the government envisioned. For example, the chart does

not include any questions regarding the household income, which brings out the controversy whether this survey is actually meant to identify BPL households.

Census 2001

The Indian Census is “the most credible source of information” (India, Office of the Registrar General & Census Commissioner [ORGCC], 2011) on national demography, household, economic activity, and literacy and education. Since 1872, it has offered useful information about Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes, language, religion, and many other socio-cultural data. The census is utilized for identifying the progress of economic and social indicators, formulation of policies for central and state governments, and monitoring the current policy schemes. The strength of the national census is that it provides the primary data at village, town, and ward level. Although the Indian Census 2011 is underway, it is not yet available for the public; therefore, I will use data from the Census 2001 in this study.

General Backgrounds

Background of India

India is the world’s second most populous country with over one billion people and a growth rate of 1.6% per year (India, 2001). India has 28 states and seven Union Territories, which are generally divided based on the linguistic groups (King, 1997). The Indian Constitution lists 22 languages as the scheduled languages; however, several research studies demonstrate that there are several hundred languages in India (Pattanayak, 1990; UNESCO Bangkok, 2007a).

About 71.0% of the national population resides in rural villages (India, 2001). The sex ratio is 933 females per thousand males, which is relatively low worldwide (India, 2001: UN Population Division). In terms of religions, approximately 80.0% of the population is Hindu, 13.4% are Muslim, while less than 3.0% are Christians, Sikhs, and Buddhists (India, 2001). Approximately 16.2% of the population is categorized as Scheduled Caste (SC) and 8.2% as Scheduled Tribe (ST). According to the UIS (2008a), 80.0% of the total population lived on less than \$2.00 per day in 2004.

Table 2.1. *Demographic Information—India, UP, Varanasi, Chandauli*

	Population	Sex ratio	SC	ST	Rural	Population below poverty line
India	1.17 billion	933	16.2%	8.2%	71.0%	26.1%
UP	166 million	898	21.1%	0.1%	79.3%	31.2%
Varanasi	3.1 million	908	13.9%	N/A	59.8%	24.2%
Chandauli	1.6 million	922	18.0%	0.2%	89.4%	43.1%

Source: India (2001), UIS (2010), India (2002).

Backgrounds of the State of Uttar Pradesh (UP)

The state of UP is located in the northern part of India, sharing the border with Nepal (Figure 2.1.). With a population of more than 166 million, UP is the most populous state in India. With the holy Hindu cities of Varanasi and *Taj Mahal* in Agra, the state of UP is one of the main tourist destinations for both domestic and international travelers. The BPL survey estimates that 79.3% of the state's population resides in rural areas and 73.0% engages in agriculture (IBEF,

2007). The World Bank estimates that almost 80.0% of the state's population is BPL, housing approximately 20.0% of the national BPL population (*Times of India*, 2006). The ratio of the BPL population in UP is 5.1 points higher than the national average (India, 2002).

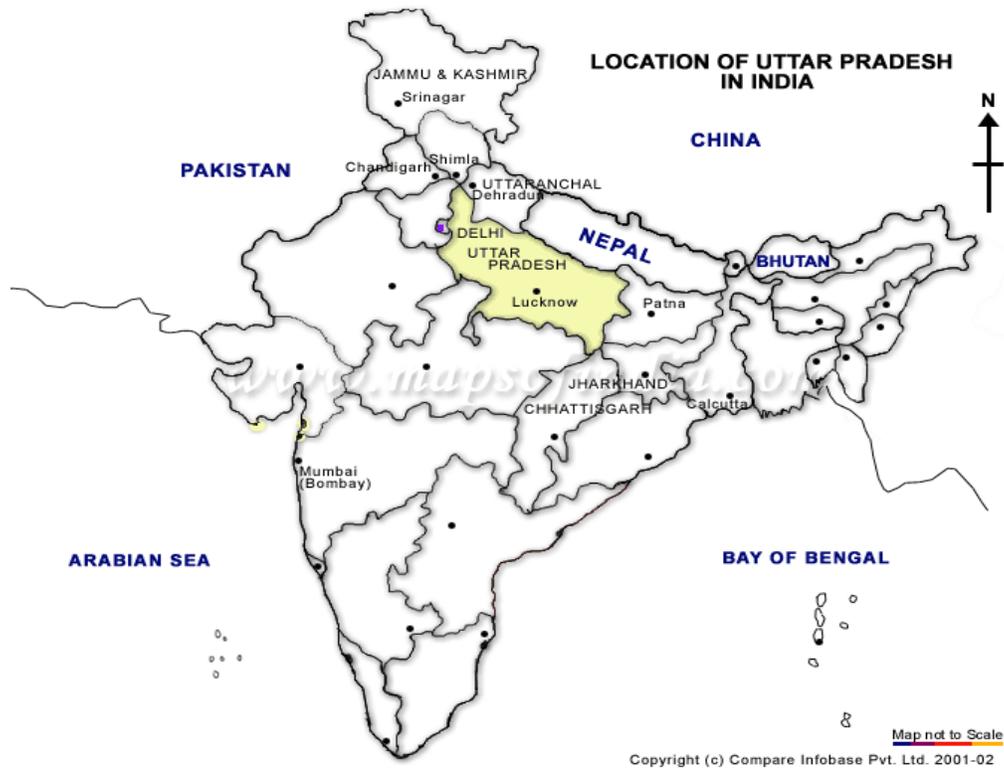


Figure 2.1. Map of India
Source: Map of India (2010)

UP houses approximately 35 million SC population, constituting 21.1% of total population of the state (India, 2001). UP has the largest number of SC population among all the states and UTs. With a total of 66 SC groups in India, ,

87.7% of them reside in rural areas of UP (India, 2001). The ST group consists of 0.1% of the state's total population (India, 2001). In UP, 85.1% of the population speaks Hindi as their native tongue, 12.9% speaks Urdu, and less than 1.0% speaks Punjabi and Bengali (NCERT, 2003b).

Backgrounds of the Varanasi and Chandauli Districts

The Varanasi and Chandauli districts are located next to each other in the eastern part of the state (Figure 2.2.).

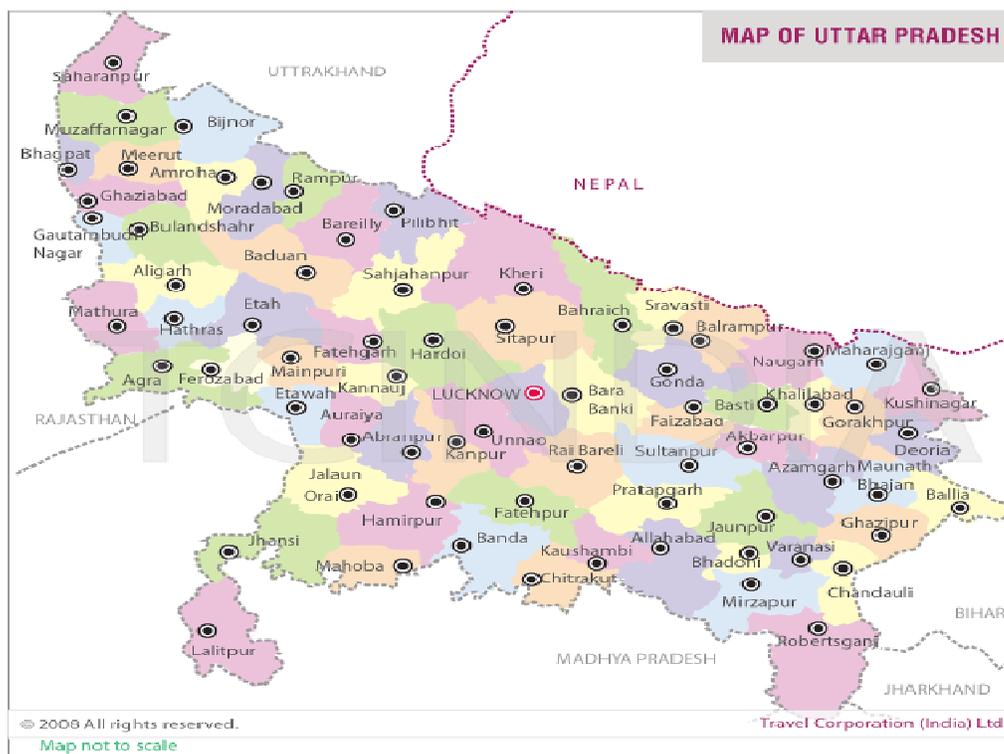


Figure 2.2. Map of Uttar Pradesh
Source: TCI (2008)

The Chandauli district was previously a part of the Varanasi district until 1997 (India, 2010a). The east side of the Chandauli district is bounded by the state of

Bihar, one of the most economically and educationally challenged states. As the important sites for Hindu pilgrimages as well as for Buddhists, Varanasi developed as an international city of tourism. In the Varanasi district, fewer people (i.e. 59.8%) reside in the rural area than in the Chandauli district (i.e., 89.4%) and throughout the state in general (i.e. 79.3%) (India, 2001). Varanasi consists of 10 blocks while Chandauli has 9 blocks. Varanasi and Chandauli have 6 (out of 10 blocks) and 8 (out of 9 blocks) Educationally Backward Blocks (EBBs), respectively. Due to development of the tourism centers, the Varanasi district has the widest commercial areas. In terms of economic status, 24.2% of the population in Varanasi lives below the poverty line while the Chandauli district has almost double this rate with 43.1% under the poverty line (India, 2002). In these areas, the local dialect of *Bhojpuri* is spoken along with Hindi and Urdu. The Bhojpuri ethnic homeland is divided between Nepal in the north, Bihar in the east, and UP in the west.

Table 2.2. *Number of Blocks, Schools, GER and NER- Varanasi, Chandauli*

	Varanasi	Chandauli
No. of Blocks	10	9
No. of Schools	1861	1558
GER (Classes 6–8)	45.8	165.4
NER (Classes 6–8)	38.5	100.0

Source: NUEPA (2009)

Education Improvements

As referenced above, India has achieved great improvements on various educational indicators in the past three decades. In terms of literacy rates, both adult and youth rates dramatically increased at the national and state levels (Table

2.3.). In India overall, the adult literacy rate (i.e., ages 15 and older) in 2008 was 61.9%, which was a considerable increase of 21.1 points from 40.8% in 1981 (UIS, 2008a). The youth literacy rate (i.e., ages 15 to 24) increased 25.5 points from 1981 to 2008 (UIS, 2008a). As far as female literacy rates are concerned, both adult and youth rates skyrocketed 25.2 points and 33.0 points, respectively.

Table 2.3. *Adult and Youth Literacy Rates between 1981 and 2008–India*

Literacy Rates		1981	1991	2001	2008
Adult (15+) %	MF	40.8	48.2	61.0	61.9
	Male	54.8	61.6	73.4	73.2
	Female	25.7	33.7	47.8	50.9
Youth (15– 24) %	MF	53.8	61.9	76.4	79.3
	Male	66.3	73.5	84.2	85.7
	Female	40.3	49.3	67.7	73.3

Source: UIS (2010).

Similar to the national literacy rates, the state of UP has also made remarkable progress on literacy rates. In UP, the literacy rate has increased 16.7 points since 1991. The male and female literacy rates also gained 15.4 points and 18.4 points, respectively. The increases of each category are greater than the ones at the national level. Also, the gender gaps narrowed slightly.

Table 2.4. *Literacy Rates and Gender between 1991 and 2001 –India and UP*

Literacy Rates	India			UP		
	1991	2001	+/-	1991	2001	+/-
MF	52.2	65.4	+13.2	40.7	57.4	+16.7
Male	64.2	75.9	+11.7	54.8	70.2	+15.4
Female	39.3	54.2	+14.9	24.6	43.0	+18.4
Gender gap	24.9	21.7	-3.2	30.2	27.2	-3.0

Source: Census 1991, 2001

Corresponding to the literacy rates, school enrollment rates also substantially improved. In the 30 years between 1975 and 2005, primary school

GER improved 30.4 points achieving 112.3% at the national level (UIS, 2008a).

In the same period, secondary school GER increased 25.0 points; however, it is worth mentioning that yet only 54.1% total were enrolled in the secondary schools (UIS, 2008a).

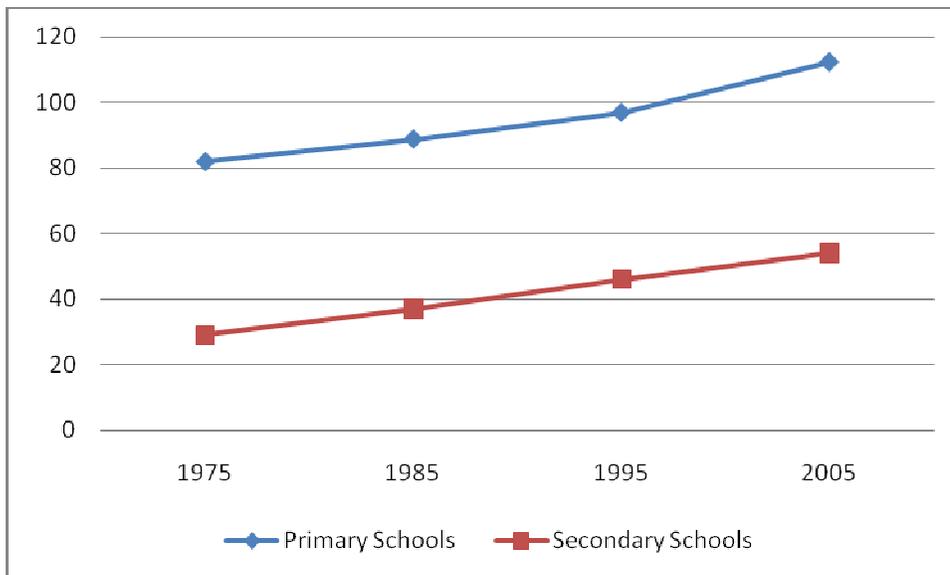


Figure 2.3. Primary and Secondary School Gross Enrollment Rate (GER) - India
Source: UIS (2008a)

Partly as a result of the GER, the primary school completion rate more than doubled from 39.0% in 1970 to 85.0% in 2005 (UIS, 2008a). The primary school completion rate for girls tripled during the 35 years from 1970 to 2005 (UIS, 2008a).

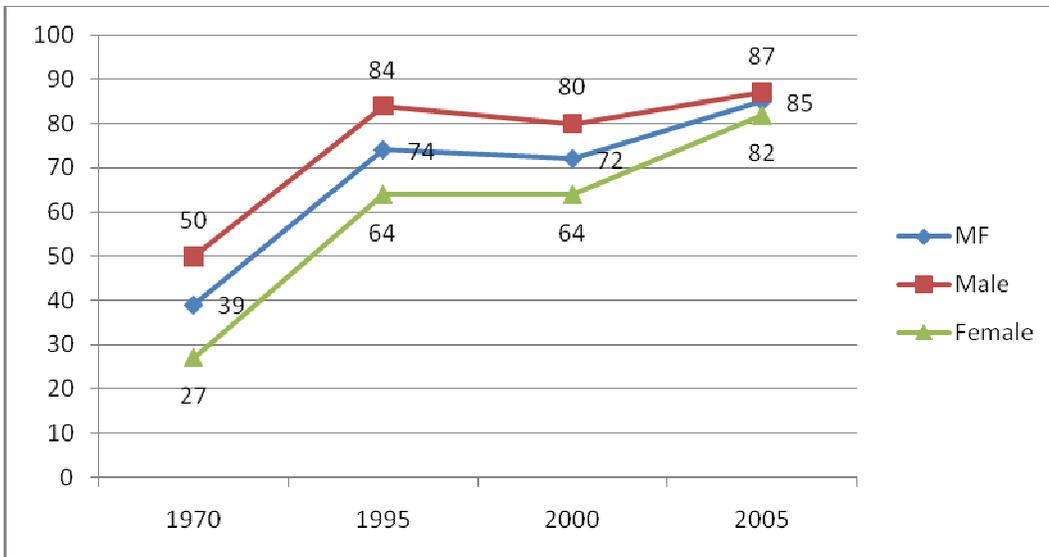


Figure 2.4. Primary School Completion Rate – India

Source: UIS (2008a)

Note: the data between 1970 and 1994 were not available.

Pupil Teacher Ratio (PTR) is often used to evaluate the quality of education, because the lower the PTR, the fewer students there are in a classroom per a teacher. In such classrooms, teachers can pay closer attention to each student. Therefore, it is generally accepted that a school provides better education when PTR is lower. However, according to UIS (2008a), PTR increased as the GER increased, reflecting the rapid increase in school enrollment due to recent efforts. The provisions for teacher assignments, recruitment, training, and supply of teachers did not catch up with the dramatic improvement of students' enrollment.

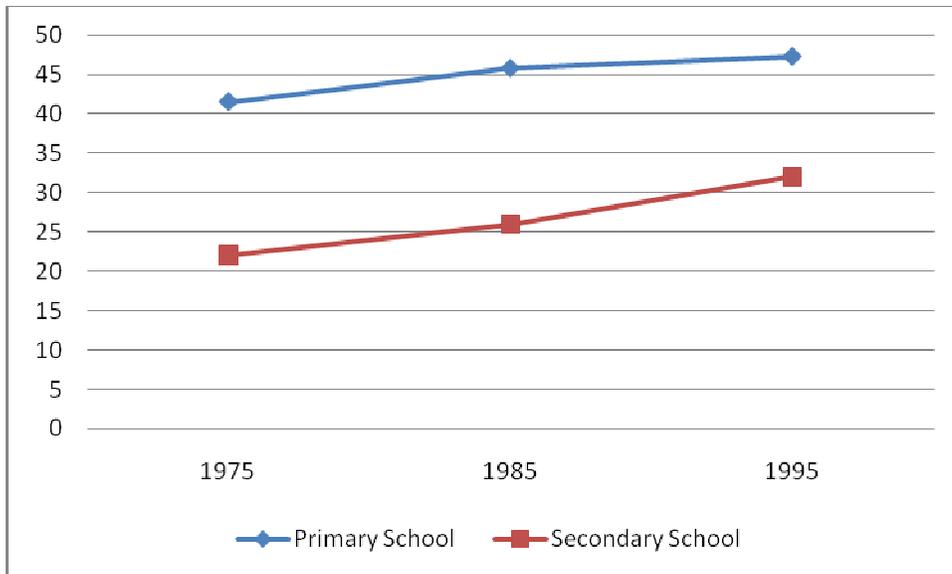


Figure 2.5. Pupil Teacher Ratio (PTR) between 1975 - 2005 - India
 Source: UIS (2008a)
 Note: PTR in 2005 was not available.

Four Outstanding Issues

The achievements in education indicators during recent years are truly remarkable. However, India must address these complex issues in the field of education in order to achieve Universal Primary Education (UPE) and provide quality education to marginalized girls living in rural villages. In this section, I will demonstrate four outstanding issues that India faces.

Issue 1: Unreliable Data

Kingdon (2005) and a number of other researchers evoke skepticism toward the national data on educational indicators. First, Kingdon (1996a, 2005) points out that the official education data is only collected from the “recognized schools,” which meet several criteria by law and are recognized by governments

for their curriculum, teacher qualifications, infrastructure, and other characteristics For example, in UP,

in order to gain government recognition, a school must be a registered society, have an owned rather than a rented building, employ only trained teachers, pay salaries to staff according to government prescribed norms, have classrooms of a specified minimum size and charge only government-set fee rates. It must also instruct in the official language of the state and deposit a sum of money in the endowment and reserve funds of the education department (Kingdon, 2005, 3).

In recent years, the number of unrecognized private schools has been increasing because these schools do not need to comply with a number of constraints of the government recognition (Kingdon, 2005). According to three studies collecting data of unrecognized private schools in India, between 41.0% and 86.0% of private primary schools were unrecognized (Kingdon, 2005). In UP alone, 24.8% of the students attend recognized private primary schools while 10.0% go to unrecognized schools (Aggarwal, 2000). These data demonstrate that the data regarding children who enroll in unrecognized private schools are likely to be disregarded from the official education statistics.

The second reason official education statistics are unreliable is that the data collections do not cover all recognized schools (Kingdon, 2005; Mehta, 2005). The schools such as Central schools and Arm schools are not entirely covered in the national statistics (Kingdon, 2005). Also, there are no requirements for schools to register for the national survey (Kingdon, 2005). The participation in the surveys is optional, and many schools decide not to participate due to administrative and logistical challenges.

Third, the data on enrollment in recognized schools are unreliable “because failing/unpopular publicly funded schools exaggerate their student numbers in order to justify their existence” (Drèze & Kingdon, 2001 as cited in Kingdon, 2005, 1). Comparing the government statistics and school mapping conducted by local personnel, Bordia (2000) found that the actual rate of girls participating in primary schools was roughly half of what the government claimed in 4,000 villages in the state of Rajasthan. Bordia (2000) points out the reason for the gap in the numbers is that the school mapping was carried out by trained local personnel who went house to house as part of an awareness campaign to improve gender equality in education. School mapping combined with the awareness campaign is a more time-consuming and labor-intensive approach; however, it produces more accurate data as well as educates the parents for improvement in girls’ participation in primary schools.

Issue 2: Gender Gap

There are still issues in educational equity in India despite remarkable achievements. Responding to educational development at the national level, the state of UP increased its overall literacy rates. The decadal development of the literacy rate from 1991 to 2001 is 16.7 points with the increase of the female literacy rate of 18.4 points (Table 2.5.). Although, the overall increase of the literacy rates is prominent, the following research focuses on disaggregated data to explore the education status for different social or gender groups.

First, the gender gap is not yet addressed. According to the data in Table 2.5, male and female literacy rates increased 15.4 points and 18.4 points, respectively; however, there are considerable gender gaps in literacy at national and state levels. Especially in UP, the gender gap remains 27.2 points, which is 5.5 points wider than the national average. The gender gaps are slightly narrowed in the decade from 1991 to 2001 but remain significant.

Table 2.5. *Literacy Rates and Gender between 1991 and 2001 –India and UP*

Literacy Rates	India			UP		
	1991	2001	+/-	1991	2001	+/-
MF	52.2	65.4	+13.2	40.7	57.4	+16.7
Male	64.2	75.9	+11.7	54.8	70.2	+15.4
Female	39.3	54.2	+14.9	24.6	43.0	+18.4
Gender gap	24.9	21.7	-3.2	30.2	27.2	-3.0

Source: India Census 1991, 2001

There are even greater gender gaps at the district levels (Table 2.6.). Although the Chandauli district improved their literacy rate 16.3 points since 1991, it still has more than a 30-point gap between females and males. When it comes to the Varanasi district, the gender gap widens from 31.7% to 35.1% from 1991 to 2001. On one hand, it is derived from the big jump in the male literacy rate. On the other, the female literacy rate is not improving as quickly as the male rate, which requires a close examination.

Table 2.6. *Literacy Rates and Gender between 1991 and 2001 –The Varanasi and Chandauli Districts*

Literacy Rates	Varanasi			Chandauli		
	1991	2001	+/-	1991	2001	+/-
MF	51.9	67.1	+15.2	44.8	61.1	+16.3
Male	66.7	83.7	+17.0	61.4	75.6	+14.2
Female	35.0	48.6	+13.6	26.3	45.5	+19.2

Gender gap	31.7	35.1	N/A	35.1	30.1	N/A
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Source: India Census 2001

Looking at GER in India and UP (Table 2.7.), the GER in Classes 1–5 for males and females is quite high (i.e., higher than 90.0%). Furthermore, gender gaps in Classes 1–5 in India and UP are minimal, 5.0 and 4.0 points, respectively. In the upper primary levels of Classes 6–8, UP greatly lags behind the national average scoring 48.6%, which is 13.8 points lower than India overall. In addition, the gender gaps double from Classes 1–5 to Classes 6–8 at both of the national and state levels.

