

Identifying Causes of and Solutions for Relatively low Transition in Education from Upper Primary level to Secondary among girls from the SC Communities in transitional areas of lucknow, UP: A Qualitative Study

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Abstract- This study seeks to examine the causes of high dropout and low transition from upper primary level to secondary among girls from the Scheduled Caste (SC) community in Lucknow, UP, India. Based on existing gap, this particular study specially focuses on the transitional areas/urban village landscape to collect information. It also strives to look at solutions and follows a comparative approach, keeping both a target group and a control group.

This is essentially an exploratory study and is supported by qualitative data. For the purpose, in-depth interviews were conducted in 30 households from the SC community where the target girl has completed upper-primary education but not transited to secondary level. In-depth interviews were also conducted in 30 control households from the general caste/non-SC community where the target girl has completed upper-primary education and transited to secondary level and their respective parent/guardian (n = 30), recruited purposively from 3 villages from the district of Lucknow, Uttar Pradesh.

The findings of the study show that poverty is a core deterrent to transition from upper primary to secondary levels among girls from SC community, whereas lack of toilet, caste based discrimination, perceived lack of safety for travelling further to continue secondary education and lack of perceived return from education were other important deterrents to transition. Also sibling spillover effect was higher among the target group than among the control group. Education for girls across castes, seem to partially be a tool to make the girl more 'marriageable'. The perceived level of such marriage-worthy education is however perceived to be higher among the general caste.

Based on the findings, recommendations such as subsidized access to secondary education, especially for girls among the SC community and creating better awareness and linkage to various schemes such as NSIGSE and provisions under Scheduled Caste Sub-Plan/SCSP can be

useful. Sensitization of teachers towards inclusion, creating better infrastructure as well as role models within the community, is some of the other recommendations.

Key Words: Education, SC Girls, Dropout, Discrimination, Low Transition, Community.

Introduction

The importance of 'education' can be gauged from the point that it has been a focus point for both the Millennium Development Goals (MDGs) and the Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs). A core reason for its importance is that education is not only a significant requirement in itself but is also a tool that can help achieve other SDGs (Kioupi & Voulvoulis, 2019). So it is important both as a stand-alone goal and as a means to attain some of the other goals.

However, despite such widespread acceptance of the importance of education, the challenge of child drop out is a universal challenge and it is estimated that out-of-school children and educational gaps cost the global economy \$10,000 billion a year (Nwoke et al., 2024).

In India, the challenge of drop-outs is not uniform and gender, caste and regional variations have been noticed. Here the low transition and high level of drop out among children from the SC community, even more so among the girls, has been a cause for concern. Hence understanding the causes there of is important (Prakash et al., 2017).

Studies to understand these causes need to be conducted also in the transitional areas/urban villages instead of being restricted mainly to the rural areas and a few urban pockets (Narain et al., 2013). This will ensure that a broader geographical perspective is developed in this context. Here, a solution driven approach is desirable, which builds understanding both of the barriers and enablers and provides information for decision and policy making for improvement.

It is in this context that the current exploratory/qualitative study has been conceived with focus on transition from upper primary/class 8 to secondary/class 9 levels. It is based on findings from 5 transitional/urban villages in Lucknow district of Uttar Pradesh with their peculiar dynamics. The study takes a comparative approach in covering girls from SC households and those from non-SC households.

Literature Review

According to Census 2011 data, the literacy rate among the SC community in India was found to be 66.10% while that overall for all castes was found to be 73.00%. Thus literacy rate of the SCs was lower than the average (Khalid, 2022). That among SC girls was lower still with only approximately 56.5%

among them found to be literate. A report has also pointed out to the lower Gross Enrolment Ratio (GER) for grades from I to VIII and literacy among SCs.

Various sources have also found that the transition level among SCs from upper primary to secondary was lower as compared to that of students from all castes combined. A report based on analysis of secondary data mentions that nearly 62.57% SC children drop out by the time they reach upper primary level. A SEQI report points out that the upper primary level to secondary transition rate from was lower among SCs as compared to the general category by as much as 22.8% in Uttar Pradesh (Shahare, 2019).

