

Residential Schools in  
**India**

Flashpoints or Bulwarks for Peace  
and Integral Human Development?

A Comparative Case Study of Peacebuilding and  
Social-Empowerment Activities in Food-Assisted Programming  
at Four Residential Institutions Supported by CRS/India

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# India

## Flashpoints or Bulwarks for Peace and Integral Human Development?



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Photo above: Students getting ready to study at LITDS (Marc D'Silva/CRS India)

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## List of Acronyms

|       |                                                    |
|-------|----------------------------------------------------|
| BJP   | Bharatiya Janata Party                             |
| CRS   | Catholic Relief Services                           |
| FGD   | Focus Group Discussion                             |
| IHD   | Integral Human Development                         |
| LITDS | Loyola Integrated Tribal Development Society       |
| PQSD  | Program Quality and Support Department             |
| RSS   | Rashtriya Swayamsevak Sangh                        |
| SC    | Scheduled Caste                                    |
| SHG   | Self-Help Group                                    |
| ST    | Scheduled Tribe                                    |
| USAID | United States Agency for International Development |

## Abstract

In development contexts, there are often multiple vulnerabilities, such as conflict, food shortages, and environmental degradation, as well as economic, political, and social inequalities. This participatory case study explores relational and structural peacebuilding activities in four food-assisted education programs designed to promote disadvantaged children's access to education in tribal areas of India. The research examines residential institutions and their use of peacebuilding innovations to identify lessons for future integrated peacebuilding and education programming. The CRS Integrated Human Development (IHD) Framework was used to analyze strategies to achieve change. The four cases highlighted that while structural change was difficult, it was nevertheless possible. Combined peacebuilding and education efforts were mutually reinforcing strategies to help students and the larger community become more resilient to conflict.





# I.

## Introduction

### Box 1 – Two Campus Confrontations

#### Incident 1:

Troublemakers, who were apparently from outside the community, came to make a Hindu-national political statement on the Catholic residential school campus in Orissa. The group pelted the church on campus with rocks, tore apart a Bible and set it in the arms of the Catholic sister who was present and then left without causing further damage. No one was injured but the school community was shaken and worried about future problems.

#### Incident 2:

At another residential school campus in a tribal area of Madhya Pradesh, a similar confrontation with a political group was imminent. A nearby school had already been attacked in reaction to a murder in the town, and several people were arrested. However, some local community members came to the campus and confronted the nascent troublemakers. The community members then stayed overnight on campus for a week on a rotating basis, even though none of their children lived in the residence, and ensured there was no violence or damage to the people or property.

Schools can be flashpoints for violence or focal points for peacebuilding in communities experiencing social or political tension. While there are no statistics on the frequency of communal violence on school campuses, communal violence has been on the rise in India since the 1970s.<sup>1</sup> The stories from the two Catholic residential schools in tribal areas of Orissa and Madhya Pradesh (above) demonstrate instances where schools functioned as the loci for community conflicts that went far beyond the institution, students or curriculum. The underlying causes of conflicts in these cases were multiple and complex. One factor in the conflicts presented here was a politically infused religious division

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1 Varshney, Ashutosh. 2002. *Ethnic conflict and civic life: Hindus and Muslims in India*. New Haven, CT: Yale University Press.

where supporters for a Hindu- nationalist political movement acted against a perceived threat, embodied in this case by Catholic schools.

The contexts in which these conflicts occurred were also marked by serious economic and livelihood challenges. The two residential schools provide education to underserved populations in tribal areas of India, and receive food aid to help enable student's attendance (discussed further below). There are a total of 573 Scheduled Tribes (STs) in India, each having a distinctive dialect.<sup>2</sup> The tribal areas in India are typically in interior, remote, hilly or forested regions - many of which are now negatively affected by environmental degradation. STs are classified in the Indian Constitution as a unique group outside of the caste system; STs are generally viewed as more marginalized than the *dalits* or lowest caste group. The tribal regions typically perform the most poorly on a variety of development indicators, such as literacy, school enrollment and completion, and maternal/child mortality rates. For example, in 2001 the average literacy rate in tribal areas of India was 30%, and notably below the national average of 65%.<sup>3</sup> Tribal areas have therefore been a focus for development assistance by the Indian government, international non-governmental organizations and local organizations.

The second incident above demonstrates that schools can also be places to build bridges between community members and prevent violence. In Madhya Pradesh, the residential school served as a bridge for people across a range of socio-economic, caste and political divisions. The residential school's relations with the community provided a bulwark against the outbreak of violence that the troublemakers sought.