Table 2.7. *Gross Enrolment Ratio Classes 1–5 (6–11 years), 6–8 (11–14 years) – India, UP*

GER	India	UP	India	UP
Class	Classes 1–5		Classes 6–8	
MF	98.20	94.75	62.40	48.64
Male	100.63	96.69	66.76	53.61
Female	95.58	92.58	57.62	42.97
Gender gap	5.05	4.11	9.14	10.64

Source: India (2005)

The high percentage of the GER is encouraging; however, the dropout ratios highlight different pictures. Overall, the dropout ratio of UP is lower than the national average in both lower and upper primary levels. It is interesting that the dropout rates for girls are slightly lower than those for boys for the lower primary level both in India and UP. The low dropout rate for girls could be potentially explained by assuming that girls do not leave schools easily once they decide to go. Lower dropout rates for girls may also suggest that the schools are gradually improving their efficacy and teaching quality for girls. Yet it is important to point out that about 40.0% of students in Classes 6–8 drop out of the

schools without completing their education. For girls living in rural areas, KGBV schools offer boarding for Classes 6–8, which seems to be effective when considering the high dropout ratio in other school venues.

Table 2.8. *Dropout Ratio Classes 1–5 (6–11 years), 6–8 (11–14 years) – India, UP*

Dropout Ratio	India	UP	India	UP
Class	Classes 1–5		Classes 6–8	
MF	31.36	13.51	52.22	42.22
Male	33.66	23.03	51.74	44.96
Female	28.44	3.99	52.84	39.48
Gender gap	-5.22	-19.04	1.10	-5.48

Source: India (2005)

What are some of the causes of these large gender gaps in India's education indicators? In the case of girls, parents' attitudes toward girls' education and their understanding about the relevance of education to their daughters' lives determines their decisions relating to girls' enrollment and attendance. Especially in rural areas, parents tend to have negative attitudes about having their girls continue school after the twelfth grade (Barawal, 2004; Chawla, 2002). The perception that education will disadvantage girls in finding a suitable groom often prevents parents from sending their daughters to school (Chawla, 2002; LaDousa, 2007). Also, uneducated parents tend to avoid sending their daughters to school, but they encourage their sons to attend due to their patriarchal traditions. These parents often fail to provide clear pictures for their daughters' future other than becoming housewives and mothers as their own mothers and grandmothers did. In rural villages in the Varanasi and Chandauli districts, it is the norm for the girls to stay home, engage in domestic work, take

care of family members, and become good mothers, which does not require high levels of education (World Bank, 1997). Because domesticity has been the only option for girls for generations, this tradition prevents parents from allowing their girls to pursue their education.

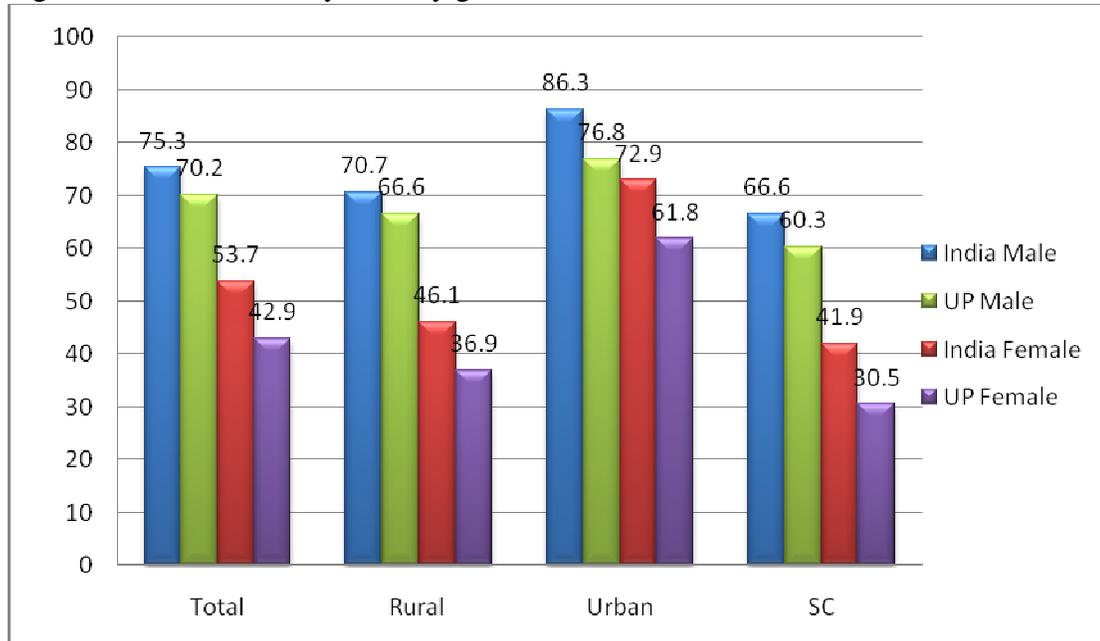
To encourage parents to send their children to school, there are several programs that provide incentives for the deprived groups such as mid-day meals, free textbooks and uniforms, and attendance scholarships. These government provisions for education often favor boys over girls with rare exceptions. For example, fewer girls than boys are awarded scholarships (Chanana, 2003). This is the case for both government and private schools. Although the funds are budgeted from the central or state government or a combination of both, the governments have authority to determine the number of beneficiaries and the amounts. In addition to the government's decisions of unequal distribution of the grants, households often spend less on education for girls than for boys (Chanana, 2003). Therefore, girls are often disadvantaged both in educational institutions and in households.

Issue 3: Intersections between Gender, Rural/Urban and SC

Another issue that hinders India's educational equity for boys and girls is the complexity of various social groups. India is facing educational disparities not only between genders but also among geographical areas (i.e., rural and urban) and social groups such as castes. Figure 2.6. demonstrates the regional gaps in literacy rates. The literacy rates in UP are consistently lower than the

national average in all categories. The overall literacy in UP is 7.4 points lower than the overall rate in India.

Figure 2.6. Adult Literacy rates by gender, Rural/Urban, SC – UP and India



Source: India Census 2001

Rural/urban gaps. Figure 2.6. shows the literacy rates by gender, rural vs. urban, and SC in UP and India overall. Comparing rural and urban literacy rates, rural populations score considerably lower than urban populations in both India and UP. Nationally, rural males and females score considerably lower than their urban counterparts —15.6 and 26.8 points respectively. These rural and urban gaps stem from circumstances in which urban populations generally have better access to schools in terms of physical locality and quality of education (India, 2005), whereas families in rural areas lack access to quality schools with strong, physical infrastructure and teacher-availability (Jhingran & Sankar, 2007).

Caste gaps. As the state of UP has the highest SC population of all the states and UTs in India, the status of SC populations in education sheds light on the plight of educationally disadvantaged girls from SC households. The literacy rate of the SC population increased 20.1 points from 26.2% in 1991 to 46.3% in 2001; however, there is still a great disparity between non-SC populations and SC population. This section will point out the education status of the SC population in UP.

A total of 66 SC-groups live in UP, and 87.7% of them reside in rural areas (India, 2001). In spite of affirmative legislation and action for SCs, STs, and other backward castes (OBC), the lower margins of literacy rates, educational attainments, and socio-economic status often coincide with the caste categorizations (Chanana, 2003). Although untouchability was banned by Article 17 of the Indian Constitution in 1950, the former untouchable castes called *Dalits*² are still widely mistreated by other castes (Kazmi, 2010). In school contexts, for example, Dalit children are asked to sit separately from other students during the lunch time in 37.8% of schools (Kazmi, 2010). In UP, there are reports that Dalit students are not allowed to use the common water facility, they are banned from entering the kitchen (as other castes believe that what a Dalit prepares is contaminated), they are physically and verbally abused, and asked to clean and sweep, which are activities that teachers or students from other castes never engage in (Awasthi, 2007). Mistreatment and discrimination in schools often discourages the lower-caste students to continue schooling.

² *Dalit* is one of the SCs.

These accounts have some association with education indicators such as the literacy rates and school enrollment. Looking at Figure 2.6., it is clear that SC's literacy rates are lower than the average score for counterparts in higher castes regardless of location or gender. The average literacy rate in the state of UP is 7.4 points lower than the national average. Furthermore, the SC's literacy rate in UP is an additional 11.1 points lower than the state's average. The surprising fact is that 38.0% of SC-literates in India have not completed primary education, and only 27.0% have attained a primary level education (India, 2001). This seems to imply that the level of literacy of SC-population is minimal even though they are considered literate.

The literacy rate of SC-females in UP is the lowest within this categorization. As seen in Figure 2.6., it is 11.4 points lower than that of SC-females in India overall. These scores demonstrate the societal indifference towards the passive and subordinate status of women as well as the view that literacy for girls is unnecessary. Looking at the data in UP, the gap between the urban female and the SC-female is an astonishing 31.3 points. This figure testifies to the educational disadvantages of females living in UP, especially in rural areas. The gender gap continues to be substantial in this measure as well.

Tables 2.9. –2.10. compare the GER and dropout ratios of the SC-population in India and UP. It is clear that the GER of SCs in UP are substantially lower than the national average. In these tables, the gender gaps in UP are much wider than India overall both in Classes 1–5 and Classes 6–8. The

gender gaps of GER are 2.6 times greater in Classes 1–5 and 2.1 times wider in Classes 6–8 than the national gender gaps. Similarly, overall dropout rates are higher in UP than in India. Female SC-students in Classes 1–5, in UP, experience a dropout rate of 20.2% higher than their national counterparts. While the gender gaps in the dropout ratio in India is a single digit, those in UP score double digits, which demonstrates the greater gender gaps that SC-students in UP are struggling against. These tables reflect the disadvantaged educational status of girls belonging to SC-households.

Table 2.9. *Gross Enrolment Ratio of SC-Classses 1–5 (6–11 years), 6–8 (11–14 years)–India, UP*

GER	India	UP	India	UP
Class	Classes 1–5		Classes 6–8	
MF	88.30	69.25	71.86	41.53
Male	93.12	81.74	79.39	56.98
Female	83.00	55.02	63.35	23.88
Gender gap	10.12	26.72	16.04	33.1

Source: India 2005

Table 2.10. *Dropout Ratio SC-Classses 1–5 (6–11 years), 6–8 (11–14 years)–India, UP*

Dropout Ratio	India	UP	India	UP
Class	Classes 1–6		Classes 6–8	
MF	36.56	49.84	59.42	67.96
Male	36.83	45.69	57.33	63.46
Female	36.19	56.40	62.19	75.45
Gender gap	0.64	10.71	4.86	11.99

Source: India 2005

Issue 4: Hierarchy of School System

The Indian Constitution has the provision that all children between the ages of 6 and 14 have access to compulsory education free of charge; however, there are hierarchical educational structures set in place to meet the specific needs

of students from certain groups in society. The formal educational institutions in India are divided into three groups; 1) central schools, 2) private schools, and 3) government schools. This hierarchical structure functions to channel students from different social groups into the system so that they are educated appropriately (Ramachandran, 2004). The top tiers of the school system are occupied by central schools and private schools, which are for the children of higher-caste families. The typical medium of instruction varies among governmental schools where lower-caste children attend. Within the central schools, however, the Central Board standardizes the curriculum. In this section, I will describe the characteristics of each school system and the target group of this study.

Central schools. Administered by the Central Board of School Education (Central Board), the Government of India's central schools — also known as *Kendriya Vidyalaya* —serve children of federal employees and members of the armed forces. Since the parents of the students in the central schools are assigned to relocate to different states every few years (Annamalai, 1998, 2005; Kingdon, 2005); the Central Board determines a uniform curriculum and medium of instruction throughout the country in order to cater to the needs of these students, in particular, and teach them in a coherent manner (Annamalai, 1998). Along with the central schools, the private schools also “cater to the influential urban middle and upper classes that produce the decision and opinion-makers of the country” (Annamalai, 2006, 26).

Private schools. Generally, private schools³ are run and managed by private institutions without government funding; therefore, their revenues are solely from tuition fees (Kingdon, 2005). They do not need to follow government standards related to teacher recruitment, teacher salary, medium of instruction, or curriculum (Kingdon, 2005). Because the government has a policy of non-interference, many private schools charge high tuition and provide English instruction.

In India, 10.0% of primary schools, 20.0% of upper primary schools, and 60.0% of secondary schools are private⁴ (Mitchel & Salsbury, 1996). In the UP in particular, a higher percentage of students attend private primary schools. In UP, 39.9% attend private, lower-primary schools, while 32.5% attend private, higher-primary schools (NCERT, 1992). Since the tuition fees of unaided private schools are quite expensive, the students in private schools are exclusively from the middle and upper classes (LaDousa, 2007).

Government schools. Government schools are run and funded by the State or District Boards of School Education. As the Indian Constitution provides, government schools are free of tuition fees. Although English is used for the medium of instruction at the upper, primary schools, “English is taught badly” (LaDousa, 2007, 927) in government schools. If they can afford it, many middle-class parents send their children to fee-charging private schools, because private

³ It is important to clarify two distinct kinds of private schools in India; (1) aided private schools, and (2) unaided private schools (Kingdon, 1996b). Despite the status of private schools, aided private schools are almost entirely funded by government (Kingdon, 2005). Private school in this text refer to unaided private schools.

⁴ The authors did not specify which types of private schools they are.

schools provide a higher quality education than government schools in many cases, including English as a medium of instruction (LaDousa, 2007). In reality, only those children whose families cannot afford private schools go to government schools. Therefore, government schools “belong to the extremely disadvantaged communities that cannot give their children the perceived advantage of English-medium schooling” (Chakravarty, 2001, 63). Government schools also do not prepare students for the national standardized examination, which is considered the critical factor for entering higher educational institutions. Therefore, students of government schools are less likely to be admitted to high schools, colleges, and universities.

Girls living in rural areas, especially those from SC-communities often have a double or triple disadvantage in educational opportunity and access. There are multiple cultural variables that keep educationally disadvantaged girls away from schools. First, textbooks and curriculum reinforce traditional gender roles in which males are the king of the family, and they are often depicted as doctors, engineers, and professors in textbooks while females are presented as housewives, mothers, nurses, and teachers (Pandey, 2006). These prevailing gender images and roles lead to parents’ uneducated perceptions of unimportance or irrelevance of girls’ education. According to the United Nations Population Fund (UNFPA) (2005), approximately 50.0% of Indian females get married by the age of 18. Many parents value finding a future groom much higher than providing an education for their daughters (LaDousa, 2007).

The quality of government schools, lack of female teachers, or positive role models also keeps these rural girls from pursuing their educations. In the Chandauli district, for instance, Teacher Pupil Ratio (TPR) is almost 60:1 in both primary and upper, primary schools (NUEPA, 2009). In such an environment, students cannot expect the individual attention that they need throughout their course of study. In the upper, primary levels, only 17.6% of teachers in the Chandauli district and 27.1% in the Varanasi district are female (NUEPA, 2009). In both districts, the lack of female teachers is apparent, and this fact is associated with the low attendance of female students. Furthermore, only 4.3% of the primary teachers of the SC are female in the Varanasi district (NUEPA, 2009). The intersection between gender and castes demonstrates the educational bias against SC-girls. The KGBV policy targets these educationally marginalized girls and attempt to address the issues these girls face by empowering them and their community.

India's Education Policy for Gender Equity and KGBV

This section discusses the backgrounds, goals, and strategies of India's UEE project called *Sarva Shiksha Abhiyan* with the special focus on the KGBV scheme. In this section, I answer research question 1: Through what policies does the Indian government attempt to provide educational access to under-represented girls?

India's Education for Gender Equity

The Indian Constitution ensures that compulsory education that is free of charges is provided to all children between the ages of 6 and 14. Although it was not achieved by the original target year of 1960, India continued to gear up education reforms for achieving UEE. One of the outstanding issues that hinders India's educational equality is "traditional gender imbalances in educational access and achievement" (Department of School Education and Literacy, 2011). Although Article 15 of the Indian Constitution states that there shall be no discrimination on the basis of caste, tribe, sex, race, or religion, gaps in access and achievement between various social groups remain substantial.

The National Policy on Education (NPE)

To redress the gender disparity in various education indicators, the National Policy on Education (NPE) in 1986 recognized the need for gender-sensitive approaches throughout the design of policy, curriculum, classroom practice, and administrations (Department of School Education and Literacy, 2011). The NPE maintains,

Education will be used as an agent of basic change in the status of women. In order to neutralize the accumulated distortions of the past, there will be a well-conceived edge in favor of women. The National Education System will play a positive, interventionist role in the empowerment of women. It will foster the development of new values through redesigned curricula, textbooks, the training and orientation of teachers, decision-makers and administrators, and the active involvement of educational institutions (India, 1986a).

The NPE appealed that the gender sensitive approach should be built into all programs and activities in the field of education (India, 1986b). Due to its

progressive view towards gender equity, the NPE established girls' education as the foremost priority of education policy in India. One of the goals established by the NPE is decentralized planning and management of elementary education. As a means to achieve decentralization, it encourages community involvement by forming Village Education Committees (VECs) for implementation and management of elementary schools (Department of School Education and Literacy, 2011). Accompanied by changes of political leadership, the NPE was revised in 1992; however, the section of the Education for Women's Equality remained intact, which shows India's commitment to addressing gender disparity in education (Bordia, 2000). Among the programs based on NPE, the *Mahila Samakhya* scheme developed by the central government had the most prominent achievements. I will discuss Mahila Samakhya in detail later in this chapter.

District Primary Education Program (DPEP)

Inspired by the progressive approach of the NPE in 1994, the District Primary Education Program (DPEP) overhauled the education system in India and moved toward achieving UEE. Employing a bottom-up approach and district-wide planning, the DPEP decentralized the management of the primary education system. In doing so, they also succeeded in taking a holistic sector-wide approach rather than an incoherent, piecemeal approach, which had been the norm until this project. Decentralized management and planning enabled local schools to accommodate the specific needs of their district and block contexts. One of the objectives of DPEP was to “reduce differences in enrolment, dropout rates, and

learning achievement among gender and social groups to less than 5%” (Department of School Education and Literacy, 2011). In 240 districts throughout 16 states, the DPEP developed and implemented gender sensitive pedagogical practices, teacher training, and instructional materials and activities (Kumar, Priyam, & Saxena, 2001; Wu, Goldschmidt, Boscardin & Azam, 2007). In UP, the evaluation report recorded a 23.0% increase in girls' enrolment in 2000–2001 through the enrollment campaign of the DPEP (India NPCMT, 2011). One of the simplest but most effective activities adopted in DPEP to maintain retention is the award of different colored cards for the students' monthly attendance (India NPCMT, 2011). For example, students with the best attendance received green, regular attendance received yellow, and low attendance received red. This strategy motivated children to attend every class to get the green award.

Sarva Shiksha Abhiyan (SSA)

To continue the efforts of the DPEP, the Indian government decided to scale up the DPEPs by building on the same approaches of decentralization, bottom-up planning, and comprehensive sector-wide programs (Jhingran & Sankar, 2007). The nation-wide program, *Sarva Shiksha Abhiyan (SSA)*, for Education for All aimed “to provide useful and relevant elementary education for all children in the 6 to 14 age group by 2010” (MHRD, 2008b). Another equally significant goal was “to bridge social, regional, and gender gaps with the active participation of the community in the management of schools” (MHRD, 2008b). It offered special attention to issues of gender and social equity as well as

inclusive education in addition to the previous focus of equality throughout diverse social groups. This commitment to education is the reflection of the 86th constitutional amendment, which made elementary education the fundamental right of every child (World Bank, 2007b).

Centrally sponsored, the SSA is a scheme in which 45.0% of the budget was borne by the central government, 30.0% by development partners including the World Bank and the European Commission, and 25.0% by state governments (World Bank, 2008a). The SSA accounted for approximately 51.0% of the total budget of the Department of Elementary Education and Literacy, which demonstrates India's commitment and persistence for UEE (MHRD, 2008b).

Although it is a national initiative, SSA considers the state and district governments and authorities as the key actors that develop, formulate, manage, and implement locally contextualized strategies (World Bank, 2008a). From this perspective, community participation is the essential component of the SSA framework. The SSA funding prepares the provisions to narrow the existing gaps in gender and social groups. Specifically SSA has provisions for distributing free textbooks to girls and students from SCs and STs, setting up bathrooms for girls, recruiting and hiring 50.0% female teachers, and training teachers on gender and social issues (MHRD, 2008b).

Initiatives Targeting Girls and Children from Educationally Disadvantaged Communities

In order to reach out to the variety of undereducated groups, SSA provides a variety of programs that specifically target socially disadvantaged groups and cater to their needs. Mainly SSA consists of four such programs: 1) Education Guarantee Scheme (EGS); 2) Alternative Innovative Education (AIE); 3) National Program for Education of Girls at the Elementary Level (NPEGEL); and 4) the *Kasturba Gandhi Balika Vidyalaya (KGBV)* Scheme.

Education Guarantee Scheme (EGS) and Alternative Innovative Education (AIE)

Targeting out-of-school children, both boys and girls, the Education Guarantee Scheme (EGS) and the Alternative Innovative Education (AIE) program aim at providing education that will prepare “very deprived children” (India, 2010b) such as child laborers, street children, migrating children, and adolescent girls to enter school. The primary objective of the EGS is to establish schools in areas where there are no schools available in a 1-kilometer radius despite the presence of at least 15 children between the ages of 6 and 14 (Department of Higher Education, 2008). Also, since these children in difficult circumstances are less likely to be ready to mainstream the formal education system right away, EGS and AIE provide the learning opportunity for them to prepare themselves not only academically, but also mentally, physically, and

emotionally through bridge courses, back to school camps, flexible schedule classes, and remedial teaching (India, 2010b).

It is also evident that a large number of children, especially girls, are studying in *Madrasas*, which are not certified or affiliated with the state board. In these cases, local community organizations may start an EGS-center or an AIE-intervention to ensure quality education as well as to provide free textbooks and additional teachers if needed (Department of Higher Education, 2008).

Additionally, the SSA encourages a community-based approach for management and planning of school activities. Specifically, the SSA indicates that School Management Committees should include teachers, women from the community, representatives from socially deprived groups, parents of students in EGS- or AIE-schools, and parents of out-of-school children (Department of Higher Education, 2008).

National Program for Education of Girls at Elementary Level (NPEGEL)

The SSA launched two focused interventions for addressing gender imbalances in education access, attendance, and performance. These include the National Programs for Education of Girls at Elementary Level (NPEGEL) and the KGBV. They both target girls living in educationally backward blocks (EBBs) where female literacy is less than the national average (46.1%) and the gender gap in literacy is greater than the national average (21.7%) (MHRD, 2008b).

Launched in 2003, the goals of NPEGEL are to promote participation of girls in education and to improve the quality of education which is relevant to girls for

their empowerment (India, 2007d). The NPEGEL funding is a provision for development of mode cluster-schools, establishment of Early Childhood Care and Education (ECCE) centers, and implementation of teacher-training on gender sensitization and provision of incentives for girls. According to the Ministry of Human Resource Development (MHRD, 2009b), more than 40,000 model cluster-schools have been opened, about 39,000 ECCE centers are being supported, and about 210,000 teachers have taken the training on gender sensitization. Based on the positive impacts of the NPEGEL, the central government approved INR 578.18 crore (i.e., Approximately USD 128 million) for 2008–2009 (MHRD, 2009b).

Kasturba Gandhi Balika Vidyalaya

Launched in July 2004, the KGBV scheme aims at ensuring access and quality education to girls of disadvantaged communities by setting up residential schools at upper-primary levels (Class 6-8) for girls predominantly from SC, ST, OBC, and minority communities (MHRD, 2008b). In this scheme, the government guidelines indicate that 75.0% of the seats in schools shall be reserved for girls from SC, ST, OBC, minority communities, and households below the poverty line (MHRD, 2008b). There are two main distinctions between NPEGEL and KGBV. First, KGBV provides residential schools. Second, KGBV's target age group is the upper, primary levels while NPEGEL targets girls in lower, primary levels. Initially the district governments identified 60 EBBs nationally that did not have residential schools that serve girls of upper, primary levels through any other

government schemes (MHRD, 2008b). In 2007, the KGBV scheme was enlarged to include blocks with rural female literacy scores below 30.0% and urban literacy scores below 53.7% (i.e., national female, urban literacy rate) (MHRD, 2008b). So far, the scheme is being implemented in 2,180 blocks in 27 states and union territories. (MHRD, 2008b, 2009b). The National Evaluation of the KGBV scheme was undertaken between January and February, 2007, in 12 states including UP by 12 independent experts in girls' education (MHRD, 2009b).

The Government of India sanctioned 2,578 KGBVs, of which 427 (16.6%) schools are located in Muslim-concentrated blocks, 688 (26.7%) in SC-blocks, and 612 (23.7%) in ST-blocks (MHRD, 2009b). As of July 2009, 98.0% (i.e., 2511 schools) of KGBV schools are operational serving 238,600 girls nationwide. The categories of the enrolled are shown in the Figure 5.1 below.