The disparity in relatively higher levels of education is also notable. A 2019–2020 report from the Unified District Information System for Education (UDISE) found that 1 in 5 SCs dropped out of classes IX and X, while only 1 in 9 general category students dropped out (Garg & Mishra, 2024). An ESAG report mentions that the proportion of students among SCs who passed the secondary school board examinations in 2016 was 73%, which is lower than that of all castes, at 78%. Data from a AISHE survey shows that the The estimated Gross Enrolment Ratio (GER) in Higher Education for the age group 18- 23 years in India is 28.4 while that for the Scheduled Castes, the GER is 25.9 (Sinha & Kar, 2023).

Secondary data available mentions various findings on this matter. It has been found that poverty enhances disparities and is a strong determinant of participation in secondary schooling. Also gender bias, often with relatively early marriage among girls has also been a cause of low transition in education among girls. The school distance/ safety and restricted mobility with the onset of puberty were also found to be a strong barrier among girls for transition to secondary level.

Overall, transition rates among girls have been historically lower than that among boys. Yet, various studies show that educating girls can often ensure better returns to themselves and to the society. An USAID study points out that while educating girls and boys produces similar outputs in terms of their subsequent earnings and future opportunities, educating girls results in greater socio-economic gains, which is of value to the entire community. Study finding have also shown that education can help increase a girl's sense of voice and choice within her household.

This study thus aims to form understanding on the enablers and disablers of the transition from upper primary/class 8 to secondary/class 9 levels for the SC girl child in transitional/urban villages.

The Relevance of Choosing Upper Primary Level to Secondary Transition

An important factor that has been kept in mind while choosing transition level is the RTE Act. This Right to Education Act (RTE) of 2009 is an act of the Parliament of India, which holds for children up to upper

primary level, wherein it guarantees them free and compulsory education. The act came into force on April 1, 2010 and holds true for children in the age group of 6 and 14 years.

The consequence of the RTE Act is that children up to the upper primary level have certain free entitlements that ensure that education for them can be absolutely free in government schools. This involves access to free stationary, free textbooks and also free uniforms. Also, students till upper primary level are provided with nutrition support of access to midday meals through PM-Poshan.

Also, the number of government schools up to upper primary level far outweighs the number of government schools up to secondary level. As a consequence there are lesser schools in the neighborhood if one chooses to enroll and attend secondary level education (Goldhaber & Eide, 2002). This relatively longer travel distance to transit to secondary education often has time and cost implications.

Taken together, these factors may be causes for relatively low transition at this crucial stage of education and thus the transition dynamics at this stage need special focus.

Brief Background Information of SCs in India

It is relevant to submit a basic insight of the SCs to create a base for comparison of the findings of this study.

According to the 2011 census, 16.6% of India's population comprises of Scheduled Caste (SC). Uttar Pradesh has the highest number of people in the country, belonging to the Scheduled caste community. In percentage terms too, the share of SCs in total population in Uttar Pradesh is 20.7% is higher than the national average.

The Scheduled Castes or the Dalits are one of the most vulnerable groups and are seen as low castes in the social strata and remain among the most oppressed section of the Indian community. In fact, various studies have come up with findings that point towards various types of marginalization of SCs, ranging from higher malnutrition, lower education and transition in education and higher cases of abuses and atrocities. Thus the SCs have been identified as economically weak, educationally backward, generally found as doing all different types of odd jobs, ranging from scavenging to other cleanliness jobs.

Given such vulnerability and marginalization, it is of even greater consequence to understand their lower transition levels to higher classes and into higher levels of education, so as to devise better strategies keeping such findings in mind and gradually enhance parity and inclusion.

Methodology

A qualitative study was undertaken in transitional areas/urban villages in the district of Lucknow in the state of Uttar Pradesh. 30 in-depth semi-structured interviews with SC girls (N = 30) and their parents/guardians (N = 30) in 5 villages in Lucknow district were conducted. Girls from the SC community who had transited from primary level to upper primary but had not transited from upper primary level to secondary were covered in this category.

