An Analysis on Education of Poumai Naga Tribe in Manipur

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ABSTRACT: The paper has attempted to study the pattern of education systems prevailing among the Poumai Naga tribe in Manipur. It is assumed that in the present scenario, private run-schools are generally preferred to government run-schools among the Poumai Naga tribe; and the present education system has created social polarization and exclusiveness in nature, which is leading to widening the gap between the rich and the poor among the Poumais. Thus, the paper attempts to study the types of education prevailing in the area. The paper also goes in-depth into the contending educational challenges faced by the socially and economically backward Poumais. As far as educational research is concern, no empirical study was carried out in the region and it is against this backdrop, the study explored the role of western education in Poumai society.

KEYWORDS: Education, Government aided school, Manipur, Poumai Naga tribe, Private unaided school, Scheduled tribes, Paomata.

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I. INTRODUCTION

Ever since India attained Independence, there is a persistent need to expand education to every nook and corner of the country. As a result, the Constitution had committed and has taken up the moral responsibility to ensure education for all, thereafter India pledged to promote education by becoming a signatory in Dakar Framework for Action in 2000. Education is no longer a local or national issue alone but a global issue today. Education for all is a slogan for various organisations including United Nations, World Bank etc. by promoting them through laudable educational schemes under Millennium Development Goal and now with Sustainable Development Goal (SDG). While ensuring education for all, quality education should also not be neglected. It is important to mention that Former UN Secretary General Ban Ki-moon desired that every child should get a quality education not just a mere education of delivering contain information but it should be such that education be able to help meet every child reach their full potential so as they become a productive citizen, ready to lead the future. Inclusive and quality education can reduce poverty and hunger and improve health and economy besides all round development of a person.

It may be contemplated that allowing a community to remain illiterate, ignorant, underdeveloped and backward is not justifiable after seventy years of independence. Imparting quality education should be the ambition of the government. However, till this day the marginalized sections of society remain inaccessible to quality education and thus they live in an impoverished state and unable to break through the situation. In a democratic country like India, denial of basic education to the disadvantaged sections of society is a denial of citizen’s right. It is important to note that education for the disadvantaged groups must be kept at the top agenda in the government policies because it is directly about aggravating of growing poverty and social exclusion. A quality education along with job creation can save poverty and enhance economic condition of the Poumais in particular and for the country in general.

II. BACKGROUND OF THE STUDY

The term Poumai is derived from the word Pou. Pou was the name referred to a person from whom the Poumais were descended. The word Poumai literally means people of Pou (Pou-means the primogenitor, mai-the people). It is one of the oldest and major tribes of the Nagas1 of Manipur. The Poumai Naga tribe is a recognized tribe of India. They were recognized as 30th tribe of Manipur in Part X, under the Constitution of India of Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes Order (Amendment) Act, 2002 in 2003 (The Gazette of India 2003: 6).

1 The Nagas are indigenous people of about 40 different tribes. Politically live within the regions of India and Myanmar, named ‘Naga Hills’ during the British colonial. The Nagas in India alone live in four different states of Arunachal Pradesh, Assam, Manipur and Nagaland (Thong 2012: 895).
The Poumais were demarcated under the present states of Manipur and Nagaland\(^2\). In Manipur, the Poumais are geographically in Senapati District, in the northern part of Manipur. The total population of Poumai is about 1,79,189. Approximately there are more than 90 Poumai inhabited villages in the state of Manipur. They are further broadly divided into three administrative circles viz, (a) Chilivi Circle, (b) Lepaona Circle and (c) Paomata Circle.

Generally they practiced oral tradition, as there was no written script of their own though they have the rich culture and tradition. Poula is a spoken dialect for the Poumai community living in Manipur and Nagaland although there are no two neighbouring villages having selfsame dialect but it can be understood in a form of communication. Venuh (2004: 93) had also rightly pointed out that each Naga village is indigenous and independent, and it is true in the context of Poumai. It is very important to note the diversities of ethnic communities in the Northeastern part of India before delving into the study of any ethnic group. In fact, North East India (NEI) is one of the most ethnically and linguistically diverse regions of the country though many scholars clubbed them together as a homogenous group.

