

Evaluation of Educational Incentive Schemes for Minority Communities in Maharashtra

**Attendance Allowance,
Free School Uniforms and
Infrastructure Allowance**

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Preface

Under the context of Right to Education Act, 2009, the onus of responsibility for providing education to all children between the age group of 6- 14 years lies with the Indian State. What was once part of the Directive Principles of State Policy has now become a Fundamental Right to Education. However much before the enactment of the RTE, the central and several State Governments had initiated various schemes to enhance the enrollment and retention of children in schools. Provision of various incentives to children and parents of marginalized communities was one such scheme adopted by these governments. The main focus of this study is to examine three major incentive schemes introduced for minorities in the state of Maharashtra, namely- Attendance Allowance, Free School Uniforms and Infrastructure Allowance. This study attempts to critically assess not only a) the reach of these schemes to its intended beneficiaries but also b) the extent of their impact on student enrollment, retention and most importantly, learning. Rather than assuming a direct and straight forward relationship between incentives and the positives underlined above, one needs to systematically investigate the impact of these schemes, keeping in mind the varied socio-cultural and economic contexts in which these children are situated.

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Glossary

AA – Attendance Allowance

DPO – District Planning Officer

EWS- Economically Weaker Sections

GoM – Government of Maharashtra

MDD – Minority Development Department

RtE – Right to Education

SMC - School Management Committees

SSA – Sarva Shiksha Abhiyan

TLM – Teaching Learning Material

BMC – Brihan Mumbai Corporation

EO – Education Officer

FGD – Focus Group Discussion(s)

JAT - Jadeed Anjuman-e-Taleem

MDM – Mid Day Meal

SC - Scheduled caste

SRCs – Socio Religious Communities

ST - Scheduled tribe

ZP – Zilla Parishad

Executive Summary

Objectives

This study comprehensively assesses and understands the 'reach and impact' of three specific incentive schemes provided by the Minority Department, Government of Maharashtra to promote education of minority communities like, Muslims, Buddhists, Christians, Sikhs, Jains and Parsis studying in different kinds of recognized educational spaces - varying from private to Government, both aided and unaided schools. English medium permanently unaided schools are not entitled to these incentive schemes.

These incentives schemes¹ are:

- a) Attendance Allowance (AA) of Rs. 2 per day of attendance to minority students of classes V-VII provided the total attendance of the student is 75 percent in each quarter that the money is disbursed for, calculated on the basis of total number of teaching days in that quarter.

This Scheme is applicable to students of Government recognized, Private aided/un-aided Secondary Schools.
- b) Two sets of school uniforms to minority students of classes I-IV per year. Under this scheme free uniforms will be provided to all the minority community students of all aided or unaided primary schools (except English medium unaided schools).
- c) Infrastructure allowance which is given to those Government recognized aided and unaided schools, where 70 percent of the student population belongs to the minority groups. A fixed amount of Rs. 2 lakh is given to schools towards developing the infrastructure of their schools. This infrastructure scheme covers costs towards minor repairs in schools, provision of clean drinking water, building of physical assets like library, laboratory, computer room and toilets and purchase of equipment like computers etc for the school.

Methodology

The methodological framework adopted for the study was in consonance with the objectives of the study. The study covered all the six regions of Maharashtra -

Nasik, Amravati, Pune, Mumbai, Nagpur and Aurangabad.

Twenty districts were very carefully selected for the study using important parameters identified for their selection. The selection process ensured that both private and public and aided and unaided schools were covered in the study. A total of 67 blocks were selected from across these districts.

Twelve schools were randomly selected from each district with the exception of Gadchiroli where only five schools were covered on account of a low minority population. A total of 237 schools were covered under the study. A total of 237 school Principals were interviewed and discussions were held with 2409 parents, 2370 children and approximately 500 community leaders.

A variety of research tools were used to collect data for the study. These included a survey method, based on a structured interview format, individual interviews and focus group discussions. The State Government officials, school Principals, parents, children and community leaders all formed part of the study.

Findings of the study

It was heartening to note that minority students were accessing educational opportunities where they existed. This study reiterated the desire on part of poor parents to educate their children in the hope that formal education would ultimately lead to their social mobility. Across all districts, parents aspired for good education for their children. However, they were also disillusioned with the kind of schooling that their children were receiving. They wanted their children to go to school to learn but felt that most schools either did not treat their children with dignity or did not ensure they were learning adequately. They saw linkages of education and employment, financial independence and upward mobility. All parents participating in the study were unanimous about the need for educating their children with the hope of their children having better lives than the one's they had.

Impact of Incentives on education

The school Principals felt that the attendance of students had been positively impacted by these

¹ Minorities Development Department. (2012). *Information Booklet on Schemes of Government of Maharashtra and Central Government for the Welfare of Minorities*. Mumbai: Government of Maharashtra.

schemes. Free school uniforms, books, library and other infrastructure improvements had increased attendance of students and items such as computers had increased their interest in studies.

However, the Attendance Allowance scheme and free uniforms scheme had severe limitations. Moreover there were several limitations with the way in which these schemes were implemented.

Attendance Allowance

The Attendance Allowance had limited purpose because a) two rupees per day was really small in comparison to what these children could earn outside school b) these children were from very poor families where even their basic needs were not taken care of and c) even if children attended all 220 working days of school, they still did not get what they were entitled to.

Data was collected from 187 schools eligible for Attendance Allowance (AA) out of the total 237 schools studied across 20 districts. Data reveals that while 22 percent schools received full AA, 49 percent of schools received an incomplete amount and 29 percent of them did not receive it at all.

One peculiar problem observed in the case of AA was that it had little bearing on the number of days for which a student attended school. The grant received by the school was distributed equally among all the minority students. This was because the schools did not receive the entire amount due to the students.

It must also be noted that even when the school Principals received the Attendance Allowance, there was a delay in receiving them and besides the allowance was too small to significantly impact the lives of these children and their families who were very poor.

This allowance is meant for children from poor families so that the economic incentive acts as a motivator. However, the opportunities available to such children in the unorganized sector were far greater in terms of money earned by them on an every day basis.

Moreover, the parents also complained that they spent far greater amounts than the AA received by them on sending their children to school. Of the 2409 parents participating in the study, 29 percent of the parents had to spend some amount of money on travel to ensure that their child reached school. 61 percent spent up to Rs. 1200 every year to make arrangements for their children to travel to school. 37 percent said they spent

anywhere between Rs. 1200 – Rs. 6000. There were also parents (2 percent) who spent more than Rs. 6000 every year on travel alone to send their children to school. Besides travel to school, there were other schooling expenses that the parents had to incur on their school going children. 34 percent of the parents interviewed incurred some expense towards their child's education apart from travel. 37 percent spent up to Rs. 500 every year on expenses such as notebooks, stationary, socks, and other such items, 59 percent spent between Rs. 500 – Rs. 1000 and 4 percent spent more than 1000 for their child's schooling. **Given the expenditure incurred by parents on the education of their children, the incentive of Rs. 2 per day is of little consequence. Parents would rather have school buses for the transportation of their children, which is one of the substantial expenditures on education.**

Uniforms

Uniforms are a basic requirement of school going children as it serves to eliminate the obvious difference among students' socio-economic conditions. Hence, it would be inappropriate to consider the uniforms as an incentive instead of a necessity.

Data was collected from 187 schools across the 20 districts in Maharashtra. These schools were eligible for receiving Uniforms. The data reveals that while 27 percent received grants for Uniforms, 45 percent received an incomplete grant, 28 percent received no Uniforms or grants for Uniforms at all. Those who did receive uniforms received it late in the academic year, much after the school had begun.

Thane and Amravati reported the highest number of schools receiving the Uniform grant. Mumbai reported mixed results with half the schools reporting receiving the uniforms while half reporting not receiving them. Schools in districts of Ahmednagar, Gadchiroli, Akola, Aurangabad, Latur and Washim did not receive any Uniforms. In Gadchiroli, one of the Block officers was unaware of the scheme at the time of the interview because of which the scheme had not been implemented.

Delay in receiving grants for uniforms was a common complaint across all the 20 districts studied. In most cases it was seen that even when the grant was received for the same, it was either not sufficient or reached the parents late, by which time the child had grown in size and hence the uniforms stitched according to old measurements did not fit them. Instead of two, there were also times, when parents received only one set,

which wore off quickly. A few parents also complained of poor quality of cloth received. At times, the uniform instead of being distributed at the beginning of the academic year was distributed on occasions like the 15th of August. The private permanently unaided schools which did not receive any grant from the Government had devised their own way of addressing their need. They expected teachers to contribute towards uniform and travel allowance for the children.

The scheme has a provision for salwar kameez for girls as well as full pants and shirts for boys. However, Principals complained that the Government provides for only half pant for boys and skirts for girls.

The schools which received a lump sum amount to stitch uniforms were given Rs 200 per uniform set per child which included a stitching charge of Rs. 58 apart from the purchase of cloth. The Principals and Management complained that the rate was half the market rate for stitching a salwar kameez. Stitching of pants was more expensive than stitching the salwar kameez. The management found it difficult to find tailors who would stitch at the rates provided by the Government.

The Uniform scheme is implemented through the SSA in Government schools for girl students and students belonging to the SC and ST community. The uniform incentive covers minority students, both girls and boys in Government schools as well as private aided schools. Expanding the scope of SSA to include minorities or implementing the scheme through the existing SSA administration with result in optimal use of resources and cut administrative expenses which could be use to increase the coverage to add students of the higher standard in the scheme which has been one of the demands of parents.

Infrastructure Grant

Unlike the data on the scheme of uniforms and Attendance Allowance, the data on infrastructure scheme was very positive. More than 80 percent of the schools which were part of the study that had applied for infrastructure grant had received the same.

In 2009 – '10, '10-'11 and '11 – '12, around 81 percent, 76 percent and 82 percent of the schools that applied received the grant. The reasons some of the schools did not receive the grant was incomplete applications filed by them or repeated application for the same item applied in the previous year.

Despite its success rate, there were still some schools which did not re-apply for this grant as they felt it was too much paper work and interference from the

officials who demanded various proofs. The other reason was that they could not reapply for the same infrastructure demands as made in the previous applications even if the need had only partially been met with the 2 lakh of the previous year.

Principals' felt that in the technologically advanced age it was necessary to make computers and e-learning accessible to students. 28 percent of the Principals wanted schools to be equipped with computers, LCD projectors, science laboratories and libraries with relevant books. However, it was equally distressing that basic facilities such as furniture such as desks and chairs (17 percent), water (15 percent), toilets (13 percent) fans (5 percent) were requirements which needed to be addressed through grants in the schools.

It was also interesting to note that all schools which applied for infrastructure grant received it and yet most schools were in a bad condition- even if they spent the money on procuring few items, not only was the overall condition of school bad but the items procured were a bit disorganized- if chairs and desks were bought, then they were not enough for all the students, if computers were bought, then either there were no chairs to sit on or they were not linked to any electric points, if toilets were constructed, then there was no running water facility in them.

Applications for this grant are made to the Collector's Office with the Education Office responsible for issuance of the utilization certificate. It is difficult to say the manner in which the grant is currently being used. Community leaders and officers from the education office alleged that the Management issued fake receipts for infrastructure which was already in place.

Effectiveness of Incentives

Incentives whatever their worth has to be linked with the overall socio-economic contexts of people whom they are meant for and the state of schooling which children from these communities access. Most often the schools which poor children go to are in an abysmal condition- poorly equipped, lacking even in basic infrastructure, with teachers and students both struggling to teach and learn in a pedagogically bankrupt environment, lacking even such basic furniture like chairs to sit on, or all-weather classrooms to sit in, or toilets to relieve themselves during the day.

The assumption behind giving these incentives is that the problem lies with the abject poverty of the people

and providing such relief would address some of their problems. There is an underlying acceptance of the idea that the problem lies with the people and not the system. At the same time, it is well recognized that incentives only when coupled with improvement in infrastructure, facilities, adequate and trained teachers etc., will probably create a better teaching-learning environment for children, motivating them to enroll and stay on in schools. It was reiterated that, well administered individual incentives worked up to a point, but have little impact on the overall environment of children.

Moreover, individual incentives despite their value cannot make the costs borne by the parents towards their children's schooling zero. It's been shown that parents do incur some costs towards their children's schooling. Most disturbing cost is when they have to send their children for private tuitions because of a) lack of adequate teaching-learning happening in schools and b) their illiterate status. More the number of children, more such costs. The biggest incentive would perhaps be properly functioning schools where teachers teach and students learn. The next best incentive could also perhaps be some additional support classes for these children.

Recommendations

The effort of the Government to address concerns of minorities through the various schemes is laudable. However, the implementation of these schemes seems to face severe challenges. The skepticism in the community about the Government's intent to work for the betterment of minority communities was worrying. The lack of proper monitoring of these schemes and the half hearted manner in which they were implemented needs to be examined seriously. The following section has some specific set of recommendations vis-a-vis the three schemes.

1. For Effective Implementation of existing Incentives

1.1 Compile a database of beneficiaries

The Government needs to compile a database of beneficiaries to be able to project the grant requirement for a given year and make adequate provisions for the same so that all beneficiaries receive the incentives.

The number of Uniforms required, approximate Attendance Allowance, number of students eligible for various schemes requires data on the number

of school going children in each of the districts and blocks. This data will help prepare a realistic budget for grants so that the problem of inadequate grants is suitably addressed.

1.2 Disburse Grants on time

Uniforms, Attendance Allowance and all other schemes implemented by the Department needs to be given in time for it to have value. Uniforms need to be made available in time for the new academic year rather than for distribution prior to special occasions such as the Independence Day Parade.

1.3 Attendance Allowance needs to be strictly linked to attendance

If the Attendance Allowance scheme is to be continued, it needs to be linked to attendance which is in reality the principle behind the scheme. Based on the database of students per district attending school, grant amounts can be projected and deposited with the School Management Committees at the beginning of the academic year. The excess money if any could be sent back at the year-end or adjusted with the next year's grant for attendance. This would not only ensure timely disbursement but would also help achieve the objective of the scheme whereby students will be given the incentive in keeping with their attendance rather than all students receiving the same amount. The other advantage would be that schools would be able to disburse the grant on a monthly basis rather than quarterly payment, which would prove to be a better incentive.

1.4 Grant for stitching Uniforms need to be on par with market rate

The amount given for uniforms is hardly sufficient. It is a challenge to find people to stitch the uniforms for the Rs. 58 that the Government has fixed. The amounts need to be on par with the market rate. This scheme could be implemented through the existing SSA scheme ensuring economies of scale.

1.5 Publicize /Advertise Schemes

The lack of awareness is a huge block in accessing these benefits on part of the parents. Most parents participating in the study were not aware about the schemes. Even if they knew about the scheme, they did not know about its

specificities, for instance, the amount due to their children as Attendance Allowance.

Advertisements are required for all schemes of the Government so that the beneficiaries are aware of them and can access them with ease. Given the skepticism of the Government's intent in working for the welfare of minorities, this knowledge of schemes will certainly help in lessening the negative perceptions of indifference towards them.

Many parents on account of their low literacy status did not read newspapers. The source of information for women is the TV, which is the only source of entertainment. Women find time only after 9 pm to watch soaps on the many private channels. Youth listen to music on the radio on their mobile phones, which are the other advertising avenues for publicizing schemes.

2. Recommendations for Change in Existing Schemes

Apart from strengthening the existing schemes, some changes in the schemes will prove beneficial towards their implementation

2.1 Merge Attendance Allowance and Uniform schemes with SSA

SSA has schemes of Attendance Allowance and Uniforms apart from many others. The Minority Department has a parallel system to provide the same services to students of the same schools as boys of minority communities are not covered under SSA. The expansion of SSA's scope to include beneficiaries of the incentive schemes of the Minority Department will do away with the need for the additional machinery employed towards implementation of the same schemes for minorities. The Attendance Allowance provided by the Minority Department because of insufficient grants ends up being less than Re.1 a day rather than the Rs.2 per child. Hence the benefit is not greater, rather is lesser than that provided under SSA. Either the scheme can be replaced with a benefit which takes care of some of the educational expenses incurred by parents stated in the report or the scheme could benefit from merger with the SSA scheme.

2.2 Expand the scope of the scheme for Uniforms

Uniforms are a basic necessity of all students studying in school. Students going to higher classes (beyond Std IV) find uniforms more expensive as the cloth required is more and so is

the stitching expense. The uniforms should be provided to all minority students throughout their schooling at the beginning of the academic year.

Uniforms do not just constitute shirts and pants or the skirts and blouse but also socks, shoes, slippers, etc which need to be provided for along with the uniform. The uniform needs to be made of good quality material that will last them the entire academic year.

2.3 Address Infrastructure concerns of Government Schools

While private schools get an incentive of Rs. 2 lakh per year for infrastructure requirements, the Government schools get a maintenance grant of Rs 12,000 per year. A number of Government schools with a high minority population were found to be in dire need of repairs and lives of students and teachers in those unsafe school buildings were at risk. It must be made mandatory for all schools to undergo regular safety audits and there must be mechanisms to ensure that their basic infrastructure is in place.

3. Recommendations for new schemes/ initiatives

Apart from fixing the existing schemes, a few additional schemes could be introduced as well.

3.1 Fill the gaps of Higher Education - Set up Schools up to Std X

Despite incentives, in the absence of adequate number of Government schools, the poor children who cannot afford private education are forced to stay out of the education system. Not only is the number of schools beyond Std VII limited, the situation gets worse when one takes into consideration the medium of instruction apart from Marathi. Girls dropouts after class VII in the absence of a school in the neighborhood as parents are concerned about the safety of their adolescent daughters' travelling to school. The private schools filling in this gap are not better off in any manner, as they are also inadequately equipped. The Government needs to step in to provide educational services in all the underserved areas, not limited to areas covered under MSDP.

3.2 Establish Minority Desks at Block level

Parents, Community leaders as well as the school Principals spoke of difficulty in accessing Government schemes. Information cum guidance centre pertaining to schemes for minorities in the

form of a Minority Desk is required at the Block level. These desks should also work as complaint cells in district offices if minorities encounter discrimination in accessing schemes.

3.3 Introduce programmes to make school education attractive

Creating Employability through education

Introduction of a skill component in school education from Std VII onwards will curb dropouts. Since the major reason for dropouts is poverty, a stipend instead of an Attendance Allowance for a skill that helps future employability will go a long way in keeping children in school.

The Minority Department should study the possibility of collaboration with the National Skill Development Mission and work towards skill building programmes for minorities. A study of the employment patterns of minorities, existing skill sets with a view towards building on traditional skills as well as equipping them with skills towards financial independence will not only prevent dropout but will also benefit the community.

Sports

Studies have proved the efficacy of sports in curbing drop-out. These skills complement the objective of school education by providing skills of teamwork and leadership. Appointment of sports teachers should be mandatory in all schools with time assigned for sports which involve both boys and girls.

Libraries / Reading Rooms

Since the beneficiaries of the schemes come from poor backgrounds, living in small dwellings which are not conducive to studying, setting up of community libraries which are rooms with books and literature will provide space for children to study after school. These can also be spaces for the extra coaching that some children require.

3.4 Transportation Facilities for Children

Travel to school is a huge expenditure that some parents incur to send their children to school. In cities, children have to cross roads with heavy vehicular traffic and in some instances highways to get to school which makes it unsafe for them. Others rely on auto rickshaws which charge anywhere

between Rs. 400 to Rs. 600 a month per child. The introduction of bus services from schools will help curb drop outs as parents will be assured of the child's safety while traveling to school. The distance to the school determines whether girls will be allowed to continue their education. The provision of bus services will ensure safety of girls on their way to school.

3.5 Crèche Facilities

Since a number of girls drop out of school for taking care of their siblings, starting crèche facilities on the lines of anganwadi centres is likely to curb dropouts. This service is even more essential in rural areas, which unlike cities do not have private crèche facilities.

3.6 Hostel accommodation

Government Hostels on the lines of the Ashram Vidyalayas need to be put in place for minorities, which take care of education from Kindergarten to Post Graduation. This will stem dropout on account of the seamless passage from one class to the next.

3.7 Night Schools for Parents

Nearly 54 percent of the parents who participated in the study were illiterate, never having been to school. As against this, a mere 4 percent had graduated from college. Parents on account of illiteracy are unable to provide support to their children's educational needs at home. Unlike the perception among the management that parents do not care about their children's education, parents expressed willingness to enroll in night schools to become literate and help their children in their studies.

3.8 Improve Quality of education

Ensure adequate teaching in school

The innumerable trainings and non teaching responsibilities assigned to teachers of Government and Private Aided schools affects teaching and learning adversely, hence needs to be reviewed. Teachers and management value certain subject specific trainings such as the English speaking organized by the British Council and are happy to participate in trainings which build their subject knowledge and increase their competence as teachers. However the number of trainings in a calendar year per teacher

apart from non teaching tasks such as participation in polio drives, census surveys, voters list enumeration, etc. takes them away from their primary responsibility, adversely affecting the learning of students who then drop out of school.

Appoint adequate number of teachers

We came across several schools with insufficient number of teachers with classrooms without teachers.

A case needing immediate attention is of Malegaon. Teachers and the MLAs interviewed in Malegaon informed us that 52 teachers from various Corporation managed schools in Malegaon had been taken off for enquiry and no replacements were made. There has been a stay on recruiting teachers in the Corporation managed schools as Malegaon Corporation is unable to bear the salary expenditure of teachers. The Corporation owes around 22 crore towards teacher's salaries.² The issue, which has been taken to the High Court, remains unresolved with a number of teachers working elsewhere while retaining their teaching jobs to make ends meet. Though reported in a number of newspapers, the issue remains unresolved and continues to affect the education of the children.

Appoint teachers for teaching Marathi in non Marathi medium schools

Since Marathi is a State language, teaching of Marathi should be taken as seriously as the rest of the subjects, especially in non Marathi medium schools. Given the current contractual nature of the Marathi foundation course teachers and because they are paid a mere Rs. 3000 per month,

Urdu medium schools have been finding it difficult to fill vacancies. The salary of these teachers is often delayed by months making it difficult to retain them even if appointments are made. The responsibility of their appointment needs to be with the Education department as is the case of appointment of teachers, rather than the Collector's Office.

Make provisions for the salary of support staff

In the absence of support staff in Government schools, children invariably end up being responsible for cleaning the classroom, the school and the toilets. The students passively accepted this responsibility as many were similar chores in their own homes as well. Parents in cities like Mumbai were clear that children went to schools to study and not clean toilets. It should be the responsibility of the state to ensure a clean and safe environment for students to study.

To conclude, the ultimate objective of any formal education system and encouraging students living in difficult circumstances to join it should be to ensure that they learn and secure better future for themselves. Incentives are one of the ways of ensuring children perhaps join school, perhaps even work hard and learn better. However, the schemes studied showed a weak relationship with enrollment and retention, essentially because of the ways in which they are implemented and a non existential relationship with students' learning. With Government and low cost private schools functioning the way they are, they are unlikely to attract students towards themselves and make them learn. These incentive schemes are important but must be planned keeping in view the overall contexts of people's lives and the specific problems that they face in their everyday lives, especially those related to schooling.

² <http://www.sunday-guardian.com/news/malegaon-teachers-not-paid-for-months>

I. Introduction: Contextualising Incentives

Incentives

Incentives are typically some sops linked to a 'desirable action' on the part of an intended beneficiary. They are either given before the act is performed - the idea being therefore to motivate, or after the action has been taken to reward the actor. In other words, these are positive reinforcements which are assumed to have a positive relationship with the desired act/performance/behaviour on part of the potential beneficiary. Education is one such area where the use of incentives is fairly common; mostly to encourage children to attend school regularly or to perform better in exams.