Simultaneously, a control group was taken and 30 in-depth semi-structured interviews with girls from the general caste (N = 30) and their parents/guardians (N = 30) in 5 villages in Lucknow district were conducted. Girls from the non-SC community who had transited from upper primary to secondary were covered in this category.

The interviews covered the themes of peripheral education, education status of female siblings, perceived learning in school before dropping out, discrimination and possible triggers for being re-enrolled in school and were tailored to the roles and needs of the participants/respondents.

Given the qualitative approach, purposive sampling was used to identify participants for the research so as to explicitly select participants from whom appropriate data can be generated. Effort was taken to choose similar households in peripheral areas from the target and the control groups, in terms of economic and source of earnings profile, with as little variation as possible between the target group and control group. However, given the peripheral framework and purposive approach, some variations between the two groups were noted and are mentioned later in this study.

A semi-structured qualitative tool was developed. A coding framework was created and codes were updated with continued data familiarization. The interpretation of the findings was based on the aims and objectives of the research as well as the dominant themes evolving from the data.

Research investigators who had prior experience working in education centric research studies were shortlisted and briefed to conduct the interviews.

Brief Respondent Profile

i. Age of Respondents

The respondents from the target group, i.e. girls from the SC community who had completed class VIII, were selected. Their ages varied between 12 and 14 years as given in **Table 1** below:

The respondents from the control group, in this case, the 30 adolescent girls from the non-SC/general caste community, who have transited from upper primary to secondary, were, as mentioned, also

purposively selected. These girls are enrolled in and attending secondary education. Their ages varied between 13 and 15 years as given in **Table 2** below:

The age of the girls from the non-SC community was slightly higher as only girls who had already transitioned to the next class were selected.

ii. Household Size

The modal size of the SC households covered in this study was found to be 6, with 30% of the respondents coming from households consisting of 6 members, wherein household size has been defined by the number of family members that share the same kitchen.

The size of the households varied between 3 and 8 members as given in **Table 3** below:

The modal household size of the control group was found to be 5, with approximately 33% of the respondents coming from households consisting of 5 members.

The size of the households varied between 3 and 7 members as given in **Table 4** below:

Thus, the non-SC families were found to be slightly smaller in size on an average, with 70% of the selected households having a size of 5 or less members and approximately 87% of the selected households having a size of 6 or less members. In contrast approximately 67% of the selected SC households had a size 6 or less members.

iii. Economic Status

This study was essentially conceived to be an exploratory, largely un-structured study with purposive sampling. Broad, unstructured and relatively similar economic status was taken into consideration to purposively select control group households relatively peripheral to the target households. The households were later economically categorized based on the findings.

The core method of categorizing the households in this study, including both the SC and the non-SC households, was observation and open ended questioning to generate answers and then create a basic list of SLI/Standard of Living Index parameters, based on the answers. This list of parameters consisted of both quantitative and qualitative aspects.

The quantitative factors that were considered are: Nature of house (whether kuccha, pucca or semi-pucca), ownership of TV, ownership of cycle, ownership of motorcycle, ownership and size of land.

This was reinforced with qualitative data on the type of dress worn and food consumed in the target households, to have a broader perspective of their economic status.

Based on this set of basic economic parameters collected from the study households, they were categorized as 'poor', 'very poor' and 'middle income' to form the findings of the study. Although, very few households conformed to this criteria, the third category of 'middle income' households was relevant to creating an exhaustive list.

The study defines these three categories as:

Very Poor Households

The 'very poor households' conformed to at least 6 of the 7 criteria on the list given in **Table 5** below:

Poor Households

The 'poor households' conformed to at least 6 of the 7 items on the list given in **Table 6** below:

Middle Income Households

The 'middle income households' conformed to at least 6 of the 7 items on the list given in **Table 7** below:

Based on the findings, the households were categorized as 'poor', 'very poor' and 'middle income'.

