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**WHAT MATTERS IN THE SCHOOLING OF
TRIBAL GIRLS?**

**A Study in Visakhapatnam Agency Area of
Andhra Pradesh**

Introduction

The size of the Scheduled Tribe population, the geographical spread of these communities, the problems of accessibility to their habitations and most importantly the cultural diversity of these tribal communities posed special challenges to those dealing with educational development in the state of Andhra Pradesh. New challenges emerged as the earlier ones were addressed to some satisfaction. The opinion that received greater attention initially was that the tribal children are not enrolled in schools primarily because of their economic value to their families and secondly because they are given the social responsibility of taking care of their younger siblings. Ashram schools where provision is made for boarding and lodging free, besides taking care of other needs of the children, were started in 1974. Encouraged by its success, the scheme was continued and currently 559 Ashram schools are functioning throughout the state. The initial hurdle of physical accessibility even to primary level education and provision of teachers in the schools in these remote areas was similarly addressed by launching 4317 GVVK schools in 12 districts to provide a school in every tribal settlement where there are at least 20 school going children. Since this was not enough, setting up of *Maabadi*- community schools – was taken up in 1997-98. Currently there are 5441 such community schools. Subsequently, recognizing the problem of quality education, *Gurukulams*, English medium residential schools, and Schools of excellence are set up in different years and their numbers too increased over the years. Then the focus shifted to education of the girls because these facilities have not helped achieving satisfactory enrolment of tribal girls. To address this the educational innovations in the form of *Mini Gurukulams* and the *Kasturba Gandhi Balika Vidyalayas (KGBVs)* which provide residential schooling primarily for out of school girls are introduced.

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The achievement in the form of increased enrolment is laudable; though one is not sure how much it is commensurate with the money spent over the years. A sense of satisfaction is surely felt by those who worked for tribal education when people like Ramulamma – a Savara woman whose son was first Savara in Seethampetamandal to receive B.Tech degree a few years ago – give full credit to the government for the transformation of their life and acknowledge the benefits of various facilities for education to the ‘poor and innocent’ tribals. Of course some disappointment will also be felt when people like *Addai* (the first Savara ZPTC member from Seethampetamandal and who incidentally belongs to the same village to which Ramulamma belongs) say referring to the quality of education that the school education has also (if not ‘only’) produced enough “*porambokus*” (referring to the school drop outs who are branded as waste/lazy youth) in each village.

Ranjan (2014) noted that since the gap in literacy level among the general population and the socially disadvantaged sections is persisting and in some cases this gap is further widening, the problem of education for the tribal needs immediate attention and early resolution. Govinda (2005) reported that the gender gap in the literacy rate of population (age 15+) still continues to be as high as 24.0 percentage points, whereas it was 21.7 percentage points for population (age 7+) in 2001. Bandhopadhyay (2008) observed that while enrolment of girls has increased rapidly since the 1990s, there is still a substantial gap in upper primary and secondary schooling. Further, he noted that gender inequalities interlock with other forms of social inequality, notably caste, ethnicity and religion. Based on such observations he argued for improving the quality of schools for ensuring better opportunities for girls at higher levels of education, notably upper primary and secondary schools. Dunn (1993) using census data, documented extreme degrees of gender inequality among the scheduled groups. His findings indicate that relative to men, women in these groups have far more limited access to both educational and employment resources. Among the scheduled groups considered to be more developed according to standard indicators, less gender inequality in education and employment is noted. It is also suggested that socio-economic development serves to reduce the disadvantage of scheduled group women relative to men.

Streuli *et al.* (2011) explored recent trends for children growing up in Andhra Pradesh, through in-depth qualitative research and survey data collected for a sample of 1950 young children born in 2001 for Young Lives project. It discussed that poverty levels and location are strongly predictive of whether children attend government or private pre-school. It highlighted policy challenges stemming from weak governance of the pre-school sector, notably how the relatively-unregulated and rapidly-growing private sector offers to initiate children into formal learning, in English, from a much earlier age than normally considered to be developmentally appropriate. Venkatanarayana (2004) in a study examined the prevalence rate, trends,

disparities and factors associated with the phenomenon of educational deprivation of children in Andhra Pradesh. It is mentioned that the children who live in rural areas of the state, who are female by gender and belong to SC/ST social groups are relatively the most disadvantaged. It is also concluded that the location effect dominates the gender and caste effects and the interaction of these factors affects the chances of schooling.