Awareness of the interaction between aid, conflict and building capacities for peace has grown since the 1990s. The early insights of the “Do No Harm/Local Capacities for Peace” research raised awareness around the links between aid and conflict in emergency settings.<sup>4</sup> Conflict-sensitive awareness for programming has extended to transitional and longer-term

***“Awareness of the interaction between aid, conflict and building capacities for peace has grown since the 1990s.”***

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2 Gautam, Vinoba. (2003). Education of tribal children in India and the issue of Medium of Instruction: A Janshalaa experience. Unpublished paper.

3 *Census of India*, Government of India, 2001.

4 Anderson, Mary B. (1999). *Do no harm: How aid can support peace - or war*. Boulder, CO: Lynne Rienner.

development contexts.<sup>5</sup> Violent conflict “discourages investment, destroys human and physical capital, destroys the institutions needed for political and economic reform, redirects resources to non-productive uses, and causes a dramatic deterioration in the quality of life.”<sup>6</sup> Violence in India has not reached a destabilizing level, but there has been a worrying trend of increased violence against minority populations since the 1990s, which has affected tribal areas and development assistance.

## **Box 2 – Integral Human Development (IHD)**

Excerpted from the CRS Strategic Program Plan Guidance for CRS Country Programs (2005)

The term Integral Human Development comes from Catholic Social Teaching. At an individual level, IHD refers to people's ability to protect and expand the choices they have to: improve their lives, meet their basic human needs, free themselves from oppression, and realize their full human potential. At the societal level, IHD refers to the moral obligations a society (including government and economic institutions) has to: seek justice, ensure equal opportunities for all, and put the dignity of the human person first.

The IHD framework provides an analytic tool to enhance our understanding of complex development environments in order to achieve the positive outcomes described by Catholic Social Teaching. The framework centers on three elements:

- 1) **Assets** – resources that people own or can access;
- 2) **Structures and Systems** – the organizations, institutions and individuals who have influence and power in society;
- 3) **Shocks, Cycles and Trends** – external factors that influence the other boxes.

The framework differs from other livelihoods security frameworks with its expanded asset analysis and grounding in Catholic Social Teaching and CRS' Justice Lens.

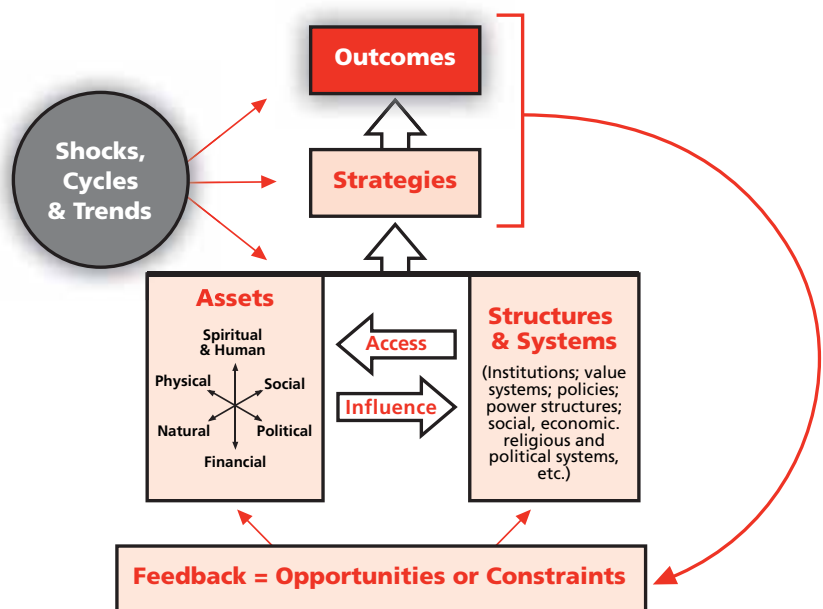
5 For example, see: FEWER, International Alert, and Saferworld. (2004). *Conflict sensitive approaches to development, humanitarian assistance, and peacebuilding: Tools for peace and conflict impact assessment*. London, UK: FEWER, International Alert, and Saferworld. Available at: <http://www.conflictsensitivity.org/>. [Accessed January 23, 2005]. Gaigals, C. and Leonhardt, M., (2001). *Conflict-sensitive approaches to development: A review of practice*. London, UK: Saferworld, International Alert, and IDRC. Available at: <http://www.international-alert.org/pdf/pubdev/develop.pdf>. [Accessed January 23, 2005].