The details of the number of SC and non-SC households falling under these three categories are shown in **Table 8** as follows:

Data collected from the target households reveal that the SC households were in general poorer than the non-SC households.

iv. Source of Income

This study also tried to understand the source of income of the target households. The findings show that the core source of income of the SC households was through daily wage labor and/or agricultural labor.

The daily wage earners travelled to peripheral areas in search of odd jobs that utilized them for a day to a few days. These jobs were essentially of a manual and unskilled nature.

Most of the Non-SC households had small parcels of land and while their source of core income was also as daily wage laborers, most of them also earned something from their land.

In a few cases in the non-SC households, the chief wage earner was found to have migrated to other parts of India and were working there as contractual laborers.

Findings about Siblings and Implications on transition

i. Sibling Size

It was found that respondents from the SC households had more siblings as compared to their non-SC counterparts. This partially also explains a relatively bigger household size of the SC households. Only 1 respondent from the selected SC households had no siblings whereas 5 respondents from the selected non-SC households had no siblings. Thus, in the non-SC households covered by this study, approximately 17% households have only one child.

ii. Bias towards Education of the Male Child in the SC Households

Overall in the SC households, a bias towards education of the male child was noticed up to their completion of secondary level education.

In the study, it was found that all male siblings in the age group of 15-17 years of the SC girls (who have not transited from upper primary to secondary education), were studying in school. These male siblings were found to have transited from upper primary level to secondary level and were studying either in class IX or in class X

However, the transition even among the male siblings in the households was found to be poor after completion of secondary level education. None of the male siblings in the SC households, in the age group of 20-26 years were found to be currently studying (no male siblings in the age group of 18-19 were noted in the SC households in this study).

iii. Sibling Spillover Effect

Overall a sibling spillover effect was noted in this study. There were 23 siblings in the SC households that were aged 15 years or above and were found to be studying, among a total of 43 siblings. Thus,

approximately 53% of the siblings in the SC households in the age group of 15 and above were found to be studying.

In the non-SC households covered in this study, there were 18 siblings who were aged 15 or above who were found to be studying, among a total of 21 siblings. Thus, approximately 86% of the siblings in the non-SC households in the age group of 15 and above were found to be studying.

This shows that the percentage of siblings who had dropped out of the education net in the post-upper primary age group was higher among the SC households covered in this study compared to the non-SC households. In contrast there was far better transition to higher education among the siblings of the control group the general caste/non-SC category.

iv. Causes for Siblings' Dropping out of Education

The core factor of siblings, whether male or female, dropping out of the education net in SC households was found to be economic.

In each case, it was mentioned that poverty or lack of economic ability was the core cause owing to which the concerned sibling could not study further. In the case of female siblings, almost all siblings that were not studying were also found to have been married. Thus the core cause for dropping out of education after upper-primary level appears to be poverty/economic inability, whereas the supporting cause, particularly in case of girls, appears to be marriage.

Data also supports the causes mentioned by the respondents. In each case, only siblings above the upper primary age/bracket (equal to or more than 16 years) or below school going age (less than 5 years) were found not to be going to school. Especially siblings in the 6-14 years' age bracket of all girls from the SC community covered by this study were found to be going to school.

Perception of Quality of Learning at School

Perception varied of how useful the 30 respondents from the SC community found the schools to which the SC girls covered in this study did their schooling up to class VIII. Overall the respondents appeared to be divided and half of them mentioned that the school helped them to learn new things either 'to a fair extent' or 'to a large extent'. 80% of the students found their schools useful between some extent to a large extent and yet discontinued education after class VIII/completing upper primary.

The perceived usefulness of schooling among the participants is shown in **Table 9** below:

This reinforces the finding that they may have been forced to drop out of the education net owing to economic difficulty in pursuing further education.

Perceptions and Findings on Caste Based Discrimination

This study made an effort to understand whether the 30 girls selected from the SC households faced any kind of discrimination in school. Both direct discussion and forming understanding through indirect mode of approach were covered.