Every Poumai village has its own distinct historical identity and cultural practices. There are villages\(^1\) within the Poumai tribe where they cannot communicate and understand each other’s dialect therefore English, Manipuri (Meiteilon) and Nagamese are used as lingua franca. Classification of Poula falls under Tibeto-Burma language family, some scholars classify them under Angami-Pochury group while the others would categorise them under Kuki-Chin group, let alone the linguistic experts classify them. Racially the anthropologists would classify them as Mongoloid stock.

Among the Poumais, agriculture is the main source of livelihood. Historically, most of the families practice subsistence farming and if at all there is a surplus on seasonal produce they used to trade them in the form of barter system with the neighbouring adjoining villages. Though, now the trading system is modernized as compared to the past. Agriculture is also the main sector for employment although it is highly unorganized and unskilled.

With regard to social aspects, the Poumais are patriarchal in nature where men dominates and exercise control over most of the resources, hence the family inheritance falls to the male line and are considered superior to women. The status of men and women in the society was socially and culturally determined and handed down by their ancestors. In religious aspect, most of the people follow Christianity although a few who still practice indigenous religion.

### III. METHODOLOGY

No in-depth empirical study was carried out by researchers in the context of education among the Poumai Naga tribe, particularly in the Paomata circle. It is against this background the present research is carried out as part of the study.

The present study is based on both primary and secondary sources. Secondary sources include articles, books, souvenirs/magazines, journals, websites, national reports and newspapers. As mentioned above there are three administrative circles/blocks in the Poumai areas in the state of Manipur, of the three circles, the study was carried out in Paomata circle. Under the Paomata circle it is recorded to have eleven villages out of the eleven villages there are six major villages namely, Liyai (Zhaimai)\(^4\), Malba (Khimai), Phuba (Phyamai), Saranamai (Siimai)\(^5\), Tunggam (Khumai) and Tungjoy (Veymy)\(^5\). The study is mainly based on primary sources that was collected and generated from field study covering three villages under Paomata circle. The main sites of inquiry were carried out at Liyai, Saranamai and Tungjoy. Teachers and students from the government schools, private aided schools and missionary schools were taken into consideration and were interviewed besides school children, parents, some of the village elders, school advisory board, alumni and retired teachers. Selected schools were visited and had interacted with teachers and students. The data were based on the verbal discussion from the selected people and group of respondents. Varieties of fieldwork techniques were employed for obtaining information such as field notes, surveying, questionnaire, observations, group discussions and individual interviews mostly through unstructured interviews. Questionnaires were sent to respondents using emails, which were fast and convenient. A few of them were sent through snail mail although I could not get

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\(^2\) There are four Poumai villages in Phek district of Nagaland that includes Razeba, Zhavame, Zeloume and Tsuume. They are of about 10,000 in population.

\(^1\) For instance Poumai villages like Khundai (Dumai), Oinam (Ngimai/Onaeme), Ngari (Rainai) etc. have different dialects.

\(^4\) At present, Zhaimai village is considered to be the biggest village among the Poumai Naga villages of Manipur.

\(^5\) Siimai is the oldest Poumai Naga village. The descendants of Pou first settled at Siifii, the present Saranamai village.

\(^5\) Veymy is the name known locally by the villagers; Tungjoy is the name given by GoM, some of the Poumai villagers called them as Chomai, to Maos they are known as Sichoumai. Almost every Poumai villages have two names, one in local dialect that has significant meaning and the other name given by the Government of Manipur (GoM).
back from all the respondents due to various reasons and difficulties. The study is primarily descriptive cum explanatory. Sampling technique is purposive sampling in nature and the size has been used till the data is saturated in the given time frame.

IV. EDUCATION SYSTEM AMONG THE POUMAI NAGA TRIBE

Traditional Mode of Education

Traditionally, Poumai society had no formal education system as it is today. Education was imparted through oral transmission by practically learning exercises in the form of folk songs, folk tales, dance, farming, hunting & fishing, agriculture, weaving etc. from elder members of the society or from parent to children which has been handed down from generations to generations. Every member was taught to be responsible to the family and village. The purpose of education was to make an individual fit for the societal role expected of him/her. Its focus was to develop skills than to impart an abstract knowledge.