6 Office of Conflict Mitigation and Management (2004). *Conducting a Conflict Assessment: A Framework for Strategy and Program Development*. Washington, DC: Bureau for Democracy, Conflict and Humanitarian Assistance, U.S. Agency for International Development. Available at: [http://www.usaid.gov/our\\_work/cross-cutting\\_programs/conflict/publications/docs/CMM\\_ConflAssessFrmwrk\\_8-17-04.pdf](http://www.usaid.gov/our_work/cross-cutting_programs/conflict/publications/docs/CMM_ConflAssessFrmwrk_8-17-04.pdf). [Accessed May 4, 2005].

This research explores opportunities for residential institutions to build peace in communities as well as provide access to basic education. Residential schools may play a unique role in both social development and long-term conflict mitigation due to their placement within communities and engagement with the next generation of decision-makers.<sup>7</sup>

To reframe using Catholic Relief Services' (CRS) Integral Human Development (IHD) framework (please see Box 2, Integral Human Development), development-assisted education provides an opportunity for students to enhance their personal or human assets as a strategy for achieving longer-term food security and an opportunity for students to realize their full human potential. CRS uses the term IHD to refer to individuals' and communities' reaching their full human potential. As noted in Box 2, the content of IHD has been operationalized for CRS in the IHD Framework, and builds-upon livelihoods security frameworks. It is comprised of three basic components: 1) individual and/or community assets, 2) larger social, political and economic structures and systems; and 3) an external environment of shocks, cycles and trends (please see Box 3). This research explores how building relational networks (social assets) has helped prevent or mitigate social conflicts and violence (conflict cycles) within communities, and how schools have addressed underlying, systemic causes of conflict (unjust structures and systems). To a lesser degree, it also examines dimensions of education programming that have enhanced students' ability to deal with conflicts at a personal level (human assets).

This study is exploratory. It identifies opportunities for peacebuilding based in the experiences of four residential schools in tribal areas of India. The residential institutions are situated in economically



<sup>7</sup> For further discussion on education and development see: Bray, Mark. (2001). *Community Partnership in Education: Dimensions, Variations, and Implications*. Education for All Assessment Thematic Study. Paris: UNESCO. Williams, James H. (1998). *Improving School-Community Relations in the Periphery*. Harvard Institute for International Development: Project ABEL.



challenged areas, and are supported by CRS and USAID/Food for Peace. The cases are examined to identify ways in which these programs achieved peacebuilding outcomes alongside the educational and social development outcomes they were originally designed to achieve for at-risk, marginalized populations. The cases also identify practices and capacities that can be enhanced for future programming that involves USAID/Food for Peace resources to achieve long-term food security as part of IHD efforts.

The paper is divided into five sections. The first section provides information on the background and context of India, tribal areas, conflicts and educational needs. It also includes a brief overview of CRS development work and an overview of the Catholic Church as a development partner in India. The second section details the comparative case study methodology utilized for this research. It provides information on the site selection, research team, participatory research process and limitations. The third section summarizes the research findings. It highlights successes, challenges and good practices of integrated peacebuilding and education programming. The fourth section discusses the interventions utilizing the IHD framework and an analysis of assets, as well as strategies to achieve change. The document ends with a final summary of the lessons learned.



## II.

# Background: India, Conflicts, and Development Assistance

### India Context: Complexity and Conflict

India is a large, multi-faceted, complex country full of seeming contradictions. Diversity and equality have been important defining characteristics that have also posed critical challenges in this country that now contains over one billion people, living in 28 states and seven union territories (see Map 1). India gained independence in 1947. Within the constitution there are clauses to both promote the equality of the diverse population and to protectively promote disadvantaged groups such as “for the advancement of any socially and educationally backward class of citizens or for the Scheduled Castes [SCs] and the Scheduled Tribes.”<sup>8</sup> There are 22 constitutionally recognized languages in India (a secular state) and a multiplicity of religions, which includes Hinduism (81.3%), Islam (12%), Christianity (2.3%), and Sikhism (1.9%), as well as Buddhism, Jainism, Parsism, Zoroastrianism and more.<sup>9</sup>

#### Box 4 – Map of India



India has long been known for tolerance of diversity, yet cleavages along religious, caste and tribal lines have also produced significant violence. There are lesser-known independence movements in the northeast, periodic localized attacks by sub-nationalist groups such as the Naxalites; and violence against minority populations, particularly

8 Article 15 (4), Fundamental Rights, Constitution of India, 1949. The full Indian Constitution is available at: <http://indiacode.nic.in/coiweb/welcome.html> [Accessed May 5, 2005].

9 CIA World Factbook, US Government. Available at: <http://www.cia.gov/cia/publications/factbook/geos/in.html> [Accessed Feb. 1, 2005].