When directly and specifically asked whether they perceived any kind of caste based discrimination in school, most of the respondents mentioned that they had not experienced any caste based discrimination in school.

But approximately one quarter of the respondents did mention that they had faced discrimination in their schools. The few that faced such discrimination spoke of the following types of discrimination:

- Felt somewhat segregated from the other children as their sitting arrangements both during class hours and during mid-day meals, was slightly segregated compared to the children of the higher castes.
- Felt neglected as they were often relegated to back benches, were seldom engaged in the classroom or much spoken to.
- Were sometimes told to do minor cleaning tasks in school, for which children from the upper castes were not selected.

However, while most of the children did not mention of any visible discrimination on the basis of caste, the caste of their closest friend circle, points to a kind of tacit discrimination. It was found that the closest school friends of approximately 73% of the girls from the SC community, chosen as respondents, also belong to the Scheduled Caste community and were Chamar, Pasi etc.

The remaining 27% also did not have any friends from the general caste. Instead, most of their friends were from the Other Backward Classes/OBCs such as Teli and Kurmi. A few also had Muslim friends.

None of the 30 SC respondents selected for this study had friends from the upper castes or general castes. Thus, although they did not mention any direct cases of discrimination, their friend circle appears to have been formed on a pattern of discrimination. This tangentially points at some soft discrimination on ease of mixing due to caste barrier.

SC Respondents' Barriers for Dropping out of Education System and Mentioned Enablers

i. Barriers for Dropping Out

The different respondents from the SC households stated different causes/barriers for the sampled SC girl not having transited to secondary level of education. Some of them mentioned multiple reasons.

A good share of the respondents mentioned financial reasons for the child having dropped out of the education net. It may be referred here that the RTE does not apply to secondary level and thus the domain of 'free' education often ends here (ref section: The Relevance of Choosing Upper Primary Level to Secondary Transition).

Some households (approximately 67 percent of the households) mentioned that owing to the distance of the secondary school/composite school, the parents do not find the travel distance safe for the girl and this also demotivated them to enroll their daughter at this level. In a few cases, the respondents mentioned that they do not think their daughters will get scope for jobs by completing schooling till secondary or higher secondary level. Thus, they see no linkage between schooling and economic returns from it.

Gender inequality appeared to be a core factor for the girl not having transited to secondary level of education in some families. This was already tangentially captured from the section on status of education of the siblings, which showed that male siblings, as against their female counterparts, were enrolled and completed/were completing secondary level of education in the selected households. This was reiterated by the parents of the 30 SC girls in the target group. A few parents pointed out that it is not required that girls should study further. Instead, girls are expected to stay at home, look after their siblings and do household chores.

Respondents from a couple of households also mentioned that they were looking to marry off their daughters and the education that she has already received is sufficient for the purpose.

Overall, there appeared to be a consensus among several households that the necessity for girls to study is limited and studying till upper primary/class 8 allows the girl to fulfill basic needs for education, namely ability to read and write and be marriageable.

Respondents from a couple of households also mentioned that there are no instances in the peripheral community where a girl from the SC community has gone into higher studies and has done well. Thus, there also appears to be a lack of role models in these communities.

Respondents from a few households also mentioned that the school does not have a separate functional toilet for girls and this proves to be challenging. This difficulty further intensifies during the time of menstruation.

In a few cases, the respondents also pointed out about discrimination that the selected child has faced in school has also deterred the child from further continuation of studies. This is in sync with findings from this study, which earlier shows that a few selected children had faced caste based discrimination in school.

In very few cases, the selected child has mentioned that she does not enjoy studying and does not want to study further.

Overall, the emerging trend thus appears to be economic – the necessity to spend money during secondary level (classes 9 and 10) education coupled with any lack of economic ‘returns’ that they foresee by investing in the child’s education. Here, the main onus for the child’s lack of transition seems to rest with the parents and their perceived cost-benefit analysis on secondary level education as well as their perception on the lack importance of secondary education.