In the Indian context there are various disparities within the education system in terms of literacy levels, enrollment rates, retention rates etc. Moreover due to its heterogeneous social structure, school education becomes a necessary norm for the middle class and upper middle class and at the same time remains a luxury for the Economically Weaker Sections (EWS) of the society. Hence incentive schemes are considered as a means to attract children from economically or socially backward sections of the society to schools. Many a times, such schemes try to address the basic needs of the family so that sending children to school does not mean an additional economic burden on the parents. Mid day meals for example is one such incentive scheme which was introduced keeping in

mind the extreme economic difficulties of some parents to provide even basic meals to their children, due to which children even if they came to school could not concentrate on their studies due to hunger pangs. Introduction of this scheme ensured that a large number of children started attending schools as it assured them the provision of one square meal. Moreover it also helped students to concentrate better on their studies.

The basic idea behind such incentive schemes is to cover all or some of the costs incurred by a school going child so that sending the child to school does not involve any additional cost on the parents. Therefore, besides exempting the tuition fee, items like, school uniform, stationery, textbooks and even cycles for transportation are provided to children belonging to EWS. The Maharashtra Government provides almost 27 such items to students in all BMC schools. This is a fairly comprehensive list and includes a range of items such as school uniforms, shoes, umbrellas, raincoats, tiffin boxes, pencil boxes, textbooks, etc.



Mid day meal as an incentive - a Government School in Chandrapur



A plate of the mid day meal in a school in Nasik city



School bags provided as an incentive through the Sarva Shiksha Abhiyan to students in Government Schools



Provision of medical facilities - Medical tests of children being done in a school in Nasik

Intended Beneficiaries

Typically, incentive schemes are meant for the disadvantaged sections of society. This includes culturally, socially or economically deprived groups. For example, people belonging to EWS, minorities, Scheduled caste (SC), Scheduled tribe (ST) and girls. There are several factors at play when children from these sections are unable to access schools. The underlying assumption behind these schemes is that since these groups are economically challenged, an additional economic benefit would ease off the existing pressure at home, especially the economic cost involved in sending their children to school. For instance, in families, where there is a bias against sending girls to school, an economic incentive like free education or cycles for girls is likely to lessen this cultural bias which is usually further compounded by economic difficulty. It is important to understand that although these incentives are necessarily economic in nature, the identification of beneficiaries is not necessarily based on economic criteria.

How effective are incentives?

Several studies have shown mixed results with regard to the effectiveness of incentive schemes. However, it is difficult to not recognize and acknowledge the importance of such schemes for economically, socially and culturally deprived sections of the society. Studies on the mid day meal scheme for instance, have shown that despite numerable problems in the execution of this scheme and maintaining the quality of food served, the significance of this scheme in a country like India can hardly be undermined. (Jean Dreze and Aparajita Goyal, EPW, 2003)

A review of the literature on incentives shows that the economic dimension involved in these schemes is perhaps the most popular strategy which attracts

out-of-school children to schools, increase the enrollment ratios and reduce drop outs, especially that of poor children. Elimination of school fees, for instance substantially increased enrollment, particularly of girls in many countries, especially Uganda in 1997 and Tanzania in 2002. Scholarships, stipends and cash transfers have also known to significantly impact enrollments in developing countries. The Food for Work programme also worked well in many countries. In Bangladesh, the Food for Education programme which involved a monthly in-kind food transfer to poor households for their children attending school, increased enrollment by 35 percent. World Food Programmes in countries like Jamaica, India (Tamil Nadu), Cameroon, Morocco, Niger and Pakistan have documented strong improvements in enrolment and attendance. The World Food Programme also includes “take-home rations” in its ambit. School health programmes, such as de-worming and iron supplementation, are also known to increase school attendance.

Lack of latrines, especially separate latrines for girls, was identified as the worst school experience for girls. Privacy issues relating to sanitation are a major factor forcing girls out of school. Specific interventions have been suggested to address the problems faced by girls- providing female teachers, decreasing the distance from school, flexible school schedule, double sessions and evening school hours which have been introduced in Bangladesh, China, India, Morocco and Pakistan. Expanding opportunities for post primary education and making arrangements for educating mothers of school going children also seem to have a direct positive impact on children accessing educational facilities. (World Bank 2004)

However, a few studies have also highlighted that these measures should perhaps be seen as support mechanisms and not as substitutes for institutional dysfunctionalities and inadequacies at that level.

Objectives of the Study

This study intends to comprehensively assess and understand the ‘reach and impact’ of three specific incentive schemes provided by the Minority Department, Government of Maharashtra (GoM) to promote education of minority communities like, Muslims, Buddhists, Christians, Sikhs, Jains and Parsis studying in different kinds of recognized educational spaces- varying from private to Government - both aided and unaided schools. English medium permanently unaided schools are not covered under these schemes.

Evaluation of Educational Incentive Schemes for Minority Communities in Maharashtra

These incentives schemes are:

- a) Attendance Allowance (AA) of Rs. 2 per day of attendance to minority students of classes V-VII provided the total attendance of the student is 75 percent in each quarter that the money is disbursed for, calculated on the basis of total number of teaching days in that quarter.

This Scheme is applicable to students of Government recognized, Private aided/un-aided Secondary Schools.

- b) Two sets of school uniforms to minority students of classes I-IV per year. Under this scheme free uniforms will be provided to all the minority

community students of all aided or unaided primary schools (except English medium unaided schools).

- c) Infrastructure allowance which is given to those Government recognized aided and unaided schools, where 70 percent of the student population belongs to the minority groups. A fixed amount of Rs. 2 lakh is given to schools towards developing the infrastructure of their schools. This infrastructure scheme covers costs towards minor repairs in schools, provision of clean drinking water, building of physical assets like library, laboratory, computer room and toilets and purchase of equipment like computers etc for the school.

II. Method: Selection of Districts, Schools and Tools for The Study

The methodological framework adopted for the study was in consonance with the objectives of the study. The study therefore covered all the six regions of Maharashtra.

Nasik

Amravati

Pune

Mumbai

Nagpur

Aurangabad

Selection of Districts

This study aimed not only at understanding the reach of incentives to its intended beneficiaries, but also at studying the impact of these incentives on the enrolment and continuation of schooling of these children. Therefore it was important to consider the socio-economic-cultural and geographical contexts in which these schools and communities were situated. It was also important to understand the ways in which these incentives were received by students and parents in a context where there were several out-of-school barriers to their accessing formal education. However

one should understand the fact that many a times these hurdles were located in the quality of education imparted in these schools and therefore the incentives, taken as standalone variables may have had little impact on their schooling.

Keeping in view the above factors, certain parameters for selecting districts among these regions were identified. The selection process ensured that private and public - both aided and unaided schools were covered in the study. It was also ensured that districts with the following criteria were adequately represented in the study.

- Educational status- backward and forward districts
- Minority concentrated -dense and thin
- Budgetary allocations for incentives- maximum and minimum
- Geographical terrains- difficult and accessible- hilly, drought prone and easily accessible
- Social - cultural - economic status- forward and backward (low sex ratio, low age of marriage, caste barriers)

Table 1: Characteristics of Districts Selected For the Study

	Educa- tionally forward	Educa- tionally backward	Econo- mically forward	Econo- mically backward	Minority Concent- rated	Least Minority	Maximum Budgetary Allocation for incentive schemes	Minimum Budgetary Allocation for incentive schemes	Geogra- phically inacce- ssible	Geogra- phically accessible	Highest Literacy	Least Literacy
Ahmadnagar												
Akola												
Amravati												
Aurangabad												
Buldana												
Chandrapur												
Gadchiroli												
Hingoli												
Latur												
Mumbai												
Mumbai (Suburban)												
Nagpur												
Nanded												
Nashik												
Osmanabad												
Parbhani												
Pune												
Sindhudurg												
Solapur												
Thane												
Washim												

Evaluation of Educational Incentive Schemes for Minority Communities in Maharashtra

The study covered the following districts and blocks from each of the six regions of Maharashtra.

Table 2: Districts and Blocks covered in the study

Region	District	Blocks
Amravati	Akola	Akola, Balapur, Murtuzapur
	Amravati	Achalpur, Amravati, Bhatkuli
	Buldhana	Buldhana, Karanja, Motala, Malkapur
	Washim	Karanja, Manora, Manglurpir
Aurangabad	Aurangabad	Aurangabad, Khuldabad, Silod
	Hingoli	Basmat, Hingoli, Kalamnuri
	Latur	Ausa, Latur, Nilanga, Udgir
	Nanded,	Ardhapur, Bhokr, Nanded
	Osmanabad	Kalamb, Osmanabad, Tuljapur
	Parbhani	Jintur, Parbhani, Pathri
Mumbai	Mumbai	Mumbai, Mumbai Suburban
	Ratnagiri	Guhagar, Ratnagiri, Sangameshwar
	Thane	Bhiwandi, Mumbra
Nagpur	Chandrapur	Ballarpur, Chandrapur, Chimur, Warora
	Gadchiroli	Gadchiroli, Alapalli, Kurkheda
	Nagpur	Kalmeshwar, Kamtee, Nagpur, Saoner
Nasik	Ahmednagar	Ahmednagar, Srirampur, Nevasa, Rahori
	Nasik	Malegaon, Nasik, Yeola
Pune	Pune	Ambegaon, Haveli, Junnar, Narayangaon, Pune
	Solapur	Mohal, North Solapur, South Solapur

There was a mix of people with different religious affiliations residing in these districts.

The next table presents the heterogeneous mix of people residing in these districts.

Table 3: Religious composition of minorities in the districts studied

	Districts	Total Population	Total Minorities Population	Percentage of Minority Population	Muslim	Christian	Sikh	Buddhist	Jain	Parsi
1	Ratnagiri	1696777	304332	18	175672	2866	712	120855	4227	0
2	Thane	8131849	1613598	20	880827	242101	31709	309630	149331	0
3	Mumbai	11978450	3843609	32	2223471	446406	69601	625771	478360	0
4	Ahmednagar	4040642	370410	9	264145	25961	5850	35893	38561	0
5	Nasik	4993796	676777	14	525983	22849	8766	84044	35135	0
6	Solapur	3849543	456357	12	377579	9625	2752	38497	27904	0
7	Pune	7232555	1017017	14	452397	116661	21938	321948	104073	0
8	Osmanabad	1486586	186149	13	151181	765	818	28356	5029	0
9	Hingoli	987160	257313	26	103199	468	474	147927	5245	0
10	Latur	2080285	376399	18	292996	1494	1435	74351	6123	0
11	Parbhani	1527715	405021	27	243935	1368	789	153231	5698	0
12	Nanded	2876259	708624	25	385081	3734	12645	302161	5003	0
13	Aurangabad	2897013	863530	30	569516	15558	4452	247222	26782	0
14	Washim	1020216	272658	27	111863	1211	500	150580	8504	0
15	Akola	1630239	604464	37	296272	3494	1201	293184	10313	0
16	Buldhana	2232480	608190	27	285387	2545	1501	306503	12254	0
17	Amravati	2607160	719840	28	347250	7315	2940	350403	11932	0
18	Gadchiroli	970294	99794	10	17341	3423	603	78058	369	0
19	Chandrapur	2071101	370475	18	76050	11301	4922	274067	4135	0
20	Nagpur	4067637	959850	24	296709	31682	19633	589218	22608	0

Source- Census Data 2001

Method: Selection of Districts, Schools and Tools for The Study

Selection of Schools

Twelve schools from each district were covered. These schools were selected on a random basis. On account of a low minority population in Gadchiroli, schools there did not have enough minority population and hence only five schools were covered in Gadchiroli. However, from Chandrapur in the same region, 16 schools were covered. Therefore a total of 237 schools were covered under the study.

Principals in each of the 237 schools studied were

interviewed and FGDs and interviews were conducted with 2409 parents of children from these schools. From each school, ten students were randomly selected for individual interviews, which meant that a total of 2370 students were interviewed in the study.

Of the 237 schools studied, 187 were eligible for Attendance Allowance and 187 were eligible for Uniforms. With regard to the Infrastructure scheme, out of the 237 schools, 100 schools were eligible for the grant.

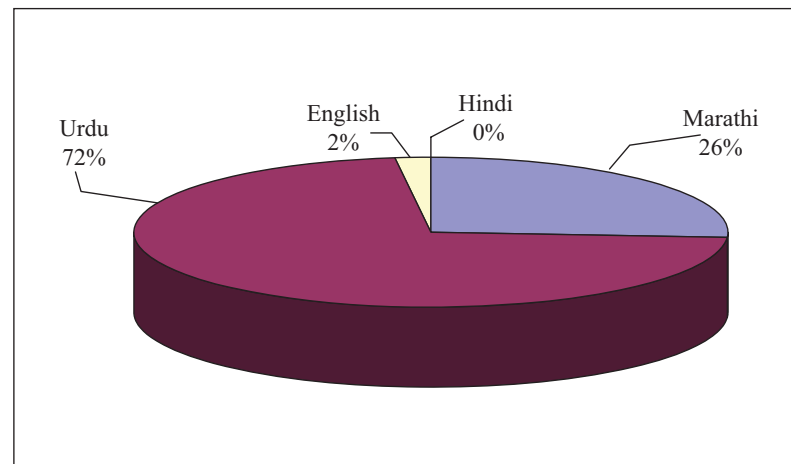
Table 4: Types of Schools Covered in the Study

School Management				
District Name	Government	Private aided	Un aided	Total
Ratnagiri	4	8	0	12
Thane	8	4	0	12
Mumbai	12	0	0	12
Pune	7	5	0	12
Solapur	10	2	0	12
Nashik	6	5	1	12
Ahmednagar	10	2	0	12
Aurangabad	2	10	0	12
Osmanabad	8	3	1	12
Latur	1	6	5	12
Nanded	2	7	3	12
Parbhani	3	9	0	12
Hingoli	10	2	0	12
Amravati	10	2	0	12
Akola	2	7	3	12
Buldhana	10	2	0	12
Washim	4	4	4	12
Nagpur	12	0	0	12
Chandrapur	8	8	0	16
Gadchiroli	2	3	0	5
Total	131	89	17	237

Sample at a Glance

Districts Covered	20
Blocks Covered	67
Schools Covered	237
Principals Interviewed	237
Children Interviewed	2370
Parents Interacted with	2409
Community Leaders Interacted With	approx 500

Figure 1: Medium of Education in Schools Covered



Of the 237 schools covered, 72 percent were Urdu medium (38 percent privately managed and 34 percent managed by Government), 26 percent were Marathi medium (5 percent private and 21 percent Government) 0 percent Hindi medium (1 private managed school) and 2 percent English medium schools.

These schools visited as part of the study had a mix of students from different religious minorities. However, the Muslim minority followed by Buddhists were over- represented in the study. This is in keeping with the census data of minorities in Maharashtra. In Maharashtra, the Muslims constitute the second largest religious group (10.60 percent) after the Hindus who comprise around 80.37 percent of the total population of the state. Muslims are followed by Buddhists who account for around 6.03 percent of the total state population. Other religious minorities like Jains and Christians constitute 1.3 and 1.1 percent, respectively, of the total population of the state. (Shaban 2011)

In order to ensure representation of Christians, Parsis and Jains in the sample, efforts were made to include schools managed by Christian missionaries, Jains and Parsis. Surprisingly, the convent schools visited were unaware of the incentive schemes or their eligibility for them. One of the Principals of an aided Convent school stated outright that she did not want Government interference in the functioning of their school and hence did not want any money from them either. Similarly, both the Parsi managed schools visited were also unaware of their eligibility for the scheme. Though managed by a Parsi Trust, the school had only 8 Parsi children of the 1500 odd students in their school. One of the Principals who did not wish

to be named, felt that their community was doing a lot for the poor Parsi children and hence Parsis rarely sent their children to aided schools, leave alone Government managed schools. *“Parsis have historically contributed to the city; set up various foundations and schools. Why would we not take care of our own community?”* she asked.

Another Parsi community member said

“Parsis are at an advantage with language. Since both parents can speak English, if nothing else, they work in a call centre. Most Parsis are double income households who obviously want the best for their children so children are sent to ICSE and CBSE schools. They don’t want to send their children to schools like Sir Cowasjee Jehangir School where you find poorer children studying. If they send them to Parsi managed schools then it is the high end JB Petit kind of school where they send their children.”

The Gujarati medium schools approached for the study with the aim of reaching out to Jain students drew a blank. We came across only one Jain student for the study. In an attempt to meet with members of the Jain community to understand their concerns, we approached a few Jain management schools, one of which refused to participate in the study. The other school, Shishuvan, a private unaided school following the ICSE curriculum is in stark contrast to the dismal conditions of the low cost private schools and Government run schools. Established in the year 1915, Shishuvan primarily serves the Kutchi Visha Oswal Jain community. In fact Shishuvan was set up as a response to the community’s need for an English medium school with modern facilities for imparting quality education to students.

Method: Selection of Districts, Schools and Tools for The Study

Infrastructure at Shishuvan



A Classroom



Computer Lab



Library



Science Lab

According to the “Census 2001 data on religion released” .Press Information Bureau - Indian Government (retrieved 15 October 2010), it is believed that the Jains have the highest per capita income in India. It is therefore not surprising that we did not come across Jain students in the low cost private and the Government

schools that participated in the study. As such a large number, i.e. 84 percent of students covered in this study were Muslims and 16 percent were Buddhists.

The table below shows a consolidated figure of the religious composition of these students.

Table 5: Religious Composition of Student Participants

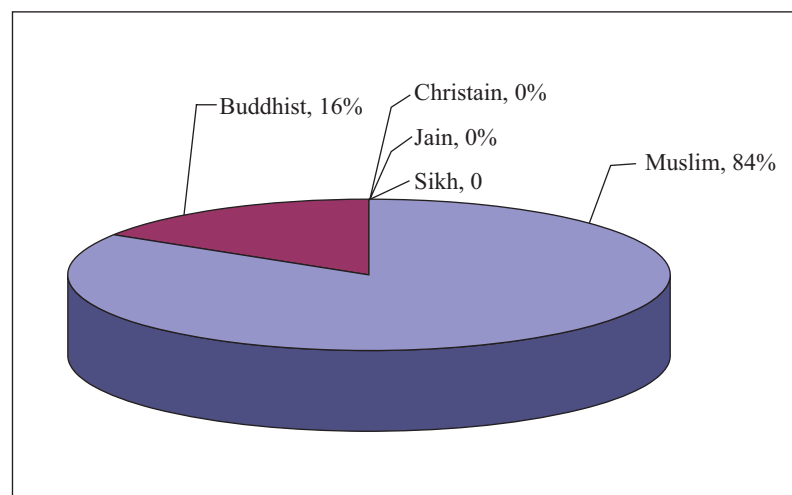
District Name	Muslim	Buddhist	Christian	Jain	Sikh	Total
Ratnagiri	114	6	0	0	0	120
Thane	120	0	0	0	0	120
Mumbai	69	51	0	0	0	120
Pune	120	0	0	0	0	120
Solapur	90	30	0	0	0	120
Nashik	120	0	0	0	0	120
Ahmednagar	108	12	0	0	0	120
Aurangabad	114	5	1	0	0	120
Osmanabad	105	12	0	3	0	120
Latur	120	0	0	0	0	120
Nanded	120	0	0	0	0	120
Parbhani	83	35	0	1	1	120

Evaluation of Educational Incentive Schemes for Minority Communities in Maharashtra

Table 5: Religious Composition of Student Participants (contd.)

District Name	Muslim	Buddhist	Christian	Jain	Sikh	Total
Hingoli	42	78	0	0	0	120
Amravati	100	20	0	0	0	120
Akola	110	10	0	0	0	120
Buldhana	101	19	0	0	0	120
Washim	116	4	0	0	0	120
Nagpur	27	92	1	0	0	120
Chandrapur	170	0	0	0	0	170
Gadchiroli	40	0	0	0	0	40
Total	1,989	374	2	4	1	2,370

Figure 2: Religious Composition of Student Participants



Few schools with Christian population were approached of which one Principal was hostile and refused to participate in the study while the others were unaware of the schemes of Attendance Allowance and Uniforms.

Detailed information about each of the districts is provided in Annexure 1 and 2.

Tools used for the Study

A variety of research tools were used to collect data for the study. These included a survey, individual interviews and focus group discussions. Details of the same are given below.

Interview with Principal Secy. Ms. Thekekara

Interview with Director, Minority and Adult Education

Interviews with officials of the Education Department in each of the 20 districts

Structured Interviews of the School Head Masters of the schools visited (Annexure 3)

Focus Group Discussions with parents in all schools except, Mumbai, Pune and Mumbra in Thane

Interviews with parents in Mumbai, Pune and Mumbra in Thane (Annexure 4)

Structured Interviews with Children (Annexure 5)

FGDs with community leaders were conducted in five districts.

Challenges faced during data collection:

- Officials in the education department were reluctant in sharing information with the research team. Getting the list of schools or data on the schemes, proved to be quite challenging. Baseline data on number of beneficiaries in districts was unavailable at the State as well as District levels.

Method: Selection of Districts, Schools and Tools for The Study

Identification of schools for the study was dependent on the cooperation of the officials of the education department which was found lacking in districts such as Gadchiroli, Chandrapur, Nagpur and Mumbai.

- In Mumbai and Nagpur, the research team was unable to visit any schools receiving the infrastructure grant as the information on schools receiving the grant was not provided by the officials. In the absence of cooperation from the Education Department, private schools, especially those having received the infrastructure grant were unwilling to participate in the study.
- Since most parents in urban areas had several time constraints, individual visits had to be made to their homes to interview them.
- There was hesitation in sharing information on part of the Principals in many private schools. The Principals were hesitant in sharing
- Many Principals could not differentiate between the scheme for Minorities and Sarva Shiksha Abhiyan (SSA) and shared information about Attendance Allowance and Uniforms without much clarity on the source of funds for the same. Some parents too were unaware of the schemes so did not know the reasons for their children getting the benefits or the details of the schemes.
- Some Principals of Private unaided schools were unaware that they were eligible for the uniform and Attendance Allowance.

information without permission from the management. Often, the researchers would be made to wait till someone from the management arrived for the interview. The responses were then provided by both Principal and the Management representative.

The next chapter makes an attempt to understand the lives of the communities studied and receiving the incentives from the Government.

III. Communities: Understanding Concerns Impacting their Lives

Although the main objective of the study was to evaluate the reach and the efficacy of the three incentive schemes initiated for the students of minority communities in Maharashtra, a necessary precondition was to understand the economic backgrounds of the intended beneficiaries and the lives of the children who constituted part of this study.

Status of Minorities and Challenges Faced by them

The National Commission for Minorities Act, 1992 identifies five main religious communities namely Muslims, Christians, Sikhs, Buddhists and Zoroastrians (Parsis) as falling under the purview of “Minorities”. However minorities are not restricted to these five religions alone and if need arises the States are free to declare/recognize other communities too. For instance, Jains have been recognized as one of the religious minorities in nine states. However, this study considers only the five religions listed above. The following section draws data from the Ranganath Misra Commission Report and the Sachar Committee Report.

According to the 2001 census, religious minorities constitute 18 percent of the country’s total population. A large proportion of them belonged to Muslims, followed by Christians, Sikhs, Buddhists and Zoroastrians. Among these different religious communities, proportion of girl child marriage was particularly high among Buddhists and Muslims. The average size of households amongst minorities was 3.40 persons - smallest at 2.75 persons was among Parsis and the highest at 3.50 among Muslims. The literacy rate among the Jains was 94.1 percent and among Parsis was 97.9 percent. Muslims had a literacy rate of 59.1 percent which is lower than the national average Literacy Rate. With regard to distribution of literates by education level it was found that Jains had the highest proportion of educated persons who had completed the graduation stage. This was followed by Christians and Sikhs. Muslims had the lowest proportion in this regard.