Recent studies which dealt with impact of educational status of family, parental education and birth order revealed interesting findings. Uma (2001) observed that there is significant evidence that paternal and maternal education explain gender differences in both school enrolment and attainment. While father's education has a significant impact on both boys and girls education at the primary level, mother's literacy has greater impact on the chances of daughters being educated than sons. Jean Drèze (2001) noted that school participation, especially among girls, responds to a wide range of variables, including parental education and motivation, social background, dependency ratios, work opportunities, village development, teacher postings, mid-day meals and infrastructural quality. Kausik and Susmita (2009) reported that education of the parents and development of village infrastructure seem to be the most important channel of narrowing the schooling gap between the male and female children. Kurosaki et al (2006) reported that the education of the child's mother is more important in reducing child labor and in increasing school enrollment than that of the child's father, the household head, or the spouse of the head. The effect of the child's mother is similar on boys and girls while that of the child's father is more favorable on boys. On nature of family/households, Afridi (2010) highlighted the importance of women's empowerment for the intergenerational transfer of equality in educational attainment of the sexes. Amita (2011) noted that while children in widow-headed households are no worse off than are those in male-headed households, children in households headed by married females may enjoy better schooling outcomes. It is in widow-headed households that a marginal gain in the household's condition is reflected most positively in the children's schooling outcomes. Moreover, these households do not discriminate between boys and girls.

Uma (2008) showed that the presence of very young siblings in the household worsens the probability of girls going to school or even to work. The presence of older female siblings improves the chances of schooling while that of older male siblings increases the probability of girls doing household chores. Metteejrnæs (2006) noted that children with higher birth orders (that is, who are born later) have an advantage over siblings with lower birth orders, and that parents who are inequality-averse will not have more than one child. Emerson (2008) showed that male and female first-born children are less likely to attend school than their later born siblings and male last-born children are less likely to work as child laborers than their earlier born siblings.

Many of the studies on schooling decisions in Indian context are related to the choice between private and public school. Masako Ota (2007) noted from a field survey of children in rural Andhra Pradesh that the schooling decision depends as much on the child's characteristics and position within the household, as on the circumstances in which the child lives. Nitya Rao (2010) stated that educational attainments carry the potential to open up a range of employment opportunities, but even if these options fail due to structural constraints, particular types of schooling are socially valued for the lifestyles, culture and values they inculcate. Uma *et al.* (2009) identifies four quite distinct trajectories related to availability and choice of pre-school and primary school. Parental aspirations for individual boys and girls combined with beliefs about relative quality of government and private schools seem to shape individual trajectories in ways that seem likely to reproduce or even reinforce inequities related to wealth, location, caste and gender. The consequence for children is in many cases having to cope with multiple transitions during their early years, which may entail changing schools in an effort to 'up-grade' in perceived quality (e.g. from a government to private school), or moving into distant hostels or with relatives in order to attend better schools or to access grades unavailable locally. Mehrotra (2006) argued that central to universalizing elementary education will be improving the level, equity and efficiency of public spending. However, even with these reforms, improving teacher accountability will still remain key to the achievement of the goals. Caroline Dyer (1996) reported that although the policy acknowledged teachers' centrality to educational change, the innovation arising from it failed to prepare teachers to adapt to its demands. Thus, he concluded that 'centrally conceived, it allowed neither State-level administrators nor teachers any sense of ownership or participation in decision-making. No allowance for teachers' generally low professional competence, training and motivation was made; and nor was it recognized that differences in socio-economic contexts would affect teachers' capacity to utilize what was provided'.