The traditional education was inextricably integrated with the socio-economic, artistic, religious and recreational life of the community (Kamei 2002: 138 and Thong 2012:901). This type of education was mostly imparted in the morung dormitories\(^7\) of the adolescents and unmarried youth of the village. However, the morung system declined with the introduction of western educational institutions in the 20th century. In the case of Manipur, the hill people developed a universal system of imparting basic skills for social and economic survival like weaving, dancing, martial arts and warfare, relying on an oral tradition from dormitories. On the other hand, the people from the valley had an exclusively, highly developed literary and scholarly tradition (Horam 2000).

Genesis of Western Education

It was in the year 1890 the colonial state had established its power and allowed missionaries to work in the state. Dena (1988) also mentioned the coming of American and Welshmen are prominent among the Protestant missionaries while the German, Spaniards and Italian were the Catholic missionaries in the state. There were other missionaries who had reached Manipur ahead of Pettigrew but they were not granted permission to preach and start a school. William Pettigrew was the first missionary to land and start a school successfully. He reached Imphal in 1894 and he was well versed with Meiteilon (Manipuri) and he then opened a school at Imphal. Later he was directed to serve among the hills tribes, and finally settled at Ukhrul with Tangkhul Nagas (Salam 2013: 180). He established as many as 8 schools in Tangkhul villages from 1896 to 1905. Following which Catholic missionaries began to set up schools after India’s independence in Manipur. As pioneers Fathers Aloysius Ravalico and Peter Bianchi are credited for establishing the schools (ibid 181) in the state of Manipur. In Paomata circle, the first Catholic missionaries school was established in 1974 at Tungjoy, another school was opened at Purul in 1975 within Lepaoa circle and Phaibung-Khullen School was established in 1980 under Chilivai circle. But when the missionaries introduced education among the Poumas, the boys took the first privilege than the girls. But the missionaries would also encourage parents to send even girls for schooling. The missionaries and evangelists gave immense contribution in the field of education and health services to Poumai community. During this time there was hardly any government school in the interior villages. Though longing to have school in the village there was no basic infrastructure like road connectivity between villages, no electricity or medical facilities, no information about each other as there was no means of communication facilities like radio, newspapers and so forth.

Imparting western education in Pouma villages commenced very late as compared to other neighbouring tribes. According to Pukhrambam, among the Naga tribes of Manipur the Tangkhuls were the first to receive Christianity. They were more educated and better adapted to the modern and western culture as compared to other tribes (Cited in Reimengam 2013: 5). Hence, the tribes in the same state do not experience a uniform attainment in literacy. Some tribes are far ahead comparing with other tribes in case of education and development. Therefore, still there remains a large section of the population among Poumas, who belongs to first generation learners. And there are many who are yet to be introduced to education and the value of education are not known to some of the parents living in the rural areas.

Before delving into the problems of education system in Manipur, it is important to note that there exist different types of schools. They are government schools, government aided school and private unaided schools. Under

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\(^7\) In pre-Christian era, there was certainly an organized community of women in the form of ‘Girls Dormitory’ housed by respectable family in the village community. This dormitory system had given the natural growth of leadership among women in the village. It is here, where the girls lived together, sat together, sang together, learned together all arts of weaving, spinning, handicrafts, singing, dancing, designing etc. the talent developed because the elder peer group could enforce strict discipline to the younger peer group in the dormitory. Trained under such rigorous discipline for the responsibilities they had to own up life with their husbands, in-laws, children and community (Shangkhram 2001). Morung system played a very important role in their sociocultural life and a place where all the youth get together in the village in olden days. However, the morung was abandoned when the colonists introduced Christianity (Shimray 2002: 577).
private unaided schools, there are various schools run by Catholic missionaries, Baptist Churches, private individuals/family or private partnership, or even other civil society like Rama Krishna mission school etc. In Manipur, particularly the Poumai area, quality and facilities are far better in private unaided schools than those of government schools and they out-performed the government schools in the board examinations.

V. CRITICAL ANALYSIS

In a hurried attempt to universalise education for all, a major effort of the government was mere establishment of number of schools than imparting quality education and its impact in the long run. As compared to the past, the last 10-15 years has seen more government schools penetration in the rural Poumai areas. At present almost every village have at least one or two government schools. However, the government schools are having one of the highest schools which are ill managed or non-functional.