Muslims and Christians. Between 1950 and 1995, approximately 10,000 deaths and 30,000 injuries resulted from reported Hindu-Muslim riots.<sup>10</sup> The 2002 riots in Gujarat killed an estimated 850 to 2,000 people. The causes of violent conflict in India are debated. Some studies suggest that in certain types of conflict, deprivation and other facets of poverty, such as exploitation and oppression, constitute a principal cause.<sup>11</sup> Ashutosh Varshney has focused on communal identity markers and ethnic conflict, although he notes that ethnic conflicts are “not always about identities.”<sup>12</sup> Others focus on political competition as a driver of conflict in India.<sup>13</sup>

The socio-political conflicts that affect the tribal areas of India examined in this research involve issues of land access, inequality, poverty, political affiliations, election-related campaigning, and religion. The political and religious dimensions were often prominent features of the larger-scale socio-political conflicts. It is argued that Hindu religious nationalism has been used to mobilize minority voters in tribal areas because of the reserved seats in the Lok Sabha (lower House of Parliament) as well as state-level government.<sup>14</sup> For example, local community members interpreted the two incidents described above as intentional religious-political statements by representatives of the Rashtriya Swayamsevak Sangh (RSS).<sup>15</sup>



10 Wilkinson, Steven I. 2004. *Votes and Violence: electoral competition and ethnic riots in India*. New York: Cambridge University Press, p.12.

11 For example, see Peiris, G. H., *Poverty, Development and Inter-Group Conflict in South Asia: Covariances and Causal Connections in Ethnic Studies Report*, Vol. XVIII, No. 1, January 2000. Available at: [http://www.ices.lk/publications/est/articles\\_jan00/Peiris-ESR.rtf](http://www.ices.lk/publications/est/articles_jan00/Peiris-ESR.rtf) [Accessed April 10, 2005].

12 Varshney, Ashutosh. 2002. *Ethnic conflict and civic life: Hindus and Muslims in India*. New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, p.26.

13 Wilkinson, Steven I. 2004. *Votes and Violence: electoral competition and ethnic riots in India*. New York: Cambridge University Press.

14 Ibid. See also Oommen, T.K. 2004. Citizenship, social structure and culture: a comparative analysis. *Comparative Sociology*, 3, 301-319.

15 The RSS was founded in 1925 and devoted to regenerating Hindu society. It is a central organization in the Hindu nationalist movement collectively known as the Sangh Parivar (family of organizations). For more information on the RSS see: Andersen, Walter K., Damle, Shridhar D. (1987). *The Brotherhood in Saffron: the Rashtriya Swayamsevak Sangh and Hindu revivalism*. Boulder, CO: Westview Press.

Interestingly, the approximately 74.6 million STs do not fit a convenient religious classification. The Census of India categorizes STs and SCs as “Hindu.” However a significant number of STs view their religion as unique tribal practices that might be more accurately classified as animist. A minority - perhaps as high as 25% in some regions - identify with other religious faiths, like Christianity. RSS members argue that Christians have forced conversions amongst ST and SC populations with the promise of food and other aid. The Catholic Church and many other Christian bodies argue that, indeed, they provide social services, food and other assistance to needy Indian communities, of which the STs and SCs are significant recipients, but do so as an outreach of their faith rather than to gain converts.

Christianity is said to have arrived in India early in the Common Era with St. Thomas (around the year 52). Christians now comprise the third largest religious group in India with roughly 2.3 % of the total population, or 23 million people. Approximately 70% of the Christian population is Catholic. Catholicism spread with the arrival of Portuguese missionaries in the 15th century, and with European colonial expansion. In the 18th and 19th centuries the Catholic Church had a marked emphasis on missions and conversion. This emphasis changed in the 20th century with Vatican II. Over the past half-century, the Church's emphasis on the worth of all humans and meeting the needs of the poorest of the poor won particular support amongst the marginalized ST and SC groups. Contemporary critics, who view Christianity as an external religion and threat to India, do not distinguish between different denominations, and suspect the Catholic Church of forced conversions. There are Christian groups who proselytize in India. The Catholic Church is conscious of the criticism and emphasizes social outreach as its mission and an end in itself rather than a vehicle for gaining members.

Catholic institutions were affected by a rise in violence in the 1990s. Between January 1998 and February 1999 116 violent incidents against Christians were reported.<sup>16</sup> There is a general scarcity of empirical research on the attacks, which includes the rates of violence that affect campuses.<sup>17</sup> However, violence against Christians occurred in a time of rising violence against other marginalized groups.<sup>18</sup> It is argued that attacks against minorities intensified

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16 Human Rights Watch. 1999. *India, politics by other means: Attacks against Christians in India*. New York, NY: Human Rights Watch. Available at: <http://www.hrw.org/reports/1999/indiachr/>. [Accessed April 10, 2005].