Data on nutritional status of children showed that Muslim children appeared to be under nourished. As against this Jain, Sikh, Buddhist and Christian children were better nourished. With regard to vaccination also Muslim children lagged behind.

The percentage of households living in kutchra houses was highest among Muslims, followed by Christians. Very few Sikhs, Buddhists and Parsis lived in kutchra houses, which indicate their better economic status vis-a-vis Muslims and Christians. Analysis of the housing conditions of minority communities revealed that Parsis lived with better housing facilities followed by Christians. Muslims had the highest young persons dependency ratio which is one of the reasons for their economic backwardness. More Muslim workers than any other religious community were involved in household and industry work, which is indicative of their artisan nature. Jains had the lowest number of workers involved in agriculture, which is preceded by Muslims, Christians and Sikhs.

Compared to the rest of the minority communities, Muslims particularly lagged behind in areas of literacy and education, industrial promotion and economic pursuits. They lacked technical and vocational education as well as training in trades which are in demand. It was noticed that there had been a sharp decline in the number of students advancing from primary to secondary level schooling among Muslims, indicating higher drop-out rates among them. Infant and child mortality rate was also quite high among Muslims. Almost one-third Muslims lived in kutchra houses, which lacked basic facilities like drinking water, toilet etc. and most of the times these were rented houses (Report of the National Commission for Religious and Linguistic Minorities, 2007).

According to the Sachar Committee Report in 2006 Muslims were far behind other socio-religious communities in the areas of education, employment, access to credit, access to social and physical infrastructure and political representation. This reiterated that drop-out rates among Muslims were highest at the level of primary, middle and Higher Secondary compared to the rest of the socio-religious communities (SRCs). Only 17 percent of Muslims above the age of 17 years had completed matriculation as compared to 26 percent for all SRCs. The major problems with regard to education among Muslims lay at the level of school education. Once “hurdles” surrounding school education is crossed, the gap in education achievements between the Muslim community and rest of the SRCs usually narrow down

sometimes making the difference almost insignificant. During the course of the study, it was observed that there was a clear and significant inverse relationship between the proportion of the Muslims and the availability of educational infrastructure in small villages. There was also poor availability of pucca approach roads, medical facilities post and telegraph facilities, local bus stops etc. in most of the Muslim concentrated villages. The problems faced by the Muslim community were compounded by the fact that their population tends to be concentrated in certain regions across several states and these regions many a times lacked even basic infrastructural facilities. This effectively implied that a large proportion of the community was without access to basic services. Hence majority of the Muslim community faced high levels of poverty. On the whole, their condition was only slightly better than SCs/STs. In fact, substantially large proportion of the Muslim households in urban areas belonged to the less than Rs. 500/- expenditure bracket (Sachar Report: Status of Muslim Community in India, 2006).

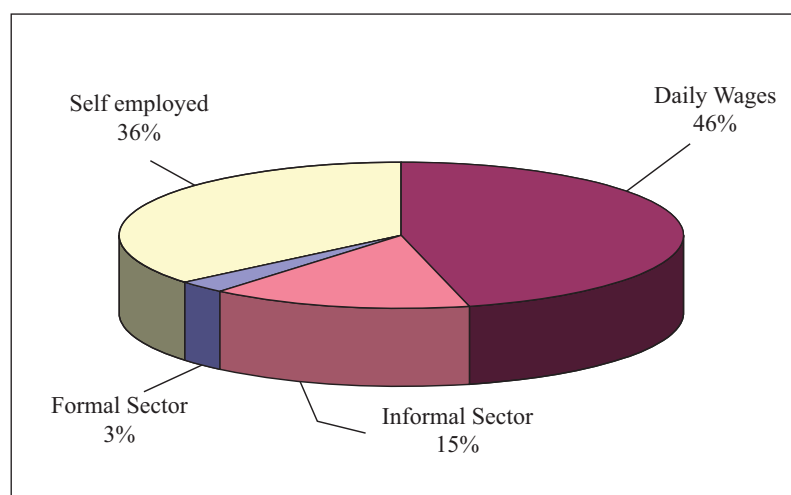
incentives and enrollment of children in schools and ensure their retention in them.

Economic Conditions of Families

Almost 2409 parents across rural and urban regions of Maharashtra were interviewed as a part of this study. Almost all the families were poor, and they lived in cramped and difficult circumstances. The economic profile of these parents is explained in the following figure:

A majority of the respondents, i.e. 46 percent were daily wage earners, earning Rs. 150 - Rs. 200 a day, whenever they managed to find work. With no regular source of income, the economic constraints they faced in their day to day lives were enormous. 15 percent of respondents who worked in the informal sector were involved in hawking and petty trades. Since hawking is illegal in most public places, the police and the municipality often picked up their wares and fined them. Those reporting self-employment i.e. 36 percent had petty business of their own like small mobile repair shops, cycle repair shops and a few claimed to be estate

Figure 3: Parents' Occupation



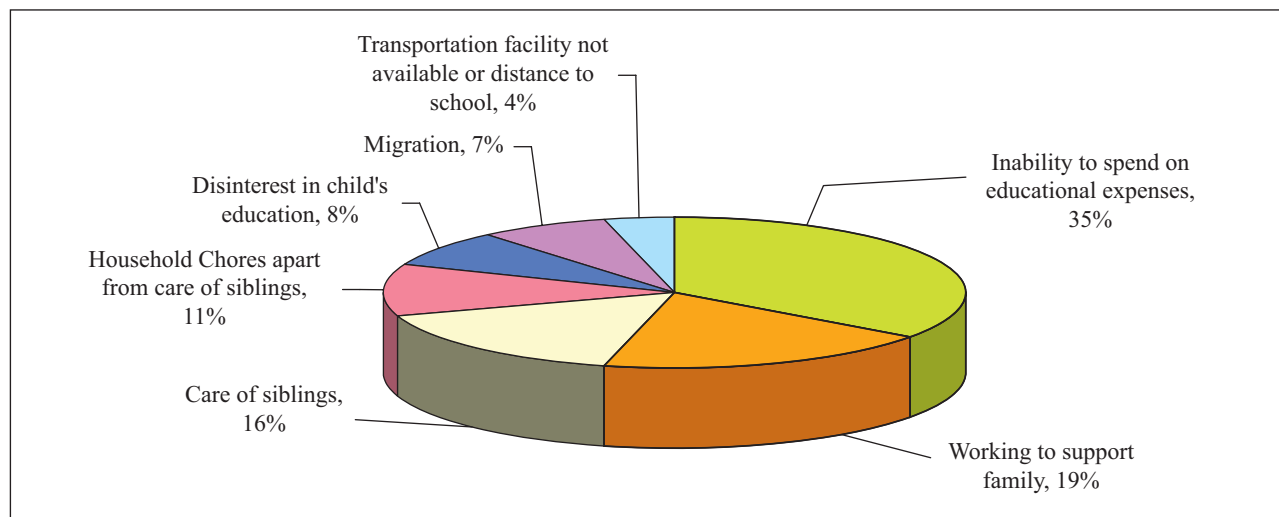
Findings from these Reports show that the condition of the Muslim minority in particular is relatively poor, with most of them living in poverty and without access to basic facilities required to live a life of dignity. In the presence of such extreme financial difficulties, the dropout rate among Muslims becomes very high. Incentives therefore, cannot be examined in isolation but must be seen against a life of marginalization and deprivation. Incentives to go to school compete with a host of socio-economic constraints which these communities face and unless this complex matrix is understood, it is relatively difficult to establish any direct relationship between

agents. A miniscule 3 percent of parents were reported to have been employed in the formal sector.

Dropping Out from Schools

Since the free uniform and Attendance Allowance schemes were aimed at motivating children to attend schools by reducing the costs which parents incurred in sending them to schools, it was considered important to examine the reasons behind children dropping out of schools. Several students, their parents and Principals were interviewed to understand the views which compelled children to drop out of schools.

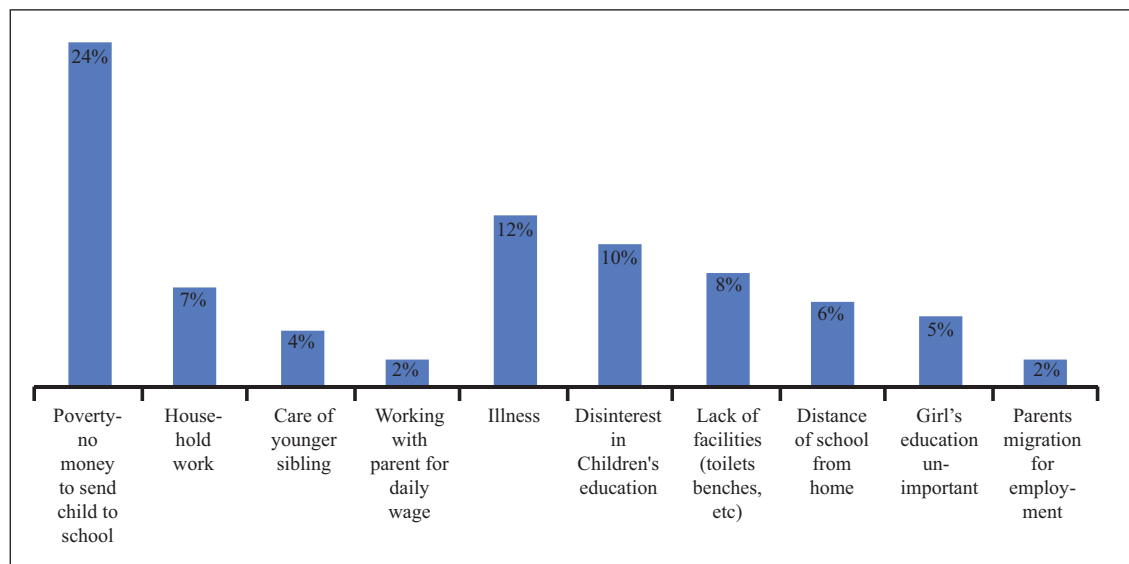
Figure 4: Principals' Perceptions



According to the school Principals, a large number of parents (35 percent) simply could not afford to spend any money on their children's education. This economic constraint translated in most cases to involving children in work either outside home (19 percent) to contribute to the families' resources or inside home, expecting them to take care of household

school (24 percent), or the child having to stay back to take care of her siblings (12 percent) with both parents having found work on that day, or the child accompanying the parent to earn additional income (4 percent). Illness (12 percent) was the second highest reason for absenteeism after poverty. The lack of facilities such as toilets, benches etc. (8 percent) made

Figure 5: Reasons for erratic attendance of Children

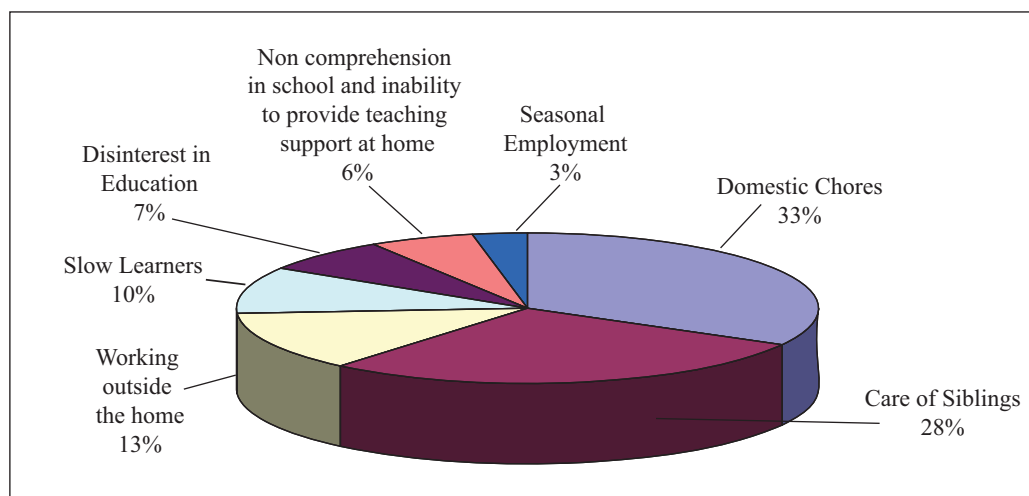


chores (11 percent), including younger siblings (16 percent) so that the parents could go out and work. Other important reasons included lack of transport facility to school (4 percent), migration to villages (7 percent) or other cities or even non-seriousness about their children's education (8 percent).

Erratic attendance is another major problem in schools which eventually leads to dropping out by students. The reasons being poverty on account of which the parents were irregular in sending their children to

it difficult for girls to attend school, especially during their menstrual cycle. Distance from school when the parents did not have money for a bus ticket or child was tired or having to cross the highway to get to school were also reasons expressed for absenteeism (6 percent). School Principals also attributed erratic attendance to a lack of interest among parents for the child's education (10 percent) and lack of importance to girl's education (5 percent). Parents' seasonal migration (2 percent) also contributed to the erratic attendance of children in schools.

Figure 6: Parental Perceptions

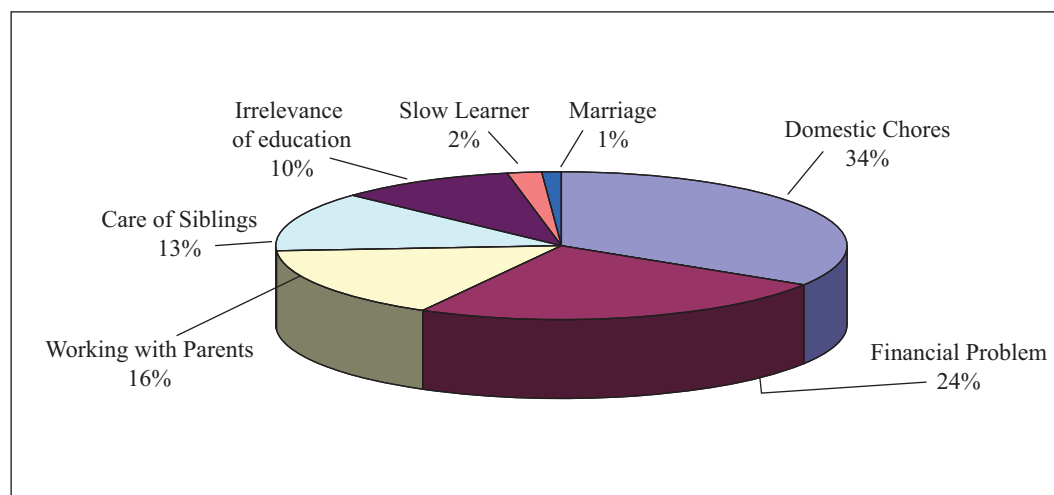


A large number of parents pointed out that they were unable to continue their children's education because they needed them to be at home- either to take care of household chores (33 percent) or siblings (28 percent) so that they could go out for work. Around 13 percent even took their children with them to work. Some parents even pointed out that their children either took time to learn (10 percent) or that they were unable to understand studies in school and because they themselves were unable to help their children at home (6 percent), they had little choice but to make their children drop out of school. A few parents (7 percent) even said that there was no point in children going to school as they simply whiled

pehen ke jaane se kya hoga jab hamare bacche ko kuch padhna likhna hi nahi aata?" said a parent in Mumbai (what is the use of going to school in a tie and shoes if the child is unable to read or write?)

The responses of the 237 children whose siblings had dropped out of school were also in sync with those stated by their parents and school Principals. Around 24 percent of them stated upfront that their parents were too poor to send all their children to school. Their elder siblings after dropping out of school helped their parents either at home (34 percent) or outside home (16 percent). Around 10 percent children also said that since their elder

Figure 7: Children's Perceptions



away their time. Leave alone meaningful studies, children did not even have basic literacy skills despite being promoted to higher classes. It must be noted here, that it wasn't that parents of these children did not value education but that they felt that the kind of education that their children were getting in schools served no meaningful purpose. *"school me tie, joote*

siblings had not learnt to read and write while in school they were too embarrassed to continue in higher classes and hence had dropped out. Quite a few students mentioned that teachers were often absent and there was no learning happening in school. *'School me kuch padhai likhai nahi hoti'* (no learning takes place in school). The reason they

continue to attend school is to play with friends, an opportunity not available at home.

Under these circumstances, it perhaps made more sense to the students that they dropped out of school in early years itself and start working and contributing towards their family's income.

Children as assets to their families

It is important to understand that children in poor homes participate in almost all the domestic chores of the family and even assist their parents in work outside home. So going to school does not mean expenditure incurred on their education alone but there is also an opportunity cost involved in terms of loss of either their contribution to domestic work or extra wages earned by them outside home.

As mentioned earlier, major reason for children dropping out of school was poverty because of which they were either expected to do household chores or take responsibility of their younger siblings when their parents went out to work. The children's involvement in these tasks allowed the mother to find work outside of home.

Districts such as Ahmednagar, Parbhani, Malegaon in Nasik and Bhiwandi in Thane, have a large number of boys dropping out in the upper primary classes (Std VII onwards) to supplement their family income by working in brick kilns, hotels, looms and even

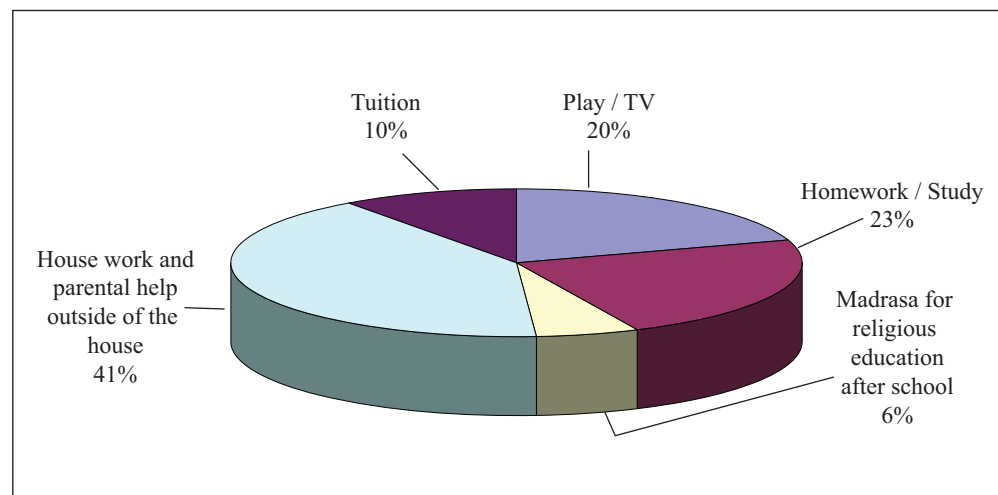
hotels, dhabas and brick kilns. Children also dropped out to work in garages or find odd jobs to earn some additional income for the family.

The average monthly income of families from Bhiwandi was Rs. 4000 with most men and women employed in the power looms or women working as domestic helps. The economy of Malegaon like Bhiwandi is dependent on power-looms. Boys as young as 12 years from poor families in Malegaon and Bhiwandi, drop out of school to join the looms which give them a stipend as well as ensure that they learnt a skill which would help them earn as adults. However, in Bhiwandi, the power looms are shutting down creating joblessness and are no longer viable employment options for the future. Female students in Malegaon, Bhiwandi and Aurangabad worked as domestic help or accompanied their mothers who worked as domestic help after school hours which tired them out. Many mothers and girl children who worked as domestic help depended on the left over food given by their employers to feed their family members. The girls' contribution to the family was therefore relatively more important as they were often instrumental in arranging food for the family.

Children's lives after school

Children gave multiple answers to this question. Though 20 percent stated play as one activity, the time given to play was never beyond an hour or even less.

Figure 8: Children's lives after school



construction sites. Girls from the Marathwada and Vidharbha region spend a substantial amount of time on filling water. In Washim, a predominantly agricultural economy and a minority concentrated district, children worked in the fields on weekends to supplement the family income. Parbhani has a high rate of child labour with children being employed in

For girls, play activity was always indoors irrespective of their age. At the same time, while boys mostly played outside and engaged themselves in games like marbles, flying kites or playing cricket. Housework and parental help included taking care of siblings, filling water, mind the hawking. Nearly 41 percent of the children participating in the study were involved

in some kind of work after school. In fact a few children, both boys and girls reported working as agricultural labourers during weekends. Girls accompanied their mothers for domestic work after school which exhausted them and interfered with their studies and completion of homework. Though 23 percent of children said that they studied at home, on asking who helped them with their studies, they responded stating that it was the elder sibling if they had any and if that sibling had any education beyond Std VII. Parents were either at work or couldn't help the children with their studies or were themselves illiterate and could not supervise the children. Although quite a few of the parents realized that their children

needed supervision for studying after school they could not afford tuitions for their children.

Localities where children live

Most children belonged to poor families and lived in challenging circumstances. In urban areas it meant cramped spaces and poor unhygienic environment and ill ventilated houses. In rural areas also they were deprived of basic conditions necessary for living a life of dignity. The pictures below give a glimpse of the poor housing environments which children lived in. A look at the pictures later in the report (Ch. 6) of the schools that they studied in also show that children's lives in schools to a large extent were a reflection of their lives at home. Inadequately equipped and deficient in even basic infrastructural facilities and services these homes/localities and schools denied children even basic amenities which they deserved and perhaps eventually also negatively impacted their self concepts.



Zodge village, Nasik



*Children posing outside their homes
in a basti in Malegaon, Nasik*



Manglurpir, Washim



*Housing surrounded by open drains filled with
garbage in Mumbra, Thane*



Garib Nagar, Mumbai

IV. Findings of The Study: Insights from The Field

This chapter forms a substantial component of the report as it systematically presents the findings related to all the three schemes studied.

ATTENDANCE ALLOWANCE

Objective of the Scheme

The main objective of this scheme was to encourage the children of minority communities (Muslims, Buddhists, Christians, Parsis, Sikhs) to attend schools regularly and punctually, and to develop in them a liking for education. In order to achieve this objective, the Maharashtra State Government, started an Incentive Scheme for parents of students studying in Std. V to Std. VII. As per this scheme amount of Rs. 2/- per day is disbursed as Attendance Allowance to parents of students who attend school regularly. This Scheme is applicable to students of Government recognized, Private aided/un-aided Secondary Schools.

Scope and Eligibility of applicants

This Scheme is applicable from 13th June to 31st March every year in all the districts of Maharashtra State. During this period, parents of minority students studying in Std. V to Std. VII who attend school regularly will be provided a daily Encouragement Allowance of Rs.2/-. This Encouragement Allowance (Incentive) will be valid for 220 days. The total amount of the incentive is provided to the parents of the minority students for each academic year in three installments i.e. in the months of September, December and March. This incentive shall be disbursed to the parents of students who have at least 75 percent attendance. Students availing similar benefit from the State's School Education and Sports department or any other Central Government scheme will not be eligible under this scheme.

Implementation Guidelines for the Scheme

The Education Director, (Minorities & Adult Education) Pune is responsible for the implementation of this scheme. The list of eligible students is submitted by the School Principal to the Education Officer (Primary), of the concerned Zilla Parishad. The Education Officer (Primary) distributes the financial

assistance to schools. The school Principal further distributes the incentive to the students.

Research Findings

Data was collected from 187 schools eligible for Attendance Allowance (AA) out of the total 237 schools studied across 20 districts. Data reveals that while 22 percent schools received full Attendance Allowance, 49 percent of schools received an incomplete amount and 29 percent of them did not receive it at all.