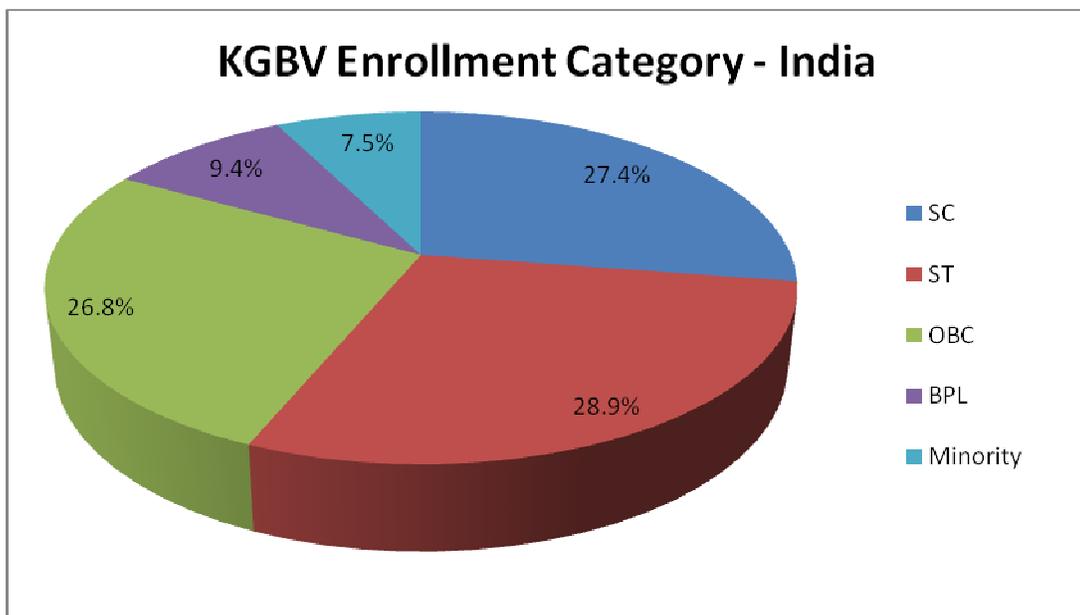


Figure 5.1. KGBV Enrollment Category - India
Source: GoI, 2009b

In UP, there are 71 districts with 194 blocks, of which 115 blocks (59.2%) are considered EBBs. According to the state-wide progress on the KGBV scheme, 454 KGBV schools are sanctioned and 99.8% of them (453 schools) are operational and serving 29,749 girls (India, 2009b). Figure 5.2 presents the categories of the enrolled students. Comparing with India overall, UP has few ST-enrollment while significantly more SC- (+9.7%), OBC- (+5.2%), and BPL- students (+11.8%).

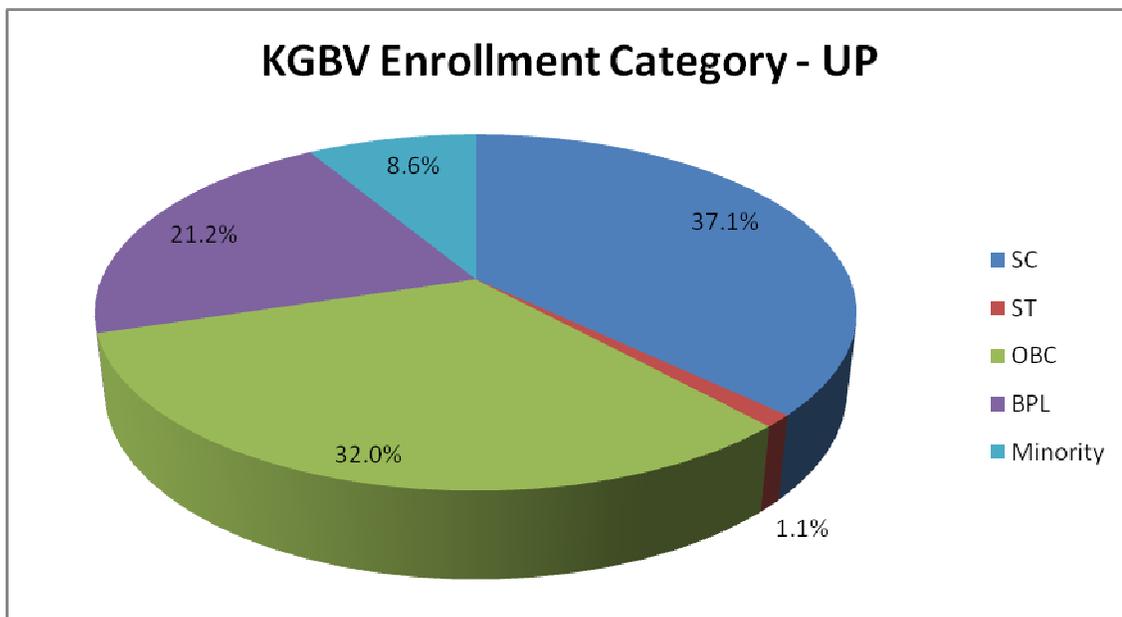


Figure 5.2. KGBV Enrollment Category – UP
Source: GoI, 2009b

Implementation and Management of KGBV Schools

Nationally most of the KGBV were implemented by state governments through the SSA Society (Table 5.1). The government guidelines for implementation (India, 2007b), however, states that the KGBV may be implemented and run by established NGOs, other non-profit bodies, or corporate

groups. This study focuses on three KGBV schools implemented and managed by the MS.

Table 5.1. *Implementing Agency of KGBV*

No. of K.G.B.V. Sanctioned	No. of K.G.B.V. Operational	Agency				Total
		SSA Society	Mahila Samakhya	Other Govt. Agency	NGO	
2573	2511	1699	141	382	289	2511

Source: Government of India, 2009b

Mahila Samakhya (MS)

As an autonomous agency of the state, MS is a government scheme that promotes women’s empowerment. The MS program was originally begun in 1988 based on the NPE in 1986, which was a milestone of women’s education. The NPE’s program of action posits that women’s empowerment is “the critical precondition for their participation in the education process” (MHRD, 2008a). In the meantime, it also points out that education is an effective means to empower women. Therefore, the MS programs pay special attention to enhancing the self-esteem and self-confidence of women by helping them develop their critical thinking abilities, by fostering their decision making skills and enabling them to make informed choices, and by providing information and skills for economic independence (MHRD, 2008a).

The goal of the MS scheme is to facilitate “the education and empowerment of women in rural areas, particularly of women from socially and economically marginalized groups” (MHRD, 2008a). The MS scheme was implemented through autonomous societies registered at the state level in order to

provide the flexibility to design and administer an innovative program while maintaining the authority and structures of the government (MHRD, 2008a). In this way, MS draws on the advantages of NGOs flexibility, quickness, and openness as well as the government's rigorous system of checks and balances and stable funding (MHRD, 2008a). Originally 10 districts from UP were selected to pilot the MS program along with the states of *Karnataka* and *Gujarat* to represent the three regions of the country. Therefore, the MS in UP is one of the long standing organizations that has accumulated firsthand experiences in women's education and empowerment in rural settings.

According to MSUP (2010a), the goal of MS in UP is "to empower each woman to attain equality and their just place in family, society, and governance." Towards this goal, the MS in UP has been working to educate and empower women to bring about a change in their own situations while working to improve society through social or political institutions, government agencies, and advocacy groups (MSUP, 2010a). The programs of MS in UP are based on four main tiers: rights/governance; education; health; and economic empowerment. The key strategy of the MS program is to organize groups of women called *sanghas* at the village level, which ensure women's participation and accountability. *Sanghas* are predominantly organized by women from SC/ST or minority families and poor or landless families who are often excluded from the education, health, legal, and other government services. From 2009–2010, the MS programs were functioning in 4,458 villages in UP with 97,239 *sangha*-

members working towards their own economic empowerment, as well as literacy and education (MSUP, 2010b). There were 250 to 450 new *sanghas* between 2008 and 2010, which indicates the effectiveness and applause for the program (MSUP, 2010b).

Before the KGBV scheme launched the MS program in UP, it was responsible for planning, designing, and running the residential schools called *Mahila Shikshan Kendras* (MSK) for rural adolescent girls. Starting in 1995, it provided a learning community and residential facility for 30 to 40 girls between the ages of 12 and 20 who had never been in a formal school or who had discontinued their schooling for the duration of at least 8 months. The goal of the MSK was to pass the standardized Class 5 examination to get mainstreamed into a formal educational institution. The MS of UP formulated and developed the approaches that are effective for this target group in particular. With the expectation of mainstreaming the girls who completed the program, MSK used government textbooks and curriculum (Das, 2004). After passing the Class 5 examination, 96.0% enrolled in upper primary schools (Parvathy, personal communication, November 18, 2009). Even though they did not continue formal schooling system to attend secondary schools, they often joined an MS Sangha and federation and continued to sustain awareness in their community. MSK teachers are considered the experts not only in academic subjects, but also in life and social skills.

To this date, the MS in UP still runs 13 MSKs in UP along with the KGBV schools (MSUP, 2008b). The successful practices and management of MSKs became the model for the KGBV and NPEGEL programs in the SSA (Parvathy, personal communication, November 18, 2009). The MS was the pioneer in the development, design, and implementation of girls' education and empowerment. As MS was the basis in UP's for managing residential schools for adolescent girls in rural environments, the government acknowledged the effectiveness and success of its approaches and expanded the responsibility of MS in UP by appointing them as an implementation agency for the KGBV scheme.

Summary

India has made remarkable improvements in educational indicators in the past three decades; however, the goal of UEE is still ahead. To achieve UEE in India, it is a challenge to plan and formulate how to reach out to educationally disadvantaged groups, especially girls from SC-households living in rural areas. Looking at the statistics from Census 2001, it is clear that there are considerable gender gaps in GER, literacy rates, and dropout rates. Moreover, the gender gaps in all indicators are wider in UP than in India overall. In terms of geographical areas, rural populations are more disadvantaged than their urban counterparts both in India and UP due to the access and availability of the schools as well as the quality of education. As expected, SC-populations have been historically disadvantaged and remain so over other caste groups. The data demonstrates that the SC-girls in UP are forced into educationally difficult situations in terms of

access and opportunity. In the next chapter, I will present the theoretical framework that drove the data collection and analysis of this study.

In answering research question 1, India has been adopting a gender sensitive approach in education policy, curriculum, practice, and administration since the NPE in 1986. Since then, India has revamped the system from DPEP to SSA in order to decentralize the planning and management of education system throughout the country. As a part of the efforts in SSA, India launched EGS, AIE, NPEGEL, and KGBV to specifically accommodate the needs of children from educationally disadvantaged communities. Especially targeting the girls living in rural and predominantly SC/ST, OBC and minority communities, KGBV provides safe and healthy learning environments as well as a heuristic lifestyle for the dropout students who had previously dropped out. Based on the successful practice through the MSK experience, MS develops the pedagogy and classroom activities effective and relevant for these rural girls. The objective of the KGBV scheme is to ensure access and quality education to the girls of disadvantaged communities by setting up residential schools for the upper primary levels (Classes 6–9) (MHRD, 2008b). Providing education opportunities by establishing residential schools in remote areas seems to be very effective, especially considering not only the distance from home to school, but also the nutrition and health conditions provided at home. Also, the peer group formed through living in residential schools may have positive impacts on retention rates as well as academic achievement (Wentzel & Caldwell, 1997).

Chapter 3

THEORETICAL AND CONCEPTUAL FRAMEWORK

I draw on policy analysis framework in order to understand how the KGBV policy is being interpreted and implemented by the MS. I selected Yanow's (2000) interpretive, policy analysis as the framework to guide this study. Yanow's framework is complemented by the work on empowerment developed by Deepa Narayan (2005), which will facilitate the analysis of the girls' education policy in India. In this chapter, I first introduce the main component of Yanow's framework. Then, I discuss the concepts of gender and women and clarify my position on these concepts.

Next, I describe how the concepts of women and gender are introduced and incorporated into education and development agendas. Then, I move to the relationship between human rights and international declarations to point out the gaps between declarations of human rights and the realities. Relating to human rights in education, I introduce the concept of the capability approach by Amartya Sen. This perspective holds that human rights and international declarations do not work without individuals achieving capabilities and agency. It calls for empowerment to gain the capabilities and agency needed to achieve higher functioning. Based on this approach, I discuss the empowerment framework developed by Deepa Narayan and introduce each component for the analysis.

Interpretive Policy Analysis

I selected Yanow's (2000) interpretive policy analysis as my theoretical framework for understanding the interpretation and implementation of the KGBV policy. Contrary to the traditional policy analysis, which is generally a quantitative approach, interpretive policy analysis provides an alternative approach to understanding and analyzing the complex reality of multiple interpretations of a policy by various policy actors. Yanow (2000) maintains that interpretive policy analysis "focuses on the meanings of policies, on the values, on the feelings, or the beliefs they express, and on the processes by which those meanings are communicated to and 'read' by various audiences" (p. 14). In other words, it analyzes a policy through the eyes of relevant stakeholders and attempts to understand their interpretations of the policy through policy artifacts. Yanow (2000) contends, "...human meanings, values, beliefs, and feelings are embodied in and transmitted through artifacts of human creation, such as language, dress, patterns of action and interaction, written texts, or built spaces" (p. 14).

Interpretive policy analysis considers human actions and behaviors as expressive of their meanings pertaining to values, beliefs, and feelings. It treats policy artifacts as concrete symbols that represent and express abstract policies and organizational meanings. These policy artifacts include language, objects, and acts of everyday life, which are based on "'local knowledge'—the very mundane, expert understanding of and practical reasoning about local conditions derived from lived experience" (Yanow, 2000, 5). Understanding local

knowledge is important to make sense of the consequences and impacts of a policy on diverse groups of people. Therefore, the artifacts for interpretative policy analysis include, among others, written documents (e.g., official policy documents, texts regarding the implementation of the policy, and newsletters), oral communications (e.g., statements, speech, conversations, and interviews), and observations (e.g., policy implementations, classroom sessions, trainings, and events).

Interpretive policy analysis provides a framework for analyzing the artifacts to understand their meanings and interpretations given to them by the policy actors. This study uses official policy documents, formal texts relating to the implementation of the policy, written and oral communications such as statements by various stakeholders involved in the policies, and observation notes of the policy as artifacts.

Conceptual Progress on Women and Gender in Education and Development

Understanding of the roles and contributions of women in education and development has gone through phases of conceptual progress. The education policy for gender equity in India has been influenced by a paradigm shift. In the 1970s, the approach called women in development (WID) was introduced to the international and national agendas on gender equality. Even then, WID pointed out the lack of women's participation in economic spheres such as education and employment and to their lack of contribution to economic development and production (Unterhalter, 2007). Using statistical data, WID focused on the

importance of women's potential as valuable human resources for economic activities and development (Arnot & Fennell, 2007; Colclough, 2007).

In the 1980s, with the applications of qualitative research in the field of development studies, the approach called women and development (WAD) became mainstreamed. As the WAD approach holds, India's process of development not only fails to recognize the contribution of women in a society, but it also determines how women contribute to economic development and progress (Arnot & Fennell, 2007). Soon, WAD was overtaken by the gender and development (GAD) approach, which focused on the socially constructed roles and duties associated with men and women in order to shed light on the complexity and diversity of women's experiences. In this approach, gender specific roles and relationships are determined by history, culture, tradition, and religion, and their experiences intersect with race, class, castes, ethnicities, and languages (Arnot & Fennell, 2007; Glasser & Smith, 2008; Stromquist & Fischman, 2009; Unterhalter, 2007). From the GAD's perspective, gender roles and relationships are not a mere reflection of social, economic, and historical conditions (Stromquist & Fishman, 2009). Rather, they are constructed by society within these conditions so as to maintain power and privileges for the dominant class. This approach also tries to understand the sources of female subordination considering the basis and reproduction of male dominance in society (Colclough, 2007).

Human Rights and International Declarations

In 1948, the General Assembly of the United Nations adopted the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, which proclaims human rights as a common standard of achievement for all peoples and all nations to promote “universal respect for and observance of human rights and fundamental freedoms” (UN, 1948). It states that equal rights and dignity regardless of “race, color, sex, language, religion, political or other opinion, national or social origin, property, birth, or other status”(UN, 1948) are entitled to everyone. Although some scholars condemn the universal declaration because they feel it reflects and imposes one cultural standard, it should be understood as “the minimum standard required for human dignity” (Ghosh, 2008, 85).

Many UN member-states, however, did little to achieve the UN Declaration of Human Rights and their obligations before 1990. After the 1990’s, the United Nations (UN) adopted a series of international human rights treaties and declarations expecting to make each member-state accountable for the political commitments adopted in UN declarations (Colclough, 2007). These declarations relating to gender equality in education include the World Conference on Education for All (EFA) in 1990 in Jomtien, Thailand, the Fourth World Conference on Women in 1995 in Beijing, China, and the World Education Forum in 2000 in Dakar, Senegal. These international declarations attempted to shift the declarations and treaties from paper to action by setting short term timelines and making each country report their progress every year. Affirming

the notion of education as a fundamental human rights, The World Conference on EFA agreed to “make primary education accessible to all children and to massively reduce illiteracy before the end of the decade [2000]” (UNESCO, 1990). The Fourth World Conference on Women agreed to achieve universal primary education by 2015 and gender parity at the primary level by 2005 (UN, 1996). This Beijing Declaration was the first attempt at “conceptualizing women’s autonomy and access to education as a human right” (Arnot & Fennell 2007, 7). In 2000, member-countries “reaffirmed their commitment to achieve EFA by the year 2015” (UNESCO, 2000) at the World Education Forum. They also set goals for achieving gender equity at the primary and secondary levels by 2005 and comprehensive gender equality in education by 2015 (UNESCO, 2000).

Gap between the Declarations and the Realities

There are some conceptual and practical issues relating to these international declarations and their implementation in schools. First, although it has been more than 60 years since the Declaration of Human Rights, there are tremendous gap between what it states and the reality (see Chapter 2). As there are no repercussions against inaction, the member-countries do little to actualize the declarations (Colclough, 2007). The recent series of international declarations was to make the member-countries more accountable for achieving its goals; however, many economies and organizations are still struggling to actualize their commitments to human rights and education (Colclough, 2007). Colclough (2007) points out that the goals and the timeline were unrealistic from the outset.

Each developing nation was required to complete the drastic education reforms within a 5–10-year timeframe, which has been impossible to achieve (Colclough, 2007). Unterhalter (2007) also argues that economically less powerful nations have insufficient resources and limited capacity to provide quality services in regards to education, health and sanitation, and socio-economic development to maintain their human rights.

Human Rights for Women in Developing Countries

There are criticisms that the concept of human rights was derived from Western philosophical foundations and that it does not apply to different cultural and social contexts. This is especially the case with the concept of gender equality because human rights are based on Western feminism. For example, the Millennium Development Goals were developed to achieve a very specific idea of Western gender equality, and many developing countries received them critically and as an imposition of international declarations towards universal, primary education and gender equality in education (Ramphal, 2005). Concepts of gender and gender-based, power-relationships are as significant as other forms of power relations such as the rural-urban dichotomy, castes, classes, ethnicity, and languages (Arnot & Fennell, 2007; Mohanty, 1988). However, the concepts of gender and gender-based, relationships developed by Western feminism are considered as exceptions by feminists from developing countries as it often overlooks the significance of the intersections between gender and other forms of power and the complexity it adds to women's life experiences (Mohanty, 1988).

It is problematic to assume women are a single identical group while putting aside the issues of class, nationality, castes, ethnicity, and so on. Indian women and American women must have distinct desires and interests towards life regardless of race, class, and ethnicity (Mohanty, 1988). It negates women's individual experiences and struggles because it applies a singular application of human rights to women from various backgrounds.

Human Rights in Contexts

Unterhalter (2007) points out that little attention has been paid to the contexts in which rights are exercised by countries. He contends that rights are often discussed in relation to the notion of citizenship rather than education. Therefore, as states attempt to standardize education for all citizens regardless of gender, race, class, or ethnicity (Unterhalter, 2007), basic human rights continue to be violated. For example, although minority groups have a right to an education in their own language and the right of self-determination to establish and control educational institutions (UN, 2007), many of India's states have little capacity to meet the educational needs of their indigenous communities. That is to say, the education available for the indigenous group often does not reflect the culture, language, and traditions that they want to transmit to the coming generations. This disparity reflects the clear gap between adopting rights and ensuring those entitlements for all people. It suggests that need-based provisions are necessary to fill the void between international declarations and local implementation (Unterhalter, 2007).

The Capabilities Approach

Adopting human rights and international declaration is necessary but not sufficient to alleviate unequal power-relations. For example, despite the provision of human and women's rights, women cannot act in accordance with the laws and regulations without the capability to choose to act to better their lives. Women need to acquire the capacity to make decisions and act on their own for better well-being. An Indian Economist who was awarded the Nobel Prize in Economic Science, Amartya Sen (1992) introduces the concepts of capabilities and agency in ensuring the human rights entitled by all people. He believes that human rights do not function without capabilities and agencies.

Sen (1996) contends that being able to make genuine choices regarding one's life is an essential component of a good life. A capability is defined as "a person's ability to do valuable acts or reach valuable states of being; [it] represents the alternative combinations of things a person is able to do or be" (Sen, 1993, 30). The capabilities approach takes into account the opportunity and means to achieve "valued beings and doings" (Sen, 1999, 75). Agency is defined as "the ability to set and pursue one's own goals, interests, and a variety of values as well as the *freedom* to do so (Sen, 1977 as cited in Ghosh, 2008, 83)" "Freedom and motive for choice are important concepts in agency" (Ghosh, 2008, 83). Therefore, a person cannot obtain a good life without the ability to set his or her own goals (agency) and the ability to choose to act on valuable things (capability).

In addition, Sen (1999) defines “the various things a person may value doing or being” (p. 75) as functionings, and argues that the objective of gender equality is to ensure and enhance the freedom for women to achieve functionings. Gender equality should be assessed in terms of the range of “valued beings and doings” (Sen, 1999, 75) available for men and women in comparison to each other in a household. In assessing the availability of functionings, Sen (2005) distinguishes “1) whether a person is actually able to do things she would value *doing*, and 2) whether she possesses the *means or instruments or permissions* to pursue what she would like to do” (p. 153). Combining the concepts of capability and agency, this assessment of the level of functionings determines how equal women are treated in household as well as in society.

In addition to highlighting the capabilities of individuals and groups, Sen (1990) recognizes the impacts of broader social and political environments on one’s empowerment process and outcomes. In other words, Sen (1990) recognizes the power of the collectives. When women act toward their valued goals and interests as a group, the perception of women by men, society, and themselves changes dramatically. According to Sen (1990), the expected roles for women in households and society tend to module the perception of women (Unterhalter, 2007). In a patriarchal society, women are often trapped in the maladaptive cycle of gender roles, societal perception, and unequal power-relationships. In order to break this cycle, it is important to empower women by giving them agency and capability as well as functionings.

Empowerment

To exercise their individual rights, women need to gain voice and be empowered. This study draws on the conceptual framework of empowerment developed by a senior advisor of the World Bank's Poverty Reduction and Economic Management Network (Deepa Narayan, 2005). In her empowerment framework, Deepa Narayan argues that empowerment should be defined in terms of the relationship between the marginalized people and the institutions or environments through which unequal power structures are reproduced. Narayan (2005) sees empowerment as "the expansion of freedom of choice and action to shape one's life" (p. 4), which reflects the capability approach by Sen (1977). The term, "institutions" in this definition is applicable to states, markets, civil society, schools, or households. As freedom of choice and action is dependent on the availability of resources and decision as to how to utilize them, Narayan's definition implies control over resources and decisions. Drawing on the framework of opportunity, structure, and agency by Petesch, Sumlovitz and Walton (2003), Narayan (2005) developed methods for measuring empowerment in a systematic way.

Narayan's (2005) conceptual framework consists of two components: opportunity structure and agency of the poor. Opportunity structure contains two building blocks: institutional climate and social and political structures. Agency of the poor also contains two blocks: individual assets and capabilities and collective assets and capabilities. These blocks are constructed based on the idea

that “[e]mpowerment of the poor, excluded, or subordinate groups is a product of the interaction between the agency of these individuals and groups and the opportunity structure in which this agency is potentially exercised” (Narayan, 2005, 6). Figure 3.1. demonstrates the conceptual framework.