As a result, the private school has become the most sought after schools in Poumai area though they have to incur higher fees and other related school expenditures. The plights of the government schools have being imprinted into the minds of young children. Even government school teachers would not send their children to government schools, as they are well aware about the school conditions rather send them to private schools. Therefore, when the government schools accountability fails, a child from the poorest section of the society suffers the most. The poor children who cannot afford better education feels deserted. Eventually they began to feel education is for the rich and who could afford the high cost and holds high status in the society. This poses a great challenge in achieving universal elementary schooling for children.

Ironically, even if a child is fortunate to get admission in private schools, admission alone doesn’t guarantee them passing the examination. It is difficult for the new entrants to cope up with the unfamiliar and high standard syllabus. The schools in Manipur do not have uniform syllabus. This leads to variations of quality of education. In most of the private schools, without private tutor’s help, it has become impossible to learn best due to overcrowding in the class. Teachers could not give proper attention to all the students in the classrooms and many children are unable to comprehend what has been taught in the class. This ultimately leads to hiring of private tutor for almost every subject. Simultaneously with growth of private schools, private tuition business also flourished.

With regard to Poumai community, there are children even today who do not have the opportunity to go to school. This is a clear sign that the educational system is far from free and compulsory education despite it has become a fundamental right for the citizens. Educational deprivations, in elementary education among poorer children stay a crucial issue in the context of achieving universalisation of Education. Children from the poor households are affected badly because parents could not afford to send them to private schools with limited source of income. Thus, educating a child entails huge financial liability. Children from the poorer families have no option but to opt for ill managed government schools or else are drop out from schooling. Some of the children are not so fortunate enough to be born into a well to do family to get access to good school. The income status of a family determines the success of a child in those Poumai villages, at the present scenario. The failure of government schools has attributed to the rich and poor divide. The life chances of a child depend upon where they are born into and whether they are destined to enter such elitist schools. As a result educational institutions became a channel of rich-poor divide in the case of Poumais in Paomata circle.

Having discussed with the retired school-teachers, they shared that government schools in 1970s and 1980s were scanty but the quality was much better compared to the present day government schools. The government teachers were committed and accountability was high in their profession during those years. At one point of time government education systems have been successful to extend quality education. But since 1990s, the qualities of government schools have declined drastically. Times have changed for the worst in the present scenario, as there is trust deficit between people from the plain/valley and the hills as compared to the past. Therefore well-trained teachers from the valley would not like to travel to the hill areas for teaching. On the other hand, the younger generations finds hard to survive in a remote hilly area where they are totally cut off from all kinds of modern amenities that they would enjoy in the cities. As a result there is not qualified teachers.

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1 Since India’s independence, the government had appointed various commissions with special focus on education. To mention few, the Kothari Commission 1964-66 that set the goal of Universal Elementary Education to be achieved by the country in 1986. Follow up of this commission was National Policy on education set up in 1986 to meet Free and Compulsory Education for all children up to 14 years of age by 2000. The Rammanthri Committee was set up in 1990 to review the National Education Policy. These policies received further impetus as a result on education for all to meet the basic learning needs of all children. In 1996, India ratified the UN Convention on the Right to Child by which it commits to remove children from work that interferes with their education and make primary education free and compulsory (Salam 2004: 20-21). Following which enactment of the 86 Constitution Amendment Act, that is Right to Education (RTE) Act, 2009 came into force and the RTE became a fundamental rights under article 21A. India also joined the league of over 130 countries, which have legal guarantees to give free and compulsory education for children aged 6-14 years (The Hindu, 2010). SarvaShikshaAbhiyan has been a flagship programme under RTE. The Ministry of Human Resource Development has also created a vision of making quality secondary education available, accessible and accountable and affordable to all young people in the age group 15-16 years. To meet this, in 2009 the Government of India launched the RashtriyaMadhamikShikshaAbhiyan (RMSA).

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to teach certain subjects like Hindi, Manipuri, Mathematics and Science. There are times requisite specialized teachers on respective subjects are not done at the time of recruitment. Besides, coinciding with India’s liberalization and reform period, there are more jobs opportunities in the cities than in the rural areas. This is leading to migration of youths to greener side where they could yield better opportunities and earnings. This is the pathetic situation faced by the people of the hills, not only is the physical infrastructure but there is also lack of competent human resources. One of the interviewees also mentioned, there was strict inspection from the higher authorities in the past but today the inspectors would pre-inform the school of their visit and every teacher would be around only for that particular day of inspection. Practice of such activities are contributing to overall failure of teachers’ accountability.