As can be seen from the brief review of some of the recent studies on education in Indian context presented above, the studies have, as in the past, focused on 'educability' of child and dealt with issues related to schools, teacher and social background of the student. However, owing to the growth of private schools both in urban and rural areas, one new concern is schooling choices between private and public school. Similarly, the urgency to focus on education of girls is reflected. However, the subject of education of tribal girls and the schooling decisions of them in regard to choice of schools, age of entry, withdrawal from school etc., appears to have not been so much addressed. The present study isto address some of the gaps in this area and also to test the validity of some of the generalizations made in regard to the effects of birth order, education of the parents, nature of family etc., on the education of tribal girls.

The informants

A total of 191 girl students studying in four Tribal Welfare Girls High Schools (TWGHS) located in four different mandals in Visakhapatnam district of Andhra Pradesh have been interviewed for the purpose of this study. The number of girls contacted on some random basis varied between 37 and 60 in the four schools. As shown in table 1, the number of girls interviewed from each class also considerably varied across the schools. In spite of a general preference for the senior girls for their schooling experience, only 40 girls studying X class could be interviewed in view of their examinations during the field-work time. Thus, finally girls studying IX class outnumbered the others with a total of 60 in the four schools.

The sample respondents mostly belonged either to the Bhagata or to the Konda Dora tribal community. Together these two tribal communities accounted for almost 60%. While the children belonging to Valmiki tribe constituted about 10%, those belonging to Gadaba and Kondh formed just about 5% each. A few children also identified as belonging to tribes like Nooka Dora (6), Porija (5), Konda Kammara (4), Goudu (4), and others (6). Thus, the sample covered almost all the tribal communities inhabiting this agency area.

Age-class matching

Since there is no detention system in the public schools for any poor performance, age-class matching is expected of all the children studying in public schools. However, one common assumption is that the tribal children start their schooling late and so generally they are over aged to the class they study. Data on class and age was analysed for all the children to know the extent of delayed entry to schooling, if any.

The distribution of class 7 students by age reveals that 38.71% of the girls are over aged to their class as 12 of them reported to have crossed 12 years of age. Those younger to their class constituted about 10%. The percentage of those over aged to their class however dropped subsequently to about 20% for classes 8th and 9th and to 15% in case of 10th class. Interestingly, those younger to their class are as high as 22% in case of those studying 10th class. This data suggests that a good number of girls do delay their schooling and join 1st standard at an age of 7 or even 8 years. However, such of those children subsequently drop out also more than those who start their schooling early. A good number of girls reporting younger to their class age in case of 10th class however deserves a deeper examination as it could be due to underreporting of age by the children or a deliberate manipulation of school records to benefit the children to serve more number of years if they are employed.

Accessibility to school

Owing to the facilities available and a general notion that the quality of teaching is better in residential schools than the non-residential schools,

majority of the tribal children show preference to such schools. The number of ashram schools available for girls and boys in the agency area of Visakhapatnam are 44 and 66, respectively. A total of 18169 girls and 21145 boys are enrolled in these schools. In addition to this 13 tribal welfare residential schools for girls are also available in the ITDA jurisdiction of the district where a total of 3310 girls are enrolled. Since there is at least one school in each mandal, it is expected that the girls do not have to travel a long distance for studying in such schools. However, such schools may not be available close by for many children owing to the fact there are no vacancies and in some cases schools far off may also be preferred for various reasons. In any case when the children are admitted in far off schools, the parents will be less inclined to visit their wards frequently. Distance also curtails the number of visits of the children to their home. What impact these two will have on child's performance in the school is difficult to measure, though it may not be wrong to conclude that it results in greater burden on the elder siblings if they are also studying in the same school or on the teachers in providing the emotional support to the young children.