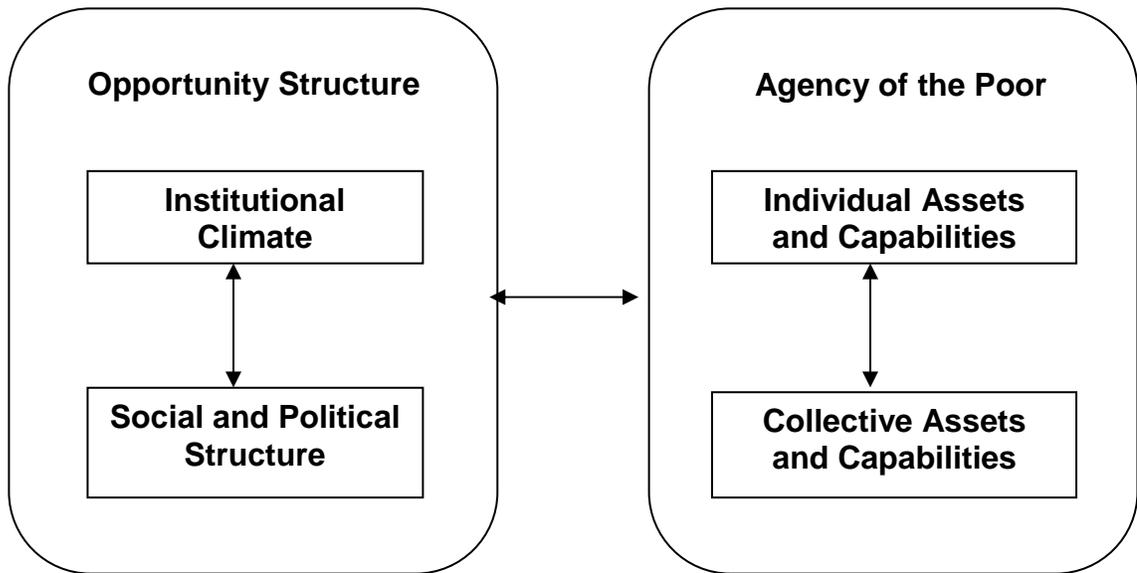


Figure 3.1. Conceptual Framework
Source: Narayan (2005)

One of the characteristics of Narayan’s framework is that it pays attention to individual and collective agencies as well as broader institutional, social, and political contexts. It recognizes the fact that individuals and groups seek their interests and values within the surrounding structures. Without removing the institutional barriers that keep deprived people from achieving functionings, they cannot be empowered. This framework suggests that the social and political structures that reproduce inequality need to be eliminated while strengthening the agency of the marginalized people.

The institutional climate acts as a determinant for action or inaction because formal or informal institutions encourage or discourage people to make decisions to pursue their well-being. The institutions include formal and tangible institutions such as laws and regulations, as well as informal and intangible ones like norms of solidarity, superiority, social exclusion, and helplessness. Narayan (2005) contends that when social reform is successful in terms of modifying unequal power relationships, there are four key elements available for the poor, namely: access to information; inclusion and participation; social accountability; and local organizational capacity.

As empowerment is a context-specific concept, the impact of social and political structures on people's empowerment needs to be assessed. When social structures are systematically stratified, there are fewer impacts on individual agency than the social and political structures on the empowerment process and outcomes (Narayan, 2005). This framework enables researchers to examine how people negotiate with their agency and the surrounding social and political structures to achieve their functionings.

Agency is defined by individual and collective assets and capabilities that enable people to exercise their valued actions. While assets refer to physical and financial resources such as land, housing, and livestock, capabilities refer to inherent characteristics that "enable them to use their assets in different ways to increase their well-being" (Narayan, 2005, 10). Therefore, capabilities consist of basic human (e.g., good health, education, and reproductive skills), social (e.g.,

social belonging, leadership, capacity to organize, and sense of identity), psychological (e.g., self-esteem, self-confidence, and capacity to aspire to a better future), and political aspects (e.g., capacity to represent oneself and others, access information, form associations, and participate in the political activities) (Narayan, 2005).

Narayan (2005) considers collective assets and capabilities as important to those of individuals as they enable the poor to make alliances and have their voices heard with the power of the number. Narayan (2005) points out that two types of social capital is essential to maximize collective assets and capabilities. One is “bonding social capital,” which provides close ties and high levels of trust with others within the group that shares similar backgrounds. Another is “bridging social capital,” which ties and connects people with other groups of similar backgrounds as well as those from the state, government, and private sectors. By expanding the federation and gaining strength in numbers, poor people can voice their opinions and demand quality services from their government (Narayan, 2005). Also, individual and collective assets and capabilities have reciprocal effects on each other.

Narayan (2005) illustrates the challenges of the empowerment framework. The concept of empowerment is difficult to measure because it is multi-dimensional, context-specific, and relative (Narayan, 2005). The most well researched aspect of empowerment is the economic and financial dimensions such as increased income and possession of assets. There have only been a few studies

on social, political, and psychological dimensions of empowerment, but it is clear that each of these aspects interacts, negotiate, and influence each other to succeed.

Therefore, the analysis of empowerment is not complete until it sheds light on each dimension that consists of the processes and outcomes of empowerment. Empowerment should be measured with context-specific instruments or indicators. Since cultural and social norms determine decision making processes and behaviors, variables should be carefully selected in cultural and social contexts of any research studies. Empowerment is relative to a previous status or to others in the similar socioeconomic groups. When we say “she is empowered,” we assume that she has been through the process of being marginalized to gaining power. The analysis of empowerment is not complete until the process of decision making by the empowered actors is examined while change in institutional climates is scrutinized.

Chapter 4

METHODOLOGY

This chapter discusses the methodology of this dissertation study. First, it presents the methods of inquiry with the rationale for choosing qualitative methods as opposed to quantitative. Second, it describes the process of site selection and gaining access to the sites. Third, it introduces the data sources of this research and the purposes of each method. Lastly, it discusses the data analysis and ends with the organization of the remainder of the study.

Methods of Inquiry

What is Qualitative Research Methodology?

Methodology “refers to how evidence is gathered and meaning is derived from it” (Anderson & Burns, 1989, 45). The rules and ways to develop scientific knowledge are dependent on a discipline (Anderson & Burns, 1989). Each discipline has certain rules and principals about creating “consensual knowing” (Anderson & Burns, 1989, 50). The major dichotomy in methodologies consists of qualitative and quantitative approaches.

Historically, quantitative epistemology draws from the Positivist perspective in natural science research; therefore, the goal of quantitative research is to “create research designs allowing the generalization of findings, and to formulate general laws” (Flick, 2006, 12). Through experiments, quantitative researchers “define reality by testing hypotheses (predictive statements grounded in a theory or speculation about how two or more variables are related)”

(Rossman & Rallis, 2003, 8). Through intervention or treatment, quantitative research examines causal relationship under highly controlled conditions and influences. In order to increase the validity, the subjectivity of both researchers and subjects is eliminated as much as possible (Flick, 2006).

On the contrary, qualitative methodology is carried out in a naturalistic setting with the goal to study the complexity of social phenomena. For example, in the 3-year study of successful African American teachers, Ladson-Billings (1995) concludes that “the place to find out about classroom practices is the naturalistic setting of the classroom and from the lived experiences of teachers” (p. 163). Qualitative research aims at capturing the phenomena holistically using multiple methods (Husen, 1997; Rossman & Rallis, 2003). Borrowed from anthropology and sociology, qualitative methodology has been applied to the field of education. Qualitative researchers believe that it is crucial to explore the complexities and plurality of social phenomena in order to better understand human behaviors and experiences. Qualitative researchers also believe that human behaviors and experiences are heavily contextualized in their settings; therefore, it is significant to conduct the research in ordinary everyday settings instead of controlled settings like a laboratory.

Pointing out that many researchers focus on communities as the sole source of the social problems, Smith (1999) underscores the importance of analyzing the wider social, economic, and policy contexts in which a community or school exists. Qualitative methodology allows researchers to focus on the

meanings of the phenomena and human action as well as thoughts, values, and beliefs behind the human behaviors and actions. Qualitative research “involves analyzing and interpreting texts and interviews in order to discover meaningful patterns descriptive of a particular phenomenon” (Auerbach & Silverstein, 2003, p.3).

Qualitative methodology is primarily derived from “empiricism: that is, the philosophical tradition that argues that knowledge is obtained by direct experience through the physical senses” (Rossman & Rallis, 2003, p.6). The narratives of qualitative research studies often include the five senses of human beings in order to describe the context and settings and to make sense of the meanings of the social phenomenon and human actions. To present the qualitative study, the “thick description” (Geertz, 1994) allows readers to capture contexts in which a phenomena has taken place and a researcher reaches the findings.

Subjectivity

In qualitative methodology, the subjectivity of researchers and subjects are an important source of data and knowledge as well as the research process of the phenomenon (Auerbach & Silverstein, 2003; Flick, 2006). Qualitative research assumes that “subjectivity and values are a necessary part of human interaction and therefore cannot be eliminated or controlled” (Auerbach & Silverstein, 2003, 27). Contrary to qualitative research, quantitative research attempts to discover “a

common frame of reference to interpret experience to which some group of people can all agree” (Anderson & Burns, 1989, 77).

Since the goal is to generalize in conclusion, quantitative methods admit no room for subjectivity. On the other hand, the qualitative paradigm does not assume “a set of ground rules, followed more or less by all members of the group, that allow the members to derive a common, generalizable meaning from experience” (Anderson & Burns, 1989, 77). Qualitative researchers acknowledge that their values, thoughts, and beliefs affect how they analyze, interpret, and write up the findings (Rossman & Rallis, 2003). The researchers’ personal backgrounds are derived from social, economic, political, and cultural contexts. Including personal and social backgrounds, qualitative researchers consider themselves as research tools. In qualitative methodology, reflections and feelings on the research process become “an explicit part of knowledge” (Flick, 2006, 16).

Why Qualitative for this research?

A qualitative design is appropriate for addressing the research questions in this study because I want to capture a holistic understanding of policy implementation of the education scheme to include the dropout girls living in educationally backward districts in India. More importantly, qualitative methods enable me to focus on process rather than the outcomes (Merriam, 1998). Further, the close documentation of policy interpretation and implementation cannot be done by quantitative approaches. Documenting the classroom practices and activities is as important as analyzing how MS understands the policy, how the

teachers are trained, what the overarching goals of the activity are, how the teachers' education philosophies and values differ from those of the MS or the Indian government, and how discrepancies impact teachers' classroom practices and behaviors. These sub-questions represent the process in which the policy is being understood and actualized. In the course of the qualitative research, these sub-questions will guide the study to connect or find gaps between intents of the KGBV policy and decisions made for effective implementations by MS. As important as lessons and activities are, it is a goal of qualitative research to understand the meanings behind the actions.

Many previous studies on educational access and equity in India were conducted using quantitative methods (e. g., Baranwal, 2004; Chawla, 2002; Mehrotra, 1999; Pal, 2004). Knowledge and findings from quantitative research provide an important baseline for my research. But it is qualitative studies that can document and examine the reality of the qualified and trained teachers educating girls from educationally disadvantaged communities using limited resources and support. Qualitative research also provides a holistic understanding of contexts that stem from the impacts of teaching experiences, teachers' training, and children's backgrounds, which is necessary to grasp the meanings of implementation and actualization of the policy.

Interpretive Policy Analysis

It is difficult to implement a policy as it is intended even though it is well developed and thought out. Yanow (2000) believes that the gap between policy and practice results from each policy-relevant stakeholder interpreting a policy in very different ways. The KGBV scheme is designed and developed by the Indian government with advice from donors and international organizations, and interpreted and implemented by the MS state-program director, the MS state-program coordinator, the MS district-program coordinators, wardens, and teachers. Each stakeholder attaches meanings of its own to a policy formulated by the Government of India. The approaches in which the implementation agency exercises the program may vary depending on its interpretation of a policy based on their local social and cultural contexts. As a result, official policies often fail to be implemented at the field level as they were intended. The gap between policy and practice is likely to occur when policy makers lack attention to local contexts in which the policy will be implemented (Yanow, 2000).

Even though the official policy intends to increase students' engagement in classroom learning, it is less likely that schools will apply culturally responsive practices without proper training. Thus, it is necessary to analyze the basis of the policy, teacher-training, and objectives of the program. Yanow (2000) underscores the need to ascertain "local knowledge" (p. 5) and understand stakeholders' various interpretations and perspectives, which are derived from local beliefs, values, and culture. Thus, I will use an interpretive approach to

study the diverse perceptions and socio-cultural contexts behind them.

Interpretive policy analysis is also suitable for examining the objectives and approaches of the Indian government, interpretations and implementation of the implementation agency, and overall effectiveness of the program. It is important to analyze the goals of the policy and curriculum as well as implementation approaches because often the implementation “constitutes the ‘truth’ of policy's (and thereby the state’s) intent” (Yanow, 2000, p.9).

Study Design

The purpose of this study is to assess whether educational policies and implementations in the state of UP will enhance educational equity for under-represented girls through residential schools.

I have identified the policies that are relevant to enhancing educational equity for adolescent girls in rural villages by answering question 1 (Chapter 2). In answering question 2, I will demonstrate the interpretation and implementation strategies of MS and the implementation agency of the policy schemes (Chapter 5). I will also analyze the process of teacher recruitment and training by answering question 3 (Chapter 5). By answering question 4, I will illustrate the conflicts that MS and teachers face when they implement the policies (Chapter 5). The study design addresses the four questions in the following order.

Step 1: Description of the formal policies for educational equity for the girls (Question 1)

Step 2: Policy implementation and empowerment approaches by MS

(Questions 2 and 3)

Step 3: Conflicts between the policies and their implementation (Question

4)

Site Selection

KGBV Schools as Study Sites

There are three major reasons I chose to study KGBV schools over other types of schools such as government public schools, private schools, and Alternative Learning Centers (ALCs) or NGO schools. First, I chose to study KGBV schools because even though they are not government public schools, it is a government scheme. The KGBV scheme was intriguing with its bottom-up approaches in implementation, pedagogy, and recruitment. I wanted to explore and document effective practices and strategies of this policy scheme. Hundreds of educational interventions at the local and national levels have been implemented in India in recent years. Some have been led by the NGO and international organizations. One of the main roles of international organizations and donor countries in recent efforts for EFA and UPE in India has been to shift from implementing the program themselves to assisting the national government in planning, implementing, and sustaining the program. Although the NGO and international organizations provide the necessary technical and financial assistance, it is the current understanding that the main driver in the endeavor is the national government.

Although some research argues that the poor quality of schooling provided by the government hinders participation in education (Bhatty, 1998), the Indian government has demonstrated a great improvement in educational indicators. The government also plays a significant role in the global commitment in UPE. Therefore, I wanted to shed light on the government scheme, its approaches, and strategies that are successful in mainstreaming girls living in the traditional farming communities into a government school system.

Secondly, I wanted to study the KGBV scheme because it targets rural girls who stopped attending school or have never been in a school. This population of girls is identified as “hard-to-reach” children in educational research (Govinda & Bandyopadhyay, 2008). To achieve UPE, the Indian government has been implementing a variety of educational policies to reach out and serve the needs of this “hard-to-reach” population. I am interested in the process in which these girls are recruited and included in the schools in spite of their previous decisions to leave schools. Third, I decided to study the KGBV scheme because this education scheme is relatively new, there is much to be investigated, and research on KGBV policy is limited despite its successful implementation. Lastly, I also wanted to explore the key approaches that make this scheme successful in serving educationally disadvantaged girls residing in rural villages.

KGBV schools managed by *Mahila Samakhya*

There are four entities that run and manage KGBV schools: namely the SSA society; other government agencies; NGOs; and MS. Mahila Samakhya is an

autonomous body of the Indian government, which encourages and promotes girls' participation in education, development, and the economy through raising awareness about their rights and enhancing self-confidence (Mahila Samakhya Uttar Pradesh [MSUP], 2010c). According to informal conversations with UNICEF, education officers, and KGBV staff members, KGBV schools managed by MS in UP demonstrate exceptionally better academic performance and records of extracurricular activities. Because there is no comparative study of these management bodies, I wanted to explore the strategies of MS that encourage families to allow their girls to stay in school.

Gaining Access to the Site

Gaining access to the site went as smoothly as I could have ever hoped for. After I arrived in Lucknow, the capital city of UP, in the end of August 2009, I searched the MS website and obtained their phone number and mailing address. In order to make an appointment to meet with a KGBV program officer, I kept calling, but it never went through. A week passed; I gave up on calling and decided to show up at the door without an appointment. I was not familiar with the area, so I chartered a taxi for 150 rupees (about 3 dollars) and went to the MS office in a business district of Lucknow.

Despite my visit without an appointment, the staff members of MS welcomed me right away. Fortunately, the State Program Director (SPD) of MS was available to meet with me. I explained the purpose of my study and interests in KGBV schools as potential sites for my dissertation study. The SPD was very

passionate and committed to the program and women's empowerment. She was happy to hear about my interest in her program and willingly signed the site permission letter (Appendix A) at the first meeting. She asked me to come back to discuss my research plan the following week.

On the way out of the building, a receptionist asked me how I came to the office. I told her that I took a taxi and paid 150 rupees. She was surprised about the costs and told me how to get back to my hostel like a Lucknow local. It turned out that it costs only 10 rupees (about 22 cents) from the MS main office to my hostel.

Selection of KGBV Schools

The selection of KGBV schools was made based on the suggestions of the SPD and State Program Coordinator (SPC) of MS. According to the Ministry of Human Resource Development in 2007, there were 125 KGBV schools sanctioned and 98 operational in the state of UP (India, 2007e). Of these, 10 KGBV schools are run and managed by MS (India, 2007e). When I began the field research in 2009, there were 27 KGBV schools run and managed by the MS. The SPD and SPC suggested that I conduct my research study at the KGBV schools that were located in the more remote areas and visited by fewer outsiders. Depending on the locations (e.g., close proximity to the major highway and/or major city), some KGBV schools have visits by monitoring teams, government officials, and visitors more often than others. In the SPD's words, "they are used

to having visitors. Both students and teachers know how to behave” (Bhrati⁵, interpersonal communication, September 11, 2009). In addition, the schools with more visitors tend to be equipped with adequate school infrastructures and human resources in response to the feedback given from the visitors. Studying the schools with fewer visitors allowed me to capture more intact practices and issues of residential schools in rural villages.

Among the schools with few visitors, I selected three KGBV schools in the western districts of UP called Varanasi and Chandauli because they were among the first schools to be established after the KGBV scheme was enacted. Studying older schools enabled me to observe the established approaches and outstanding challenges to implementing the schemes. Also, these districts struggle with wide gender gaps in various educational indicators. Table 4.1 presents the enrollment of the social groups in each school.

Table 4.1. *Study Sites and Enrollments based on Social Groups*

KGBVs	District	SC	ST	OBC	BPL	Minority	Total
Asha	Varanasi	45	0	47	1	0	93
Sahas	Chandauli	65	0	3	10	0	78
Sudhar	Chandauli	50	0	46	4	0	100

Source: MHRD (2009c)

Data Sources

From January to August 2009, I collected the data about education policies and programs that cater to girls living in rural areas. The field work was conducted between September and December of 2009. My home base was at a university girls' hostel in Lucknow, and I traveled 3 times to the Varanasi and

⁵ Names of the KGBV schools, teachers, and MS staff members are pseudonyms to protect their identities.

Chandauli districts to visit the KGBVs. It took for 4–6 hours by train from Lucknow to Varanasi. It is not uncommon that trains are delayed. One trip took 9 hours. Over the course of four months of field work, I conducted 1) surveys of KGBV schoolteachers, 2) semi-structured interviews with KGBV schoolteachers and wardens, the SPD, SPC, and DPC, and parents, and 3) observations of the classroom sessions, daily activities, and parents' meeting. Throughout the field work, I continuously collected relevant official data sources.

Content Analysis of Official Policy and Teacher/Warden Training Materials

The content analysis is “a research technique for making replicable and valid inferences from texts to the contexts of their use” (Krippendorff, 2004, 18). Content analysis reveals the meanings behind the texts that policy makers intended as well as meanings that the implementation agency interpreted from the texts (Krippendorff, 2004). Based on the Yanow's interpretive policy analysis, I tried to find out the intents of MS's policies and interpretations. For the content analysis, I paid special attention to the level of community involvement expected in the KGBV planning and implementation, the objectives and activities of teacher-trainings, the goals of the KGBV policy, and MS's roles and responsibilities. I placed a particular focus on how and to what extent different types of diversity were discussed in or excluded from the policy documents and teacher-trainings. The data sources for the content analysis include official documents of MHRD such as the guidelines of implementation and evaluation of reports, the official, policy descriptions on the MHRD's website of the SSA and

KGBV, the official website of MS in UP including KGBV objectives and program information, presentation materials and reports from MS in UP, and teacher and warden training modules. Some materials were shared toward the end of the field work.

The goal of the content analysis was first to obtain as much information as possible before the field visit. It was then to form the initial interview protocol. Last, it was to triangulate the information obtained from interviews and observation. Therefore, the content analysis was conducted before and after the field visits.

Surveys

I conducted the survey of the KGBV schoolteachers with assistance of the SPC and DPCs. The purpose of the survey was to understand the teachers' perception of the teacher trainings provided by MS, the challenges they faced working in KGBV schools, and the teachers' demographics and educational backgrounds (Appendix B). Demographic information includes teachers' hometown, gender, levels of education, and native languages, which will inform the study whether the teachers share similar backgrounds with the students. The questions on the selection process are to grasp if teachers are selected from the same socio-cultural contexts the students are from. Questions about teacher training asked how teacher training helps them to prepare to serve students from diverse backgrounds, how practical and relevant the teacher training was, and what could have been done to improve the teacher training.

In addition, the purpose of the questions was to determine if there were any gaps between policy documents and practices in terms of teacher training. To elicit diverse points of view, the survey was organized mostly with open ended questions. There were a total of 12 questions on teacher selection, teacher-training, teaching practices, and teaching challenges, of which 9 questions were open-ended. Two were multiple choice, and 1 was a yes-no question. There were 11 questions that asked about teachers' demographic backgrounds.

The SPD reviewed and approved the survey. I piloted the survey with 2 MS staff members. Given the suggestions by MS staff members that most teachers are not fluent in English, the survey was translated into Hindi by an MS staff person prior to distribution. The surveys were distributed at one of the DPC meetings, which were held bimonthly in Lucknow with all DPCs around the state. At one of the meetings, I had an opportunity to introduce myself and explain the purpose of the research and the survey. I asked for their cooperation to distribute, collect, and send me the surveys' responses from their districts. The SPC translated my talk into Hindi side-by-side. I later distributed 15 envelopes with 10 surveys written in Hindi in each (Appendix C) and a cover letter in English (Appendix D). The packet also contained instructions and a stamped and self-addressed return envelope to each DPC. Fifteen DPCs were instructed to take the surveys back to their districts, randomly select and distribute the survey to 10 KGBV teachers, collect and send them back to the MS Lucknow office within 2 weeks.

Surveys were distributed to 150 teachers of KGBV schools run by MS in UP. Out of 150, 139 surveys were completed and returned, which makes a 92.6% return rate. One of the reasons for the high return rate is that I asked SPC and DPCs to facilitate the process. When the SPC translated my talk in Hindi, she explained the survey as if it was a part of their assignments despite the explanation of the volunteer nature of the research. The support from the SPD, SPC, and DPCs undoubtedly helped increase the return rate.

Interviews

Semi-structured interviews were conducted during my visits in each school. Semi-structured interviews are desirable for exploring teachers' perspectives because topical areas are explored through open questions followed by "*theory-driven, hypotheses-directed questions*" (Flick, 2006, p.156). This interview method allows interviewees to express freely and to help researchers maintain some degrees of control by asking follow-up questions that are relevant to the study (Hancock, & Algozzine, 2006).