The other problem is recruitment of teachers sneek-deep in corruption, nepotism, bribery, favouritism, nexus with the politicians and top bureaucrats. Teachers appointed through such recruitment would not do the job diligently as they have power and protection. They will not follow the orders to go to the schools where they are posted as the teachers have nexus with the politicians or bureaucrats. Instead they will meet to their own personal works and be away to the cities. Another major problem with government schools in Manipur including Paomata areas is that many teachers would illegally engage a proxy/substitute teacher in the local village where they are posted. This is sometimes done with consent of the concern village head and head of the institutions. This kind of undesirable practice is leading to the collapse of government schools especially in the villages. Thus the mechanism of education is at the break down from appointment to performing duty in the government schools in Manipur.

From the field visits, there are a few observations made on government schools. In some villages, there are schools in the government record but without existing buildings and the teachers are drawing pay regularly. And in some other cases, when there is a school there would be no proper classrooms, the roofs are in a dilapidated state with leakages, no furniture to sit on and write, no laboratory, library facility, no playground, no blackboard & chalk (though many schools in the cities do away with it and turn on to digital class) and other teaching aid. There are schools that functions but still lacks basic amenities such as toilet and water. Thus under this circumstances children have no option but to defecate in the open space that is discouraging the children to go to schools. There is no control mechanism to check the functioning of schools or performance of teachers. The schools are left to its own care. This has led to public distrust on the government school which then compels the parents to send their children for education to private schools.

The present educational system lacks cultural relevance in the context of the Poumai. Education in itself remains a site of conflict and contention over relations between culture, power and class. Traditional cultures are done away and the people are compelled to learn with new thoughts and ideas on account of introduction of western ideologies and thoughts. Their glorious past myths, legends, traditional religious beliefs, languages are on the verge of extinction with the coming of western education. The Poumais do not have any written document to keep its culture from the ancient time. This is one of the major shortcomings for the tradition. Hence, today the youngsters do not have interest or give importance to ones own culture. For instance, out of 33 recognised tribes in Manipur, only 13 tribal dialects are approved so far by the state government as a major tribal language in the state. Out of 13 dialects, only 8 dialects were able to developed and approved for imparting in the school syllabus viz class XI and XII under Council of Higher Education Manipur. They are Mizo, Paite, Hmar, Kom, Ruangmei, Tangkhul, Thadou-kuki and Mao. Poula (Poumai) dialect is not able to develop even for teaching in a higher secondary education, thus it is not included in the school curriculum. There is also a need to teach in mother tongue especially in lower classes as the medium of instruction. But as per to other interviewees response, the government does not give importance in promoting tribal dialects because there is an understanding that the government would like to popularize Manipuri (Meiteilon) language and influence their culture over the hill people where the tribals inhabit. Such dialects may extinct in the long run if it is not preserved and promoted as the younger generations does not give importance in learning ones own dialect as it does not have any market value. So far, there is no proper policy framed or funds allocated for such studies from the government to promote tribal language. On the other hand, the tribal students have to learn extra languages in their curriculum like Manipuri, Hindi and English, which are all foreign to them.

Due to repeated failure to extend compulsory education to children, it has paved the way for the civil society organizations, private individuals and missionaries to open private schools even to the remotest part of the state. Besides this a few other reasons for mushrooming the private institutions which includes ethnic conflict, armed emergencies, insurgent related violence, political upheaval, mass strikes & bandh, curfews and rampant corruption which has also attributed to the ill management of the government schools.

The set up of missionary schools and other private unaided schools has made a huge impact on the people as it has been successful and the performances are commendable at the state level. It is successful in terms of providing quality education, it has created an environment for children with discipline, cleanliness & hygiene atmosphere, school uniforms, morality, emphasised speaking English in the school, besides regular test, homework, strict attendance, competitive spirit, teachers dedication & commitment and accountability. It has
become a dreamed school for every child to study in such private schools. It was due to availability of such facilities, quality of teaching is better in private schools. However the survival of private schools is quite challenging on account of sociopolitical turmoil. It has its own threat of survival.