One peculiar problem observed in the case of AA was that it had little bearing on the number of days for which a student attended school. The grant received by the school was distributed equally among all the eligible students.

An important point that was observed during the study was that across districts, the amount received per child in any school was uniform. In Ahmednagar, during the 2009-10 academic year, children received a total grant of Rs. 440 each. However this amount gradually reduced to Rs 220 per child. In Thane, children received one installment of Rs. 72 and another of Rs. 122 last year. However on an average, Thane performed better than the other districts studied in granting a full Attendance Allowance with more schools in this district receiving the full amount for the Attendance Allowance. These amounts had no bearing on the number of days they had attended school and the amounts given as AA ranged anywhere between Rs. 92 to Rs. 220 in one academic year. Thane and Amravati scored the highest in distributing the full amount of Attendance Allowance, followed by Hingoli and Mumbai. However schools in 7 districts reported not receiving the full grant for Attendance at any point in the three years.

Data on minority students was difficult to get in almost all the districts. Even the Minority and Adult Education Department did not have adequate data or the total number of minority students per district to estimate and make budgetary demand for the amount of money needed for the Attendance Allowance every year. The grant for the Attendance Allowance is lower than the requirement and is distributed in proportion to the minority population of the Districts rather than the attendance of students. The Directorate of Adult and

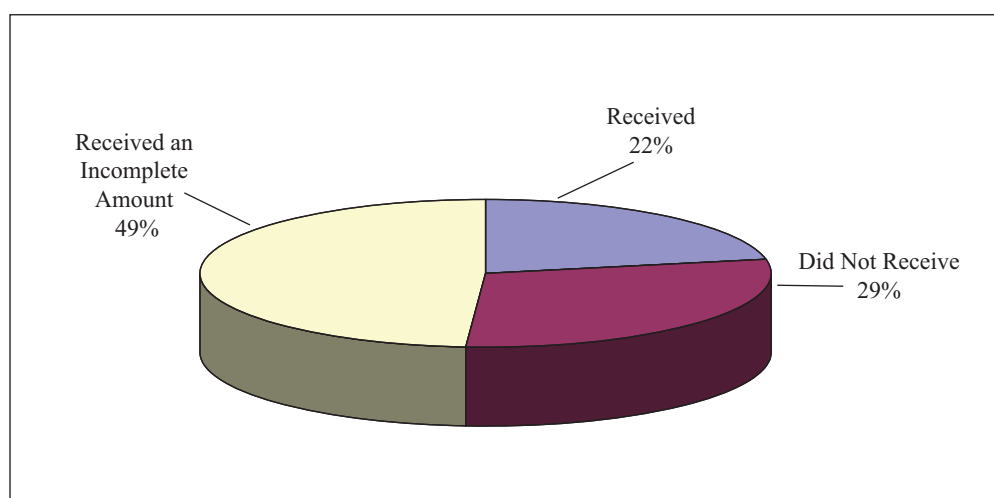
Findings of The Study: Insights from The Field

Minority Education disburses the amount to the EOs who in turn disburses it among the School Management Committees (SMCs). The schools in turn distribute the amount among students.³ However on account of shortage of funds, this amount ends up being equally distributed among all students rather than being linked with the attendance, defeating the very objective of the scheme.

Table 6: Status of Attendance Allowance (2009 – 2012)

District Name		Mean average of Attendance Allowance from 2009- 2012	
		Number of schools which received Attendance Allowance	Number of schools which did not receive Attendance Allowance
Akola	-	3	7
Aurangabad	-	4	6
Latur	-	2	6
Nagpur	-	5	5
Nanded	-	3	7
Osmanabad	1	8	2
Ratnagiri	-	5	4
Washim	-	7	3
Ahmednagar	-	1	11
Amravati	7	-	4
Buldhana	4	2	5
Chandrapur	1	3	5
Gadchiroli	-	2	4
Hingoli	6	-	5
Mumbai	6	6	0
Nashik	2	1	7
Parbhani	1	2	5
Pune	5	1	3
Solapur	5	1	5
Thane	7	1	3
Total	45	57	97

Figure 9: Status of Attendance Allowance 2009-2012



³ Information provided by Joint Director Adult and Minority Education, Maharashtra

Therefore even though the students received a certain amount of money, that money was not in consonance with the number of school days attended by them. Whatever money was received by the school was equally distributed by them to the students who had 75 percent attendance or above. The allowance meant to encourage students to attend schools more regularly, under the circumstances served no purpose as the money that they eventually received had no bearing on their attendance in school.

It must also be noted that even when the school Principals received the Attendance Allowance, there was a delay in receiving it and besides the allowance was too small to significantly impact the lives of these children and their families who were very poor. Considering their backgrounds, and the difficult economic constraints which they faced in their everyday lives, there was every possibility that these children would earn much more if they worked outside home. Hence there was certainly no charm in attending school for this incentive, as it was no incentive at all for them. Both these points are explained in greater detail below.

Delay in receiving the Incentive

Delay in receiving Attendance Allowance was a common complaint across all districts with some schools receiving the grant as late as a year after the due date. Since a majority of Government schools didn't have High Schools (classes beyond Std VII), the Principals reported difficulty in disbursing these amounts to students who had passed out of the VII std. Although in most of the cases, the teachers did their best to locate these students, it was not always possible. In some places, like Mumbra, for instance, where most of the residents lived on rent, locating the parents becomes a challenge. The same was true for communities which frequently migrated to other places.

Inadequate Incentive Amount against Average Expenditure incurred by families

Most importantly, the Attendance Allowance was too small to motivate students or their parents in any

meaningful way. This allowance is meant for children from poor families so that the economic incentive acts as a motivator. However, the opportunities available to such children even in the unorganized sector were far greater in terms of money earned by them on an everyday basis. This meant that they earned much more money working in the construction sites or local factories, etc. than what they would get by attending school.

Moreover, the parents also complained that they spent far greater amounts than the AA received by them on sending their children to school. According to the parents, Rs. 2 for Attendance Allowance means nothing. *"Do rupaiyye me aaj kya hota hai? Isse zyada to school bhejne me kharch hota hai."* Parents reported spending larger amounts of money than the elusive Attendance Allowance that they received to ensure that the child reached the school given the distance of the school from their residence.

Of the 2409 parents participating in the study, 29 percent of the parents spent some amount of money on travel to ensure that their child reached school. 61 percent spent up to Rs. 1200 every year to make arrangements for their children to travel to school. 37 percent said they spent anywhere between Rs. 1200 – Rs. 6000. There were also parents (2 percent) who spent more than Rs. 6000 every year on travel alone to send their children to school.

Besides travel to school there were several other expenses incurred by the parents in order to ensure their child's schooling. 34 percent of the parents interviewed incurred some kind of expense towards their child's education apart from travel expense. 37 percent spent up to Rs. 500 every year on expenses such as notebooks, stationary, socks, and other such items, 59 percent spent between Rs. 500 – Rs. 1000 and 4 percent spent more than Rs. 1000 for their child's schooling.

Parents further stated that they lost a day's wage to come to school to collect this allowance which was far lesser than what they would earn in a given day. As such many parents chose not to come to collect it.

Figure 10: Annual Expenses Incurred on travelling to school

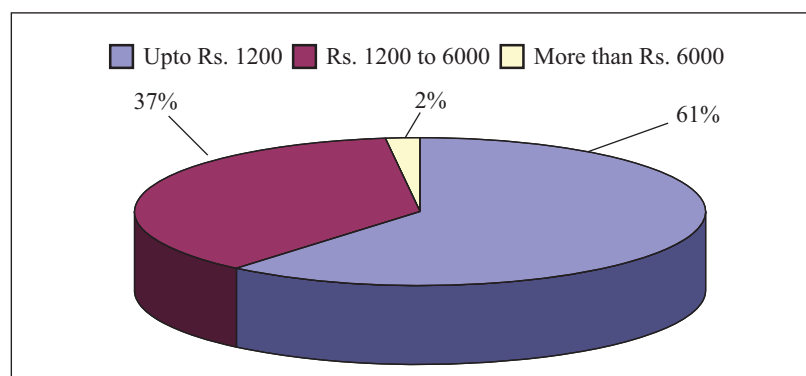
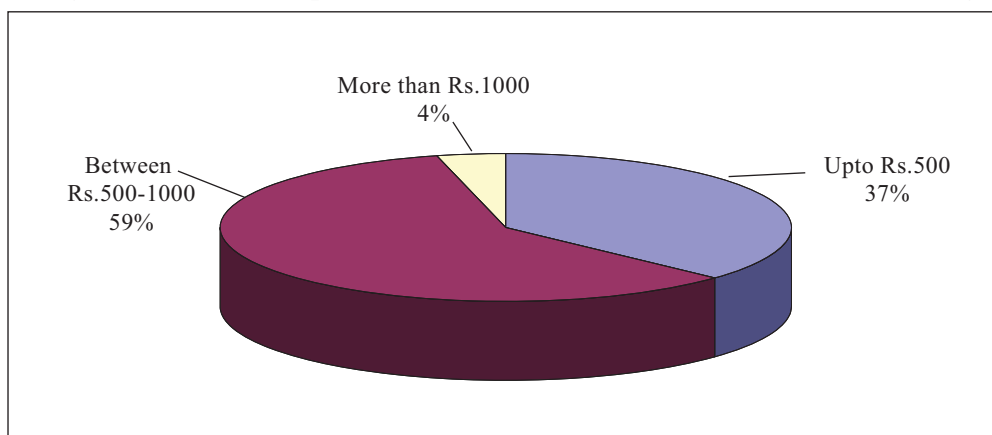


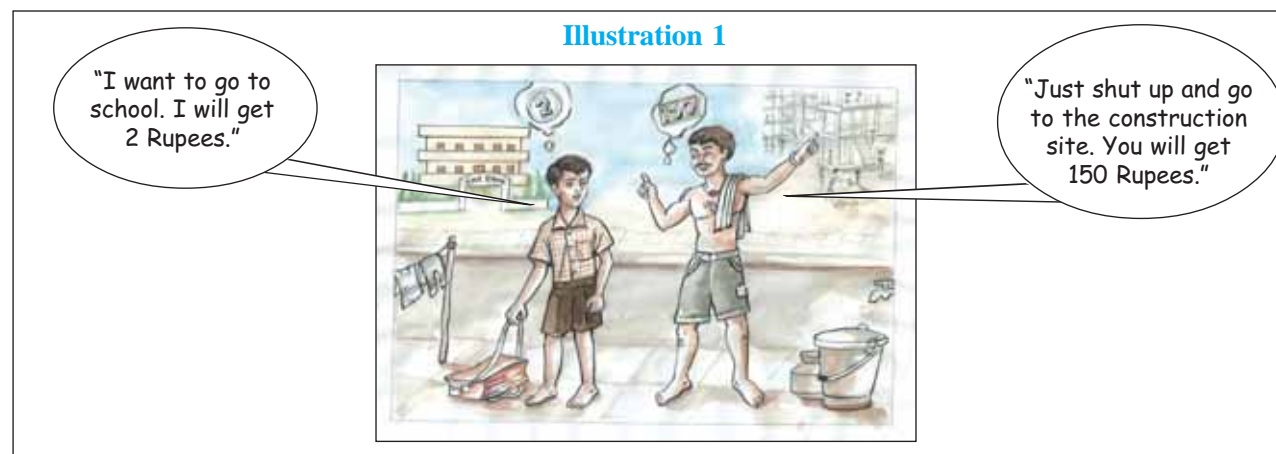
Figure 11: Annual Expenses Incurred by Families on Children's' Schooling

The children who are beneficiaries of this scheme come from extremely poor families where they are compelled to contribute to the expenses of the house. In Osmanabad and Parbhani, farm labour earns Rs 300 a day with children paid a minimum of Rs 150 a day. As a result schools have high absenteeism during harvest season with girls dropping out as they accompany their mothers to the field. Many girl children in Malegaon and in cities accompanied their mothers who worked as domestic help in houses nearby.

To reiterate, one of the reasons for children dropping out of school was poverty. Children dropped out as soon as they were capable of earning as farm labour, rag pickers or working in hotels and power looms where they managed to earn at least Rs 60 per day.

Suggestions made by Parents and Principals

- Attendance Allowance grant to schools should be given at the beginning of the academic year** - Principals suggested that the grants be made available to schools at the beginning of the academic year which could be used to make timely payments to students based on their attendance rather than the current procedure of sending the attendance records to the Education Department after which money was sent to the schools. The grant amount could be based on the average attendance of students in the preceding year or
- based on the number of students in the school.** The excess money if any could be sent back at the year end or adjusted with the next year's grant for attendance. This would ensure timely disbursal. This would also ensure that schools could make a monthly instead of quarterly payment which would perhaps be a better incentive.
- Allowance in accordance with the number of days attended in school** – The Principals strongly felt that the scheme in the way it was being executed in the present had no relation with attendance of students thereby defeating the very purpose of the scheme. They felt that it was important that students receive the incentive according to the number of school days attended rather than being given a flat lump sum.
- Increase the allowance to make it attractive** - Though the parents considered the amount insignificant, they felt that some support was better than none. However across districts, parents suggested that the incentive amount be raised to at least Rs. 5 a day.
- Scrap the scheme and have better incentives** - School Principals saw value in the Attendance Allowance scheme because of the extreme poverty most students lived in. However some Principals of established Private Aided schools even suggested scrapping the scheme altogether since the output was not worth the expenditure incurred on the

Illustration 1

implementation of the scheme. They wanted the Government to instead allot bicycles to students as the expenditure incurred on travel was quite high.

An AA of Rs. 2 might serve as an incentive to those students whose expenses for education and other needs are taken care of and might consider this allowance as pocket money. However for most students who come from a poor family background this allowance is supposed to serve as a supporting amount to their parents who send them to school at a comparatively higher opportunity cost. Such a meager amount does not really prove beneficial to these parents as the child would earn much more by staying out of the school and working. Hence this scheme was hardly of any attraction to the parents.

in primary (Std.I to Std.IV) each with 1 pair of uniform free of cost (2 shirts, half pants / 2 skirts, blouse

/ 2 salwar, 2 kameez, 2 dupatta) every year. Primary students availing similar benefit from any other source are not eligible for this incentive.

From the year 2009-10, this scheme has been made applicable to all the minority community students (boys and girls) from Government recognized/private aided and un-aided primary schools (except English medium unaided schools).

Implementation process of the Scheme

The Education Director (Minorities & Adult Education) Maharashtra State Pune is responsible

Box 1: Key Features of the Attendance Allowance Scheme

Objective:

- To encourage students to attend school on a regular basis by providing a monetary incentive for regular attendance.

Scope:

- Parents of minority students studying in Std V to Std VII to be provided a daily encouragement allowance of Rs. 2/-
- This incentive is valid for 220 days and is given to parents of those students who have at least 75 percent attendance.
- This Scheme is applicable to students of Government recognized, Private aided/un-aided Secondary Schools.

Challenges

- Several administrative issues associated with the availability of grants.
- Inadequate distribution of grants defeating the very purpose of the scheme.
- Incentive amount grossly inadequate while taking into consideration the average spending of parents on their child's schooling.

Suggestions by Parents and Principals

- Allowance amount to be raised and distributed at the beginning of the year strictly on the basis of attendance.
- Allowance Scheme to be scrapped entirely as it did not serve any purpose and better schemes which take care of schooling expenditure should be brought in its place.

FREE UNIFORMS

Objective

This scheme was started in the year 2009-10. Under this scheme free uniforms were provided to all the minority community students of all aided or unaided primary schools (except English medium unaided schools). The underlying objective of the scheme was to help reduce dropout rates, improve student attendance and help motivate them to continue their education.

Scope and Eligibility of applicant

Under this scheme, the state Government provides minority community students (boys/girls) studying

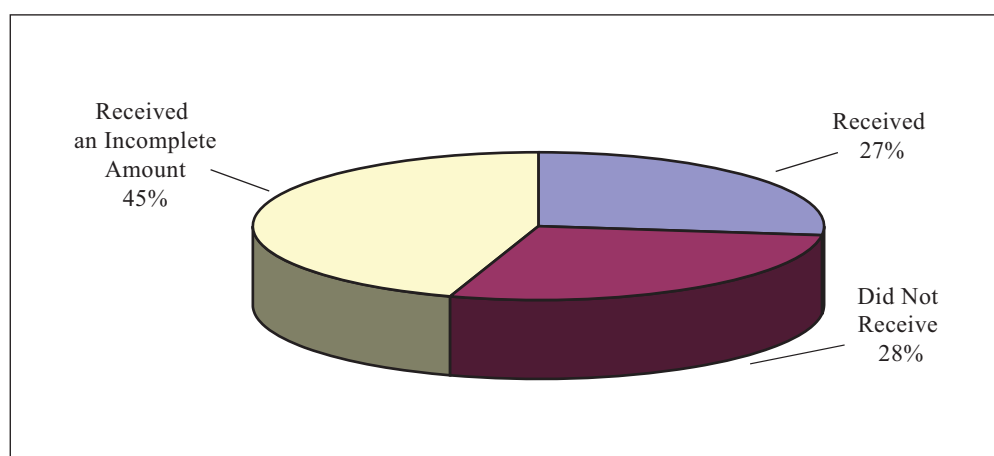
for monitoring the implementation of the Scheme. The list of eligible students is submitted by the School Principal to the concerned Education Officer (Primary), Zilla Parishad Education Supervisor, Municipal Corporation of Greater Mumbai/ Dy. Education Officer, Municipal Corporation. The School Education Department distributes the uniforms as per the department's norms.

Findings of the study

School uniform is a basic requirement for all school going children. It becomes especially important for poor children who along with their parents struggle to meet their basic needs, clothes being one of them.

Table 7: Status of Receipts of Grants for Uniforms (2009-2012)

District	Mean Average of Status of Uniforms for the period 2009-2012		
	Received	Not Received	Received an Incomplete amount
Ahmednagar	-	1	11
Amravati	7	-	4
Buldhana	4	2	5
Chandrapur	1	3	5
Gadchiroli	-	2	4
Hingoli	6	-	5
Mumbai	6	6	-
Nashik	2	1	7
Parbhani	1	2	5
Pune	5	1	3
Solapur	5	1	5
Thane	7	1	3
Akola	-	3	6
Aurangabad	-	6	-
Latur	-	6	5
Nagpur	1	4	6
Nanded	1	4	2
Osmanabad	4	5	3
Ratnagiri	1	1	4
Washim	-	4	2
Total	50	53	84

Figure 12: Status of Receipts of Grants for Uniforms (2009-2012)

Data was collected from 187 schools that were eligible under this scheme across the 20 districts in Maharashtra. The data reveals that while 27 percent received grants for Uniforms, 45 percent received an incomplete grant and the remaining 28 percent received no Uniforms or grants for Uniforms at all. Those who did receive uniforms received it late in the academic year, much after the school had begun.

Thane and Amravati reported the highest number of schools receiving the Uniform grant. Mumbai reported mixed results with half the schools reporting receiving the uniforms with the other half reporting not receiving them. Schools in districts of Ahmednagar, Gadchiroli, Akola, Aurangabad, Latur and Washim did not receive any Uniforms. In fact in Gadchiroli, one of the Block officers was unaware of the scheme at the time of the interview.

The study brought out three major concerns as far as implementation of this scheme was concerned.

a) Delay in receiving grants / uniforms

Delay in receiving grants for uniforms was a common complaint across all the 20 districts studied. Parents, teachers, principals as well as personnel of the Education Department complained about the delay in getting the grant for uniforms.

Some of the schools received ready uniforms while others received payment for the same. Schools which received ready to wear uniforms received it nearly two years after the child's measurement had been sent by which time the child could no longer fit in the uniform. *'Uniform aane tak, baccha bada ho jaata hai, phir kya faayda?'* "By the time the uniforms are received, the child grows up, what is the point of giving it", complained one of the parents in Mumbai.

In Mumbra, a minority-populated suburb in Thane District, parents had purchased the uniforms themselves on account of the lack of grants. Therefore the Principals of schools in that area asked the Municipal Corporation to reimburse the parents for the expenditure they had already incurred on uniforms on account of the delay but the Thane Municipal Corporation refused to do so. In a number of other districts too, parents had spent on uniforms since neither the money nor the uniforms had come through for two consecutive years.

Centralization

The delay in providing Uniforms can be understood better if it is linked to the centralization process for procurement of Uniforms. According to the Jt. Director, Adult and Minority Education, the centralization process for uniforms requires schools to provide the design of the uniform as well as measurement of the students before the beginning of the academic year to the Education Officer (EO). The EO in turn gives this information to the Handloom Corporation. The Handloom Corporation provides a sample, which has to be approved by the EO after which the order is placed. Since each private school has its own distinct uniform, with thousands of private schools in each district, the centralization process works out to be uneconomical unlike the Government schools, which have the same uniform for all its schools across the district.



Students of a Government school in Washim wearing their home clothes. The uniforms for the academic year were being distributed in February when the team went for data collection at the end of the academic year.

b) Insufficient Money / Cloth

The scheme has a provision for salwar kameez for girls as well as full pants and shirts for boys. However, Principals complained that the Government provides for only half pant for boys and skirts for girls. Principals in Ahmednagar and Mumbra who participated in this study claimed to have sent back the uniforms or money since it did not comply with the 'community requirements' of salwar kameez for girls and full pants for boys.

Schools where the Government sent cheques for the uniforms to be stitched, the amount was found to be insufficient to buy cloth required for stitching of the salwar kameez and full pant.

The insufficient number of uniforms is on account of the insufficient grants released by the State. In 2011 -2012, the Minority and Adult Education Department requested an amount of Rs. 30 crores to implement the scheme of Uniforms for which they received Rs. 13 crores which was less than half the requirement. In this situation, the Department makes provisions for uniforms only for boys since girls are covered under SSA according to the Jt Dir, Adult and Minority Education, Maharashtra.

c) Unrealistic Budgeting for Uniforms / Insufficient amount for stitching

The schools which received a lump sum amount to stitch uniforms were given Rs 200 per uniform set per child which included a stitching charge of Rs. 58 apart from the purchase of cloth. The

Principals and Management complained that the rate was half the market rate for stitching a salwar kameez. Stitching of pants was more expensive than stitching the salwar kameez. The management found it difficult to find tailors who would stitch at the rates provided by the Government. Most of the schools looked for Mahila Mandals in the area to stitch for the students, as that was the only group with whom they could negotiate to stitch for the children at these rates.

d) Occasion taking precedence over need

Parents and children in Ahmednagar district reported receiving the uniform a few days prior to Independence Day so that the children could wear new clothes for the parade rather than at the beginning of the academic year.

- Uniforms are essential to school education and should be provided for the entire school cycle—from the time the child starts going to school till the time the child is out of school. The scheme should include students from the Std V to the Std X as well.
- There must be minimum gap between the time that measurements of students are taken and uniforms provided.
- The rate of stitching of the Uniforms needs to be brought at par with the market rate.

Officials interviewed for the study suggested clubbing the uniform scheme for minorities with SSA, which had a greater outreach and an efficient set up. Two separate departments for the same kind of incentive was a replication of work according to them. They recommended broadening the scope of SSA which includes SC, ST children to accommodate minorities as well.

Suggestions made by Parents and Principals

- Uniforms must be given on time, at the beginning of the academic year.

Illustration 2

"How will this uniform fit me when they took my measurement last year?"



Box 2: Key Features of Free School Uniform Scheme

Objective:

- Providing minority community students of all aided and unaided private schools with free school uniforms and thereby motivating them to continue their education by reducing drop outs and improving school attendance.