I interviewed 1 SPD, 1 SPC, 1 DPC, 3 wardens, 5 teachers, and 3 parents. The SPD, SPC, and one of the wardens were fluent and comfortable answering questions in English, while the interviews with the DPC, 2 wardens, and all teachers and parents were conducted through translator (discussed later). I conducted 2–6 interviews with each respondent, and each interview lasted between 15 and 90 minutes depending on the interviewee's availability. Based on the content analysis before the field visit, I constructed interview questions that

explored teachers' and parents' beliefs, attitudes, and ideology toward inclusion of girls from diverse backgrounds. The interview questions were added and modified as I proceeded on the field visits and observations. This study is not ethnographic in intent; although, I adopted methods such as interviews and observations. Through semi-structured interviews, teachers and wardens discussed the applicability of teacher-training to the everyday classroom settings and local contexts.

Each school had a warden and 1 to 5 teachers on any given day. A warden is a female staff person who plays the role of principal, teacher, and mother. Since there are not many teachers, I tried to have conversations with every single teacher and warden in the schools; however, some teachers were not really open or comfortable talking with me. Especially male teachers, who were either in the classroom instructing or nowhere to be found. Interviews with teachers and wardens were carried out during their free time, during which they usually spent preparing for lessons and school activities. Therefore, I started by having sporadic, informal conversations with them on multiple occasions. For example, I talked with them while they were cleaning up the rooms, supervising the students' activities, waiting for meals to be ready, and during break times.

Group interviews were conducted with parents at the monthly teacher-parents meeting at the schools. Initially the DPC and wardens informed me that they expected about 50 to 60 parents at each teacher-parents meeting; however, when I showed up at the meeting, there were only 8 parents attending because it

was the busiest season for farming. The meeting, which was supposed to begin at 11 am, started at 3 pm, and lasted only about 30 minutes. I observed the meeting for half of an hour and had an opportunity to ask them questions relating to their attitudes toward the KGBV schools.

I interviewed an SPD and an SPC at the main office of MS in Lucknow approximately once every two weeks for three months. I chose these two officers because they have direct contact with the state government of India as well as MS staff members and KGBV teachers. They hold a meeting with education officers of the state government of India at least once a month to discuss policy schemes and implementation, to report evaluation outcomes, and to provide feedback for improving the policy schemes. In MS, they direct and oversee the implementation of the KGBV program in UP. It is essential to include their points of view as to how well policy scheme is designed and implemented to serve the needs of rural girls. The purpose of the interviews with the SPD and the SPC was to understand how MS interprets and implements the KGBV policy scheme and what kinds of conflicts MS faces in the implementation of the policy.

Due to my limited abilities in Hindi or Bhojipuri, I hired a translator to accompany me on my field visits. The search for a translator was an initial challenge of the field work. Initially I looked for a female translator who was from the east UP region and familiar with qualitative research study. Before the field visit, I asked around the university I stayed at and the MS office in Lucknow, but I was not successful. As I arrived in Varanasi without a translator, I visited

the government tourism office with the hope of getting a reference tour guide. Unfortunately all female guides were not available for my field visit. The officer introduced me to an experienced tour guide, a male in his late thirties, who was fluent in Hindi, Bhojipuri (local dialect), and English, and had experience in translating interviews for other research work. I met him a day before the school visit and gave him research training on ethical research activities (Appendix E). I openly discussed the expectations for the translator such as translating as accurate as possible, trying not to interrupt interviewees' responses, treating the respondents as experts in the field, and showing respect to the respondents. The reason I requested these behaviors and attitudes was that the translator is to avoid any disrespect or arrogance toward the respondents. He was in understanding of the purpose of my research and expectations at the end of the training.

As much as the field visit went smoothly due to the presence of the translator, it was also the fact that there were some influences on the data that resulted from the interview with a translator. It is inevitable that some important pieces of information would get lost in translation. It is because information is perceived differently by different stakeholders and unconsciously dropped in the course of conversation.

Observations

The purpose of observations was to find the deeper values and beliefs through human behavior. To support it, Marshall and Rossman (2006) argue that observation assumes “that behavior is purposeful and expressive of deeper values

and beliefs” (p. 98). For this study, the purpose of the observations was to examine how appropriately and effectively the curriculum and official policy are translated and implemented in the school contexts.

I observed three KGBV schools in the Varanasi and Chandaury districts. I visited each school for a week (i.e. 3–4 days a week) and spent about 3 to 6 hours at each visit in order to observe class sessions, prayer, yoga, free time, social discussion, meal time, and teacher-parents meetings. I also stayed overnight at one of the schools to experience the life of the warden, teachers, and students at the school. My observation protocol was derived from Ramachandran and Saihjee (2004, 173):

- How children are sitting—caste-wise, gender-wise and any other form of segregation (economic/child’s appearance).
- Whom does the teacher communicate with when asking questions, etc.? Her/his eye contact with children (all, few- if so who and their characteristics). Who is chosen for activities, to come to the board, recite a poem or rhyme, etc.?
- Cleanliness of the classroom—and at the school early enough, check on who cleans the classroom.
- Drinking water—where it is kept, children’s access to it (explore lack of access to some children). Do some children run out to a hand pump and drink water while others use the pot in the school?
- School infrastructure—describe (building, number of rooms, toilets, water source, display of TLM, library books (how many and where they are kept).
- Midday meal—when is it served? What is the distribution/ sitting arrangement? Utensils—Do some children bring their plates? If so, who?
- Are there any disabled children in the class? If so, describe.
- Observe where the teacher sits, keeps TLM and other materials.

Observation involves “the systematic noting and recording of events, behaviors, and artifacts (objects) in the social setting chosen for the study” (Marshall, & Rossman, 2006, 98). During observations, I took field-jottings that recorded my observations and initial interpretations. After each observation-session, I took time for reflection and documented my reaction to events during the observations. After observations, I developed field notes based on the field-jottings, which only included pure observation and duration of the activity. Reflections on the observation were documented separately from the field notes, because reflections and interpretations are significant knowledge for coding.

On the first day of observation, I began with “naturalistic observation, that was a detailed description of the phenomenon being studied” (Auerbach & Silverstein, 2003, p.25). I observed daily routines from getting ready for school, engaging in physical exercises and yoga, cleaning rooms, to attending classroom-sessions, free time, after classroom-sessions, and meal times. The initial naturalistic observation generates not only daily experiences of informants but also relevant contexts of the phenomenon (Auerbach & Silverstein, 2003). When some activities caught my attention, I asked about the activities or events as *emic* categories to the respondents during the interviews.

On the second day, I focused on classroom practices, interactions between teachers and students, interactions between students, instructional methods and strategies, and lesson planning. I attempted to compare and contrast the official policy documents and classroom practices to analyze if there were any gaps

between the objectives and their implementation. Also, I focused on any aspects of cultural responsiveness in classroom instructions. The observations were not the primary method of data collection. The purpose of the observations was to understand the student-teacher relationships, identify teaching styles and classroom activities, and to confirm teachers' statements on teaching practices in previous interviews. Through some spot observations, I examined the curriculum and classroom teaching practices to analyze if teachers applied any teaching practices and activities that were recommended in the curriculum.

Position of Outsider Researcher

Although I was wearing the traditional Indian clothes, unfortunately I hardly look like I am from the area because of my plump figure where most villagers are very skinny. In the villages, the girls consider fair skin as more beautiful than dark skin, and my skin color was very fair compared to the girls in the schools. I must have been seen as very awkward because I did not know where to take off my shoes, which bathroom to use, when to be in the classroom, how to use the hand pump, and eating with my hand was uncomfortable. Not to mention, I could barely communicate with them in Hindi due to my limited proficiency. From my appearance and ignorance about cultural appropriateness, I was clearly the outsider visiting the school during my entire visit to the schools.

On the first day, the girls in all three schools were especially excited to have a Japanese person in their school. They wanted to ask me everything about Japan and to tell me everything about themselves. During the recesses, group of

girls always came to me and requested me to do something or overwhelmed me with questions. During the classroom sessions, whenever I stepped into their classrooms, some girls started to giggle and give me big smiles. What surprised me was that the enthusiasm throughout the day lasted for the entire duration of my visits to the schools, which made me realize that they are passionate about learning and want me to recognize their achievements.

Data Analysis

Mixed Methods for Data Analysis

For data analysis, I employed mixed methods of pre-determined coding and interpretive policy analysis. The pre-determined coding ensures that MS' implementation is aligned with Narayan's empowerment approach while interpretive policy analysis makes the most use out of the emergent nature of qualitative research. The process of interpretive policy analysis starts with identifying the policy artifacts such as language, texts, and acts, and identifying the actors who are relevant to the policy and create these artifacts. The first two steps of analysis should be conducted at the same time (Yanow, 2000). In this study, the artifacts and actors were identified before the field work.

As the third step, interpretive policy analysis identifies the meanings such as values, beliefs, and feelings by the actors with respect to the policy. There may be multiple meanings carried by an actor depending on time, location, and context. It is important to note which artifacts carry which types of meaning and

interpretations (Yanow, 2000). The fourth step is to identify the points of conflict that reflect different interpretations among different actors.

Coding and Memo Writing

I developed the coding system using Narayan’s theoretical framework

(Please see Table 4.2.).

Table 4.2. Coding System

Opportunity structure	
	Institutional climate
IC-A	Access to information (govt.<=>citizens) community discussion, storytelling, TV, papers in local languages
IC-I	Inclusion and participation – direct, representational, political, information-based, competitive market mechanisms (restrictions on what they can grow and sell, tax)
IC-S	Social accountability- Political, administrative, public/social. ask public officials and service providers for policies, actions, use of funds, their rights = control and power shifts to the poor when they hold providers accountable.
IC-L	Local organizational capacity- ability of people to work together, organize themselves, and mobilize resources to solve problems of common interests.
	Social and political structure
SP-O	Openness
SP-C	Competition, Conflict
Agency of the poor	
	Poor people’s individual assets and capabilities
IAC-A	Assets- land, housing, livestock, savings, and jewelry
IAC-H	Human- good health, education, productive/life-enhancing skills
IAC-S	Social- social belonging, leadership, relations of trust, a sense of identity, values that give meaning to life, the capacity to organize
IAC-Psy	Psychological- self-esteem, self-confidence, ability to aspire better future
IAC-Po	Political dimension- the capacity to represent oneself and others, access to information, form associations, and participate in the political life of a community
	Poor people’s collective assets and capabilities
CAC-V	Voice
CAC-O	Organization- bonding, solidarity
CAC-R	Representation

CAC-I	Identity
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Source: Narayan (2005)

Data from field and interview notes were coded manually based on the Narayan's framework that themes represent meanings—values, beliefs, and feelings—about the policy. I provide special focus on the respondents' words; therefore, I conducted *In vivo* coding (Strauss and Corbin, 2007), which uses the words of research participants to code or select themes. Applying *emic* concepts respects and further enhances the understanding of the insiders' point of view. Once I coded all the data, I organized the data with the same codes under each theme. It allowed me to focus on the data relevant to the conceptual framework as well as the interpretation of the policy by MS. I made sure to note the original source of each data point so that I can verify the information by going back to the original documents. Through multiple readings of data separated in each coding group, I tried to find the patterns and similarities in and across the themes, which led to my conclusions. Throughout the data collection and analysis, I kept a reflective journal to note salient patterns and topics that emerged from the processes. The reflective journal was used to draw and verify the conclusions.

Chapter 5

FINDINGS

The school is two hours from Varanasi city. From the window in the back of my taxi, all I saw was magnificent golden sugarcane fields and the occasional mango and guava trees. In a paddie, water buffalos and wild hogs were sharing the oasis. Passing through several villages with houses made of soil and straw, curious children in bare feet chased after me. At hand pumps along the dusty road, young mothers filled their tanks with fresh water. My taxi shared the bumpy narrow road with over-sized commercial vehicles, transit buses to connect villages, buffalo carriages, and motor cycles. KGBVs have no street or mailing addresses. The whole village knows the school. Once I arrived, I asked the villagers, “Where is the KGBV school?” What turned out to be the most effective method to find the school was to look for the building with the laundry. Every KGBV school was covered by colorful clothes from the top of the building to the window frames and walls.

In this chapter, I discuss how MS interprets and translates its understanding of the KGBV scheme into implementation. I also introduce how teachers are trained to achieve the goals and missions of MS and KGBVs. In the end of this chapter, I summarize the challenges faced by the staff members of MS and teachers in KGBVs. Particularly, this chapter answers Research Questions 2, 3, and 4: 2) how have these policies been interpreted and implemented to provide education opportunity and participation for under-represented girls; 3) how have

teachers been recruited and trained to achieve education equity for the girls; and 4) what are the conflicts between the policy and its implementation? The goal of this chapter is to present and highlight the effective approaches used by MS and how they enhance empowerment for the target group.

Implementation and Empowerment Approaches by MS

The government scheme provides the basic guideline such as objectives and budget; however, it does not state how it should be achieved. It is MS's creativity and experience in rural villages that make the KGBV schools successful. The approaches are developed, practiced, revised, and always "evolving" (Bharati, personal communication, September 1, 2009) to meet the needs of girls in rural villages.

Recruitment of Girls

The goals of MS, women's empowerment in family, society and governance, are embedded throughout the recruitment efforts. These goals are achieved through the use of effective approaches particularly for economically deprived groups of women in SC/ST, OBC, and minority communities in rural settings. Through MS, girls are helped in four phases: (1) by listening to their family problems, (2) by stimulating their abilities to think, question, and analyze their predicaments, (3) by providing information, and (4) by providing experience.

Phase 1. The first phase usually starts with building trust with the uneducated parents and their community. To do so, the MS staff, teachers, and MS, sangha women visit each village to ask their problems in life and listen to

their stories. At this point, the goal is not to convince them to send their daughters to school but to genuinely listen to their problems. Their problems are often economic, social, health, and family related. This phase could take up to a month. A teacher of Sudhar school, Ushma reflected on the recruitment activity and expressed, “I visited their villages and houses again and again. First, I was just there with the parents and asked how they were doing and just casually chatting with them like friends” (Ushma, personal communication, November 10, 2009). Another teacher, Tiya, also had similar recruitment experiences, “It takes a lot of time and effort until parents understand it. We try many, many times” (Tiya, personal communication, November 10, 2009). In addition to Ushma and Tiya, almost all the staff and teachers as well as MS sangha women speak the local dialect, Bhojpuri, in addition to the Hindi language. Therefore, the staff members approach families in their own language to minimize the feeling of intrusion by outsiders.

Phase 2. Once there is a feeling of connectedness between families in the village and the staff members, the staff members start the second phase of the recruitment process. When they share their problems, the recruitment staff encourages them to think and question their predicaments as well as socio-cultural norms of gender roles and relationships. The staff members ask questions that the parents have never been asked or thought of before. For instance, why do male members of the family receive medical services but not females? Why do sons attend schools but not daughters? Why do boys get to learn how to fix motor

cycles but not girls? They also discuss the idea that all their issues come down to deprivation. For example, a family is struggling financially and as a result they cannot send their daughter to a school. Instead they keep her at home to take care of other siblings while her parents are at work.

This is a very typical case in this area. A teacher reflects, “It is challenging to make the parents understand the importance of education for their daughter. Initially they hesitate to send their girls to the residential school because they will lose laborers. The parents want their daughters to stay at home and help them” (Tiya, personal communication, November 10, 2009). The recruitment staff would explain that it not only deprives the daughter of an education but also forces her in the future into the same circumstances as themselves. This process instills the feeling of restlessness towards their plights (Bharati, personal communication, September 1, 2009). When the parents can envision better future for their daughter through education, they start showing their interests in education.

Phase 3. In addition to helping them reflect and analyze their own predicaments, the recruitment team provides information relating to the benefits of education and how KGBV schools help them achieve an education for their daughter. Contrary to continuing to live a life of struggle, parents realize education for their daughters will provide her family with better employment, income, and health conditions. The recruitment staff members also introduce various government programs and services relating to education, health, and

employment that they might not be aware of. They emphasize that if they are better informed about government assistance, they will be able to educate their daughters and themselves. In addition to face-to-face dialogue, teachers of Sudhar School voluntarily created promotional CDs and cassettes. The CDs and cassettes introduce the KGBV, and discuss the importance of education, the harm of the early marriage, and the *dawry* system⁶. Through receiving a flood of information in-person and via promotional materials, parents consider and admit the importance of education and often decide to send their children to KGBV schools.

Phase 4. The last and the most effective phase provides the parents the chance to witness how this education improves their daughters. Once the girls start the residential schools, some parents start to doubt about the influence of education because they miss their daughters and feel resistant to the idea of boarding schools during the girls' absence. Besides, the effect of education does not manifest itself in a short term. However, the parents are convinced when they meet their daughter after a month from the beginning of the school. Through the lessons on nutrition, health and hygiene in addition to the nutritious meals and hygiene practices, the girls' skin and hair become considerably better. The girls' health conditions improve, and they look much healthier than before boarding. Also, the girls learn and acquire proper manners and etiquette by living with peers

⁶ *Dowry* is the payment in cash, goods, or property by the bride's family to the groom's family along with the giving away of the bride at the time of marriage. This custom is an Indian tradition predominantly in the northern regions of the country. The amount of *dawry* payments has risen significantly over the last five decades (Anderson, 2003).

and teachers. The parents see that their daughters express and present themselves more politely. Besides, girls demonstrate their intellectual ability by reading letters, and by creating community posters, and newspapers for their illiterate or uneducated parents.

In KGBV schools, girls engage in diverse activities that are not mandated in the government curriculum such as music, poetry, art, and sports such as karate and kick boxing. Until the girls enter KGBV schools, they had never been allowed or been given opportunity to engage in these activities. These activities prompt the girls to discover and nurture their hidden potentials. Tiya and Muskaan of Sudhar School expressed;

When the parents see girls' achievements in their studies as well as other activities, they are convinced. Especially when girls' accomplishments are in newspapers, photos, and videos, parents are really proud of them. Local newspapers often pick up our events and put them in the newspaper (Tiya and Muskaan, personal communication, November 9, 2009).

The uneducated parents took a dim view of their daughters that they were only good at taking care of siblings and would soon be married at the cost of dawry until the girls joined the KGBV schools. Above all, the girls became confident in their accomplishments and changes in their life. After a month of participation in KGBV schools, the girls and their families were able to witness the positive changes in themselves as well as their futures.

From their second year, KGBV schools have always received over subscriptions for the 100 seats available (Pushti, personal communication, September 24, 2009). When one girl in a village went to a KGBV school, the

parents as well as neighboring villagers began to notice the differences in her through talking with her, reading the newspaper, looking at community posters, and listening to the stories of her parents (Parvathy, personal communication, November 18, 2009). When they observed the positive impacts of education, they finally understood what the recruitment team was trying to convey. Then everyone in the village wanted to send their girls to a KGBV school. At this time, the KGBV schools were spread out among different blocks, and only admitted girls from their blocks.

Recruitment Strategy in the Empowerment Framework

The recruitment strategy hit numerous aspects of the Opportunity Structure in the Narayan's empowerment framework. First of all, the entire recruitment phase demonstrates the close relationships of MS to the poor rural families. The approach in the first phase is an unobtrusive way to approach to the parents, and the second phase encourages the parents to participate in the discussions by stirring thoughts and questions on their own situations. Through the dialogue with the staff members of MS, the family can enhance social accountability by asking questions and interacting with the staff members. Access to the information in the third phase is the main component of Opportunity Structure. For example, the staff members of MS introduce the government services that they are eligible for but have not been aware of, which is liberating and empowering in itself. The fourth phase touches on both building blocks (i.e., Institutional Climate and Social and Political Structure) of

Opportunity Structure by stimulating their capacity for local organization and developing open communication with the parents.

Selection Workshop

More and more parents and communities are motivated to send their children to KGBV; however, each KGBV school has provisions for only 100 girls. Under the current policy scheme, it is not possible to accommodate all dropout girls in the villages. To select the girls who enter the KGBV schools, MS holds a selection workshop for the girls and parents who are interested in attending. There are usually 200 to 300 girls registered for the workshop (Parvathy, personal communication, November 18, 2009). During the one-day workshop, girls and parents separately receive the guidelines, management, and structures of the KGBV school so that they can catch a glimpse of the life in the residential school environment. Also, they receive the information about their academic achievements. In the villages with the established KGBV schools, the MS brings some KGBV participants to share their experience of academic and extracurricular activities and relationships with teachers, wardens, and peers.

Selection Criteria. When there are more applications than the open seats, which is usually the case, MS carries out the selection process. It uses five criteria for the selection of the girls: 1) age; 2) reading and writing; 3) creativity; 4) expression; and 5) commitment of parents/guardians. First, the girls between the ages of 14 and 16 fill the seats, since this policy targets the girls who drop out of the primary education after the 6th grade for 2 to 3 years (Parvathy, personal

communication, November 18, 2009). Second, the girls are asked to write very simple words such as their name, the names of their parents and family members, the name of their village, and some of the alphabet to determine their expression and basic knowledge. The girls are not denied admission because they do not know how to write or read. Third, the girls are asked to create simple art work such as drawing circles, connecting dots with lines, counting certain objects, and keeping records. Many girls cannot even hold a pen properly or draw circles (Parvathy, personal communication, November 18, 2009). This activity is for the MS team to assess their patience and willingness to try to complete the tasks.

Fourth, the MS team asks the girls to discuss some topics in small groups to examine their expressions. Some examples of the topics for this discussion are: 1) why do you want to get an education; 2) what was your school experience like?; 3) what do you want to do in the school?; 4) what do you want to become after you get educated?; and 6), please describe your village (Parvathy, personal communication, November 18, 2009). Most girls have never been asked to describe their backgrounds, situations, or thoughts; therefore, this activity is the first opportunity for them to speak up and express themselves in front of others. Through this activity, MS determines their reaction to the assignments and how well they can respond and express themselves.

The fifth procedure is to evaluate the commitment of parents or guardians to girls' education. Having their daughters in a residential school for 3 years is such a big commitment. The girls cannot continue without their parents' support.

However, MS considers girls' motivation to attend school as the utmost of importance throughout the selection process. Therefore, when the parents are reluctant about their daughter's education despite their daughter's interests and potential, MS staff members, teachers, and sangha women work together, visit their house multiple times, and convince the parents. The girls' motivation and parents' support are more important than knowing how to read and write in the selection as well as in the learning process.

Readiness Class

The first 3 months of the school year is devoted to readiness class. The purposes of the readiness class is to 1) learn in an interesting, challenging and safe environment, 2) get accustomed to the school's rules, structures, and time table, and 3) build relationships between teachers and students, and among peers. First, the KGBV school provides ice breakers, team building, activity based learning, and sports within the academic timetable in the first 15 days of the school year (Tiya, personal communication, November 10, 2009). During this period, the girls engage in field trips to local offices like the railway station, bank, post office, police station, and judiciary (Vimla, personal communication, November 11, 2009). Through the guidance of workers at these offices and observations of their work, the field trips help the girls develop their career goals and dreams for the future. This period is the opportunity for the girls to discover that learning can be interesting, and that the school is a safe learning environment.

Second, during this readiness class, girls get accustomed to the school's structures and rules. Considering the girls' backgrounds, in which they have few rules and structures in rural villages for their entire lives, following an academic time table is in itself a challenging task for the girls. During this time, girls gradually learn and adjust to the well structured and disciplined lifestyle.

Another important rule that the girls have to follow is that the KGBV is a discrimination-free environment. The girls need to learn to break their superficial beliefs and live with girls from other social castes or religions. For example, in the beginning, a number of girls expressed their hesitation to eat with the girls from lower castes because their parents and community members taught them that the lower castes are dirty and that they have to take a shower when the shadow of a person in the SC casts over them (Parvathy, personal communication, November 18, 2009). It takes some time to remove these types of social beliefs and discriminatory thoughts since they grew up with them. In KGBV, teachers discuss the importance of hygiene during the preparation of food and reiterate that castes have nothing to do with cleanliness of food. Then as human beings, they sit, eat, and sleep together. By repeating this process every day, the girls do not pay attention to which backgrounds their peers are from. This process is enlightening both for general caste groups as well as for the lower caste groups. Socially disadvantaged girls often gain dignity and confidence through this process (Parvathy, personal communication, November 18, 2009).

Another important purpose of this readiness class is to develop trust and family-like relationship among teachers, staff members, and the girls. As mentioned earlier, moving into a residential school in the early teenage years is one of the biggest changes in their lives. Until they adapt themselves for living in a KGBV school, many girls struggle with discipline, structures, rules, and new time tables. It is difficult to cope with not having family members, a mother, and siblings around. Given this situation, the warden and teachers must assume the role of their mothers, big sisters, and teachers at the same time. To successfully assume these multiple roles, there has to be a bond and trust between teachers and the girls. During this readiness class, teachers and wardens focus on getting to know each individual and their needs.