This core deterrent, coupled with gender bias, and other smaller deterrents of caste discrimination and also unavailability of suitable transport and toilet facilities, has resulted in the non-transition of these children from the SC households to the next level of education. Supply-side factors essentially include lack of enabling infrastructure, caste inclusion and also poor quality of education, manifested in the child’s lack of desire to ‘study’.

ii. Suggested Enablers

The respondents also mentioned enablers/solutions to enhance transition from upper primary to secondary level. The three main solutions proposed by them were:

- Improve school infrastructure, especially critical facilities such as toilets
- Provide scholarship/provision for free education so that the economic burden for further education can be averted
- Create a less discriminatory and more inclusive environment in school

Enablers among non-SC Respondents for Transiting to Secondary Education

While this study tried to understand the barriers for upper primary to secondary transition among girls from the SC community, it also tried to gauge the enablers among the girls from the control group.

The core findings that come across are that the parents are driven by homogeneity as more girls from the peripheral community are completing at least higher secondary education. Also they feel that this is a qualification that makes their girls more marriageable. Some parents also saw education as a safety net for their daughters, which will allow them to read important documents, including legal and property documents. Some parents also felt that education is an enabler to accessing rights and thus wanted to

educate their daughters. Finally, a few parents also pointed out that they enrolled their daughter to the next level of education, because their daughter wishes to study and they wish to support her in it.

Recommendations

Based on the findings of the study the following recommendations are provided:

- i. The findings of the study show that poverty continues to remain a core deterrent to transition from upper primary to secondary levels among girls from SC community. Hence financial relief/support measures need to be considered. This can be in the form of providing subsidized access to secondary education, especially for girls and creating better awareness and linkage to various schemes such as NSIGSE that provide support to education at secondary level. Linkage to provisions under Scheduled Caste Sub-Plan/SCSP can only be useful, provided it is supported by advocacy for better implementation of the SCSP.
- ii. Behavior Change Communication/BCC campaigns with multi-pronged objectives need to be developed and run with the SC communities. The core objectives of such BCC campaigns would be to enhance the awareness on importance of education for girls and the need of their voice and choice. The parents/guardians as well as the adolescent girls themselves need to be beneficiaries of such campaigns. This will enable them to stop perceiving education as just a doorway to literacy and one of the prerequisites to making the girl marriageable, as was found in this study.
- iii. Breaking gender stereotypes and creating community role models through targeted intervention could be useful in creating a sense of direction and motivation among the target groups. The findings of the study show the absence of peripheral role models who have broken gender stereotypes and created belief in the financial and non-financial returns of education for girls, which, eventually, became a barrier to transition.
- iv. Finally, improving supply side dynamics, such as through teachers' sensitization training towards creating inclusive atmosphere in schools; creating better school and toilet infrastructure etc. can be useful in removing the barriers of discrimination and also in reducing infrastructure driven drop outs. This calls for better implementation of acts and schemes already in place.

Conclusion

Overall, the study has thrown up interesting findings. It has also shown that education for girls across castes, seem to partially be a tool to make the girl more 'marriageable'. The perceived level of such marriage-worthy education is however perceived higher among the general caste, that look for at least secondary level education, whereas among the SC community this 'marriage-worthy' level seems to be upper primary. Also, the share of parents/guardians among the general caste that consider education as a tool of 'marriage-worthiness' for girls is relatively lower.

At the same time the parents/guardians in the non-SC/general caste households appear to be more aware of diverse benefits of education, such as as a tool to girls' rights, tool to ensuring legal safety etc. A greater sense of societal conformity is also pushing greater transition among the general castes.

The learning from the control group needs to be in-built in implementations so that the target group can also be uplifted to at least the same level. Finally, removing caste based discrimination is a pre-requisite and deep rooted social stigma must be addressed not only among the community but first, among the service providers such as teachers, to be able to make a definite impact.

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Author Contributions

Dr. Priyanka Singh conducted the research, including data collection, analysis, and interpretation. Priyanka Sahu, Dr. Sandeep Giri was responsible for writing and organizing the manuscript. Dr. Priyanka Singh also served as the corresponding author and supervised the overall project.