Scope:

- Minority community students both boys and girls studying in primary school (Std I to Std IV) are eligible for this incentive scheme.
- Under this scheme free uniforms will be provided to all the minority community students of all aided or unaided primary schools (except English medium unaided schools).
- Each student is eligible for one pair of free uniform- 2 shirts, half pants / 2 skirts, blouse / 2 salwar, 2 kameez, 2 dupatta.

Box 2: Key Features of Free School Uniform Scheme (Contd.)

Challenges

- Excessive centralization in the process of procurement of uniforms
- Insufficient number of uniforms or money grants distributed for their stitching.
- Absence of distribution of uniforms at the beginning of the academic year.
- Delay in receiving uniforms.

Suggestions by Parents and Principals

- Uniforms must be given on time, at the beginning of the academic year.
- There must be minimum gap between the time that measurements of students are taken and uniforms provided.
- Realistic budget allocation for uniform stitching at par with market rates and timely distribution of uniforms.
- Uniforms are essential to school education and should be provided for the entire school cycle - from the time the child starts going to school till the time the child is out of school.
- Uniforms cannot be considered an incentive scheme but an essential requirement of school.
- The scheme should be clubbed with the free uniform scheme under SSA for better implementation and to ensure economies of scale.

INFRASTRUCTURE ALLOWANCE

Objective of the Scheme

The objective of this scheme is to provide infrastructure and basic facilities to minority community students studying in aided/unaided schools recognized by the State Government.

Scope and Eligibility of applicants

With a view of improving the quality of education, prominent Government recognized aided/unaided schools having at least 70 percent minority students will be provided financial assistance to the tune of Rs. 2 lakh maximum for infrastructure development and provision of basic facilities in their schools.

The Infrastructure and Basic facilities included in the scheme are as follows:

- Repairs and Renovation of School Buildings
- Provision of Clean Drinking water
- Upgradation of Library facility
- Upgradation of Laboratory facility
- Upgradation of Computer lab
- Repairs and maintenance of Toilets /Sanitation

Findings of the Study

Unlike the data on the scheme of uniforms and Attendance Allowance, the data on infrastructure scheme was very positive. More than 80 percent of the schools which were part of the study that had applied for infrastructure grant had received the same.

Table 8: Infrastructure Requirements for which Applications were made

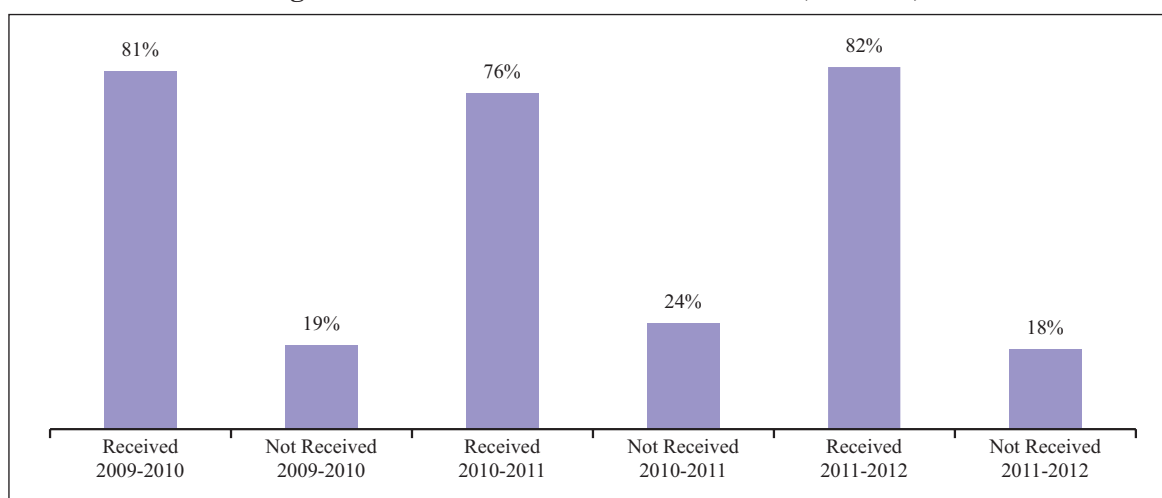
	Number of Applications		
	2009-'10	2010-'11	2011-'12
Dual Benches	26	29	26
Computers	35	14	16
Science Equipment	10	9	9
Books for the Library	4	10	7
Drinking Water / Purifier	10	14	13
Toilets	7	9	10
Urinals	2	7	9
School Repairs	5	4	7
Furniture	4	7	5
Electrification	0	2	4

The table below gives an account of status of the infrastructure grant received by schools in the past three years.

Table 9: District-wise Status on Infrastructure Grant (2009-12)

District	Infrastructure Development Grant 2009-'10		Infrastructure Development Grant 2010-'11		Infrastructure Development Grant 2011-'12	
	Received	Not Received	Received	Not Received	Received	Not Received
Ratnagiri	4	3	6	2	8	-
Thane	3	-	3	-	4	-
Pune	5	-	4	1	4	1
Solapur	2	-	2	-	2	-
Nashik	5	1	5	1	5	1
Ahmednagar	1	1	2	-	1	1
Aurangabad	10	-	10	-	9	1
Osmanabad	3	1	3	1	3	1
Latur	9	2	7	4	6	5
Nanded	8	2	7	3	10	-
Parbhani	7	1	8	-	8	-
Hingoli	1	1	-	2	1	1
Amravati	-	2	-	2	2	-
Akola	9	1	7	3	5	5
Buldhana	2	-	1	1	2	-
Washim	4	5	7	2	6	3
Chandrapur	7	-	6	2	8	-
Gadchiroli	3	-	2	1	3	-
Total	83	20	80	25	87	19

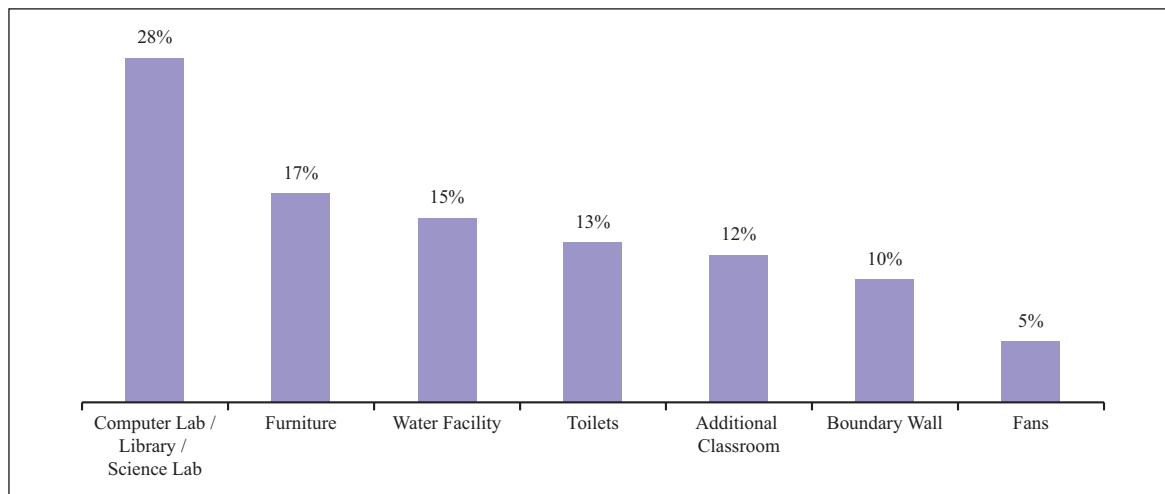
Figure 13: Status on Infrastructure Grant (2009-'12)



The table shows a year wise breakup of the grant received by the schools. In 2009 – '10, '10-'11 and '11 – '12, around 81 percent, 76 percent and 82 percent of the schools that applied received the grant. The reasons some of the schools did not receive the grant was incomplete applications filed by them or they had applied for the same items in the previous years.

Despite its success rate, there were still some schools which did not re-apply for this grant was that they felt it was too much paper work and interference from the officials who demanded various proofs. The other reason was that they could not reapply for the same infrastructure demands as made in the previous applications even if the need had only partially been met with the 2 lakh of the previous year.

Figure 14: Infrastructure requirements as expressed by School Principals



Principals' felt that in the technologically advanced age it was necessary to make computers and e-learning accessible to students. 28 percent of the Principals wanted their schools to be equipped with computers, LCD projectors, science laboratories and libraries with relevant books. However, it was quite distressing that basic facilities like furniture (desks and chairs) (17 percent), water (15 percent), toilets (13 percent) fans (5 percent) were absent in several schools and hence needed urgent attention through the infrastructure grants scheme.

Suggestions made by Principals, Management and Education officers

- The infrastructure scheme is sanctioned by the Collector's office with the EO being responsible for issuing the utilization certificate. A number of community leaders and Government officials interviewed mentioned that there was a great scope for corruption in the scheme. A number of EOs thought that the scheme should be directly

implemented through their office since it was related to education. Community leaders felt that two departments meant greasing the palms of those many more people.

- Schools taking in students without having basic infrastructure facilities such as fans, toilets, benches, etc were a concern that several officials in the Education Office and DPO offices shared. They suggested that a stringent criteria needs to be put in place before granting recognition to these schools and granting them Government funds.

The Education office oversees the monitoring of this grant by issuing a utilization certificate. However it is difficult to say the manner in which the grant is currently being used. Community leaders and officers from the education office alleged that the Management issued fake receipts for infrastructure which was already in place. Since the applications for this grant was made to

Illustration 3

"Last year we managed to get tables and chairs for the higher classes, wish we could reapply for the same to cover primary school students."



the Collectors' office while utilization was issued by the Education office, monitoring was a problem.

While private schools complain about not getting recognition by Government because of strict norms and regulations, the Government school bodies feel that a majority of private schools flout all norms and use the money to fill their own pockets. There are private schools all over these localities, operating from houses, basements, one or two rooms in a house and backyard etc. Visits to these schools reaffirmed that even if the grant money was spent on procuring some basic infrastructure requirements, there was no vision or comprehensive plan made while applying for this grant. Since the Government put the condition that the school cannot apply for the same 'item'

again, even if there were more requirements for the same, it could not be asked for.

It was also interesting to note that all schools which applied for infrastructure grant received it and yet most schools were in a bad condition- even if they spent the money on procuring few items, not only was the overall condition of school bad but the items procured were a bit disorganized- if chairs and desks were bought, then they were not enough for all the students, if computers were bought, then either there were no chairs to sit on or they were not linked to any electric points, if toilets were constructed, then there was no running water facility in them.

The next chapter elaborates further on the existing infrastructure of the schools that were studied and its implications on children's' education.

Box 3: Key Features of the Infrastructure Allowance Scheme

Objective:

- To provide infrastructure and basic facilities to minority community students studying in aided/ unaided schools recognized by the State Government.

Scope:

- Government recognized aided/unaided schools having at least 70 percent minority students will be eligible for this scheme.
- A maximum of Rs. 2 lakhs would be disbursed for infrastructure development and provision of basic facilities in schools.

Challenges

- Compared to the other two incentive schemes, implementation of the infrastructure allowance scheme is relatively smoother with over 80 percent schools receiving adequate grants.
- Paperwork and interference from officials demanding various proofs.
- Inability to apply for the same infrastructure requirement even though there is a genuine shortage of the item received the previous year.

Suggestions for Improvement

- The scheme should be directly implemented through Education Office instead of the Collector's Office.
- Stringent criteria to be in place in recognizing schools eligible for the grant.
- Strong monitoring mechanism to ensure effective utilization of funds.

V. Abysmally Equipped Schools: Unhappy Spaces for Children

A survey of the schools visited as part of this study showed that most of them lacked even basic minimum infrastructure facilities like clean drinking water, toilets or even desks and tables for children. Most schools did not have boundary walls and quite a few had leaking roofs, with insufficient lighting and absence of fans. Toilets continued to be a nightmare in most schools and even if there were toilets, they were dirty as there was no provision of running or storing water in them. One could smell the stink of urine from a distance. Children avoided using these toilets and whenever possible ran back home mostly not to return.

Since most schools did not have boundary walls security of children, especially of girls, with boys from the neighborhood loitering around was a major concern. Schools in some urban areas, Mumbra for instance were in congested, dirty and unhygienic areas exposing children to health hazards. There were open drains and the land around was used as dumping grounds.



A school in Aurangabad without a boundary wall

Quite a few schools did not have adequate classrooms. There were classes being held in open corridors, or in rooms which were stacked with furniture. Often the

rooms were only partially constructed with incomplete flooring (children in one private school in Aurangabad were sitting on the concrete with their clothes getting dirty, worn and torn, much to the angst of their parents).



A class in progress in a Government school in Aurangabad - the classroom is also being used as a junkyard.

In quite a few of the schools, students complained of leaking roofs during the monsoons and in some schools, one also heard of slabs falling off the roof or walls falling off.



A classroom lying unused on account of a broken window. The rest of the classrooms too had similar flooring which had given way.

Table 10: Availability of Basic Infrastructure Facilities in Schools

(Numbers in percentages)				
	Government Schools	Private Aided Schools	Un Aided Schools	Total
Fans	40	25	5	70
Tube Lights	41	27	6	74
Dual Benches	48	33	7	88
Library	49	33	7	89

Abysmally Equipped Schools: Unhappy Spaces for Children

The status of basic infrastructure facilities in almost all the 237 schools (Government, aided and unaided), was quite dismal. Government schools were comparatively better off than the private schools even though more than 60 percent of the Government schools did not have fans, 59 percent did not have tube lights, 52 percent did not have benches for the children and 51 percent did not have libraries. Nearly 70 percent of the private schools lacked these basic services required for education.

In a number of schools children of the lower standards (Std I- Std IV) sat on the floor with mats brought from home. Benches (dual desks) were available only for students of the higher classes. Since the schools cannot apply for the same infrastructure facility twice, the school management did not re-apply for dual benches even though a number of classrooms did not have the facility of benches for students.



Children in a Government school in Washim, sitting on the floor due to lack of desks and benches

A majority of the schools reported having a library by which they meant only books for the library, not a reading room. These books were stored in a cupboard or in some schools, hung on a rope in the Principals room. The teachers said that they used to take books to the classroom during the library period. This meant that none of the schools visited had a proper reading room.

Availability of Computers in schools

A majority of the schools had computers. 7 percent of these schools had computer teachers and around 5 percent of them had internet facility. Absence of computer teachers often meant that the class teachers were often asked to teach computers, knowledge of which they were not necessarily equipped with.

79 percent schools had computers
Of those only 7 percent had computer teachers
and 5 percent had internet connectivity

In some schools, on account of space crunch and limited number of rooms, computers were kept in the Principals' room.

Moreover, schools in almost all districts, except Mumbai suffered from load shedding for three to six hours a day. A school in Mumbra had computers stacked in a cupboard as they had stopped working because of frequent power cuts.



Unused computers locked up in cupboards in the Principal's room in Mumbra, Thane

All school principals and management felt that in this age of communication technology, computers were integral to their lives and students should have access to computers as well as e-learning. However, the schools did not have electricity for a substantial part of the day for the computers to be used. These schools had not applied for generators to address the problem either as services such as benches, water and toilets took precedence over computers.

Over and above all these problems, even if schools somehow grappled with these problems, presence of computers did not mean that students in these schools were allowed to use them.



A computer room in a school in Pathri, Parbhani with computers perched on tables but no chairs to sit on

The incidence of computer rooms without chairs was observed in more than one school.



In this school's computer room, not only were there no chairs, some computers did not even have an electricity point to plug in the computers.



Toilet in a Private school in Nasik City



This science lab seemed to serve only as a display room for authorities who visited. The equipments for the science lab for which the Infrastructure grant had been used had been kept packed in their original packing. The seal of bottles containing chemicals also remained intact.



An unused toilet in a Private school in Sillod, Aurangabad. The boys use the wall to relieve themselves rather than the toilet because of the stink from lack of water

Dysfunctional Toilets

Even though there were toilets in the school, presence of toilets did not mean that:

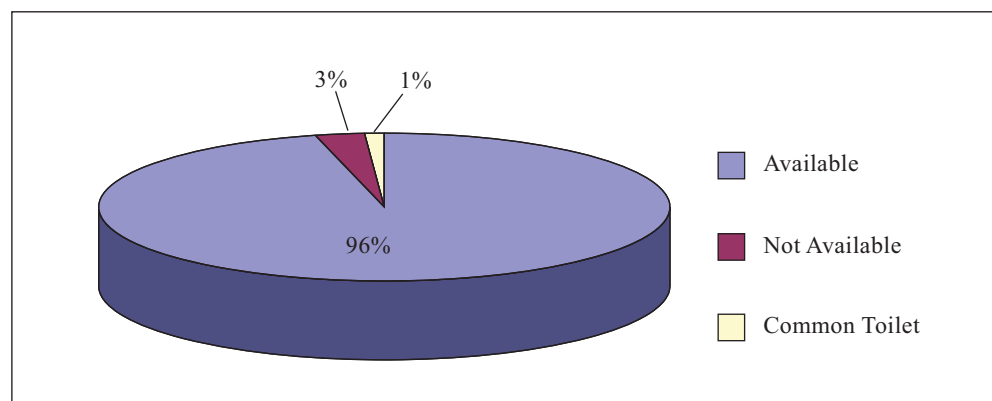
- There were separate toilets for boys and girls
- That toilets were in a usable condition
- There was staff to clean them regularly
- The toilets had water facility in them

According to the data from the study, 96 percent of the schools had toilets for girls and boys. However, it is important to understand that most of them were unusable because of lack of water facility. Moreover a few of which were in good condition were locked and opened only for teachers to use or for 'special' guests.

The Government schools did not have positions for clerks and peons and the private schools did not get non-salary grant. Therefore, these schools found it difficult to maintain the cleanliness of the toilets and the school as there was no required staff. In some of the Government schools, children were made to clean the toilets as well as sweep the classrooms and the common passage. The Principals on being asked about this practice said that earlier teachers used to clean the toilets, which embarrassed the students who then offered to do it themselves.

The Principals of some private schools said that they had appointed peons for the task for which the salary was paid from contributions made by teachers or by the management. In private schools too, some of the students confided that they had a duty roster with children of the higher classes (Std V upwards) assigned the task of cleaning the toilets and the classrooms.

Figure 15: Availability of Toilets



Abysmally Equipped Schools: Unhappy Spaces for Children

Some schools (private and Government) were functioning from buildings which were unsafe from water seepage and would require large amounts of money to be repaired.



A private school in Washim constructed of tin with cement flooring



State of a private school in Parbhani which received infrastructure grant for dual benches. These benches were rusting from the rain water seepage



The Infrastructure scheme was introduced with the intention of providing the minority community students studying in Government schools in the state with basic infrastructure facilities. Government managed schools received an annual maintenance grant of Rs. 12,000. Although the private schools grappled with infrastructure needs of schools, quite a few of the Government schools with a majority of minority students were also found lacking in basic infrastructure provisions for schools. Some Government schools were functioning in dilapidated buildings with the lives of children and teachers at risk.



A board put up outside a school which was under construction. Since the building was locked, we couldn't get information from the school administration.

Some of the schools had tin roofs without fans or lights while some were constructed entirely of tin sheets.



A Government school in Jintur, Parbhani

Evaluation of Educational Incentive Schemes for Minority Communities in Maharashtra



A classroom with plaster peeling off, cracks in walls, no tables or chairs in Parbhani



Water seeped into the classrooms during the rains creating small puddles. The atmosphere was dark and depressing. The school had no benches or desks or computers. In the same school children relieved themselves in the field opposite the school in the absence of a functional toilet.



A 'functioning' Government school in Jintur, Parbhani of which the construction was left incomplete



The stark difference in two adjoining Government schools in the same campus

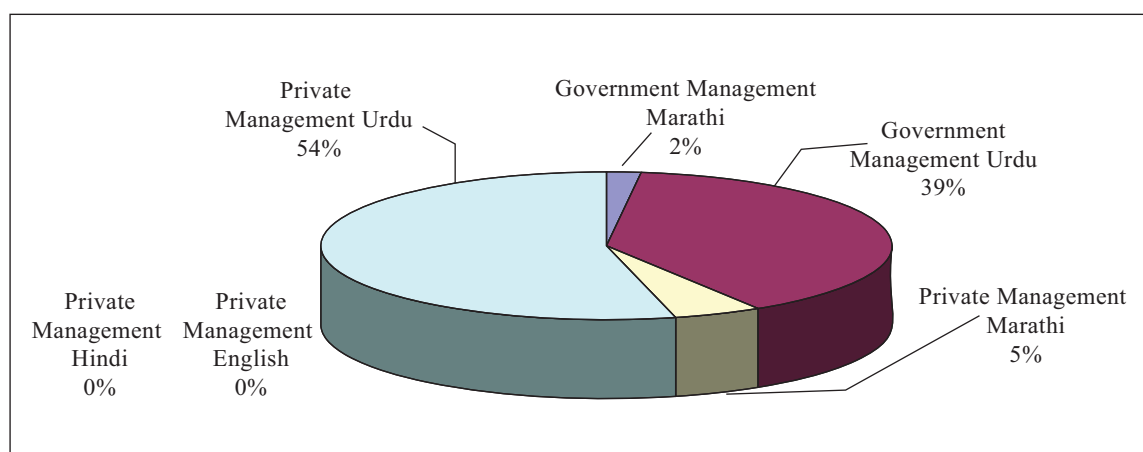
Teachers in schools

Data on vacancies in schools studied, reveals a significant shortage of teachers in the Urdu medium schools (39 percent of Government schools and 54 percent of private schools reported vacant positions in their schools). Marathi medium schools reported vacancies of 2 percent in the Government schools and 5 percent in the private Marathi schools studied. Apart from the vacancies which affected teaching, school Principals across schools lamented the non teaching duties assigned to teachers of Government and Private aided schools requiring them to be away

from teaching for a substantial part of the academic year. Teachers were required to assist in duties of enumeration during the census, preparation of voters' lists before elections, participate in frequent trainings which impacted their actual teaching in school.

Parents too voiced their concerns about the absent teachers. Teachers being away from classrooms for the non teaching work of the Government were perceived as absenteeism by the parents. Many wondered if sending the child to school served any purpose given the lack of teachers in Government schools.

Figure 16: Vacancies according to medium of instruction



Inadequate infrastructure and insufficient teachers Mumbra, Thane District

Mumbra is a minority concentrated suburb of Thane District. One of the schools visited was a four-storied structure with 7 schools running in its premises. The building had been constructed in 1990 to accommodate three Government schools. Since then the number of schools in the building had increased to seven with no corresponding increase in infrastructure. Since the time the building was constructed, the schools had neither toilets nor water. Last year MMRDA constructed a public toilet in the school premises since no other space was available for a Public toilet in Mumbra. The school did not receive any work order or information about this public toilet constructed in the school premises. School children were being allowed to use these toilets free of charge. The care taker of the toilets informed that the toilet had no gate or lights inside which made it unsafe for the children. Being a public toilet, adults also use it compromising the safety of children further.

One of the Principals stated that MHADA has declared the current school building unsafe. At the time of the interview, a portion of the fourth floor ceiling which had fallen off had been replastered, “the school has 6200 students with a casualty waiting to happen”. The construction of the new school building that has been promised years ago is yet to start.

Mumbra has recently been in the news for building collapses on account of the shoddy construction. This school too needs to be urgently rehabilitated given its dilapidated state which has been covered with whitewash.



A public toilet constructed in the premises of the Government school in Mumbra

A Few Happy Exceptions!

We did come across schools that had taken initiative to provide a cheerful learning atmosphere, worked their way around to provide incentives which the Government has been unable to provide.