In this period, the teachers and wardens consciously make efforts to restore the girls' childhoods regardless of their age (Bharati, personal communication, September 1, 2009). Until they come to the KGBV, many girls are forced to grow up faster than usual, help their family members, and take care of their siblings without going to school. Once the girls become healthy by practicing proper nutrition, their motivation or urge to study naturally appears (Bharati, personal communication, September 1, 2009). Therefore, the objective for the readiness class is to get the girls ready for study. When they are physically and mentally prepared for study through the readiness class, they acquire the minimum learning level within 2 to 3 months even though they did not know the

alphabet in the beginning (Parvathy, personal communication, November 18, 2009).

Readiness Class Approach in Empowerment Framework

The KGBV readiness class provides diverse opportunities to stimulate girls' Agency as in Narayan's empowerment framework. Many strategies work on psychological and social aspects of Individual Assets and Capabilities. For example, the girls from the lower castes gain confidence and dignity from being treated the same as girls from higher castes. The approach to prohibit any kind of discrimination is to work on enhancing the girls' psychological capabilities. Additionally, creating a family-like relationship between teachers and students in a residential environment is effective in developing social capabilities in Agency of the Poor. Within residential schools, the girls develop social capital among their peers from same community and as well as with teachers and peers from different social groups that share similar life experiences. This experience would work as collective assets and capabilities by learning to build solidarity and voice their opinions as a collective.

Residential Schools

A residential school plays the role of a home and a school. The transition from village life to a structured school life poses a lot of challenges for the girls. A warden of Sudhar school, Ushma describes, "[g]irls used to go outside freely whenever they want. There were few structures and restrictions in the village lifestyle. The school has less freedom comparing with their villages" (Ushma,

personal communication, November 10, 2009). The residential schools are a strong tool to prevent girls from dropping out by bringing out the girls' best potential, creating cohorts, and making school interesting and relevant. To maximize the effectiveness of residential schools, MS focuses on strict discipline and high expectations toward learning, as well as a safe and fun learning community and family-like relationships among the teachers, staff, and girls. Parvathy, the SPC of MS, emphasizes, "[w]e believe that they all have these skills, but they don't get the environment. In this school, we give them the environment, then, they can improve themselves" (Parvathy, personal communication, November 18, 2009).

Discipline. As a manner to live with others in a structured setting as educated people, wardens and teachers lay down strict rules and discipline when it comes to girls' behavior and etiquette. The MS KGVB's disciplines are thorough and rigid starting from where and how to sit in the classroom to when they are allowed to go to the hand pump to drink water. During the social discussion class at the Asha school, for instance, the girls gather in the middle of the field. About 10 girls from Classes 6 and 7 worked together and spread three carpets on the grounds with the supervision of the girls from Class 8. As soon as the carpets were set, the girls took off their shoes and arranged them by the edge of the carpets. Then, they sat cross-legged on the carpets by their grade. While the social discussion was taking place, each girl received a snack on the tail of her shirt or in her hands. When they finished eating their snack, the discussion was still going on. Only two or three girls got up at a time to wash their hands at the

hand pump; although, they all wanted to go. As they listened to and participated in the discussion, they silently waited for their turn to get up. They never got up all at once. It was clear that the girls' disciplined and well mannered behaviors were the result of continuous efforts and encouragement by wardens and teachers.

Discipline of the girls was never completed in a day. Avantica, warden and teacher in Sahas school, shared:

[w]hen they first came to school, they did not have the concept of throwing away trash in a trash can. We use push trash cans (i.e., the trash can with lid that opens when a person steps on the pedal at the bottom), but the girls throw trash around the trash can without stepping on the pedal and that does not bother them. Of course, the trash was everywhere. We had to teach those small things like that, one by one, everyday (Avantica, personal communication, September 30, 2009).

This anecdote demonstrates how much effort and patience were required to get to the point demonstrated in the example of getting up and wash hands.

Another example relates to their uniform. The girls wear a uniform with much pride and consider it a symbol of their accomplishment and solidarity. The girls wear uniforms during the school time, which is from 7:40 am to 4:30 pm. Before the start of prayer at 7:40 am, the girls sweep and clean their room, classrooms, and ground. They take a shower, change into their uniform, put their hair in a ponytail and tie a bow with a white ribbon in each others' hair. By the time they change and tie their hair, the girls transform from innocent little village girls to proud and intelligent school girls. The girls behave properly and politely in their uniforms as if they were showing respect to their school and learning opportunity. The uniform functions to bond all the girls from different

backgrounds. Once they are in the KGBV, everyone wears the same uniform, socks, and shoes. Although it is not mandatory, every girl wears a white ribbon in her hair. Wearing the uniform is another way for the girls to go through the same experience as a cohort. It represents their solidarity as a team, and respects it as one.

Safe and Fun Learning Community. When I first arrived at a KGBV, I was impressed by how loud the girls were in the classroom. In a home science class in the Sudhar school, the girls in Class 6 were answering questions about the names of fruits in a basket. The girls could not wait to be called by the teacher and were raising their hands so high with big smiles on their faces and sparkling eyes. On the contrary to my intention not to interrupt the class, every time I stepped by the entrance of the classroom, all of them got up and said hello. On top of that, they did not sit down until I told them to. This experience was consistent with two other schools. The girls were polite, cheerful, and enjoyed the learning to the fullest. When I witnessed these cases, I realized that the MS KGBVs have successfully created and maintained a safe and fun learning environment for the girls.

Parents and Community Involvement. At the KGBV schools, MS encourages parents and community involvement in school planning and management. Parents are welcome to visit the school at any time, but usually parents come to visit the schools and meet with their daughters on Sundays (Tiya, Pushti, personal communication, November 10 and September 24, 2009). Also,

on the last Sunday of every month, each KGBV holds a parents-teacher meeting to share their academic plans and discuss problems from the perspectives of both parties (Sahana, personal communication, September 28, 2009). The community and village members, as well as the parents contribute to the recruitment process and the diverse aspects of the KGBV. The sangha members in villages also helped to identify and approach the drop-out girls in the block (Sahana, personal communication, September 28, 2009).

Through parent and community involvement, KGBV is trying to promote cultural maintenance. Pushti, the warden in the Asha school, encourages the parents to bring their home grown vegetables and have the kitchen staff learn the recipes of their home cooking as many girls miss their mothers' dishes. Pushti explains, "[w]e try to make what they eat at their villages" (Pushti, personal communication, September 24, 2009). This school involves the parents and family members in various religious and regional festivals. In the Asha school, the parents help the school and the girls to prepare for each festival so that the girls can celebrate as they do in their own villages. At *Laksha Bandhan* festival (i.e., the festival to express and celebrate the chaste bond and love between brothers and sisters), the girls made traditional bracelets for their brothers with the help of the village women, and then they celebrate the day with their brothers at the school.

Family-Like Relationship between Teachers, Staff, and Girls. Another outstanding observation was that the girls feel very close to teachers and wardens.

Throughout the school activities as well as the rest of the time, teachers truly care about the girls. Avantica, in the Sahas school, told me as she was hugging two of the girls with a warm motherly smile on her face, “[t]hey are my children” (Avantica, personal communication, September 30, 2009). She continued, “[a]fter I joined this school, I feel like I became a mother of hundred girls. The girls emotionally attached with us and this school” (Avantica, personal communication, September 30, 2009). As an approach to develop a bond with the girls, Avantica lets them try anything they want to. She generously allows any girls to touch anything in the school, for example, her books, pens, teacher aid, calculator, and cell phone. She is a believer of “learning by doing.”

She told me a story that a couple of girls were playing with her cell phone one day and accidentally made a long distance call, which resulted in expensive charges. She laughed about the accident out of court saying “[t]hey use it, experience it, and learn it. They won’t forget when they learn from their own experience” (Avantica, personal communication, September 30, 2009). Teachers from other schools enjoy the family-like relationship in the residential school as well. Muskaan, a teacher at the Sudhar school, told me that she loves working at the school, “I love these children, and these children love me” (Muskaan, personal communication, November 9, 2009). She conveyed that she feels joy and worthiness when the girls understand the subjects such as etiquette, greetings, health and hygiene, which she teaches. The family-like relationships are developed and maintained by these committed teachers and wardens.

Empowering Activities for KGBV Girls

To promote empowerment for girls, MS incorporates pertinent activities and ideas throughout the school curriculum. The activities entail basic human capabilities such as maintaining good health and hygiene, acquiring productive or life-enhancing skills, social capabilities such as leadership and a sense of identity, and psychological capabilities such as self-esteem and self-confidence. The components for enhancing the agency of educationally disadvantaged girls in the area of empowerment are embedded firmly in teachers' mindsets, lesson plans, school events, and activities.

Discussions on Social Issues. One of the most important and representative approaches of MS is to actively engage the girls in discussions about social and cultural issues, especially gender roles and expectations. By the time the girls complete the readiness class, there are emotional bonds developed among teachers and students. That is when teachers and wardens start the discussions on social and cultural norms. The SPD of MS in UP stated that "MS encourages the girls to question traditions and stereotypes, and makes them think 'why' and analyze it. How many times do you think these girls have had chances to question these things? Never" (Bharati, personal communication, September 1, 2009). Therefore, teachers and wardens actively ask questions to provoke feelings of restlessness. They begin with questions that are relevant to them such as 1) why don't men wear bangles, 2) why does everyone want to have fair skin 3)

how are Muslims and Hindus different Why must girls wear a *dupatta* (i.e., scarf essential to girls' three piece suit called *shalwar kameez*)?

Every day, the time from 5:30 pm to 6:30 pm is allocated for discussion about traditions, customs, stereotypes, religions, and other social issues. Girls from Classes 6 to 8 sit together, share their thoughts, and discuss these issues. Teachers do not provide them with answers during these discussions; however, they usually reach a conclusion and realize that these socio-cultural norms deny them opportunities, which then causes feelings of restlessness to emerge.

Teachers and staff members set examples to change the girls' mindsets so that they believe in change and improvement. The SPC and SPD of Bharati, Parvathy, emphasized that these dialogues not only psychologically give the girls courage to act, but they also develop solidarity and consolidation among the girls. When teachers see the girls' frustrations and helplessness in their eyes after the discussions, they ask them to come up with solutions. Teachers add, "[t]his is your rights, why do you have to compromise? You have to fight for it. You are strong and you can do it" (Parvathy, personal communication, November 18, 2009).

In the Sudhar school, there was a case where the parents of one of the girls fixed up the marriage for her without her knowledge. The girl opposed it because she did not want to quit the KGBV school. With other peers and teachers of the school, she convinced her parents and remained in the school. These discussion sessions help them strengthen their bonds because they share similar predicaments

and socio-cultural norms. Through these discussions, MS nurtures the ability of the girls to think, analyze, question, demand, express, and address challenges they face in their lives.

Nutrition, Health and Hygiene. The topics that the girls are exposed to during the early course of their studies involve knowledge and practice for good nutrition, health, and hygiene. Most of the girls in the KGBV's schools are from households below the poverty line. For many of the girls, it is a good day if they eat twice. Further, what they eat is their least concern compared to whether or not they have something to eat. At the time of admission, most of the girls have health and medical issues (Parvathy, personal communication, November 18, 2009). Many suffer from being under weight, low hemoglobin, and anemia (Parvathy and Ushma, personal communication, November 18 and 10, 2009). In KGBVs, the girls receive three well-balanced meals and lectures about nutrition in their home science course. Also, girls are required to maintain proper hygiene practices. They take showers, brush their teeth, and brush their hair every day as a routine. They are not allowed to wear the same dirty clothes every day. They do not follow these practices in their village lifestyles. The girls' physical appearances improve within a month or two by keeping the structured lifestyle, and by having adequate sleep and nutrition.

Physical and mental training. The KGBV schools encourage the girls to try sports and activities that they do not usually engage in or are not allowed to participate in, outside the school. In KGBV schools, the week day starts with

yoga, prayer, and reading the newspaper at 7:40 am. When staying at the Asha school, I slept at a classroom with 8 girls. In the morning, before dawn, I started to hear the girls getting up. When I took a glance at my watch, it was ten minutes before 5 am. Most of the girls got up by 5:30 am. They started playing loud electric music on their cassette-tape recorders and doing an intense aerobic dance. They were jumping and moving left to right quickly and having a lot of fun. I was stunned by their energy and physical ability that early in the morning.

In rural villages of India, girls are brought up to be modest and obedient to their male family members. In the questionnaire at the time of the admission, the majority of the girls responded that what they most feared was the presence of their male family members (Bharati, personal communication, September 1, 2009). Modesty of young women is symbolized by the *Dupatta*, which unmarried women have to wear at all times resting the middle of the scarf on the chest with both ends hanging over each shoulder no matter what they are doing. If unmarried women do not wear a dupatta, villagers and family members tell them that they are shameless and graceless. The girls are tethered to this dupatta, and their range of activities is restricted. For example, the girls cannot play sports wearing a dupatta in the proper way. If they play sports, the dupatta does not rest on their chest; thus, they are not allowed to play sports or ride a bike.

In KGBV schools, the uniform does not have a dupatta, which represents the freedom from the traditional gender role and expectations. The girls are exposed to different types of organized sports such as badminton, soccer, volley

ball, karate, and kick boxing, all of which they could not have done if they were in their villages. In the Sudhar school, they hired teachers for karate and kick boxing. Over several months of training, girls acquired basic skills of karate and kick boxing. Furthermore, some girls won the district level competition and brought back a lot of trophies for karate to the school. Moreover, some got gold medals from the national competition. Girls also went on to the state-level, kickboxing competition, and all got medals (Muskaan, personal communication, November 9, 2009). In their own villages, these girls have never been introduced to such sporting activities, which provide them an opportunity for team work, leadership, understanding of rules, and physical strength. The KGBV approach helps girls to discover their hidden talents and potentials and nurtures them in positive ways.

Life-Enhancing skills. As an empowerment approach, MS intentionally does not teach traditional women's roles and tasks such as cooking, embroidery work, child care, and laundry in the school curriculum since they acquire these skills through their lives in their villages. Instead, KGBV focuses on teaching the tasks and activities that are socially perceived as "men's domain" (Bharati, personal communication, September 1, 2009). These male domains include riding bikes, fixing motor cycles, fixing cell phones, learning computers and technology, and pursuing higher education. Through the KGBV curriculum, the girls learn and acquire the skills and knowledge that are relevant and useful to their rural environments regardless of gender expectations. In the Asha school,

girls were growing eggplants, cauliflowers, and chilies for themselves and studying the techniques for farming (Pushti, personal communication, September 24, 2009). Teachers mentioned that the girls have a better knowledge of the seasons for planting vegetables than the teachers. These activities help to maintain their life skills when they go back to their rural environments.

KGBV Parliament. In KGBV schools, the girls convene KGBV parliament every Sunday. The girls select and appoint ministries, presidents, and a chair in a democratic manner. “Everything is run by the girls,” Tiya and Muskaan told me proudly (personal communication, November 9, 2009). There are ministries like the Ministry of Water Management, Food, Rules and Legislations, Cleanliness and Hygiene, and Agriculture. At the weekly Parliament, the ministers bring up their issues and all girls discuss them as a way to improve their school life. They discuss the cause of each issue and come up with a solution. For example, during my visit the girls discussed the inadequate water supply or that the water was dirty. Someone’s notebook was missing, and someone tied another’s shoe laces while the person was sleeping. In the past, the parliament asked for a special menu and for field trips, which were discussed, brought to the warden, and actualized (Pushti, personal communication, September 24, 2009). During the parliament, teachers become the audience and do not interrupt the arguments unless it is necessary.

The KGBV parliament covers multiple components of Agency of the poor in the conceptual framework. It nurtures leadership skills by creating ministries

that allow the girls to present their issues to the whole school. It allows them to acquire problem solving skills by coming up with the solutions without any help from the teachers. In terms of their collective capabilities, it provides the opportunities for the girls to voice their opinions in a proper manner to the respective party, to build solidarity and team work by reaching the solution through discussions, and to practice representing their small group within the larger group. This activity hits both individual and collective capabilities.

Teacher Selection, Training and Pedagogy

Teacher selection and training are important components of the successful implementation of this policy. Teachers, staff members, and wardens are the ones to face these girls every day, and they make a sincere effort to educate them and improve their futures. It is these teachers who deliver the messages of the KGBV scheme formulated by the government and the empowerment approach developed by MS to the girls. When I met these KGBV teachers in person, I wondered how MS found such committed teachers who would solely care about the girls. Without regard to their own interests, they take care of the girls twenty-four, seven with a deeply earnest desire for the girls' empowerment. In a warm and loving environment that mimics a big family home, the teachers provide interesting, useful, and fun education. Their teaching exceeds the basic 3Rs (i.e. reading, writing, and arithmetic). They raise the girls strictly but patiently and tell them how to form up, to take off their shoes, to take meals, to behave, and to greet

others properly. The teaching in the KGBV schools is a comprehensive approach so that the girls gain the confidence and pride to contribute to society.

Teacher Selection

The selection process is comprised of two parts, the written examination and the interview. Applicants with a B.Ed. degree (i.e., teacher certificate for the secondary level) take the written examination, which covers two parts; 1) their understanding of the subject contents and pedagogy, and 2) teaching aptitude, gender sensitivity, and general awareness. Only short-listed candidates from the results of the written test are invited for an interview. Interviews are carried out by the selection committee, which consists of the SPD, the DPC, two external subject experts, and an accountant. The SPD emphasized, “[i]n addition to the teaching skills, I look for their parenting skills like love and affection. This is residential school, and we need teachers who can be the mother for these girls” (Bharati, personal communication, September 1, 2009). The selection process is objective and solely based on merits. The relative weights given the written test and the interview are 70:30 (MS, 2006) (Table 6.1).

Table 6.1. Teacher Selection Criteria

Contents	Score
Teaching aptitude, gender sensitivity and general awareness	35 points
Subject content	35 points
Interview	30 points
Total	100 points

Source: MS, 2006

Reservation System. As the KGBV policy is the Government of India’s program, the selection of teachers and staff members must comply with the state

legislation of the reservation system for underserved social groups. Based on the reservation system, the UP state government prescribes the following percentages of seats in government posts and employment in public sectors for persons who belong to these categories.

Table 6.2. Reservation System - UP

Category	Quota India (%)	Quota UP (%)
OBC	27	27
SC	15	21
ST	7.5	2
Minority	1	2

Source: MS, 2006

For example, if there are 4 positions for a school, one post is reserved for OBC, another for SC, and the rest are for general or other categories. It means 50% of the seats are reserved for underserved population, and 50% are unreserved and open for others. If there is only one open position, the reservation system is not applied.

Hiring Female Teachers. It is always a challenge to find and recruit qualified female math and science teachers in KGBV schools. The implementation guidelines held by the Ministry of Human Resource Development prescribes that KGBV schools must hire only female teachers (India, 2007b). This guideline holds even though there are no qualified female teachers. In other words, if there are no qualified female teachers in a given year, the Indian government suggests refraining from hiring any teachers for the subjects and keeps the positions vacant until the schools find qualified female teachers the next year. The KGBV schools managed by the SSA Society and other government

agencies comply with the regulation because they are closely associated with the state government (Parvathy, personal communication, November 18, 2009). However, taking advantage of the position as an autonomous entity, MS hires qualified male teachers for math and science only if they cannot find qualified female teachers. The staff members of MS express that other KGBV implementing agencies criticize MS for their decisions to hire male teachers as it is against the government guideline. The SPC, Parvathy, argues, “[t]his is a one year time. If we don’t take any teacher, this is a loss for these students. We are not compromising the study of the students, so we take the male teachers. We decided to take this privilege by ourselves” (Parvathy, personal communication, November 18, 2009). When hiring male teachers, MS enforces strict policies for their living arrangement and school periods. Male teachers are never allowed to stay at the school. They have to find and arrange a house near the school, but never on the premise of the school. They are allowed to be on the school premise only when the girls are in sessions from 7 am to 5 pm (Parvathy, personal communication, November 18, 2009). Now MS-schools managed by KGBVs in UP have 50% male teachers.

Hiring MSK Teachers without the B.Ed. Degree. Another nonnegotiable item that MS overlooks is that they select and hire some of the former MSK teachers as Social Science teachers even without their B.Ed degrees. Since the guideline prescribes that only B.Ed. holders are eligible for a teaching position, this is against the policy scheme. The SPD, Bharati, emphasized, “[w]e

have our own view and beliefs. We advise the government honestly what works and what does not work” (Bharati, personal communication, September 1, 2009). The SPC, Parvathy, argued, “[w]hen we start KGBV, we selected MSK teachers for KGBV schools as social science teachers. These teachers have great ideas about and experiences with rural girls who previously dropped out and their parents. They were great resources for the orientation of the rest of the teachers” (Parvathy, personal communication, November 18, 2009). Hiring former MSK teachers became a highly regarded model for the KGBV even though their guidelines stated it was against their policy. However, it is mandatory that the former MSK teachers go through all procedures of selection and pass both the written examination and the interview on the merit basis. The only difference is that MS allowed the relaxation of the B.Ed. degree guideline for the MSK teachers because they had at least 3 years of teaching experience, particularly with uneducated girls in rural and remote environments.

Teacher Training

Structure of Teacher Training. The KGBV teacher training is planned, developed, and facilitated by a training team consisting of former schoolteachers, university professors, education experts, consultants and SSA government officers with the advisory members of MS. The teacher training includes three aspects of running residential schools; management, academics, and life skills. The financial support for the KGBV teacher training is provided by UNICEF. In terms of the time frame, all KGBV teachers are trained in 3 phases.

Phase 1 (6 days). The first phase of the training is conducted before the school year. This training covers diverse topics and includes practices that involve Teaching Learning Materials (TLMs), gender sensitivity training, rules and regulations in residential schools, communication with parents and community members, and relationships among students and teachers (MS, 2006). It especially focuses on the management of residential schools and child psychology with special attention given to adolescent girls from poor, rural backgrounds. Particularly, the training introduces how to maintain dignity and how to identify with these girls. Through this phase, the teachers are exposed to the initial challenges that they would face in residential schools with the adolescent girls in rural environments. At the end of the six-day training, teachers conduct mock sessions to practice their teaching techniques acquired from the training.

Phase 2 (5 days). The second phase of the training is held around 2 to 3 months after the beginning of the school year. By this time, the MS monitoring team visits and stays at each KGBV school for 24 hours to observe every aspect of the school. Based on the 24 hour observation, the MS monitoring team identifies the areas that need to be strengthened and improved. These areas, which are identified by the monitoring team as well as the topics brought up by teachers, are the main focus of discussion in Phase 2 of the training. Generally this phase addresses challenges such as how to manage the classroom with girls that have different levels of learning and knowledge.

Phase 3 (5 days). The third phase of the training is carried out during the fifth month of the school year. In this phase, teachers learn about the patterns and trends of the standardized examination and prepare essay style question papers accordingly. The girls feel intense pressures and fear when they face the official examinations. The third phase of training provides some techniques and preparation to alleviate the students' pressure and fear surrounding examinations. By the third phase, counseling is necessary both for teachers and students. MS teacher-trainers provide counseling sessions for teachers to address their concerns and issues. Through this session, the teachers also learn how to conduct counseling for the girls. At this time, many girls are at risk of dropping out as they start to miss their family members, and their family members miss them (Parvathy, personal communication, November 18, 2009).

Key Techniques of MS Teacher Training

Un-learning. Teacher training always starts by “un-learning,” Bharati, SPD, explained. She continued:

[t]eachers have to ‘un-learn’ what they have learned from their formal teacher-training because it is based on urban settings targeting on boys from well fed families and households with both parents and with no domestic violence, with electricity, no malnutrition, and with family support and no child labor (Bharati, personal communication, September 1, 2009).

The teachers with B.Ed. degrees have received their formal teacher training in pedagogy and practices by the District Education and Training Institute; however, the formal training does not prepare them for the KGBV school settings because the pedagogy and practices taught in their formal training often mismatch the

needs of the girls from educationally disadvantaged backgrounds with uneducated illiterate parents in poor rural environments. The first objective of the training is to break the assumptions instilled in them from their formal training and upbringing. First and foremost, teachers need to understand the plights the girls face so as to create effective teaching practices and learning environments.