The data show that only about 30% of children are fortunate to be studying in a residential school as close as 10 kms., from their native village. As many as 38.7% of children are attending a school located more than 25 kms and out of them actually 40% travelled more than 50 kms to study in a residential school. The data however show that the problem of distance is not specific to children of any one or two tribes. Children of all tribal communities faced this problem. However, this data does not show whether the school they are studying is of their choice or not. While some children were compelled to travel longer distance as the school nearer to their native place is not of their choice, some others for whom the school was closer expressed that it is not of their free choice. What generally emerged in their interviews was that the children and their parents are prepared to travel longer distance even if they have to forego the opportunity of frequent visits to their native village for the sake of 'better facilities'.

Social background of girls attending the residential schools:

Educational status of family

Educational status of family to which the children belonged to is observed in terms of four categories namely, a) Satisfactory b) Less than satisfactory c) Average, d) Low and e) Very low. These categories are worked out taking into consideration of educational attainments of all members of the household and assigning scores according to their years of schooling. Though there is possibility of a higher score in case of households of larger size (perhaps even with low educational attainments of the members) than households with smaller size (but with members of high educational attainments) this is observed to be rare. Further, it was thought the cumulative

effect of the many lowly educated members could be higher than the influence of one or two highly educated members in a household.

Educational status of family appears to be an influencing factor for schooling of girl children. Almost three-fourths of the children studying in the four schools belonged to families of average or higher educational status. Girls are not motivated for schooling when majority of the members in the household are illiterate or just educated up to primary level. While only 17.5% of girls studying 10th class reported to be belonging to families of low or very low educational status, those reporting to be belonging to similar families among the 7th and 8th class students constituted 56%. Thus the data suggests that low educational status of family influences the drop out of girls after 7th or 8th class. This also confirms that such children are not so much influenced by the teachers or their peers in school so much.

Educational background of parents and siblings

Since the decision of schooling of the children is largely by the parents, data is analysed for educational background of the parents of the children. Most frequently the educational background of the fathers and mothers of the children is very poor as they are illiterate or educated up to primary level. This is expected as education is a new phenomenon for many a tribal community in the area and so those aged above 40 years, particularly women, are rarely educated amongst them. What is encouraging is in spite of them being illiterate, they have realised the value of education for their children and encouraged their daughters to enrol in schools. The data also reveals that the higher the educational attainment of the father the more is the chance for the girls to study in schools. Men with higher educational attainments tended to encourage their daughters for formal schooling. When the child's mother is educated beyond high school the chances of education of the girls is even brighter.

The influence of the elder siblings on the younger sister is found to be very significant during some interviews with the respondents. Hence data is analysed to see what proportion of children had an elder sibling with a higher educational attainment than she currently has. Since 73 of the total 191 girls are the eldest daughters of their parents, they have been excluded from this analysis. The data reveals that those having an elder brother or sister with a higher educational attainment than what they currently have constituted 90.7% out of the 118 girls with an elder brother or sister. Thus it can be inferred that if a role model is available within the family, the girls will be more inclined for schooling. The impact of an educated brother or a sister seems to be much higher than the educated parents. The preference of girls/parents of girls to enroll in the same schools where their elder siblings are enrolled may also be contributing to this effect.

Nature of family

Reflecting the preponderance of nuclear families among all the tribal communities to which the children belonged, majority of girls reported to be living with both parents of biological connection in a nuclear family with or without extensions due to living of other kin like widowed grandmother or grandfather, aunt, uncle etc. Those living with both parents of biological connection, but in a joint family constituted one-fifth. What is interesting to note is that a significant number of children studying in these schools are those living with one parent or with guardians (both parents dead) or with a step parent, constituting a little less than 10%. This figure suggests a greater tendency among the children belonging to these categories for schooling. However, the cause of this tendency appears to be different for these different categories of girls. Girls living with only mother (after the death of father) not only showed a higher motivation for education but also specially emphasized in their interviews that it is their mothers who provide the motivation for their education. Girls who reported living with a step parent or guardian were not so much motivated and good numbers of them felt schools as places of 'escape'. Some revealed that they were 'forced' to schools by their step parent or guardian for various reasons.