A teacher stands proud against wall display he planned and executed in the ZP Kanya Shala in Parbhani

ZP Kanya Shala, Parbhani is an inspiring example of coordinated efforts by the school principal and the teachers in making the school environment a pleasant and enjoyable one. To ensure that children

had nutritious mid day meals in the limited budget available, he and his staff developed a kitchen garden where children were made to adopt plants and tend to them. This initiative also encouraged the students develop a consciousness about the environment.



The Principal, Supervisor and teachers of ZP Kanya Shala, Parbhani

Similarly, the Jadeed Anjuman-e-Taleem (JAT) school in Malegaon, Nasik, is an all girls school and college which boasted of almost zero dropouts. Established



Happy faces - JAT school, Malegaon, Nasik

in 1962 by veteran freedom fighter and noted social reformer, late Alhaj Haroon Ah. Ansari, JAT, has classes from Kindergarten to innumerable Post Graduate courses.

Since there is no provision for Government schools beyond the Std VII std in that area, JAT has an additional division in Std VIII to accommodate students from the neighbouring Corporation schools. Students of the corporation schools interviewed looked forward to joining JAT in Std VIII because they felt studying there was good for their future.

Interestingly, the school management takes into consideration the special difficulties of the students (girls from economically weak backgrounds) by designing special courses for them to overcome their handicap of English language. Additional books on grammar, apart from the books prescribed by the State Board Curriculum are used to increase understanding and fluency in English of students studying in the Urdu medium. Apart from the standard SSC board Maths textbooks, CBSE textbooks are also used in class for students to gain a competitive edge.

The Principal of the Primary school has also started a book bank scheme wherein students at the end of the year would deposit their textbooks with the school. This was done as the State textbooks were invariably late, sometimes coming in only around October. The students being economically weak cannot spend on the textbooks. This book bank helps the students use books till the time the State provides the textbooks.

Similar is the case with Rais High School and Junior College in Bhiwandi where the Principal took it upon herself to meet with the Police before the start of the academic year to ensure that the areas around the school are patrolled making it safe for the girls who

attend the school since their safety concerns are usually a reason for drop outs. Like JAT, this school has an extremely low drop out which is attributed to the seamless movement from primary to upper primary and beyond including college.

During the study except a miniscule number of schools which had systematically made efforts to convert their schools into cheerful spaces were children learnt, one came across a large majority of schools that were in a state of despair. This is applicable to both private and Government schools. However, in terms of the school building, the Government schools were relatively better off than the private schools, which functioned mostly in shoddy and small spaces. What was common across these schools was that children studying in these schools mostly belonged to poor families. The general state of schools and schooling is certainly dismal, with the poor suffering on account of being poor. Dimensions of caste, religion and gender aggravate or diminish the challenges but the economic backgrounds of the children and their parents continue to be an important factor with regard to the kind of schools they can access.

Several studies have repeatedly reiterated the need to acknowledge that, the biggest factor pulling the child to a school is the environment of the school itself—both in terms of physical infrastructure and a non-threatening and positive teaching-learning environment. While the incentives have an important role to motivate children to attend school, they cannot compensate for the inadequacies of the school per se. Schools such as the ZP Kanya Shala, JAT and the Rais High School prove that children from difficult circumstances can complete their education provided the learning atmosphere and additional supports are provided to them. Unfortunately these schools were an exception rather than the rule.



VI. Low Cost Private Schools: Poor Children and Harassed Teachers

There is a general perception among parents and people at large that private schools are better than Government schools and there have been a spate of studies, including Annual Status of Education Report, 2013 in the recent past that have shown that parents have been withdrawing their children from Government schools and putting them in private schools. While this 'finding' may be true, several other studies have also shown that there are various reasons for this flux, not necessarily the 'inefficiency' of public schools and 'efficiency' of private schools.

Juneja presents an alternative explanation for the declining enrolments and drop outs of children from municipal schools. She points out that this drop out is quite often forced upon the poor. Using evidence from studies of nine metropolitan cities, she points out that the phenomenon of negative growth of enrolment at the primary stage is seen only in those cities where the next level of education, is provided only through private aided schools. Further studies show that in Mumbai itself, the anxiety to seek admission in aided secondary schools can be seen at the fee-charging primary stage itself. Thus, instead of representing a desire to leave schooling, the drop out could be likened to the backflow of smoke from a blocked chimney, seeking a way to progress upward (Juneja 2007).

Over the last decade, the unregulated private sector in India has been the target of advocacy groups that are projecting budget/low fee schools as a cost efficient and equitable solution to the education of the poor and as a site for viable business options. This advocacy is couched in the neo-liberal discourse of educational markets, parental choice and school vouchers. Nambissan (2012) looks at some of the evidence that is available on budget/low cost schooling in India, and the edu-business emerging around this sector in the light of aspirations of low income parents for private education for their children. Research available on low-cost schools is fragmentary. Even though people like Tooley (2007) argue that budget schools are better performing than Government schools at far lower cost, and hence are cost efficient, it is argued that in the light of the evidence made available, low cost private schools should be allowed to function free of regulations and Government funds should be directed through vouchers to parents to enable them to exercise choice in relation to their children's

education. Equally highlighted is the fact that these schools are presently making modest profits. With the necessary financial support, low cost teaching technology and creating of school brands and chains, they can be a good business proposition for private investors (Prahlad 2005). Studies making claims of private schools are also characterized by lack of conceptual clarity, faulty methodology and hence offer a weak body of evidence (Rose and Dyer 2008, Sarangapani and Winch 2010 and Nawani 2012). A careful reading of the research on low cost schools indicates that the heterogeneity within the Government and private school sectors and unregulated schools themselves is usually glossed over giving the impression that broad comparisons between them can be easily made and generalized. Nambissan reiterates that there are powerful financial interests involved in the private/low cost/affordable school sector. One is hence likely to see well-organized efforts to influence policymakers to create conducive regulatory environments that take these schools out of the purview of the RtE (2009) and to enable profits to be made. The RtE has brought the education of children within the framework of judicial rights and social justice. She asserts that it is important that these rights be protected. (Nambissan, 2012, Private Schools for the Poor: Business as usual?, EPW, Vol. XLVII, No. 41).

Now let us look at the data emerging from our study and the implications that private schools has for poor children's schooling.

Insufficient Number of Government Schools

One of the major problems with the public school system is that there is an unequal spread of public schools across the state and there are areas where there is insufficient number of Government schools.

The DISE data reveals the alarming picture of insufficient number of high schools in the State. The data shows that while there are a huge number of Government schools at the primary level, this number reduces significantly at the upper primary, secondary and higher secondary level. This forms one of the many reasons for parents putting their children in private schools. In the absence of a High school, dropouts are natural at the primary or upper primary level. This also means that the poor either garner resources and put their children in private schools or let their children discontinue their education and enter the

Table 11: Number of schools in Maharashtra

	Primary	Primary with Upper Primary	Primary with Upper Primary/ Secondary and Higher Secondary	Upper Primary only	Upper Primary with Secondary/ Higher Secondary
Government	43,737	2,351	962	37	943
Private	5,928	5,332	1,165	37	12,026
Total	49,665	7,683	2,127	74	12,969

Source - DISE Provisional data 2011-12

labour market or simply let them while away their time doing sundry chores. The scenario of Government run Urdu medium High schools is far worse.

Mushrooming Private schools - Filling the gap

The absence of Government schools poses special challenges for disadvantaged communities. The businessmen capitalized on this deficit by setting up private schools especially High schools in those areas. The Private school managements take pride in setting up schools in areas which have no schools and which are largely inhabited by poor people. This also includes many slums in urban areas which are often neglected by the Government. Even as the management of Private schools mentioned innumerable difficulties in managing schools, quite a few of them bragged about the number of schools which their management had established. In Aurangabad, one of the representatives of a private school management mentioned having 24 schools under their management across the district. In Parbhani city, each of the 12 'community leaders' who were interviewed headed at least one private school with one having as many as eleven schools under them. A number of these private schools visited were either patronized by those belonging to political parties or had management representatives who were affiliated to one or the other political party. Parents felt compelled to send their children to these private schools patronized by the local

leader instead of Government schools on the promise of basic facilities like drinking water connections and other services requiring the help or support of these 'leaders'. The other reasons for parents sending their children to private schools instead of Government schools were a) the lack of Government High schools in the area or b) providing better education than that available in Government schools.

In Latur, a district known for producing top rankers in Board Exams in the State, a few small scale businessmen (scrap merchants or in the construction business) with little education had set up Private schools. The scenario was not very different in other districts visited.

Mumbra has a number of private schools almost all of which had received the Infrastructure Grant. Almost 40 percent of these schools are located in residential buildings, many of which are illegal according to an official in the Education Department.

Conditions of Teachers in Private Schools

Government Schools are eligible for grants both under Minority schemes as well as SSA. SSA provides for a host of incentives such as school bags, raincoats and shoes, etc. The advantage that Government schools have is that the SSA has a scheme for Attendance Allowance and uniforms for girls and children from BPL families. In the eventuality of the grant from the

Illustration 4



Minority Department getting delayed, the grant from the SSA is used to ensure that the girls from the minority community get the Attendance Allowance and uniforms which leaves only boys without the incentives.

This however was not the case with Private schools which had to rely on grants from the Minority Department alone for the incentives or raise resources themselves in order to provide these incentives. In this aspect, Private schools faced tough competition from Government schools in getting enrolments as children of Government schools are entitled to a number of benefits (books, stationary, lunch box, etc) under SSA.

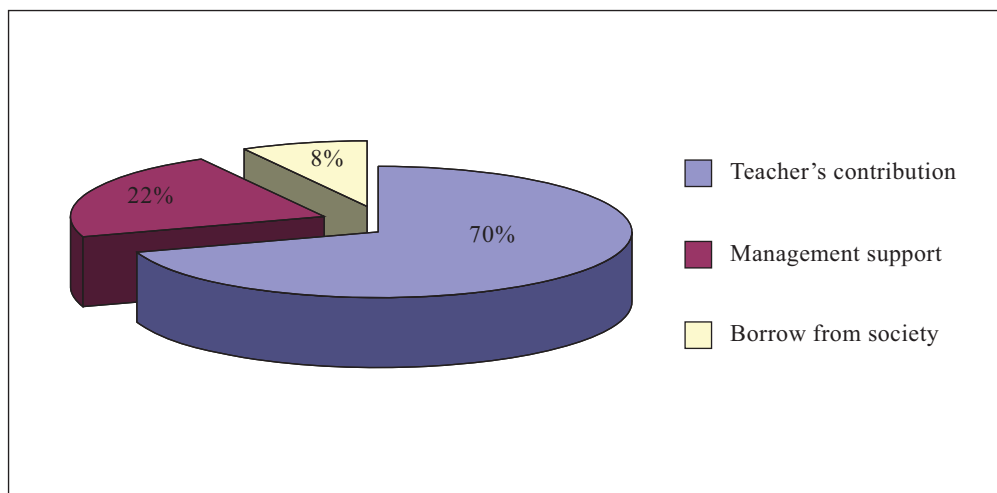
To ensure that the children in their schools receive equivalent, if not all benefits as those by children from Government schools, the management of these schools try to outdo the Government schools in providing incentives. Over and above uniforms and Attendance Allowance, these schools also provide free transport services to ensure children come to school. For these provisions, they raise resources in the following ways.

information on out of school children as well as to convince parents to send their children to the private school with promises of incentives and better quality education than they would receive in Government schools.

Contribution from the management or community did not mean that the teachers were let off from giving their share. In most cases, the entire contribution came from the teachers and the Principal. While one would expect the management to contribute towards the child's education, this expectation from the underpaid teachers was nothing short of exploitation.

The community contribution was quite often linked to the religious duty of Zakat. This contribution has its own baggage with Urdu medium schools imposing a religious way of life among the children. Uniforms for children as young as 6 and 7 year olds comprised of the head scarves for girls and skull caps for boys. Teachers too were made to contribute towards head scarves. Schools are meant to be foundations of building a secular and rational outlook rather than

Figure 17: Ways in which private schools deal with insufficient grants



The private aided and unaided schools relied on teacher's contributions, management support and support from the community in order to provide similar incentives as children from the Government schools. The data shows that almost 70 percent of private schools expect teachers to contribute part of their salary to a kitty which is then used to make a few provisions for children.

Private schools vying for Government recognition and a corresponding Government Grant to take care of salaries of teachers among other benefits, try their best to increase their enrolment rates. In some instances, they offer more than what Government schools offer such as a bus service or transportation. Teachers are sent to communities around the school to get

places to groom fundamentalism or propagation of a religious way of life. Since benefits by the State do not reach the students of this community, they are left at the mercy of benefactors who impose their religious beliefs on the beneficiaries.

Once children were enrolled in schools, teachers contributed part of their salaries towards ensuring that the children in their school receive all the benefits that SSA provides to Government school children and more.

Teachers who were paid as little as Rs. 2000 – Rs. 5000 make these contributions as there is pressure on them for the school to function which in turn would ensure i) continuity of their jobs and ii) grant to the school which may possibly increase in their salaries bringing it on par with Government school teachers.

Teachers reached out to children from distances of 2 kms and more, encouraging them to join their school with promises of better quality education than that provided by the Government schools. For children to choose the private school over a 2 km distance to a Government school in the neighbourhood, the schools arranged for private vehicles for which contributions were made from the salaries of the Principals and teachers. In some instances, management too contributed towards this facility.

Money Making Racket

The private schools seemed to be thriving in the districts. Besides the contributions expected from Principals and teachers in the schools towards provision of services to children, they were also made to pay donations to the management to get the job in the hope of the school getting recognized eventually.

A Principal in Bhiwandi said that most Muslims and especially girls from the community opt for D.Ed. However given the high number of D.Eds, there were also a high number of jobless people with these degrees. Some of the Principals and teachers interviewed for the study had worked for more than seven years at such low salaries before the school had been given a grant. Some schools had managed to get grants for one division of the school which meant that one teacher of Std. I received a Government scale salary while the other with the same responsibilities received one tenth of that salary.

Management Control over Principals and Teachers

The Principals of most private schools were often unwilling to participate in the interview, often calling someone from the management to answer the researchers' questions. The Management as well as the Education Department officials treated these

Principals with little respect. During one of the interviews, a Principal barely 20 years old was made to serve tea to the researchers and 'the guests' by the Secretary of the Managing Committee who was also a local politician.

A Principal of a private school in Bhiwandi shared that the private schools in Bhiwandi took away the certificates of qualification of teachers at the time of their appointment to prevent them from applying elsewhere.

Interestingly, all school bodies lament the pathetic state of the teachers- the private school committees feel that even though teachers are being lowly paid, they have no choice because the schools they run are difficult to sustain, leave alone make profits. They feel that they are doing their community a service and are forced to open schools because the Government has failed to reach out to these disadvantaged communities.

While private schools complain about not being recognized by the Government because of strict norms and regulations, the Government school bodies feel that a majority of private schools flout all norms and use the money to fill in their own pockets. There are private schools all over these localities, with schools operating from houses and even basements or one or two rooms in a flat in cities which have a space crunch.

Teaching continues to be considered a respected profession; safe for women. As such one sees a higher number of women teachers in schools, both public and private. Lack of development of the area where most minorities reside coupled with low qualifications and lack of choice force women to join this profession. Their attrition continues to be high because of low morale and low salaries affecting the future of students as well.

VII Conclusions and Recommendations: Way Forward

This study primarily looked at three incentive schemes- Attendance Allowance, free uniforms and infrastructure allowance given to children of minority communities studying in recognized Government, Private Aided and Unaided schools. This particular chapter discusses the impact of these three schemes followed by the conclusions and recommendations.

Impact on Attendance:

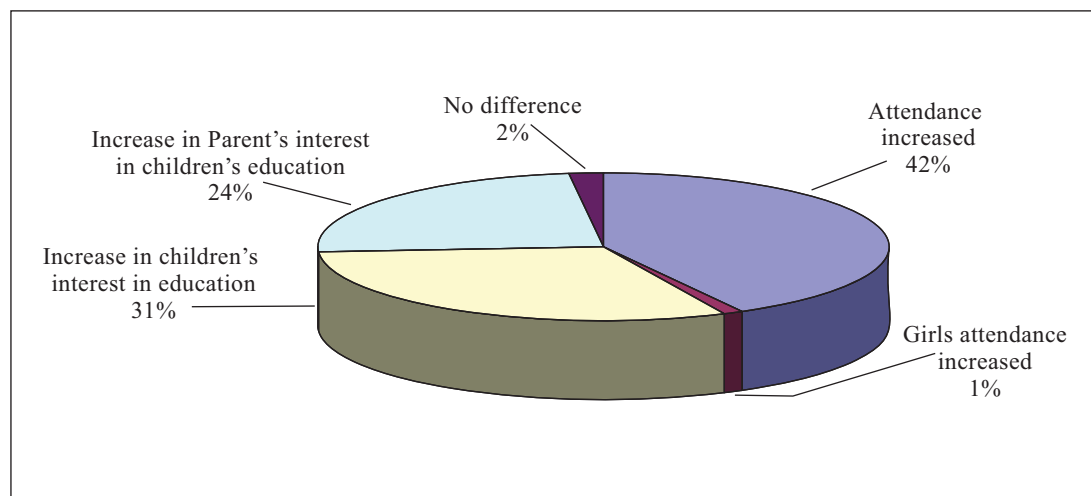
The findings show that the schemes are achieving the objectives, although on a very limited scale on account of the impoverished conditions of the beneficiaries.

hardly addressed their economic problems in any significant way.

Impact on Learning

These schemes unfortunately have very little, almost nonexistent relationship with regard to enhancing the students' learning. These schemes are meant to attract children to schools by providing some economic relief to them but they by no stretch of imagination ensure that children learn in schools. Though the Infrastructure scheme tries to equip schools with certain basic facilities, the study shows that their

Figure 18: Impact of the Schemes on Attendance



According to 42 percent of the Principals the attendance of students had been positively impacted by the schemes. However only 9 percent were of the opinion that uniforms, books, library and other infrastructure improvements had increased attendance. Computers (2 percent) and use of TLMs (6 percent) had increased interest in studies. 24 percent felt that the monetary incentives motivated parents to send their children to school. The incentives also brought about a slight increase in the attendance of girls (1 percent). However, the findings reveal definite problems with the first two schemes and the third one, although worked well compared to the other two had its own set of limitations.

The parents however were of the opinion that these schemes made only a marginal difference in either their or their children's lives. Uniform was too basic a requirement and AA was too meagre an amount to attract children to schools. While they appreciated the Government's efforts in this direction, they felt that given the extreme poverty they lived in, these schemes

presence alone is not enough to either ensure a pedagogically rich environment or ensure that they (books, computers, etc) get used meaningfully. However, as compared to the other schemes, the Infrastructure scheme is definitely much more significant in terms of equipping and maintaining a school as a learning space by providing for both essential infrastructure and adequate teaching learning equipment.

Reflections on the specific incentive schemes examined in the study:

Attendance Allowance

The Attendance Allowance had limited purpose because a) two rupees per day was really small in comparison to what these children could earn outside school b) these children were from very poor families where even their basic needs were not taken care of and c) even if children attended all 220 working days of school, they still did not get what they were entitled to.

The grant was often insufficient and had no bearing to the actual number of school days attended by the students. There was a mismatch between the total number of days attended by students and the allowance given to them. The Attendance Allowance is given in three quarters. Once the attendance record reaches the Education Office, the money is released by way of a cheque issued to the SMCs of every school by the designated officer. Then the parents are called whereby their signatures are taken- parents have to let go off a day's work/wage. Initially parents had to have a bank account. However the banks were reluctant to open the account and where they did open, due to lack of transactions as the money did not come into the account for a year or more, the money which was deposited by the Government was deducted for maintenance of dead accounts. Now the money is being transferred to the account of the Principal and administered through the SMC.

In Parbani (hotels, rag picking, packing, brick kilns), Hingoli (loading bananas onto the trucks, fields), Bhiwandi and Malegaon (power looms) the child labour is very high. Children from Classes V-VII were involved in labour which gave them around 70-150 per day, so this scheme was hardly an attraction for them to attend schools.

Given the expenditure incurred by parents on the education of their children, the incentive of Rs. 2 per day is of little consequence. Parents would rather have school buses for the transportation of their children, which is one of the substantial expenditures on education.

The expenditure incurred on the execution of the AA scheme as against the real benefit to the students needs to be studied to decide on the continuity of the scheme.

Uniform Scheme

Uniforms are a basic requirement of school going children as it serves to eliminate the obvious difference among students' socio-economic conditions. Hence, it would be inappropriate to consider the uniforms as an incentive instead of a necessity. If the Government provides for it, then it essentially works as removal of an irritant in their going to school.

As regards the implementation of this scheme, it was observed that even when the grant was received for the same, it was either not sufficient or reached the parents late, by which time the child had grown in size and hence the uniforms stitched according to old measurements did not fit him. Instead of two, there were also times, when parents received only one set,

which wore off quickly. A few parents also complained about the poor quality of cloth received. There were also instances such as in schools of Mumbra, Thane, where schools returned the money because it was inadequate i.e. not sufficient for all the intended beneficiaries. A few schools also demanded more cloth saying that for salwar kameez and duppatta, more cloth was required.

At times, the uniform instead of being distributed at the beginning of the academic year was distributed on occasions like the 15th of August. The private schools who did not receive any grant from the Government had devised their own way of addressing their need. They expected teachers to contribute towards uniform and travel allowance for the children.

The Uniform scheme is implemented through the SSA in Government schools for girl students and students belonging to the SC and ST community. The uniform incentive covers minority students, both girls and boys in Government schools as well as private aided schools. Expanding the scope of SSA to include minorities or implementing the scheme through the existing SSA administration with result in optimal use of resources and cut administrative expenses which could be use to increase the coverage to add students of the higher standard in the scheme which has been one of the demands of parents.

Infrastructure Scheme

Under the Infrastructure scheme, the schools received grants for facilities such as computers, maintenance, basic repairs, drinking water facility, library, laboratory and desks etc. The scheme meant only for the private aided schools worked well and almost all schools who applied for it received it. However, most schools visited seem to be in a state of shambles. There was no comprehensive vision or planning which got reflected in the way schools applied for this grant. If they applied for computers, then either there were no chairs to sit on, no electricity or no internet connectivity. If toilets were constructed then there was an absence water connection.

The concept of separate toilets for boys and girls was unavailable and hence girls would most often control themselves till school got over and would relieve themselves only when they got home. In most schools, there was no position of peons as a result of which children were asked to clean the toilets. They were asked to serve tea to visiting guests and in some schools were observed to be washing the tiffins of teachers. A number of classrooms in several schools did not have benches, there was inadequate light and often no

fans. Mumbra, Bhiwandi, Malegaon, Hingoli, Amravati, Solapur suffered from severe load shedding. Schools operated from tin sheds, had issues of water leakage during monsoons (during water leakage children are sent home, taken to a temple or huddled in one room), many schools were in a state of disrepair with exposed pillars and broken walls. In many schools, there was no compound wall, as a result of which, animals would stroll in. Items under infrastructure were bought in a piecemeal manner and that is the main reason why despite money being received and spent, the schools did not appear to be adequately equipped.

Infrastructure development is not a need limited to private schools alone. In Mumbra, a minority ghetto, there were seven Government schools operating from a single four storied building so they broke the toilets and converted them into classrooms. As a result there were no toilets for the students. These additional classrooms are still insufficient for the number of schools operating from the building. A number of Government schools with a large minority population were observed to be in a state of disrepair with the lives of students and teachers at risk.