Modeling and Cultural Modeling. The MS believes in the positive impacts of cultural modeling and Cultural (Lee, 2003); therefore, their training sessions follow these two concepts.

Modeling. Modeling refers to a way a person learns through experience and the way skills and knowledge are acquired when a person goes through the same structures and methods used in an established organization. In other words, the teachers learn and acquire teaching skills and techniques in settings similar to the KGBV schools. They attend the training sessions in similar environments and structures as the girls do when they learn in the schools. As the girls receive readiness classes in the beginning of their school year, the teacher-training sessions start with the same ice breaker activities and team building activities in which the girls would engage. Through these activities, trainers elicit the teachers' expectations for the training and try to accommodate them as much as possible.

In each of the one-week training sessions, the teachers' days begins with yoga, aerobics, and prayer just as the girls start their days at school. These physical activities are compulsory for all teachers; although, they do not seem to

relate to teaching academic subjects (Parvathy, personal communication, November 18, 2009). Yet, they are essential components of the training at the KGBV schools to maintain and promote healthy lifestyles. During the timeslots for the classroom sessions, teachers learn various activities and games that can be used to facilitate the teaching of the subject matters in entertaining ways. When they learn these activities, teachers from each school are divided up to work in small groups with the teachers from other schools. Working on the tasks together as a team, each group acquires different types of teaching activities from other groups in the training. In this way, teachers can tap into and teach each other the various teaching activities once they go back to their own schools.

Just as the KGBV school curriculum, the teacher training includes sessions for discussions about social and cultural issues as “we [MS] want the teachers to follow the same structure as the school” (Parvathy, personal communication, November 18, 2009). In KGBVs, any type of prejudice or discrimination is prohibited. Any such issues are openly talked about during the discussion sessions. Since these activities negate their rooted beliefs in social hierarchy based on a person’s background, initially some teachers show hesitation and discomfort about the ideas of equality and equity, as well as practices based on those notions. The training team, which includes counselors and MS staff members, facilitates the discussions at the appropriate levels and speeds (Parvathy, personal communication, November 18, 2009). The teachers have diverse backgrounds, and they had not spent time together until this training; however,

since the training, they have begun to sit, eat, learn, room together, and help each other in school. In the evening sessions, the teachers receive the counseling sessions from former counselors and MS staff members. During the sessions, they discuss their concerns and anxiety towards management, teaching, and the rural lifestyle in KGBVs. Through this session, teachers understand that they will receive total support from the MS district office, and that they will also learn how to conduct the counseling sessions for the girls and address girls' mental health issues as well.

Cultural Modeling. Cultural Modeling is a theory developed by Dr. Carol D. Lee (2003). It is a framework for designing curriculum and lesson plans based on prior knowledge that educationally disadvantaged students bring into classrooms. Cultural Modeling considers the everyday street knowledge of the underserved students as a valuable basis for education. Despite the requirement to use the textbooks and the curriculum prepared and provided by the government agencies, the KGBV revised it so that the girls can make connections and discover points of relevance and usefulness to school learning. The content of the study is supported by the UP government education board; however, MS selects learning points (i.e., *patha bindu*) from the official curriculum that are particularly relevant or of interest to the girls. Through learning points, the girls are introduced to the concepts using the examples that they are familiar with. For instance, if they learn about gas in Science, MS introduces the concepts of heat and water in connection with gas. Beyond the boundaries of each subject content, MS tries to

interconnect all learning points from different subjects and every day, rural life. Although the methods differ from the government prescription, MS includes all academic subjects and chapters in the government standards (Parvathy, personal communication, November 18, 2009). In addition, the total learning time for the academic year is 900 hours, which is the same as any other government school. Taking advantage of residential schools, the girls learn social science in the extra time (Parvathy, personal communication, November 18, 2009). In the KGBVs, the curriculum is designed to serve the needs of girls from impoverished, rural households and whose parents may be uneducated or unable to provide support.

Self-appraisal and Rubric. During each training session, teachers appointed to the same school develop and create a self-appraisal rubric for their schools which includes the goals and issues that the teachers focus on. The rubric can include the areas that need to be improved in academics, management, and life skills. For example, waste baskets are set up, newsletters are published every week, students learn to study in peer groups, and parent-teacher meetings are organized in a proper manner. The key to this approach is that teachers themselves contemplate the problem areas of their own school or areas for improvement about themselves and formulate the rubrics accordingly. Staff members from MS provide instructions and check the rubric with the teachers instead of giving the sheet of paper with a premade uniform rubric for every school. The goal of the rubric is different for each school and for each training session. This approach enhances teachers' accountability for improvement of the

issues and achievement of the goals, because the teachers create them. As the school develops and improves, the indicators at the training sessions change as well.

Teaching Practices

Avantica, a teacher and warden in the Sahas school said, “lesson plans are very flexible in this school.” That is because the speed and levels of learning vary for each girl and their interests and favorite subjects are different also. In the official data, girls who have previously dropped out are often categorized in one group; however, some know how to read and write while some actually have never attended to a school or have no idea how to read the alphabet. It is a challenge for the teachers to educate girls from diverse learning levels at the same time and enhance everyone’s learning while maintaining their interests and curiosity. Teachers utilize creative methods to educate these girls in KGBVs. In the following sections, I introduce two methods used in the three schools as effective teaching practices.

Group Work. The teachers at the KGBV schools encourage the girls to work in a team during the classroom sessions as well as outside activities. In the Sahas school, the teachers observe every girl’s progress in learning and grade them based on three categories: 1) fast and active learners (called *Sonali*), 2) medium learners (*Mitali*), and 3) weak and slow learners (*Piyali*). This list is confidential and available only for the teachers. The goal is to help everyone achieve the *Sonali* group. During the classroom activities in any subject, teachers

intentionally mix up or pair up the girls from different learning levels so that the girls teach each other.

In addition, group work has several positive impacts on girls' academic achievement, life skills, and empowerment. Group work helps the girls develop their communication skills. To complete an assignment, the girls need to convey their ideas effectively to other group members, listen attentively, and discuss their ideas and points. Also, the girls learn to take on leadership roles, compile a variety of ideas, and draw a conclusion as a group. This process of group work helps the girls to develop respect for their peers and their responsibility to work with others. It facilitates the learning of the slow learners when the girls explain the concepts, assignments, and understanding in their own words in a small group.

Activity-based Learning. Another method that MS emphasizes as an effective teaching practice for rural girls is activity-based learning. It is an innovation considering the main educational strategy in India has been rote learning and copying since ancient times. The activity-based learning was adopted in all subject areas to make learning more interesting and heuristic. The most common activity-based learning through my observation was student-teaching. The girls were asked to lead the class as if they were playing the role of a teacher.

In the Sudhar school, Tiya was teaching her home science course using this method. Tiya asked the eighth graders if they wanted to be a teacher and facilitate the discussion about food preservation methods. Eight out of ten girls

raised their hand up high. Tiya called on a girl and immediately took the seat of the girl when the girl got up. The girl confidently and proudly played the role of a teacher asking the class about the preservation of milk. First of all, I was stunned about how natural Tiya took the seat of the student sitting side by side with other students in her class. In India, teachers are respected and worshiped as “the Absolute God” (Raina & Raina, 1971, 303), and I could not imagine a teacher sitting at the same level as the students. It was an indication of the close relationship between the teacher and the girls. Regardless of my reaction, the girls and the teacher truly enjoyed the activity. This is just one example. A teacher and warden in Asha school told me, “[w]e do not depend on the regular text books, but we use stories and poetries, singing and dancing” (Pushti, personal communication, September 24, 2009).

Care. Care is not a pedagogy or teaching practice; however, this concept was consistently observed in all three schools and is clearly the essential component of the girls’ achievements. It was care, love, and affection as family members that made a difference. The girls were thriving in the caring and loving environments. The teachers communicate with them beyond the role of teacher, mother, or warden, as respected human beings. They are their role models who listen to them and respond to any questions frankly and sincerely. Asked why she enjoys working at the school, Ushma expressed, “[l]ooking at their faces gives me a lot of joy. I enjoy kids’ company” (Ushma, personal communication, November 10, 2009). Similarly, Muskaan told me, “I love teaching them

etiquette, manners, greeting, health and hygiene and everything. When they understand what I teach and they practice it, that's when I feel the joy" (Muskaan, personal communication, November 9, 2009). Avantica, teacher and warden from the Sahas school shared her relationship with the students, "girls are not shy to talk anything to us. They do not have fear here. Teachers and staff members always try to create family environment. We sit together and eat together. We even eat from the same plate. Girls wear my clothes and my dupatta" (Avantica, personal communication, September 30, 2009). Although the job is challenging, Avantica feels an emotional attachment to the girls with her, other teachers, and the school. She smiled and said, "I feel like I became a mother of hundred girls" (Avantica, personal communication, September 30, 2009).

Monitoring and Strengthening

The entire aspect of MS KGBV is always evolving (Bharati, personal communication, September 1, 2009). For a better program, Bharati frankly and sincerely reports to the state government about what works and what does not work in the policy scheme. When there are good practices and effective methods in a school, she makes sure to share with other staff members of MS for improvement of the whole program. The strategy to make this process possible is rigorous monitoring. The monitoring team is comprised of a DPC of MS, one external expert from the training team, and an MS main officer. There are about 12 monitoring teams, and each KGBV in UP is monitored and evaluated by a team. For the monitoring, the team stays at a school at least 24 hours in order to

observe and make suggestions in every aspect of the school from management to teaching, from social discussion to sleeping arrangements, and from teacher-student relationships to students' behaviors. On the second day, the monitoring team provides some quick feedback to the teachers. The expert often facilitates a classroom session to demonstrate to the teachers how to engage the students in the learning activities. After going back to their offices, each monitoring team discusses and creates common feedback for each school. Each school receives a letter grade from A+ to C- as well as constructive recommendations such as in the Sahas school in which they recommended that a Hindi teacher needed more support. The results from the monitoring are used to develop and revise the training sessions. Based on the needs of the school, the teacher training modifies the emphasis accordingly so that the weak areas are strengthened and the whole school can produce better outcomes the following year.

Challenges

One of the questions in the survey administered during this study asked the KGBV teachers about their challenges working in KGBV schools through an open-ended essay style question. The responses were received from 139 teachers from 33 KGBVs managed by MS in 15 districts all over the state of UP. The top 7 challenges raised by the teachers are presented in Figure 7.1 below.

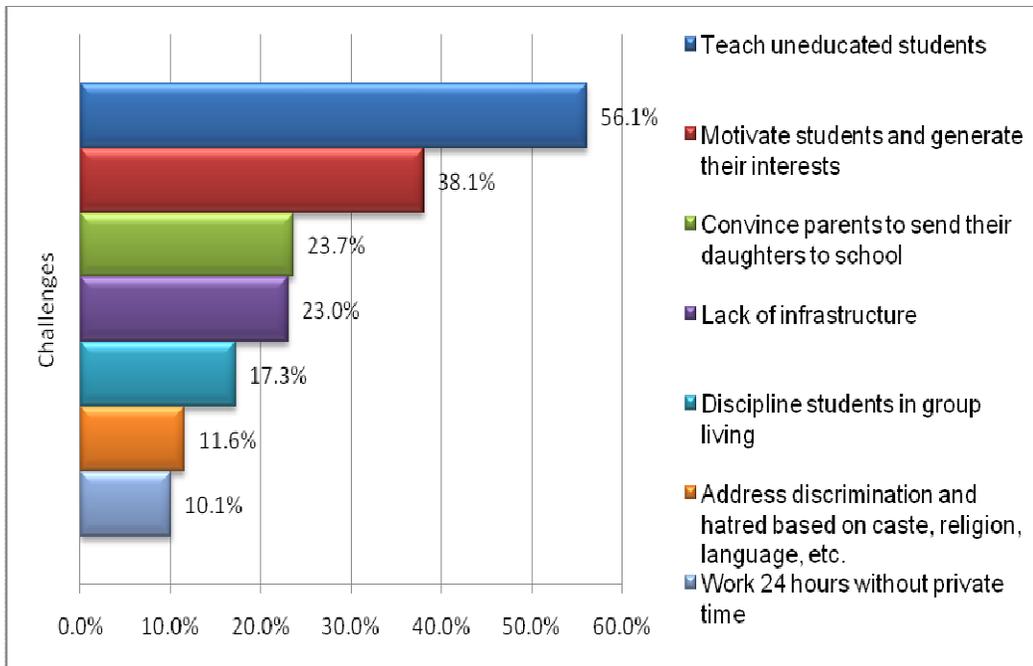


Figure 7.1. Challenges of Working at KGBVs

Source: Survey

The responses cover the concerns and challenges in the diverse areas of teaching, recruitment, facility and maintenance, discipline issues, and long working hours. In this section, I discuss the challenges that the staff members of MS and teachers face in managing KGBVs.

Difficulty of Teaching Uneducated Girls

The most formidable challenge for the KGBV teachers is to teach uneducated girls. Out of 139 teachers, 56.1% mentioned that it is a challenge. To “teach uneducated students” can be understood in two aspects. First, teachers had a difficult time preparing girls for the school environment, structure, and time tables. A teacher from the Gorakhpur district commented in the survey, “girls are not institutionalized in the school for a long period of time so it is very difficult to get them in learning mood again” (Survey, G1). Even before they start learning,

it is difficult for the teachers to have them patiently sit in the class for an hour at a time. A teacher from the Jaunpur district reflects and expresses, “til three months from the admission, the girls cry a lot. When they go back to visit their family, because they feel comfortable at home, they do not return to school on time” (Survey, J2). It takes time for the girls to get accustomed to the discipline and structure in the school because they used to live without rules and discipline.

The second aspect is to raise the level of learning in a considerably quick time. Each KGBV starts with the three months readiness class. During this period, teachers are required to raise the learning level of the girls from zero to the basic understanding of reading, writing, and arithmetic in addition to dealing with the girls’ adaptation process. In the readiness phase, despite the fun and entertaining activities, the girls struggle to adjust to their lifestyle at the residential schools. Even after the readiness classes, the challenges persist. The goal of KGBV is to raise the girls’ level of learning to Class 8 within three years. In other words, the girls learn and acquire the skills and knowledge, which are supposed to take 8 years, within three years. Initially the KGBV policy targets the rural girls who dropout after completing Class 5 and have been out for more than 2 years. In other words, the policy assumed that the girls have basic 3Rs as well as knowledge up to Class 5. However, the reality is that almost all of the students have never attended school, or they discontinued it before the second grade (Sahara, personal communication, September 28, 2009). Because it had been more than five years for some girls since they attended school, almost all of

them did not remember even basic ideas and concepts of learning. A teacher in the Sudhar school, Tiya, shared her method of teaching these uneducated girls, “I continuously encourage them, listen to them, stay with them, take time, spend time, and ask their problems. In many cases, the reason that they cannot study is not academic related. Many have problems at home or with family members. (Tiya, personal communication, November 10, 2009). Tiya’s account demonstrates how time consuming and labor intensive it is to encourage the girls to adapt to the new environment, study at a very fast pace, and stay away from their family members and villages.

No Provision after Class 8

In the current scheme, there is no provision for girls after Class 8, which is a concern for many parents. Although the KGBV is provided for free, three years of education for their daughters is such a big investment for the uneducated poor families. They do not want their daughters to come back to the village and lose everything they learned in KGBVs. Avantica from the Sahas school shares the experience with the girls who completed and graduated from her school, “I still keep in touch with most of the girls even after they graduated. This girl convinced her parents and decided to go to a high school in the area. For them, the issue was tuition, so I called the high school and explained that she finished the KGBV, and asked for financial aid for her. She goes to the high school now” (Avantica, personal communication, September 30, 2009). It is encouraging that the KGBV teacher is still in contact with the graduates; however, from another point

of view, it is another task for teachers to help the girls and uneducated parents find the schools as well as means to support them. A teacher in the Saharanpur district shares her uncertainty about whether she is able to give proper guidance to the girls about their future career knowing there are no provisions after the Class 8.

Lack of School Infrastructure

In the survey, 23.0% of the teachers responded that their schools do not have adequate facilities or sufficient infrastructure for providing effective education for the girls. The challenges includes lack of small classroom size, too few classrooms or fields, as well as the lack of water and electricity. In regard to the space issue, Sahana, a teacher of Sahas school, expressed, “[i]t is too congested. There are too many kids in a small building. no electricity, no water” (Sahana, personal communication, September 28, 2009). In fact, her school does not have any electricity without a generator. The generator can run three hours a day, but it makes loud noises while it is on. The warden of Sudhar school shares a similar problem, “our problem is electricity. We have to run generator most of the time. This generator is noisy” (Ushma, personal communication, November 10, 2009).

The Sahas school also had a water issue. In the school, there were only three bathrooms and two water taps for 100 girls and 10 school staff members and teachers. In the morning time, when everyone bathes and gets ready for the day, it is hectic. The warden, Avantica, adds, “in our school, water is not sufficient, there is not enough electricity, there is no play ground, too many vehicles run in

front of the school and honk continuously” (Avantica, personal communication, September 30, 2009). A teacher in the Chitrakoot district expresses in the survey that, “it is difficult to get the students who do not know elementary Hindi alphabet and make them mainstream in class 6 in a school with only minimal facilities.” The lack of infrastructure at the schools makes learning much more for the girls.

Lack of Budget for Medical Treatments

The KGBV scheme provides health checkups for the girls at the time of enrollment; however, it does not cover the costs of health care and treatments when girls have medical issues. The warden of the Sudhar school informed me that, “[m]any girls have health problems like lack of hemoglobin, anemia and underweight” (Ushma, personal communication, November 10, 2009). These girls are from rural villages, and most of their households are below the poverty line. At least one study indicates that 49% of children under the age of 3 are underweight due to the malnutrition of their mother during their pregnancy (IANS, 2009). The SPD reported a case in which a girl complained of a severe headache. Her family criticized her for pretending she had an illness and never took her to see a doctor. The school staff took her to a doctor and found that she needed surgery. As there was no provision for medical support in the KGBV scheme, her classmates talked to her parents and villagers to raise money for her surgery. Teachers and staff of the school pitched in as well. As a result, they successfully collected enough money for her surgery. It is not atypical to have some kind of

health issues considering the backgrounds of rural living and lack of knowledge about nutrition and hygiene.

High Turnover of Teachers

The KGBV schools are always at risk of losing their qualified teachers. There are mainly two reasons that the teachers tend to leave the position. First, being a residential institution, KGBV requires longer work hours and more responsibilities than regular schools. In the KGBV scheme, the part-time position refers to the full-time work of the regular school. In KGBVs, the part-time teachers work 8 am to 5 pm while the “full-time” teachers stay over at the school, which includes the responsibilities from awakening until going to bed.

Additionally, the KGBV teachers’ salaries are lower than regular schoolteachers. Salary at government schools is almost double that of the KGBV full time teachers. Moreover, the government, schoolteachers are hired in a permanent position while the KGBV teachers are contracted for a year, and the contract is extended based on the teacher’s performance. The SPD expressed, “It is hard to keep good teachers in residential schools in rural areas. They are contracted and underpaid, day-long responsibility, high accountability to the government and harsh evaluation” (Bharati, personal communication, September 1, 2009).

In addition, many teachers live separately from their husbands and children since most KGBVs are located in rural villages. Sahana, a female teacher in the Sahas school expressed, “I have a four-year old son and a six-year old daughter. They live with their father and grandparents. My family lives far

away. I work from 8 am to 5 pm as a part time teacher but stay at school because the school is located far away from my home. I go back to Varanasi in the evening of every Saturday, and come back to school in the morning of every Monday. Only Sundays I get to spend with my children and family” (Sahana, personal communication, September 28, 2009). In Sudhar school, Pushti and Muskaan shared similar stories. Pushti’s family also lives in a city and she gets to meet with her children once in a month or once in 2 to 3 months. Muskaan also visits her four children once every 2 months. They are both paid part-time salaries; however, they work as long as they are staying in the school. Muskaan and Tiya from Sudhar school and Dipa from Sahas school are all appointed as part-time teachers; however, they stay over at the schools every night because the schools are located in the remote villages and far from their homes in the city.

Conflicts with Other Policy Schemes

In regard to the high turnover issue of teachers, there are other circumstances that contribute to the resignation of KGBV teachers. In order to redress the TPR and improve the quality of education, the UP government decided to recruit 60,000 new teachers for primary, government schools in 2008 and 20,000 teachers each following year (Web India, 2008). This program is called the Special Basic Training Certificate (BTC) and provides teacher-training as well as a certificate to teach at the primary level in UP. The State Council of Educational Research and Training of UP reported that the selection of the 60,000

new teachers has been completed, and they are undergoing training (SCERT, 2010).

The Special BTC program created huge appointments for primary schools on a permanent basis. It resulted in harming the KGBV program by withdrawing qualified teachers from the KGBV's schools. The BTC teachers are permanently hired as a government teacher while KGBV teachers are contracted. Besides, the BTC teachers receive better salaries in accordance with other government schoolteachers. Further, the BTC teachers work fewer hours for more pay closer to home. And, because the KGBV is still a new scheme, there is close monitoring and rigorous performance evaluation by the government, which is not the case in the regular government schools where the BTC teachers are appointed.

The SPD reveals, “right now we have many vacancies for teachers” (Bharati, personal communication, September 11, 2009). In fact, in the Sahas school, one teacher left because she took a special BTC position. Also, there are 3 newly appointed teachers to fill the vacancies to fill the vacancies at the KGBV school. The SPD lamented, “one scheme damages another scheme, which should not happen” (Bharati, personal communication, September 1, 2009). Ironically the Special BTC program and KGBV scheme share the goals to improve quality education and achieve EFA. Bharati is in the process of negotiation with the state government to elevate the status and payment for the KGBV teachers.

Chapter 6

CONCLUSION

In this concluding chapter, I answer each research question and present implications for improving the KGBV policy and implementation. I conclude with the most memorable moment from my visit to the KGBV schools.

Responses to Research Questions

Research Question 1

Research question 1 asks: Through what policies does the Indian government attempt to provide educational access to under-represented girls? Launched in 2001, the SSA tries to provide high-quality, free compulsory education to all children ages 6 through 14 by 2010. Under the SSA's framework, there are several schemes, such as the EGS, AIE, NPEGEL, and the KGBV, that target educationally disadvantaged girls to improve their educational access. Among those nation-wide schemes, the KGBV specifically aims at increasing the opportunity for girls from EBBs to receive quality education through residential schools at upper-primary levels.

Research Question 2

Research question 2 asks: How have these policies been interpreted and implemented to provide educational opportunities and participation for under-represented girls? The empowerment approach by MS encourages rural girls and their parents to be the main actor of social change. The role of MS is not to force them to learn or change them for the better, but to facilitate the process of

realization. Using methods that are effective for this target group, MS understands their situations, makes them think and question their problems, and encourages them to be the change agents for themselves. Therefore, the teaching of KGBV does not rely on rote learning like the traditional Indian classrooms, because teachers understand that the knowledge will be obsolete if it is transmitted without questioning and thinking. In order to make the learning relevant and interesting for rural girls, KGBV brings topics for study from students' home environments. Whenever appropriate, the KGBV invites the girls' family members to assist and participate in school events. Through the KGBV's parliament activities, the girls learn to be responsible for representing each ministry and reaching their own solutions through dialogues. The girls enjoy learning traditionally-male-domain activities such as fixing motor cycles, using cell phones, riding bikes, and playing sports. According to the teachers and wardens, the girls face culture shock from the freedom and responsibilities granted to them in the KGBVs when they first arrive. Once they overcome the cultural shock, their learning accelerates and they grow to be confident and empowered young ladies.