Birth order

Many scholars in the past observed that education of the elder children, more particularly the eldest, is effected as they are asked to take care of the younger siblings. The present study does not concur with such an opinion. About 40% of the girls studying in the schools reported to be the eldest of their parent's children. In fact it appears that the eldest daughters are receiving greater encouragement for education than the girls of second, third and later order births. This may be because the parents are more prepared for their educational expenses in view of smaller family size at that point and because they think the investments on her help them for supplementing their incomes at a later stage.

Household size

The household size varied between 3 and 10 in case of children attending the four select schools. Most frequently the household size is five, though households with a size of six are also quite common. Naturally the households with joint families are bigger in size. But the difference in the average size of the households with nuclear families (or extended nuclear families) and households with joint families is not much. The average size of joint families is 6.8 as against the average size 5.4 in case of the households with nuclear families. Households of children living with single parent are small in size.

Households with bigger size were also generally families of high educational status and also economic status with more earning members. Such families also provided the role models to the children as far as educational aspirations are concerned. Thus the girls from households of bigger size seem to be enjoying a definite advantage as far as their education is concerned. The data segregated for class 10 students show that 62.5% of those students come from households with a size of six members. This finding strengthens the inference made above.

On schooling decisions

Though the choice of the school is in many cases limited, it will be worthwhile to know on whose decision the girls have joined the school they are currently studying. This information will reflect on the schooling decisions and choices in general and particularly on the involvement of the children in schooling decisions on the one hand and on the other the teachers of the schools where the children have studied earlier. Since the parents of many children are illiterate or poorly educated, it may be reasonable to expect that the schooling decisions are made by other than parents, particularly the teachers. It is also interesting if the children themselves are choosing a school to study for any specific reason.

The father of the child who is also the head of the household mattered most in choosing the school for the majority of the girls. However, it is interesting to note that when probed in depth on how decisions are taken by the father and on involvement of other family members in decision making, about 30% to 40% of respondents who mentioned father as decision maker changed their answer to 'parents' adding that their mothers were also consulted and their opinion prevailed in many cases. The girls who specified that only their mother made the decision to join that specific school accounted for 12%. Kin outside the family are involved in this decision making rarely and in such cases it is generally the 'educated' cousins. The role of teachers, community leaders in the educational decisions seems to be very limited.

How choice of school is made?

It is interesting to note that though the girls expressed that their involvement in the choice of school is nil, they however reported of being conversant with the reason for choosing that school by who so ever was responsible for that. Girls who felt they are not conversant with the reason simply stated that it was their 'parent choice' and such girls accounted for mere 3.7%. Further, the girls gave an impression many times that one single issue is behind that choice. Hence data is analysed first for the single most important reason for selecting of the school where they are currently studying. Some qualitative phrases like 'better facilities' 'good teacher' in the responses of the girls are also substantiated as per the descriptions of the respondents.

A substantial percentage of girls thought that the choice of the school was made in view of 'better facilities'. 'Better facilities' for many meant large sized class rooms and dormitories, facilities of wash rooms, distribution of consumables, uniforms and books in time along with sufficient and hygienic food. Better facilities for some meant, friendly teachers and sports facilities along with large play area. For a few, better facilities meant abundant water and 'healthy' water. A negligible number of girls also mentioned about the security, transport facilities to the village while explaining 'better' facilities. Though no specific reference was made to teaching quality by those who mentioned better facilities, some mentioned it when they were asked to name anyone teacher who she likes most.

Girls who categorically stated that the choice of school is made because of 'good' teachers accounted for 15.2%. The 'good' teachers are often described as those who are not harsh; do not insult any one in class if they do not answer questions; who are regular and helpful in academic and non-academic matters. Since 73 girls are the eldest of their parent's children, there is no scope for them to have an elder sibling studying in the same school. If we exclude them, about 12% of girls seem to have joined the school where they are currently studying for the reason that an elder sister of them is currently studying or studied in the past or because other children of their native village are in the same school. Thus the concern for some social and emotional support is also important issue for the parents in the schooling decision. The children who mentioned this reason were also by and large the ones who said their parents cannot visit them very often for various reasons. The children living with single parents or those whose household size is small or those whose native place is little far, are the ones who subscribed to this reason.