Some of the practical problems for Poumai parents and children faced in private schools are lack of seat vacancies as everyone is after those reputed schools. In some cases schools are far off from villages. When the children are admitted into such far off schools, the parents will not be able to visit their children often in case of residential schools. At times physical distance from home to school and financial constraints curtails the frequency of children to visit their homes or parents to visit their children. In this regard, there are problems associated with it when children are sent out of their home at the tender age. The well-being of the child is not taken care and is neglected. This has an impact on the overall personality development of the child. Hence this leads to health, mental and emotional issues in the long run. When parents are not staying with their children for months or years and when there is no proper guidance and monitoring over the activities of the child, they get distracted from the main goal of studying. They also become introverted and thus this led to diffidence and finally lead them to distress and in the worst case they drop out from the schools.

Ano

Problems Faced by the Private and Government School Teachers

It is observed that there are no incentives or promotion for teachers that would encourage them to dedicate themselves wholeheartedly for the cause of universalizing education. Teaching is one of the noblest professions in the world. They put so much effort and hardships leaving aside own family needs. In spite of all those noble acts, the teachers do not get enough appreciations. A robust mechanism to motivate the selfless teachers should be implemented. Incentives must be introduced for rural posting. Promotion should be given for every teacher because a teacher normally retires at the same post one joins the service. They are not provided with basic minimum requirement such as quarters with water supply, hard area allowance, transportation allowances, etc. These problems are not making them conducive for outsiders to come to the rural. Due to these reasons teachers have become de-motivated. Thus poor quality education or illiteracy will be a perennial problem in the Poumai areas unless there is intervention from civil society and government.

In government schools almost all the teachers are qualified with regard to educational qualification and in addition, they go through various trainings like DIET., B.Ed., M. Ed. etc whereas in some private schools, teachers are employed with minimum qualifications with just English knowledge. In this regard, it is observed that government teachers are much qualified but they are not utilising their best skills. One of the reasons is the guaranteed salary and permanency of the job makes them negligent in their profession. Another problem is lack of proper monitoring on the teachers from the higher up authorities. So government alone cannot be blamed for the matter but the attitude of teachers has to change. One of the major problems of government teachers is irregularity or delayed of salary where they will have to end up taking loans and paying the interests as most of the teachers entirely depend on their monthly salary. Though, in private schools the workloads are higher compared to government schools, the private school teachers are lowly paid. Their monthly salary ranges between Rupees 2000-7000 (USD 28-100) depending on their experience and qualifications. Therefore, reasonable minimum basic pay should be fixed in the private schools. In the light of this teachers’ plight, having a private school teacher association may be required.

Even after of hundred years of establishing of western education in Manipur, there is no government college in Poumai areas, out of 28 government colleges in Manipur, the hill districts has only 7 colleges. There are only a few secondary schools that are not equally distributed in the hills and the existing ones are hardly in working, the high schools and primary schools are in pathetic conditions. This is the reason students are compelled to go out of the state for further study and search for a job if they cannot afford to continue with their studies. But the misery doesn’t end there, studying in the cities like Delhi, Bangalore, Kolkata, Mumbai, Hyderabad and so on is another hurdle to compete with students who had been equipped with all kinds of modern facilities right from the childhood as most of the people who are venturing out are the first generation learners in the family. Hence there is a huge educational gap between the people of marginalized sections and the general populations in the country.
VI. CONCLUSION

There is no question of state government blaming the Centre government for the failure of education. Education being the concurrent subject, both has equal responsibilities. There is no problem that cannot be solved. When many other cities or states could do this far, there should not be any excuse that the hill districts of Manipur particularly the Poumai areas remain apathy as it is today. It is time to restructure the systems. Involvement from strong civil society actors at the grassroots level is the need of the hour. Accountability, affordability, and accessibility should be given to every child to attend school and enjoy the fruit of quality education. All this depends on the role of state, bureaucrats, higher authorities of the concern department, civil society organisations, individuals and students must all work together to overcome the bottlenecks in the system and rebuild the failed government schools and institutions which had been left unattended for so long. There must be effective law to tackle the deteriorated state of education system in Manipur. Education being state apparatus, the major aspiration for achieving access to quality education of this marginalised community is the onus of the state. In addition poverty, malnutrition, hunger and disease need to be addressed urgently along with quality education, promoting literacy alone is not adequate. It is not enough to have school alone but it must also be accompanied by quality education and job creation. The present situation is not only disturbing but it is also aggravating poverty and exclusiveness.

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