The empowering approach adopted in the KGBV is very much aligned with Paulo Freire's work of *Pedagogy of the Oppressed* (1993). In the beginning of this research study, I did not expect that the Freirean concept of liberation education would be present in the Indian government scheme. This is mainly because India has a long history of traditional education in which teachers are

often considered as the knowledge providers in Indian schools, and they do so through rote learning rather than through opportunities to make sense of new knowledge through dialogue and action. In other words, the banking model of education (Freire, 1993) was the norm. Examining the approaches by MS, I was amazed how similar KGBV's teaching approaches are to the Freirean problem-posing education, where “men and women develop their power to perceive critically the way they exist in the world with which and in which they find themselves; they come to see the world not as a static reality but as a reality in the process of transformation” (Macedo in Freire, 1993, p.12). Through dialogue between teachers and students or among peers from different cultural backgrounds, the KGBV creates the environment for questioning, discussing, and making sense of their situation as a girl from educationally disadvantaged communities in rural villages. The process of dialogics itself is the practice of freedom and liberation. KGBV asks the girls provocative questions about their oppressed situations. They questions such as why do only girls take care of siblings? Why do only boys go to school? Why do only girls have to wear a scarf to cover their faces? Through daily dialogics in residential schools, the KGBC work on the girls’ consciousness and creates a feeling of “restlessness” (Bharati, interpersonal communication, September 1, 2009). This feeling in the girls is the trigger of social transformation.

Although Freire’s work emerged from the experiences of peasants in Brazil, and was initially based on class-based oppression it is particularly

applicable to the oppression surrounding the girls residing in rural Indian villages, implicitly or explicitly facing class and caste discrimination in the hierarchical structure of the educational system. A feminist scholar points out, “the assumption of *Pedagogy of the Oppressed* is that in struggling against oppression, the oppressed will move toward true humanity. But this leaves unaddressed the forms of oppression experienced by different actors, the possibility of struggles among people oppressed differently by different groups” (Weiler, 1991, p.453). What I believe is important is that the problem-posing education as opposed to the banking concept of education provides such a strong feeling of empowerment and liberation within the oppressed regardless of the types of oppression the actors are facing. Forming the group and exchanging dialogics as a process of humanization are the goals of liberation. Being a nation-wide government scheme, the KGBV provides the basis for the liberation education to initiate social transformation in highly bureaucratic India, which is revolutionary.

Research Question 3

Research question 3 asks: How have teachers been recruited and trained to achieve educational equity for girls? The KGBV teachers are recruited through merit-based examinations and interviews. The examinations score the candidates’ skills and knowledge in subject matters and teaching practices. The criteria of teacher selection and interviews in the KGBV differ from typical schools. Since the KGBV schools are residential, MS specifically looks for teachers who can assume the roles of principal, teacher, and mother. During the selection interview,

MS staff members evaluate the candidates' characteristics of motherly care in addition to their educational qualification and teaching experience.

Similar to the implementation of the KGBV scheme, the teacher-training is also based on dialogic problem-posing activities. The most prominent characteristic is the “unlearning” of the prior knowledge acquired through pre-service training. As the SPD of MS mentioned, the formal pre-service teacher training, which is required for teacher certification, is based on urban contexts, for boys who come from wealthy households with married parents and no hunger or deprivation. The newly recruited teachers hold the teaching style, technique, and practices that are irrelevant to the girls coming to KGBV because the girls come from rural villages, poor families with many siblings, malnutrition, less parental support for education, and from single-parent households. The SPD emphasized that the first thing that the teachers need to do to be trained is to understand the status and backgrounds of the students as well as the meaning of the educational opportunities for them.

Teachers are trained under the same structure and time table as the girls' schooling so that they can also experience what the girls will go through. Teachers often feel uncomfortable or upset during the social and cultural discussion. During this activity, teachers are required to exchange each other's opinion about topics such as gender roles and caste discrimination. For many teachers, this is the first time they had even questioned their social and cultural traditions and beliefs. While they are uncomfortable in the beginning, as the

training goes on, teachers become more open to think about the matters taken for granted and begin to express their opinions. Through this process, teachers from different cultural backgrounds build rapport and come to understand what MS is trying to accomplish through the KGBV scheme.

Research Question 4

Lastly, research question 4 asks: What are the conflicts between the policy and its implementation? Using limited resources, MS manages to address the issues that are not accounted for in the policy planning and provisions. A common problem in the three KGBVs of this study was the girls' health conditions when arriving at school. Girls receive their medical check-ups when they enter the KGBV. Most of the time it is the first check-up they have ever had. The exams find that many are under-weight, malnourished, and have low hemoglobin while some are even diagnosed with heart or kidney disease. The KGBV's policy provides for regular check-ups; however, it does not cover the cost of medical treatment. When a girl has health issues, teachers and wardens have to ask for donations around the villages to cover the expense of the treatment. In spite of their efforts, the donations from the families and villages are usually not enough, and teachers have no choice but to cover the medical expenses for the girls.

Another issue is the conflict with other educational policies that have similar objectives. The Special BTC program aims to hire 60,000 new teachers by providing teacher-training and primary teaching certificates. Because it offers

better working conditions and salaries than those for the KGBV, many of the KGBV teachers left the program for the opportunity to receive higher pay, shorter hours, and to be closer to home. Consequently, competition for the BTC jobs created a massive vacancy in KGBV. It was a disappointment for many of the KGBV teachers and staff members who stayed but lost their peers and had to take over additional workloads. Nevertheless, the KGBV continues to recruit new teachers; but, it is not easy due to the long work hours, rural locations, and lower salary.

Implications

Inclusion of Male Members in Women's Empowerment Process

In order to address the challenges and to enhance the effectiveness and sustainability of the program, the KGBV scheme should engage men and adolescent boys in a constructive manner throughout the process of women's empowerment and gender equality. In the previous chapter, I introduced an example where the parents of one of the KGBV girls arranged her marriage while she was attending the KGBV, and she and her friends convinced her parents that she should avoid a young marriage. This is a evidence of how urgent male family members need to be included in raising awareness about gender issues.

Stromquist and Fischman (2009) maintain that the process of change in gender relationships in educational settings do not follow linear progressions such as addressing girls, then boys, and transsexuals. Gender dynamics are dependent on each other and constructed through these relationships. It is a complex and

difficult process with many intersections (Stromquist & Fischman, 2009).

Raising awareness about gender empowerment should occur within multiple groups of the village. For example, male youth groups, adult male groups, adult female groups, Muslim groups, and Hindu groups, should all engage in substantial discussions about their concerns and interests related to gender. Occupational sub-groups should also be formed as the interests may vary for different occupations.

Narayan's theoretical framework emphasizes the importance of both opportunity structure and agency of the poor in terms of the empowerment. Strategically involving men and boys in the empowerment strategy is one of the ways to revamp the opportunity structure for women's and girls' empowerment. In order to make the effort of the KGBV scheme sustainable, it is essential to gain more supporters from the local villages and their communities for girls' participation in education, employment, and other public domains.

Family Education Class

In order to start including men and adolescent boys, it is advisable to open, literacy education classes for members of the KGBV students' family's and incorporate gender discussions into the class activity— just as the girls do in the KGBV. This class will set the guideline for parental involvement in the girls' education and further provide opportunities to discuss the importance of girls' education. Also, this class will help the parents and male siblings better understand the educational activities of girls and the goals of KGBV education.

KGBV holds parents-teacher meetings every month; however, the meeting is predominantly focused on the information sharing from the school side to the parents. This needs to be an environment where parents and teachers both share ideas about the status of the girls after the completion of class 8 in the KGBV. Instead of requesting the government to establish the high school, parents and villagers should discuss the future courses for the KGBV graduates. With teachers and wardens as facilitators, family education classes would provide excellent educational opportunities for villages.

Comprehensive Approach through Conversion with other Fields

As in Narayan's framework, a holistic and integrated approach throughout all levels of society is essential to achieve girls' empowerment and gender equality. However, it is clear that it is almost impossible for one policy scheme like the KGBV program to hit each aspect in both components of the empowerment framework (i.e., Opportunity Structure and Agency of the Poor) and make immediate impacts on development outcomes and empowerment indicators. Unlike economic development, social development such as health, education, and basic human needs requires a long time to bring about the desired effects. This is especially because Opportunity Structure involves revamping the whole institutional culture, organizational structures, laws, and policies in the larger public domains.

The institutional and structural changes cannot be achieved individually and the social reform will not be completed by the Ministry of Human Resource

Development only. It is essential to employ sector wide approaches (SWA) where different interests groups, government organizations, and international organizations work in partnership to accomplish the goal of gender equality and women's empowerment. Even within government organizations, higher level communication and conversations with other sectors can bring better outcomes in service delivery.

In the example of the KGBV schemes, many parents were hesitant when the girls started schooling because their daughters were contributing to their financial situation by taking care of siblings and doing domestic chores while parents were at work. In this type of situation, the involvement of the Ministry of Labor would motivate unconvinced parents. For instance, the parents would reconsider keeping their daughters uneducated if their nominal wages were raised 20% or even just enough to cover the childcare services and housekeepers. Similarly, the Ministry of Health should be invited into the discussion of health and medical conditions of the KGBV girls as many of them require some medical treatment after boarding. If the Ministry of Health could allocate some portion of their budget to cover those medical expenses, this would be another incentive for the poor, rural parents to send their daughters to the KGBV schools, because it would ensure their daughters' health.

Within the Ministry of Human Resource Development itself, conversations among the programs and policies can increase effectiveness and efficiency in achieving the goals and serving the needs of the beneficiaries. For

example, the KGBV teachers should receive equivalent salaries as other government schoolteachers while UP continues recruiting, training, and hiring 60,000 Special BTC teachers. The KGBV teachers should be given extra stipends for overnight stays at the school, travel expenses to meet their family living in city, and coverage for the expenses necessary for the well-beings of the students. The facility issues of the KGBVs should be handled by the Ministry of Rural Development as they have expertise and resources in development of the economic infrastructures. In order to ensure the enrollment and participation of rural girls from educationally disadvantaged communities, it is essential to provide care holistically. The government should acknowledge it as necessary a expenditure for UPE.

Provision to Accommodate after Class 8

While males and youths in villages discuss what the future of the girls should look like in family education classes, the government should establish more schools in rural areas to accommodate the KGBV graduates. Under the current provision, girls who want to pursue education after class 8 have to spend 4–5 hours per day commuting or stay with relatives near school. Girls have virtually no options after completion of the KGBV program even though they want to pursue a career or further education. Creating additional educational opportunities for these girls will dramatically raise the level of education in the area.

Standardization of the MS' Empowerment Approaches

MS develops and utilizes a variety of techniques and approaches to understand and empower adolescent girls in rural areas. The new teachers are introduced and trained on these approaches. Through “unlearning,” new teachers are surprised by the different approaches required for maintaining the interests and motivation of the dropout girls. In India, there are still eight hundred thousand children out of school, and many of them reside in rural areas (Mulikul, 2009). In order to reach out to the hard-to-reach children, it is important not to rely on traditional or conventional approaches to education. These girls need education relevant to their life, which will grab their attention and interests. The approaches used by MS' are applicable for rural girls growing up in a patriarchal society. The KGBV removes the fear and shame instilled in their minds and brings up their confidence, dignity, and pride as a girl. It teaches them it is perfectly acceptable to play sports, ride a bicycle, and know how to fix cell phones like boys. These revolutionary approaches to girls' education in rural communities need to be documented, published, and shared throughout the country.

Theoretical Contribution

Narayan's contribution is the development of a framework that makes empowerment measurable. She provided the ramifications of the concepts of agency, capabilities, and functionings presented by Sen (1996, 1999, 2005) and transformed the vague idea of empowerment into an operational and practical

concept. For example, Narayan separated the human capabilities component into individual and collective elements. In addition, she divided them into smaller categorizations such as psychological, social, and financial. This categorization was not mutually exclusive, and it is one of the challenges to measure empowerment. Narayan's framework is also simple and easy to use when analyzing the empowerment approach used by the KGBV scheme. Narayan's empowerment framework is comprehensive because it takes into account pull factors (i.e., Opportunity Structure) and push factors (i.e., Agency of the Poor). The framework is formulated so that both pull and push factors are evaluated equally. In order to achieve empowerment, both factors need to be strengthened; therefore, this framework helps to analyze a policy or scheme objectively and examine whether it emphasizes one side of the required interventions more than the other.

In the case of KGBV, based on the data collected, I expected that it would focus predominantly on Agency of the Poor; however, it covers Opportunity Structure as well. It implies that the KGBV is a well balanced empowerment program. In the field of education, where the impacts often cannot be evaluated in the short term, it is a challenge to implement both push and pull factors of empowerment at the same time. Also, it is difficult to cover all the aspects within the building blocks of both factors. To address this challenge, as I mentioned earlier, this framework will work better when SWA becomes more prevalent and education programs and policies become more comprehensive.

The empowerment framework is context specific, and researchers need to conduct thorough situational analyses in terms of socio-cultural climates of the research site. The socio-cultural backgrounds will be helpful in analyzing the Institutional Climates as well as Social and Political Structures to understand the extent of the Opportunity Structure. Relating to this point, Narayan suggests documenting the process of decision making as empowerment is the process rather than an outcome. It is essential for recording, analyzing, and presenting the process of how an institutional climate has gone through a change and how the change has impact on individual and collective decision making processes.

Conclusion

The girls in the KGBV schools were directing all their energies to learn, try, and do their best to succeed. After school, the girls were playing soccer and volley ball on the grounds. There were no rules. They were just chasing the balls and running at full speed, left to right. Looking at me watching other girls playing soccer, one girl asked me to play badminton with her. She defeated me again and again with a proud face. Her friend told me that she was a state champion of badminton. The girls, who had not known the rules, equipment, or existence of badminton or soccer, came to KGBV, learned, practiced, and achieved their potential. I believe that they would be role models for their fellow villagers as educated, literate, and empowered independent women who have voice.

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APPENDIX A

SITE PERMISSION LETTER

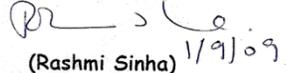


महिला समाख्या, उत्तर प्रदेश
(मानव संसाधन विकास मंत्रालय, भारत सरकार)
4/13, विशाल खण्ड, गोमती नगर, लखनऊ-226010
Mahila Samakhyas, Uttar Pradesh
(Ministry of H.R.D., GOI)
4/13, Vishal Khand, Gomti Nagar, Lucknow-226010

Research Site Permission Letter

Dear ASU Institutional Review Board,

We, MAHILA SAMAKHYA, UTTAR PRADESH, give permission to Miku Watanabe to conduct the research study, The NGO's Approach for Enhancing Education Equity in India: An Interpretive Policy Analysis, at our school. We understand the purpose of her study. We give permission for her to carry out observations of the classrooms and interviews with the teachers. We will provide other necessary information upon requests.


(Rashmi Sinha) 1/9/09
State Programme Director

Dated: September 1, 2009

दूरभाष / Phone: 0522-2391394, 2397062
ई-मेल / E-mail: msup1@rediffmail.com

टेली फ़ैक्स / Tele Fax: 0522-2397062
वेबसाइट / Website : www.mahilasamakhyaup.org

APPENDIX B

SURVEY IN ENGLISH

Survey Questions
For K.G.B.V. Teachers

Teacher Selection

1. Please describe the teacher selection process and the selection criteria.

<Teacher Selection Process>

<Selection Criteria>

2. Are you from the same social group as majority of your students?
Circle one.

Yes No

Teacher Training

3. Did you receive teacher training to work for the school? If so, tell me about your experience. What did you learn? How long was it? How many training sessions did you receive?

4. Do you think the teacher training was useful for your everyday teaching? Yes No
Please explain why or why not.

5. Do you think the teacher training was effective for your students?
Yes No
Please explain why or why not.
6. Were there any discussions about the topics related to gender, class, race, caste, religion of students in the teacher training? If so, please describe what you have discussed.
7. What were the most important things that you learned from the teacher training?
8. How do you incorporate the knowledge and skills from the teacher training into your everyday teaching? Please give some examples.
9. What could have been done to improve the effectiveness of the teacher training?

10. How long have you been working with Mahila Samakhya?

Less than 6 months

More than 6 months, less than 1 year

More than 1 year, less than 3 years

More than 3 years, less than 5 years

More than 5 years

11. Are you a full time teacher or part time teacher?

Full time

Part time

Thank you very much for your corporation!

If you have any questions or comments regarding my study, please feel free to contact me at 9919-073-882 (India), (+1)480-946-3310 (USA), or/and mikuw@asu.edu (Email).

Sincerely,

Miku Watanabe

APPENDIX C
SURVEY IN HINDI

महिला समाख्या शिक्षिकाओं हेतु सर्वेक्षण प्रश्नावली

शिक्षक चयन

1. कृपया शिक्षिकाओं की चयन प्रक्रिया व चयन के आधार बताईये?
शिक्षक चयन प्रक्रिया

चयन के आधार

2. क्या आप बहुसंख्यक छात्राओं के सामाजिक समूह का ही हिस्सा हैं?
हाँ नहीं

शिक्षकों का प्रशिक्षण/शैक्षणिक सहयोग

3. क्या आपको स्कूल में कार्य करने हेतु शिक्षकों का प्रशिक्षण दिया गया? यदि हाँ तो अपने अनुभव बतायें। आपने क्या सीखा? कितना लम्बा प्रशिक्षण था? आपने कितने प्रशिक्षण प्राप्त किये?

4. क्या आप सोचते हैं कि जो शिक्षकों का प्रशिक्षण आपको दिया गया वो आपके प्रतिदिन शिक्षण में सहायक है? कृपया बतायें क्यों अथवा क्यों नहीं।

हाँ नहीं

5. आप क्या सोचते हैं कि शिक्षकों का प्रशिक्षण आपके छात्रों के लिए प्रभावी है? कृपया बतायें क्यों अथवा क्यों नहीं।

हाँ नहीं

6. क्या छात्रों के लिंग, जाति, वर्ग, धर्म से संबंधित किसी विषय पर शिक्षण प्रशिक्षण में कोई चर्चा हुई थी। यदि हाँ तो बतायें कि आपने क्या चर्चा की।

7. वो क्या महत्वपूर्ण बातें थीं जो आपने शिक्षक प्रशिक्षण के दौरान सीखी।

8. आप अपने ज्ञान और कौशल को जो आपने शिक्षण प्रशिक्षण के दौरान ग्रहण किया अपने प्रतिदिन के शिक्षण में कैसे समायोजित करेंगे।

9. शिक्षक प्रशिक्षण को और प्रभावी बनाने के लिए और क्या किया जा सकता था।

दैनिक शिक्षण

10. स्कूल में कार्य करने के लिए क्या चुनौतियां हैं?

11. आप छात्राओं के अभिभावकों से प्रायः कितनी बात करते हैं?

प्रतिदिन सप्ताह में एक बार महीने में एक बार तीन महीने में एक बार
छह महीने में एक बार साल में एक बार कभी नहीं

12. आप महिला समाख्या कार्यकर्ताओं से प्रायः कितनी बात करते हैं?

प्रतिदिन सप्ताह में एक बार महीने में एक बार तीन महीने में एक बार
छह महीने में एक बार साल में एक बार कभी नहीं

डेमोग्राफिक सूचना

1. आपकी उच्चतम शैक्षणिक डिग्री क्या है?

12वीं पास स्नातक परास्नातक डाक्टरेट

आपका विषय क्या था ()

2. क्या आपके पास शिक्षक सर्टिफिकेट है? हाँ/नहीं

3. आपका लिंग क्या है? स्त्री/पुरुष

4. आपकी आयु क्या है?

25 वर्ष से कम 26-30 31-35 36-40 41-45

46-50 51 या अधिक जवाब नहीं देना चाहते

5. आपकी मातृ भाषा क्या है? ()
6. आपके गृह जनपद का नाम क्या है (गाँव/टाउन/शहर, ब्लॉक, जिला, राज्य)?
गाँव/टाउन/शहर () ब्लॉक ()
जिला () राज्य ()
7. उस जगह का नाम बतायें जहाँ से आपने अपनी उच्चतम शैक्षणिक डिग्री हासिल की (गाँव/टाउन/शहर, ब्लॉक, जिला, राज्य)?
गाँव/टाउन/शहर () ब्लॉक ()
जिला () राज्य ()
8. उस जगह का नाम बतायें जहाँ कस्तूरबा गाँधी बालिका विद्यालय स्थित है (गाँव/टाउन/शहर, ब्लॉक, जिला, राज्य)?
गाँव/टाउन/शहर () ब्लॉक ()
जिला () राज्य ()
9. क्या आपने इस स्कूल में कार्य से पूर्व किसी स्कूल में शिक्षण कार्य किया है? हाँ/नहीं
यदि हाँ तो कितने वर्ष ()
10. आप महिला समाख्या में कितने समय से कार्य कर रहे हैं?
छह माह से कम
छह माह से अधिक, एक वर्ष से कम
एक वर्ष से अधिक, तीन वर्ष से कम
तीन वर्ष से अधिक, पाँच वर्ष से कम
पाँच वर्ष से अधिक
11. आप फुलटाईम शिक्षक हैं या पार्ट टाइम शिक्षक?
फुल टाइम पार्ट टाइम

यदि मेरी स्टडी से संबंधित आपको कोई प्रश्न या सुझाव हो, कृपया मुझे सम्पर्क करें
9919073882 (इण्डिया) (+1)4809463310 (USA) Email mikuw@asu.edu

APPENDIX D

SURVEY COVER LETTER

COVER LETTER

The Approach for Enhancing Education Equity in India: An Interpretive Policy Analysis

October 5, 2009

Dear Participant,

I am a graduate student under the direction of Professor Terrence Wiley in the Division of Educational Leadership and Policy Studies, Mary Lou Institute and Graduate School of Education at Arizona State University.

I am conducting a research study to assess how each policy-relevant stakeholder approach similarly or differently to increase attendance of under-represented students and achieve education equity in Uttar Pradesh (UP) in India. I am inviting your participation, which will involve 20 minutes of filling out the attached survey.

Your participation in this study is voluntary. You have to be 18 years old or older to participate in this study. You can skip questions if you wish. If you choose not to participate or to withdraw from the study at any time, there will be no penalty.

Your responses to the survey will be used to the dissertation study. You will be able to access to the research study upon request. There are no foreseeable risks or discomforts to your participation.

Your responses will be anonymous. The results of this study may be used in reports, presentations, or publications but your name will not be used. The results will only be shared in the aggregate form.

If you have any questions concerning the research study, please contact the research team at: (+1) 480-965-6357 (Dr. Terrence Wiley) and 9919-073-882 (Miku Watanabe). If you have any questions about your rights as a subject/participant in this research, or if you feel you have been placed at risk, you can contact the Chair of the Human Subjects Institutional Review Board, through the ASU Office of Research Integrity and Assurance, at (+1) 480-965-6788.

Return of the questionnaire will be considered your consent to participate. I will offer a five-dollar gift card or the equivalent amount for four respondents from those of who successfully completed and returned the survey. I will randomly select who will receive the compensation.

Sincerely,

APPENDIX E

RESEARCH ASSISTANT TRAINING WORKSHOP

Miku Watanabe

1. Introduction

My Field of Study: International Education Development, Sociology of Education

My Affiliation: PhD program in Division of Educational Leadership and Policy Studies, Mary Lou Institute and Graduate School of Education, Arizona State University, USA.

The purpose of the research: to assess how each policy-relevant stakeholder approach similarly or differently to increase attendance of under-represented students and achieve education equity in Uttar Pradesh (UP) in India.

Research Methods: Interviews, Observations, Survey, and Document analysis

2. Human Subject Research and Institutional Review Board (IRB)

- Historical Perspective
 - 1932 Tuskegee Syphilis Study begins, 1940' Nazi Experiments
 - 1947 Nuremberg Code (Informed consent is essential, physical and mental suffering must be avoided)
 - 1964 Declaration of Helsinki (sets the stage for the implementation of IRB)
 - 1979 Belmont Report (identifies three basic ethical principles that underlie human subject research: Respect for persons, Beneficence, Justice)
- Information letter and importance of Informed Consent
- IRB/Compliance Office Priorities
 - Mission: to protect the rights and welfare of research subjects
 - Review Process
 - Criteria for IRB Approval- specific aims, appropriate justification for this research, scientific design, inclusion/exclusion criteria (eg. Women, minorities or children), recruitment of subjects, research procedures, training of the researchers, defined and justified data analysis, risks and benefits, compensation and costs, privacy and confidentiality, consent documents.

3. Some Dos and Don'ts

- Do try to develop rapport with the interviewees.
- Don't interrupt the interviewees. Let them finish until the end of their sentences.
- Do translate my words as well as interviewees' accurately and honestly.
- Don't keep conversation with the interviewees without translation.
- Do create warm and comfortable environment for the interviewees.

- Do respect their opinions. They are the expert.

I, _____ (Name print), had received the Research Assistant Training

Workshop on _____(date).

(Signature) 175 175