Experience of schooling in a residential school

Tribal children can avail the facility of residential schooling from primary level itself. It will be interesting to see from what level the tribal children avail this facility and also to note what factors influence this decision.

The data show that there is a general preference to join the residential school after the primary level. On an average 64.5% of the girls joined the residential school after completing the 5th class in a local school. A mere 5.75% (11) of children reported to have studied in the residential school from the beginning of their schooling. The class wise distribution of these 11 is as following: one in 7th, two in 8th, four each in 9th and 10th. Of the 40 students in 10th class 22 (55%) reported five years of residential schooling experience. That means these children have joined just after completion of 5th standard. While 9 (22.5%) have joined the residential school after middle school (6th or 7th class), an equal percentage of children (22.5%) joined the residential school even before completion of their primary level. Thus the data segregated for those currently in 10th class, reaffirms that those children who start in a

residential schooling early are more likely to continue their education till at least high school level than others.

Discussion and Policy Implications

The study has revealed that children who are late joiners are also frequently the early drop outs. This outlines the necessity to intervene into age appropriate enrolment. The tendency of the parents to look for 'better facilities' even if it amounts to forgoing the scope for frequent visits to their children or spending extra money on transport, is clear. However, there is ambiguity in regard to what constitute 'better facilities' for the children. The varied perceptions of the children and their parents in this regard are worth noting. The concern of the children for spacious playgrounds, facilities for games, and 'friendly teachers' and the concern of parents for hygienic living and security of the children, more particularly when they are to admit children at a far of place, can perhaps be easily addressed on priority. Since funds are available under the program of Sarva Siksha Abhiyan (SSA), Kasturba Gandhi Balika Vidyalayas (KGBV) and also National Programme for Education of Girls at Elementary Level (NEPGEL), improving accessibility to 'quality' primary schools need to be considered. In order to strengthen the accessibility to schools by means of better facilities, Rs.97.80 Cr is allocated to SSA under Tribal sub-plan during 2013-14. The Government has to monitor and see that the budget allocations are properly utilized with tangible outcomes.

The study established that the more cumulative educational status the family enjoys, the more is the scope for retention. Alternatively, the less is the cumulative educational status, the more is the incidence of dropouts. More importantly, it is established that presence of educated elder sibling will have a profound influence on the education of younger siblings. Hence efforts to educate the eldest daughters should receive a high priority. Since this study also shows that parental support for education of eldest daughter is by and large not difficult among these tribal communities, this situation should be exploited. In case of families headed by single mothers the motivation levels are high. This shows that they acknowledge education as security and educate their children to resist vulnerabilities in future. The households with bigger size have mostly favored the education of girl child in their families. This seems to be directly related to the question of economic viability of income earners.

The schooling decisions are often made within the family and there is limited role played by teachers/community leaders. The benefits of greater role of teachers in the schooling decisions needs to be explored. Since this study finds that those children who start their residential schooling early are more likely to continue their education till high school level, efforts to influence the parents to admit the girls in residential schools as early as possible by providing attractive environment deserves serious attention. Appointment of

'Community Mobilizers cum Mentors' in schools to encourage the girl children to join the residential schools and for taking care of emotional needs of the young girls may also be a good idea.