Parental aspirations

This study reiterated the desire on part of poor parents to get their children educated in the hope that formal education would ultimately lead to their social mobility. Across all districts, parents aspired for good education for their children. However, they were also disillusioned with the kind of schooling that their children were receiving. They did not just want their children to go to school but also learn and felt that most schools either did not treat their children with dignity or did not ensure that were learning adequately in school. They saw linkages between education employment, financial independence and upward mobility.

‘Padhkar baccha kuch banega, hamare jaisa adaani nahi rahega’, ‘duniya ko samajhne ke liye padhai zaroori hai’ ‘do roti khayenge lekin bacchon ki padhai poori karenge’, ‘abhi humko sharam aati hai ki hum padhe nahi. Bacchon ki zindagi hamari tarah nahi honi chahiye. Naukri karega to ghar ache se sambhalega’.

All parents participating in the study were unanimous about the need for educating their children with the hope of their children having better lives than the one’s they had. All the children interviewed too had high aspirations for themselves wanting to be doctors,

engineers and some even wanted to join the Civil Services. These aspirations reflect their belief that they would not only complete schooling but also study further.

However, parents were also apprehensive about their dreams for their children. They believed that their economic condition would come in the way of fulfilling their child’s ambition. Most parents were unaware of the Government’s post matric scholarship schemes. Those who were aware were highly critical of it because of the abysmally low number of children who had managed to get the scholarship in comparison with the large number that had applied for it. There was cynicism and disbelief in the Government’s intent to work for the Muslim community across all districts and reasons for this need to be examined.

Parents believed that their children would never get a white collar job on account of the bias in the society against employing Muslims. They reasoned that after a few years in school once literate, the child was better off learning a trade, dropping out of school than wasting precious years in a school to end up in the informal sector.

In one of the schools, in rural Aurangabad, parents could not imagine their children ever going to college. Completing school was the highest level of educational attainment that they thought might be possible for their child. The Principal of this school encapsulated the reality of the parents’ situation with the statement *‘agle din ki roti ke baare mein sochte hain yahaan log, padhaai ke baare mein kya sochenge....* Most poor people were struggling with organizing two square meals for their families and found it difficult to think long term. Though Aurangabad has more than one MIDCs, the community perception was that Muslims, unless exceptionally talented were never recruited for white collar jobs in the industries there.

This cynicism is perhaps not without basis. The Sachar Committee Report too documents the miniscule number of Muslims in the formal sector and recommends the need to address the discrimination faced by the largest minority in the country.

A discussion with parents of drop out children in the Garib Nagar slum in Mumbai, revealed certain interesting insights. Regarding incentives they felt that, something like uniform was hardly an incentive. That too came at the far end of the year. Two rupees per day was too measly to impact the children or to address parents’ economic needs in any significant manner. Moreover this came too late and was too little. The parents were unequivocal in saying that they wanted

‘good quality education’ for their children, where children actually learn. They felt terribly disillusioned with the realization that their children were not learning in schools. They felt that teachers in schools did not bother, neither did they teach well, nor did they bother to inquire with children if their children had learnt what was done in class. They felt that even if children absent themselves for days, the teachers did not bother to find out the reasons nor punish them in any way, nor call up their parents. Children lied openly, wasted their time and fooled around, they felt that if their parents were called, they would perhaps be a little scared and concerned. They were also upset with the no-detention policy adopted under RtE and felt that children keep getting promoted from one class to another, and suddenly from Std VIII onwards they all started failing. Then it became too late in the day to cope with their severe lack of knowledge regarding anything. Since there were no studies in school, children were forced to take tuitions- which cost them anything between Rs. 100 and Rs. 150 per month. They felt that if there were proper studies in school and if children could get additional support at home, they would certainly benefit and this kind of an arrangement would be far more beneficial. Some of these incentives also expected various formalities (blood report, bank account etc.) to be completed and parents ended up spending a lot of money in trying to organize them which they felt was not worth it.

Some of the parental expressions of their angst and disillusionment have been presented here. *“Incentive nahi mile, koi gham nahinn, itnee kubbat hai, kee apne bacchon ko padha sakein.”* Instead of making our children study and ensuring that they are studying well, they make our children do all kind of work in school – sweeping the floor, arranging the desks etc. Teachers are often absent in schools and there is little accountability they make us sit in office, do not talk properly to us, make us wait for hours, then simply get up and walk out. *“Bacchon kee umra nikli ja rahi hai, padhna nahi aata, school bhejne ka kya faayda?”* Others tease them, *“municipality ke school mein padhite ho, jaise hamaari koi izzat nahin hai”*. There was a feeling that private schools because they either charged more fees were more concerned about children and ensured that they came to school, enquired if they were absent and ensured that they learnt. In Government schools, the teachers blame us rather than taking responsibility for the children’s lack of literacy. Instead they demean the children saying, *“ladka gunda dikhta hai”, chappal se maroongee...*”

Do Incentives really work?

- Incentives whatever their worth has to be linked with the overall socio-economic contexts of people whom they are meant for and the state of schooling which children from these communities access. Most often the schools which poor children go to are in an abysmal condition- poorly equipped, lacking even in basic infrastructure, with teachers and students both struggling to teach and learn in a pedagogically bankrupt environment, lacking even such basic furniture like chairs to sit on, or all-weather classrooms to sit in, or toilets to relieve themselves during the day.
- The assumption behind giving these incentives is that the problem lies with the abject poverty of the people and providing such relief would address some of their problems. There is an underlying acceptance of the idea that the problem lies with the people and not the system. At the same time, it is well recognized that incentives only when coupled with improvement in infrastructure, facilities, adequate and trained teachers etc., will probably create a better teaching-learning environment for children, motivating them to enroll and stay on in schools. It was reiterated that, well administered individual incentives worked up to a point, but have little impact on the overall environment of children. There was a realization that in the absence of livelihood security and a caring/supportive environment, the gains of individual sponsorship remains limited. (Ramachandran, Mehrotra and Jandhalya 2007).
- Moreover, individual incentives despite their value cannot make the costs borne by the parents towards their children’s schooling zero. It’s been shown that parents do incur some costs towards their children’s schooling. Most disturbing cost is when they have to send their children for private tuitions because of a) their illiterate status and b) lack of adequate teaching-learning happening in schools. More the number of children, more such costs. The biggest incentive would perhaps be properly functioning schools where teachers teach and students learn, the next best incentive could also perhaps be some additional support classes for these children.

The effort of the Government to address concerns of minorities through the various schemes is laudable. However, the implementation of these schemes seems to face severe challenges. The scepticism in the

community about the Government's intent to work for the betterment of minority communities was worrying. The lack of proper monitoring of these schemes and the half hearted manner in which they were implemented needs to be examined seriously. The following section has some specific set of recommendations vis-a-vis the three schemes.

1. For Effective Implementation of existing Incentives

1.1 Compile a database of beneficiaries

The Government needs to compile a database of beneficiaries to be able to project the grant requirement for a given year and make adequate provisions for the same so that all beneficiaries receive the incentives.

The number of Uniforms required, approximate Attendance Allowance, number of students eligible for various schemes requires data on the number of school going children in each of the districts and blocks. This data will help prepare a realistic budget for grants so that the problem of inadequate grants is suitably addressed.

1.2 Disburse Grants on time

Uniforms, Attendance Allowance and all other schemes implemented by the Department needs to be given in time for it to have value. Uniforms need to be made available in time for the new academic year rather than for distribution prior to special occasions such as the Independence Day Parade.

1.3 Attendance Allowance needs to be strictly linked to attendance

If the Attendance Allowance scheme is to be continued, it needs to be linked to attendance which is in reality the principle behind the scheme. Based on the database of students per district attending school, grant amounts can be projected and deposited with the School Management Committees at the beginning of the academic year. The excess money if any could be sent back at the year-end or adjusted with the next year's grant for attendance. This would not only ensure timely disbursement but would also help achieve the objective of the scheme whereby students will be given the incentive in keeping with their attendance rather than all students receiving the same amount. The other advantage would be that schools would be able to disburse the grant on a monthly basis rather

than quarterly payment, which would prove to be a better incentive.

1.4 Grant for stitching Uniforms need to be on par with market rate

The amount given for uniforms is hardly sufficient. It is a challenge to find people to stitch the uniforms for the Rs. 58 that the Government has fixed. The amounts need to be on par with the market rate. This scheme could be implemented through the existing SSA scheme ensuring economies of scale.

1.5 Publicize /Advertise Schemes

The lack of awareness is a huge block in accessing these benefits on part of the parents. Most parents participating in the study were not aware about the schemes. Even if they knew about the scheme, they did not know about its specificities, for instance, the amount due to their children as Attendance Allowance.

Advertisements are required for all schemes of the Government so that the beneficiaries are aware of them and can access them with ease. Given the skepticism of the Government's intent in working for the welfare of minorities, this knowledge of schemes will certainly help in lessening the negative perceptions of indifference towards them.

Many parents on account of their low literacy status did not read newspapers. The source of information for women is the TV, which is the only source of entertainment. Women find time only after 9 pm to watch soaps on the many private channels. Youth listen to music on the radio on their mobile phones, which are the other advertising avenues for publicizing schemes.

2. Recommendations for Change in Existing Schemes

Apart from strengthening the existing schemes, some changes in the schemes will prove beneficial towards their implementation

2.1 Merge Attendance Allowance and Uniform schemes with SSA

SSA has schemes of Attendance Allowance and Uniforms apart from many others. The Minority Department has a parallel system to provide the same services to students of the same schools as boys of minority communities are not covered under SSA. The expansion of SSA's scope to include beneficiaries of the incentive schemes of

the Minority Department will do away with the need for the additional machinery employed towards implementation of the same schemes for minorities. The Attendance Allowance provided by the Minority Department because of insufficient grants ends up being less than Re.1 a day rather than the Rs.2 per child. Hence the benefit is not greater, rather is lesser than that provided under SSA. Either the scheme can be replaced with a benefit which takes care of some of the educational expenses incurred by parents stated in the report or the scheme could benefit from merger with the SSA scheme.

2.2 Expand the scope of the scheme for Uniforms

Uniforms are a basic necessity of all students studying in school. Students going to higher classes (beyond Std IV) find uniforms more expensive as the cloth required is more and so is the stitching expense. The uniforms should be provided to all minority students throughout their schooling at the beginning of the academic year. Uniforms do not just constitute shirts and pants or the skirts and blouse but also socks, shoes, slippers, etc which need to be provided for along with the uniform. The uniform needs to be made of good quality material that will last them the entire academic year.

2.3 Address Infrastructure concerns of Government Schools

While private schools get an incentive of Rs. 2 lakh per year for infrastructure requirements, the Government schools get a maintenance grant of Rs 12,000 per year. A number of Government schools with a high minority population were found to be in dire need of repairs and lives of students and teachers in those unsafe school buildings were at risk. It must be made mandatory for all schools to undergo regular safety audits and there must be mechanisms to ensure that their basic infrastructure is in place.

3. Recommendations for new schemes/ initiatives

Apart from fixing the existing schemes, a few additional schemes could be introduced as well.

3.1 Fill the gaps of Higher Education - Set up Schools up to Std X

Despite incentives, in the absence of adequate number of Government schools, the poor children who cannot afford private education are forced to

stay out of the education system. Not only is the number of schools beyond Std VII limited, the situation gets worse when one takes into consideration the medium of instruction apart from Marathi. Girls dropouts after class VII in the absence of a school in the neighborhood as parents are concerned about the safety of their adolescent daughters' travelling to school. The private schools filling in this gap are not better off in any manner, as they are also inadequately equipped. The Government needs to step in to provide educational services in all the underserved areas, not limited to areas covered under MSDP.

3.2 Establish Minority Desks at Block level

Parents, Community leaders as well as the school Principals spoke of difficulty in accessing Government schemes. Information cum guidance centre pertaining to schemes for minorities in the form of a Minority Desk is required at the Block level. These desks should also work as complaint cells in district offices if minorities encounter discrimination in accessing schemes.

3.3 Introduce programmes to make school education attractive

Creating Employability through education

Introduction of a skill component in school education from Std VII onwards will curb dropouts. Since the major reason for dropouts is poverty, a stipend instead of an Attendance Allowance for a skill that helps future employability will go a long way in keeping children in school.

The Minority Department should study the possibility of collaboration with the National Skill Development Mission and work towards skill building programmes for minorities. A study of the employment patterns of minorities, existing skill sets with a view towards building on traditional skills as well as equipping them with skills towards financial independence will not only prevent dropout but will also benefit the community.

Sports

Studies have proved the efficacy of sports in curbing drop-out. These skills complement the objective of school education by providing skills of teamwork and leadership. Appointment of sports teachers should be mandatory in all schools with time assigned for sports which involve both boys and girls.

Libraries / Reading Rooms

Since the beneficiaries of the schemes come from poor backgrounds, living in small dwellings which are not conducive to studying, setting up of community libraries which are rooms with books and literature will provide space for children to study after school. These can also be spaces for the extra coaching that some children require.

3.4 Transportation Facilities for Children

Travel to school is a huge expenditure that some parents incur to send their children to school. In cities, children have to cross roads with heavy vehicular traffic and in some instances highways to get to school which makes it unsafe for them. Others rely on auto rickshaws which charge anywhere between Rs. 400 to Rs. 600 a month per child. The introduction of bus services from schools will help curb drop outs as parents will be assured of the child's safety while traveling to school. The distance to the school determines whether girls will be allowed to continue their education. The provision of bus services will ensure safety of girls on their way to school.

3.5 Crèche Facilities

Since a number of girls drop out of school for taking care of their siblings, starting crèche facilities on the lines of anganwadi centres is likely to curb dropouts. This service is even more essential in rural areas, which unlike cities do not have private crèche facilities.

3.6 Hostel accommodation

Government Hostels on the lines of the Ashram Vidyalayas need to be put in place for minorities, which take care of education from Kindergarten to Post Graduation. This will stem dropout on account of the seamless passage from one class to the next.

3.7 Night Schools for Parents

Nearly 54 percent of the parents who participated in the study were illiterate, never having been to school. As against this, a mere 4 percent had graduated from college. Parents on account of illiteracy are unable to provide support to their children's educational needs at home. Unlike the

perception among the management that parents do not care about their children's education, parents expressed willingness to enroll in night schools to become literate and help their children in their studies.

3.8 Improve Quality of education

Ensure adequate teaching in school

The innumerable trainings and non teaching responsibilities assigned to teachers of Government and Private Aided schools affects teaching and learning adversely, hence needs to be reviewed. Teachers and management value certain subject specific trainings such as the English speaking organized by the British Council and are happy to participate in trainings which build their subject knowledge and increase their competence as teachers. However the number of trainings in a calendar year per teacher apart from non teaching tasks such as participation in polio drives, census surveys, voters list enumeration, etc. takes them away from their primary responsibility, adversely affecting the learning of students who then drop out of school.

Appoint adequate number of teachers

We came across several schools with insufficient number of teachers with classrooms without teachers.

A case needing immediate attention is of Malegaon. Teachers and the MLAs interviewed in Malegaon informed us that 52 teachers from various Corporation managed schools in Malegaon had been taken off for enquiry and no replacements were made. There has been a stay on recruiting teachers in the Corporation managed schools as Malegaon Corporation is unable to bear the salary expenditure of teachers. The Corporation owes around 22 crore towards teacher's salaries.² The issue, which has been taken to the High Court, remains unresolved with a number of teachers working elsewhere while retaining their teaching jobs to make ends meet. Though reported in a number of newspapers, the issue remains unresolved and continues to affect the education of the children.

⁴ <http://www.sunday-guardian.com/news/malegaon-teachers-not-paid-for-months>

Appoint teachers for teaching Marathi in non Marathi medium schools

Since Marathi is a State language, teaching of Marathi should be taken as seriously as the rest of the subjects, especially in non Marathi medium schools. Given the current contractual nature of the Marathi foundation course teachers and because they are paid a mere Rs. 3000 per month, Urdu medium schools have been finding it difficult to fill vacancies. The salary of these teachers is often delayed by months making it difficult to retain them even if appointments are made. The responsibility of their appointment needs to be with the Education department as is the case of appointment of teachers, rather than the Collector's Office.

Make provisions for the salary of support staff

In the absence of support staff in Government schools, children invariably end up being responsible for cleaning the classroom, the school and the toilets. The students passively accepted this responsibility as many were similar chores

in their own homes as well. Parents in cities like Mumbai were clear that children went to schools to study and not clean toilets. It should be the responsibility of the state to ensure a clean and safe environment for students to study.

To conclude, the ultimate objective of any formal education system and encouraging students living in difficult circumstances to join it should be to ensure that they learn and secure better future for themselves. Incentives are one of the ways of ensuring children perhaps join school, perhaps even work hard and learn better. However, the schemes studied showed a weak relationship with enrollment and retention, essentially because of the ways in which they are implemented and a non existential relationship with students' learning. With Government and low cost private schools functioning the way they are, they are unlikely to attract students towards themselves and make them learn. These incentive schemes are important but must be planned keeping in view the overall contexts of people's lives and the specific problems that they face in their everyday lives, especially those related to schooling.

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Evaluation of Educational Incentive Schemes for Minority Communities in Maharashtra

Annexure 1 :
Sex Ratio in Districts Covered

Sr. No	District Name	Sex ratio
1	MUMBAI (SUBURBAN)	777
	MUMBAI	82
2	THANE	858
3	PUNE	919
4	AURANGABAD	924
5	NASHIK	927
6	NAGPUR	932
7	OSMANABAD	932
8	LATUR	935
9	SOLAPUR	935
10	AKOLA	938
11	AMRAVATI	938
12	WASHIM	939
13	AHMADNAGAR	940
14	NANDED	942
15	BULDANA	946
16	CHANDRAPUR	948
17	HINGOLI	953
18	PARBHANI	958
19	GADCHIROLI	976
20	SINDHUDURG	107

Source: DISE 2009-10 Raw Data

Annexure 2:
Literacy levels in Districts Covered

Sr. No	District Name	Overall Literacy	Female Literacy
1	GADCHIROLI	60.1	48.1
2	PARBHANI	66.1	52
3	HINGOLI	66.3	51.2
4	NANDED	67.8	54.3
5	OSMANABAD	69	56.9
6	SOLAPUR	71.2	59.8
7	LATUR	71.5	59.4
8	AURANGABAD	72.9	60.1
9	CHANDRAPUR	73.2	62.9
10	WASHIM	73.4	60.6
11	NASHIK	74.4	64.3
12	AHMADNAGAR	75.3	64.3
13	BULDANA	75.8	64.1
14	SINDHUDURG	80.3	71.2
15	PUNE	80.5	71.9
16	THANE	80.7	73.1
17	AKOLA	81.4	73.4
18	AMRAVATI	82.5	75.7
19	NAGPUR	84	77.4
20	MUMBAI (SUBURBAN)	86.4	81.4
	MUMBAI	86.9	81.1

Source: DISE 2009-10 Raw Data

Annexure 3: Questionnaires for Principals

अल्पसंख्यांक प्रलोभन प्रकल्प २०१२-१३

प्रश्नावली क्र:

मुख्याध्यापकांसाठी प्रश्नावली

शाळेचे माध्यम: _____ दिनांक: _____

१. शाळेचे नाव:	
२. शाळेचा पत्ता:	
३. मुख्याध्यापकांचे नाव:	
४. शैक्षणिक दर्जा:	
५. संपर्क क्र.:	

Total No of Trs.	No. of vacancies	Total No of Students in School	Total Minority Children	Muslim	Buddhist	Christian	Jain	Parsi

१. अल्पसंख्यांक समाजातील विद्यार्थ्यांसाठी तुमच्या शाळेमध्ये कोणकोणत्या योजना आहेत?
(अल्पसंख्यांक समाज के विद्यार्थीयों के लिए आप के स्कूल में कौनसी योजना चलाई जाती है?)

२. या योजनांमुळे मुलांच्या शिक्षणावर कोणता प्रभाव पडलेला आहे? तसेच कोणत्या प्रकारचा परिणाम विद्यार्थ्यांच्या हजेरीवर झालेला दिसून येतो?
(क्या इन योजना से बच्चों की पढ़ाई पर कोई असर / प्रभाव पड़ता है? इन योजना की वजह से बच्चों की हाजरी पर कोई फर्क पड़ा है क्या?)

३. ही योजना सुरु होण्यापूर्वी व अगोदर तुम्हाला विद्यार्थ्यांच्या शिक्षणावर कोणता फरक दिसून आलेला आहे का?
(इन योजना के शुरु होने के पहले और होने के बाद बच्चों की पढ़ाई की तरह इच्छा में कोई बदलाव नजर आया है क्या?)

Evaluation of Educational Incentive Schemes for Minority Communities in Maharashtra

४. कोणत्या शैक्षणिक अडथळ्यांमुळे विद्यार्थी शाळेत येऊ शकत नाहीत? कोणत्या बाबीमुळे शाळेत येऊ शकतात आणि कोणत्या कारणामुळे शाळेत येऊ शकत नाहीत?
(कौन सी मुश्किलों की वजह से बच्चे स्कूल नहीं आ पाते? किस वजह से वह स्कूल आ पाते हैं और कौन सी वजह के कारण वो स्कूल नहीं आते)

५. तुम्ही जर योजना अंमलात आणत असाल तर ती कोणती योजना असेल?
(अगर आप योजना बनाते तो वह क्या योजना होती?)

६. पायाभूत सुविधांसाठी तुमच्या शाळेला अनुदानाची आवश्यकता आहे का?
(पायाभूत सुविधा के लिए आप की स्कूल को अनुदान की जरूरत है क्या?)

७. जर अपुरे अनुदान आलेले असेल तर, तुम्ही कशा पद्धतीने त्याचे विभाजन करता? कोणत्या मुलांना अनुदान द्यायचे आहे याचा निर्णय तुम्ही कसा घेता?
(यदि जरूरत से कम अनुदान आता है तो आप उसे कैसे बाँटते हैं? किन बच्चों को अनुदान मिलेगा इसका निर्णय आप कैसे लेते हो?)

८. अनुदानाची रक्कम आपल्यापर्यंत कशा पद्धतीने पोहचते? त्यामध्ये आपणास कोणती समस्या येते का?
(पैसे आप तक कैसे पहुँचते हैं? और आप को इस में कोई परेशानी होती है क्या?)

९. या योजनेसाठी तुम्हाला वेगळी नोंद ठेवावी लागते का? त्याची जबाबदारी कोणावर असते? त्यासाठी तुमच्या कामातील वेळ निश्चित करावी लागते का?
(इन योजना का कोई रेकॉर्ड रखना होता है क्या? उसकी जिम्मेदारी किन पर है? उस के लिए आप के काम में खास वक्त तय है क्या?)

१०. हजेरी दिवसामध्ये कोणत्या वेळी घेता? हजेरी घेतल्यानंतर मुले दिवसभर शाळेत राहतात का?
(हाजरी दिन में किस समय लेते हैं? हाजरी के बाद बच्चे दिन भर स्कूल में रहते हैं क्या?)

११. शाळेला कोणत्या मुलभूत सुविधांची आवश्यकता आहे असे तुम्हाला वाटते? ह्या योजनेमधून शाळेच्या गरजांची पूर्तता केली जाते का?
(स्कूल में क्या-क्या सुविधाएं चाहिए ऐसा आपको लगता है? स्कूल की जरूरतें पूरी हो पाती हैं क्या?)

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१२. पायाभूत सुविधांसाठी तुम्ही किती वेळा अर्ज दाखल केलेला आहे? ह्यासाठी तुम्ही कोणती पद्धत वापरलेली आहे?
(पायाभूत सुविधाओं के लिए आपने कितनीबार अर्ज दाखल किया है? इसके लिए क्या प्रक्रिया आपने अपनाई है?)