Table 1
Distribution of girl students by schools and class

School	Class				Total
	7	8	9	10	
TWGH TATTIPARTI	1	11	23	14	49
TWGH KANDAMAMIDI	9	5	17	14	45
TWGH GUDA	15	31	13	1	60
TWGH TG GUDA	6	8	12	11	37
TOTAL	31	55	65	40	191

Table 2
Distribution of students by tribe

Tribe	Number	%
Bhagata	40	20.9
Konda dora	72	37.7
Gadaba	11	5.7
Kotiya	14	7.3
Valmiki	19	9.9
Kondh	10	5.3
Others	25	13.2
Total	191	100.00

Table 3
Distribution of girls by class studying and age

Class	Age in years									Younger		Over
	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	Total	%	%
Seven	3	16	8	3	1	0	0	0	0	31	9.68	38.71
Eight	0	1	44	10	0	0	0	0	0	55	1.82	18.18
Nine	0	0	3	49	10	3	0	0	0	65	4.62	20.00
Ten	0	0	0	9	25	4	1	0	1	40	22.50	15.00
Total	3	17	55	71	36	7	1	0	1	191	8.38	21.47

Table 4
Distance of school where currently studying to the native village

Distance (in kms)	Number	%
less than/= 3	18	9.42
4 to 6	22	11.52
7 to 9	17	8.90
10 to 12	27	14.14
13 to 15	13	6.81
16 to 18	2	1.05
19 to 21	18	9.42
22 to 24	0	0.00
25 to 35	36	18.85
36 to 45	8	4.19
46 to 55	9	4.71
55 to 65	8	4.19
65 +	13	6.81
total	191	100

Table 5
Distribution of students by educational status of the family

Educational status	Number	%
Satisfactory	26	13.6
Less than satisfactory	38	19.9
Average	71	37.2
Low	44	23.0
Very low	12	6.3
Total	191	100

Table 6
Distribution of respondents by the educational level of father

Father's education	Number	%
Illiterate	86	47.3
Primary	29	15.9
Secondary (6-7)	19	10.4
High school (8-10)	37	20.3
Above High School	11	6.0

Table 7
Distribution of respondents by the educational level of mother

Educational level	Number	%
Illiterate	139	75.5
Primary/Middle	30	16.3
High school and above	15	8.2

Table 8
Distribution by nature of family

Family type	Number	%
Both parents biological (Nuclear)	134	70.2
Both parents biological (Joint)	40	20.9
One parent not biological (Nuclear/Joint)	4	2.1
With one parent only	11	5.8
With other than parents (Orphans)	2	1.0
Total	191	100

Table 9
Distribution of girls by birth order

Birth order	Number	%
One	73	38.2
Two	64	33.5
Three	33	17.3
Four	14	7.3
Five	5	2.6
Six	1	0.5
Seven	1	0.5
Total	191	100.0

Table 10
Distribution of respondents by size of the household

HH size	Number	%
Three	11	5.8
Four	36	18.8
Five	48	25.1
Six	42	22.0
Seven	35	18.3
Eight	11	5.8
Nine	5	2.6
Ten	3	1.6
Total	191	100.0

Table 11
Who made the decision on choice of school?

Decision on choice of school	Respondents	
	Number	%
Father	153	80.1
Mother	23	12.0
Elder sibling	1	0.5
other relation	11	5.8
Self	1	0.5
Others	2	1.0
Total	191	100.0

Table 12
Reasons for choice of school currently studying

Reason for choice	Number	%
Close to native village	55	28.8
Elder sister in same school	5	2.6
Children from same village studying in the school	7	3.7
Better facilities	80	41.9
Good teachers	29	15.2
Experience of elder sister(s)	8	4.2
Parents' choice	7	3.7
Total	191	100.0

Table 13
Number of years spent in a residential school

Years spent in residential school	Class studying							
	7 th	%	8 th	%	9 th	%	10 th	%
2 Years	22	71.0	2	3.6	5	7.7	0	0
3 Years	4	12.9	31	56.4	13	20.0	2	5
4 Years	1	3.2	9	16.4	39	60.0	7	17.5
5 Years	3	9.7	11	20.0	3	4.6	22	55.0
6 Years	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0	1	2.5
7 Years	1	3.2	0	0.0	0	0.0	2	5
8 Years	-	0.0	2	3.6	1	1.5	0	0
9 Years	-	0.0	-	0.0	4	6.2	2	5
10 Years	-	0.0	-	0.0	-	0.0	4	10
Total	31	100	55	100	65	100	40	100

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