१३. शाळेमध्ये मुलामुलींच्या हाजरीमध्ये कोणता फरक जाणवलेला आहे का?
(स्कूल में लड़के और लड़कियों की हाजरी में कोई फर्क नजर आता है? क्या?)

Observation				
Computer Room - (Working computers)	Library	Playground	Toilets (G)	Toilets (B)

संशोधकाचे निरीक्षण:

५. तुम्हाला कोण-कोणत्या कामामध्ये तुमची मुले मदत करतात?

(आप के बच्चे स्कूल के बाद आपकी कौन-कौन से काम मे मदत करते है?)

६. तुमची मुले ज्या शाळेमध्ये शिकतात तेथील शिक्षणाविषयी तुमचे मत काय आहे?

(आपके बच्चे जिस स्कूल मे जाते है वहाँ की पढाई के बारे में आपकी क्या राय है?)

७. तुम्हाला किती मुले आहेत? आणि त्यापैकी किती मुले शाळेत जातात? ते कोणत्या वर्गामध्ये शिकत आहेत?

(आपके कितने बच्चे है? उनमें से कितने बच्चे स्कूल में जाते है? और कौनसी कक्षा में पढते है?)

८. ह्या वर्षामध्ये तुमच्या मुलाला शाळेचे किती युनिफॉर्म मिळालेले आहेत? ते तुम्हाला शाळेच्या सुरुवातीपासून मिळालेले आहेत का? आणि त्या युनिफॉर्मची गुणवत्ता कशी आहे?

(इस साल आपके बच्चे को कितने युनिफॉर्म मिले है? स्कूल जब शुरू हुआ तबसे मिला था क्या? युनिफॉर्म की गुणवत्ता कैसी है?)

९. शाळेमध्ये मुलांना उपस्थिती भत्ता दिला जातो या योजनेविषयी तुम्हाला माहित आहे का?

(स्कूल में बच्चों को उपस्थिती भत्ता दिया जाता है इसके बारे में आप क्या जानते है?)

१. होय ☐ २. नाही ☐

१०. तुमचा मुलगा / मुलगी नियमितपणे शाळेमध्ये जातात का?

(आपके बच्चे हर रोज स्कूल में जाते है क्या?)

१. होय ☐ २. नाही ☐

जर नसेल तर त्याचे कारण सांगा. (अगर नहीं तो कारण बताइये?)

११. तुमची मुले शाळेमध्ये दिवसभर हजर असतात का?

(आपका बच्चा स्कूल में दिनभर रहता है क्या?)

१. होय ☐ २. नाही ☐

१२. तुमच्या मुलाला उपस्थिती भत्ता किती वेळा मिळालेला आहे? केव्हा व किती ?

(आपके बच्चे को कितनीबार उपस्थिती भत्ता मिला है? कब कब और कितना?)

१३. हा भत्ता तुम्हाला कसा मिळालेला आहे?
(यह भत्ता आपको कैसे मिलता है?)

१४. जर, ही रक्कम तुम्हाला मिळालेली नसेल तर तुम्ही तुमची मुले शाळेत पाठविता का?
(अगर, आपको उपस्थिती भत्ता नहीं मिला तो क्या आप अपने बच्चों को स्कूल में भेजते?)
१. होय ☐ २. नाही ☐

१५. तुम्हाला शाळेत कोणते बदल हवे आहेत असे वाटते?
(स्कूल में आपको क्या बदलाव चाहिए?)

१६. उपस्थिती भत्ता जर मिळाला नाही तर तुम्ही तुमच्या मुलाला शाळेत पाठविणे बंद कराल का?
(सरकार यदि / अगर बच्चों के लिए वह सहूलतें बंद कर दे तो आप बच्चों को स्कूल भेजेंगे क्या?)
१. होय ☐ २. नाही ☐

१७. शाळेत मुलांना कोणत्या सोयी सुविधांची गरज आहे? ह्यासाठी शासनाने काय केले पाहिजे?
(बच्चों कि स्कूल पूरी करने किन सुविधाओं की जरूरत है? सरकारने इसके लिए क्या करना चाहिए?)

संशोधकाचे निरीक्षण:

Annexure 5: Questionnaires for Children

अल्पसंख्यांक प्रलोभन प्रकल्प २०१२-१३

प्रश्नावली क्र:

विद्यार्थ्यांसाठी प्रश्नावली

शाळेचे माध्यम: _____ दिनांक: _____

शाळेचे नाव: _____

१. नाव:	
२. वर्ग:	
३. अल्पसंख्यांक दर्जा:	
४. लिंग:	

१. तुम्हाला शाळेत जाण्यास आवडते का?
(क्या आपको स्कूल जाना अच्छा लगता है?)

२. तुम्हाला शाळेतील कोणत्या गोष्टी आवडतात?
(आपको अपनी स्कूल के बारे में क्या अच्छा लगता है?)

३. तुम्हाला शाळेतील कोणत्या गोष्टी आवडत नाहीत?
(आपको अपनी स्कूल के बारे में क्या अच्छा नहीं लगता है?)

४. शाळेच्या बाहेर दिवसभर तुम्ही काय करता?
(स्कूल के बाहर आप दिन भर में क्या करते हो?)

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५. तुम्ही पूर्ण दिवस शाळेत असता का?
(क्या आप पूरी दिन स्कूल में रहते हैं?)

१. होय ☐ २. नाही ☐

६. तुमच्या शाळेमध्ये मुलां-मुलींचे वेगवेगळे शौचालय आहे का? त्याचा वापर होतो का?
(आपके स्कूल में लडकों और लडकियों के लिए अलग शौचालय है क्या? क्या उसे इस्तमाल करते हैं?)

Annexure 6: List of schools covered

Sr. No.	School Name	Block	District
1	Khawaja Garib Nawaj Urdu Primary School	Akola	Akola
2	Zakir Husain Urdu Primary School	Akola	Akola
3	Ikra Urdu Primary School	Akola	Akola
4	Millat Urdu School and Jr College	Akola	Akola
5	Bharat Urdu Primary School	Barshitakali	Akola
6	Rahbar Urdu Primary School	Akola	Akola
7	National Urdu High School Murtizapur	Murtizapur	Akola
8	Siddharth High School	Murtizapur	Akola
9	Anjuman Anwarul Islam Urdu Primary School	Balapur	Akola
10	Hazarat Umar Farooque Urdu Primary School	Balapur	Akola
11	ZP Primary Urdu School	Balapur	Akola
12	ZP Primary Urdu School	Balapur	Akola
13	Zia Uloom Girls Primary School	Aurangabad	Aurangabad
14	National Integration English School	Aurangabad	Aurangabad
15	Harsul Urdu Primary School	Aurangabad	Aurangabad
16	ZP Primary Urdu School Nayagaon	Aurangabad	Aurangabad
17	Moinul-Uloom High School	Aurangabad	Aurangabad
18	ZP Primary Urdu School	Khultabad	Aurangabad
19	Falah-E-Darain Urdu Primary School	Khultabad	Aurangabad
20	Ideal Urdu Primary School	Khultabad	Aurangabad
21	Maulana Azad High School and Jr College	Khultabad	Aurangabad
22	Oxford English School	Sillod	Aurangabad
23	National Urdu Primary School	Sillod	Aurangabad
24	National Urdu High School	Sillod	Aurangabad
25	Savitri bai phule Urdu Primary Girls School	Ahmednagar	Ahmednagar
26	A.T.U. Jadid Urdu Primary School	Ahmednagar	Ahmednagar
27	Z. P. P. Urdu School Belapurgaon	Srirampur	Ahmednagar
28	Z. P. P. Urdu School Newasa	Newasa	Ahmednagar
29	Z. P. P. Marathi School Bhanashivra	Newasa	Ahmednagar
30	Z. P. P. Urdu School Bhanashivra	Newasa	Ahmednagar
31	Z. P. P. Marathi School Mukund Nagar colony	Newasa	Ahmednagar
32	Z. P. P. Marathi School Newasa Khurd	Newasa	Ahmednagar
33	Z. P. P. Urdu School Devlali Pravara	Rahuri	Ahmednagar
34	Z. P. P. Marathi School Baragaon Nandur	Rahuri	Ahmednagar
35	Z. P. P. Urdu School Vambori	Rahuri	Ahmednagar
36	Z. P. P. Marathi School Devlali Pravara	Rahuri	Ahmednagar
37	Priya Darshni Urdu Primary School	Amravati	Amravati
38	Safiya Urdu Middle School, Chaya Nagar	Amravati	Amravati
39	Z. P. C. P. Marathi School, Balgaon	Amravati	Amravati

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Sr. No.	School Name	Block	District
40	Z. P.C. P. Urdu School . Loni	Amravati	Amravati
41	ZP Primary school, Achalpur	Achalpur	Amravati
42	ZP Primary Urdu School, Daryabad	Achalpur	Amravati
43	ZP Primary school, Asadpur	Achalpur	Amravati
44	ZP Primary school Dhawalsari	Nandgaon	Amravati
45	ZP Primary school Marathi Takali	Nandgaon	Amravati
46	ZP Primary Urdu school, Takali	Nandgaon	Amravati
47	Z. P. C. P. Marathi School, Purnagar	Bhatkuli	Amravati
48	Z. P. C. P. Urdu School. Kholapur	Bhatkuli	Amravati
49	ZP Cluster school UPS School, Jambuldhaba	Malakapur	Buldhana
50	ZP Primary school, Harankhe	Malakapur	Buldhana
51	Z. P. C. P. Urdu School. Hingna kazi, Dharan gaon	Malkapur	Buldhana
52	Z. P. C. P. Marathi School. Hingna kazi, Dharan gaon	Malkapur	Buldhana
53	ZP Primary school, Deulghat	Buldhana	Buldhana
54	ZP Primary school, Deulghat	Buldhana	Buldhana
55	Urdu High School, Johar Nagar	Buldhana	Buldhana
56	Z. P. C. P. Marathi School. Kharbadi	Motla	Buldhana
57	Z. P. C. P. Urdu School	Motla	Buldhana
58	Z. P. C. P. Urdu School, Kothili	Motla	Buldhana
59	Jawahar Urdu High School	Motla	Buldhana
60	N. P. Urdu Senior secondary, School No.3	Karanja	Buldhana
61	Shahid Abdul Hamid Nagar Parishad Urdu School	Chandrapur	Chandrapur
62	Anglo Urdu Primary School	Chandrapur	Chandrapur
63	Dr. Zakirhusen NP Urdu Primary School	Chandrapur	Chandrapur
64	Rafi Ahemad Quidwai Primary School	Chandrapur	Chandrapur
65	Rafi Ahemad Quidwai High School	Chandrapur	Chandrapur
66	Fakhruddin Ali Ahemad Urdu Primary, School	Ballarpur	Chandrapur
67	Sarsayyad Ahemad Nagarparishad Primary School	Ballarpur	Chandrapur
68	Z.P. Primary Urdu School, Nagbhid	Chandrapur	Chandrapur
69	Z.P. Girls Primary School, Nagbhid	Chandrapur	Chandrapur
70	Maulana Abul Kalam Azad Urdu NP School	Rajura	Chandrapur
71	Z.P. Ex. Govt. High School	Rajura	Chandrapur
72	Z. P. Primary Urdu School	Chimur	Chandrapur
73	Z. P. Primary Urdu School	Chimur	Chandrapur
74	N P Nehru Urdu Vidyalaya	Warora	Chandrapur
75	N P Nehru Urdu Primary School	Warora	Chandrapur
76	Mahatma Jyotiba Fule Vidyalaya	Ballarpur	Chandrapur
77	Bhagwantrao Hindi School	Gadchiroli	Gadchiroli
78	Shivaji High School	Gadchiroli	Gadchiroli

Sr. No.	School Name	Block	District
79	Rani Durgawati Vidyalaya	Allapalli	Gadchiroli
80	Z. P. Primary School	Allapalli	Gadchiroli
81	ZP Urdu Primary School	Kurkheda	Gadchiroli
82	ZP Primary School Antulenagar	Hingoli	Hingoli
83	Dr. Iqbal Urdu School	Hingoli	Hingoli
84	Shankar Rao Chauhan Urdu Primary School	Hingoli	Hingoli
85	Z. P. P. Marathi School, Warud	Hingoli	Hingoli
86	Z. P. P. Marathi School, Ganeshwadi	Hingoli	Hingoli
87	ZP Primary School Vakhari	Basamat	Hingoli
88	ZP Primary School Kautha Tal	Basamat	Hingoli
89	Z. P. C. P. Urdu School	Basamat	Hingoli
90	Z. P. P. Marathi School. Babulgaon	Basamat	Hingoli
91	ZP Primary School, Javala, Dist Hingoli	Kalamnuri	Hingoli
92	Z. P. C. P. Marathi School, Dongargaon	Kalamnuri	Hingoli
93	ZP Girls Primary School, Shevala Tal	Kalamnuri	Hingoli
94	Advocate Haji Naimoddin Urdu Primary School	Latur	Latur
95	Ismail Shahid Urdu Primary School	Latur	Latur
96	Siddhiq Urdu Primary School	Latur	Latur
97	People's Urdu Primary School, Hanmant Wadi	Latur	Latur
98	Nargis Urdu Primary School	Latur	Latur
99	Minar Urdu Primary School, Patel Nagar	Latur	Latur
100	Jamhoor Urdu Primary School	Udgir	Latur
101	Al Ameen Primary School	Udgir	Latur
102	Dr Syed Mohamed Memorial Primary School	Udgir	Latur
103	Gulshan E Atfal Urdu Primary School	Nilanga	Latur
104	ZP Primary School, Jau	Nilanga	Latur
105	Khaja Bandanwaj Hasina Urdu Girls High School	Ausa	Latur
106	BMC Marathi School, Ghatale	Chembur	Mumbai
107	Subhashnagar BMC Marathi school	Chembur	Mumbai
108	BMC Upper Primary Marathi School	Dharavi	Mumbai
109	BMC Marathi School, Govandi	Govandi	Mumbai
110	Kala Killa BMC UP Marathi School No-1	Dharavi	Mumbai
111	Balaram Street BMC Urdu School	Grant Road	Mumbai
112	Chembur Naka BMC Marathi School No-1	Chembur	Mumbai
113	Shivajinagar BMC Upper Primary Urdu School No-7	Shivajinagar	Mumbai
114	Stn. Chembur BMC Urdu School	Chembur	Mumbai
115	Shivajinagar BMC Marathi School No 1	Shivajinagar	Mumbai
116	Santacruz W Upper Primary Urdu BMC School	Santacruz	Mumbai
117	BMC Urdu School, Andheri	Andheri	Mumbai
118	Sir Cawasjee Jehangir High School	Tardeo	Mumbai

Evaluation of Educational Incentive Schemes for Minority Communities in Maharashtra

Sr. No.	School Name	Block	District
119	St Joseph's High School	Agripada	Mumbai
120	Shishuvan	Matunga, East	Mumbai
121	ZP Upper Primary School	Nagpur	Nagpur
122	ZP Upper Primary School	Nagpur	Nagpur
123	ZP Primary School	Nagpur	Nagpur
124	ZP Upper Primary School	Nagpur	Nagpur
125	ZP Primary School	Nagpur	Nagpur
126	ZP Primary School	Nagpur	Nagpur
127	ZP Primary School, Saoner	Saoner	Nagpur
128	ZP Primary School, Saoner	Saoner	Nagpur
129	ZP Primary School, Saoner	Saoner	Nagpur
130	ZP Primary School, Kamthi	Kamthi	Nagpur
131	ZP Upper Primary School, Kamthi	Kamthi	Nagpur
132	ZP Primary School, Kalameshwar	Kalameshwar	Nagpur
133	Ikra Primary School	Nashik	Nashik
134	National Urdu School, Nasik	Nashik	Nashik
135	Rahnum Urdu High School, Nasik	Nashik	Nashik
136	MNC Urdu School No 39 Nasik	Nasik	Nashik
137	Krescent Urdu Primary School S No 57	Malegaon	Nashik
138	Municipality Urdu School No 28	Malegaon	Nashik
139	ZP Primary Urdu school No -2 Yeola	Yeola	Nashik
140	Z. P. P. Urdu School Yeola	Yeola	Nashik
141	Maulana Azad Urdu Private Primary School	Yeola	Nashik
142	ZP Primary Urdu School, Yeola	Yeola	Nashik
143	ZP Primary Marathi School, Yeola	Yeola	Nashik
144	Anglo Urdu High School Yeola	Yeola	Nashik
145	Madinatul Uloom High School	Nanded	Nanded
146	Noble High School, Nanded	Nanded	Nanded
147	Urdu Primary School, Chowpala	Nanded	Nanded
148	Rashtramata Urdu and Marathi High School, Wajegaon	Nanded	Nanded
149	Faizul Uloom Girls High School, Nanded	Nanded	Nanded
150	Khairul Uloom Urdu Primary School, Nanded	Nanded	Nanded
151	Safa Urdu Primary School, Vajirabad	Nanded	Nanded
152	ZP Primary Urdu School	Ardhapur	Nanded
153	Ekta Urdu Primary School, Ardhapur	Ardhapur	Nanded
154	Dr. Iqbal Urdu Model High School, Ardhapur	Ardhapur	Nanded
155	ZP Primary Urdu School, Bhokar	Bhokar	Nanded
156	Madinatul Uloom High School, Bhokar	Bhokar	Nanded
157	ZP Marathi High School, Palasap	Osmanabad	Osmanabad
158	ZP Primary Urdu School, Ternanagar	Osmanabad	Osmanabad

Sr. No.	School Name	Block	District
159	Mt Gandhi Urdu Primary School, Ternanagar	Osmanabad	Osmanabad
160	ZP Primary School, Palsap	Osmanabad	Osmanabad
161	ZP Primary Urdu School, Naldurg	Tuljapur	Osmanabad
162	ZP Primary Urdu School, Naldurg	Tuljapur	Osmanabad
163	National High School, Naldurg	Tuljapur	Osmanabad
164	ZP Primary Girls School, Naldurg	Tuljapur	Osmanabad
165	Khaja Nasiruddin Urdu High School, Shirdhon	Kalamb	Osmanabad
166	Khaja Nasiruddin Urdu Primary School, Shirdhon	Kalamb	Osmanabad
167	ZP Primary School, Shirdhon	Kalamb	Osmanabad
168	ZP Upper Primary School Shirdhon	Kalamb	Osmanabad
169	Modern Urdu High School	Parbhani	Parbhani
170	Mahatma Phule Madhyamik Vidyalay	Parbhani	Parbhani
171	ZP Kanya Prashala	Parbhani	Parbhani
172	Turabulhaq Baba Urdu Primary School	Parbhani	Parbhani
173	Maulana Abdul Kalam Azad Primary and High School	Parbhani	Parbhani
174	ZP Primary School Maliwada, Pathari	Pathri	Parbhani
175	Abdul Khaliq Urdu Primary School	Pathri	Parbhani
176	ZP Primary School	Pathri	Parbhani
177	ZP Primary School	Pathri	Parbhani
178	Balak Mandir Pre Pry School Jintur	Jintur	Parbhani
179	Dyaneshwar Vidyalay	Jintur	Parbhani
180	Nutan Vidyalaya	Jintur	Parbhani
181	Anjuman E Islam Urdu Primary School	Haveli	Pune
182	PMC Urdu School No 8 Pune	Haveli	Pune
183	Small wonder Primary School, Pune	Haveli	Pune
184	PMC Marathi School Tambat Aali, Pune	Haveli	Pune
185	Maulana Abdul Kalam Azad Primary School, Mangalward	Haveli	Pune
186	Dr. Iqbal A Khan Urdu High School, Manchar	Ambegaon	Pune
187	ZP Primary School Manchar	Ambegaon	Pune
188	ZP Primary School, Manchar, Pune	Ambegaon	Pune
189	Mahatma Gandhi High School, Manchar	Ambegaon	Pune
190	Anjuman High School, Junner	Junnar	Pune
191	ZP Primary Urdu School, Junner Pune	Junnar	Pune
192	ZP Urdu Primary School, Narayangaon	Narayangaon	Pune
193	Naik Primary English Medium School	Ratnagiri	Ratnagiri
194	ZP Primary Urdu School	Ratnagiri	Ratnagiri
195	Aziza Dawood Naik High School	Ratnagiri	Ratnagiri
196	SP Ringari Urdu High School	Ratnagiri	Ratnagiri
197	ZP Primary Urdu School, Pawas Kaziwada	Ratnagiri	Ratnagiri
198	Maharashtra Urdu Highschool, Kadvai	Ratnagiri	Ratnagiri
199	Mt Gandhi NP School, Kokannagar	Ratnagiri	Ratnagiri

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Sr. No.	School Name	Block	District
200	ZP Primary School, Pawas-Golap	Ratnagiri	Ratnagiri
201	Mistry High school Ratnagiri	Ratnagiri	Ratnagiri
202	Julekha Dawood Kazi Highschool, Pawas	Ratnagiri	Ratnagiri
203	The Kadvai English Medium school	Sangmeshwar	Ratnagiri
204	ZP Primary Urdu School, Shrungari	Guhaghar	Ratnagiri
205	Z. P. P. School Markande Nagar	South Solapur	Solapur
206	The Progressive Edu. Soc. Urdu Medium School	South Solapur	Solapur
207	ZP Primary School, Valasang, South Solapur	South Solapur	Solapur
208	M. A Pangal Anglo Urdu High School and Jr College	South Solapur	Solapur
209	Z. P. C. P. Marathi School. Limbi Chincholi	South Solapur	Solapur
210	ZP Primary School Marathi School Lokmanyagar	North Solapur	Solapur
211	Z. P. P. Marathi School Bale	North Solapur	Solapur
212	Z. P. C. P. Marathi School Degaon	North Solapur	Solapur
213	ZP Primary School, Pokharapur	Mohol	Solapur
214	ZP Primary Marathi School No 2	Mohol	Solapur
215	Z.P.P. School Gulshan Nagar Mohol	Mohol	Solapur
216	Z. P. C. P. Urdu School Mohol	Mohol	Solapur
217	Al Ulmat Urdu Primary School, Bhivandi	Bhivandi	Thane
218	ZP Primary Urdu School	Bhivandi	Thane
219	ZP Primary Urdu School	Bhivandi	Thane
220	ZP Primary Urdu School	Bhivandi	Thane
221	ZP Primary Urdu School	Bhivandi	Thane
222	ZP Primary Marathi School	Bhivandi	Thane
223	Abudullah Patel Primary School	Mumbra	Thane
224	TMC Urdu Primary School Mumbra	Mumbra	Thane
225	Sumaiya Primary School, Kausa Mumbra	Mumbra	Thane
226	TMC Urdu Primary School, Mumbra	Mumbra	Thane
227	T. M. C. Urdu School No.96	Mumbra	Thane
228	T. M. C. Urdu School No.125	Mumbra	Thane
229	ZP Primary Urdu School, Washim	Washim	Washim
230	Maulana Azad Urdu Primary School, Ansing	Washim	Washim
231	Maulana Azad Urdu High School, Ansing	Washim	Washim
232	ZP Primary School, Jambh	Karanja	Washim
233	ZP Primary School, Jambh	Karanja	Washim
234	Dr. Allama Iqbal Urdu Primary School, Karanja Lad	Karanja	Washim
235	Shahid Asfaquallah Khan Urdu High School	Karanja	Washim
236	M.M. Shaikh Urdu Primary School	Mangarulpur	Washim
237	Qalandariya Urdu High School	Mangarulpur	Washim
238	Aman Urdu High School	Mangarulpur	Washim
239	Prof. Javed Khan Urdu High School	Mangarulpur	Washim
240	Sulemaniya Urdu High School	Manora	Washim