17 There are a few, limited studies that focus on gender-related violence in schools. See for example, Patel, V. & G. Andrew. 2001. Gender, Sexual Abuse, and Risk Behaviours in Adolescents: A Cross-sectional Survey in Schools in Goa. *The National Medical Journal of India* 14(5):263-267. Or, Wellesley Centers for Research on Women & DTS. 2003. *Unsafe Schools: a literature review of school-related gender-based violence in developing countries*. Washington, DC: USAID. Available at: [http://www.usaid.gov/our\\_work/cross-cutting\\_programs/wid/pubs/unsafe\\_schools\\_literature\\_review.pdf](http://www.usaid.gov/our_work/cross-cutting_programs/wid/pubs/unsafe_schools_literature_review.pdf) [Accessed Aug. 25, 2005].

18 Human Rights Watch. 1999. *India, politics by other means: Attacks against Christians in India*. New York, NY: Human Rights Watch. Bureau of Democracy, Human Rights and Labour. 2004. *India: International religious freedom report 2004*. Washington, DC: U.S. Department of State. Available at: <http://www.state.gov/g/drl/rls/irf/2004/35516.htm> [Accessed April 10, 2005].





with the election of the Bharatiya Janata Party (BJP) in 1998, and were accompanied by an emphasis on *Hindutva* - the politicized and exclusionist interpretation of Hinduism - as well as concern over securing future political votes for Hindu-nationalist candidates. BJP supporters have blamed the violence on Christian conversion campaigns.

In the late 1990s there were significant violent incidents in three of the four focus states in this research: Madhya Pradesh, Orissa and Andhra Pradesh. It is interesting to note that all three states also had anti-conversion laws in place. The incidents included two very high-profile cases: the burning of an Australian missionary and his two sons in Orissa in 1999; and the gang rape of four nuns in Jhabua, Madhya Pradesh in 1998. Over time, incidents have continued to occur. Two of the institutions studied in this research experienced attacks in the year preceding the study. Today there is hope that this pattern is changing given the 2004 elections and the United Progressive Alliance's pledge of a return to secular government and tolerance.

### **India Context: Educational Needs in Tribal Areas**

India ranks quite low on the Human Development Index (HDI) - 127th out of 177 countries in 2004 - based on overall life expectancy, school enrollment, literacy and standard of living.<sup>19</sup> Literacy, a basic human asset that can enhance a person's, and his or her communities' ability to achieve secure and sustainable livelihoods over time, is severely lacking in tribal areas of India. Elementary education was recognized as a fundamental right for children in India in 1950, but has not been achieved in practice.<sup>20</sup> According to the 2001 Census of India the overall literacy rate was 65%, with the male literacy rate at 74.5% and the female rate at 54%. The national average camouflaged great inequities. For example, the average ST literacy rate was 40% for males and a dismal 18% for females. A large study of education in India found that "discrimination against underprivileged groups is endemic, in several forms."<sup>21</sup> Forms of discrimination included limited accessibility to high quality education, poorer facilities, and unequal treatment in the classroom.

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19 See the Human Development Report 2004. Available at: <http://hdr.undp.org/statistics/data/> [Accessed May 14, 2005].

20 India contains approximately 17% of the world's population and about 40% of its illiterate population. For further information see the Country Profile 2004: India. The Economist Intelligence Unit: London, UK.

21 The Probe Team (1999) *Public Report on Basic Education in India*. New Delhi, India: Oxford University Press, p. 49.

Tribal children's access to education has been hindered by a number of factors.<sup>22</sup> One challenge has been geographic. Many of the small, scattered and remote tribal villages and hamlets are frequently inaccessible by vehicle. A second challenge has been language of instruction. State languages rather than tribal languages have been used in pedagogical materials and practices, creating a mismatch in language and curriculum for students. Teacher absenteeism presents a third, persistent problem, and is suggested to be the result of the remote village locations coupled with an inadequate system of accountability.<sup>23</sup> A fourth factor has been the family's reliance on its children for their contributions to household chores or paid labor.<sup>24</sup> All four factors have contributed to low enrollment and poor retention of ST children in schools.

Residential schools were established to address some of these persistent problems in tribal areas. Residences provide children the opportunity to access education by offering room and board at a location near a school, as well as a study environment and regular teachers. There are both government-sponsored and private residential facilities in tribal areas as well as public and private schools. A basic education study in India found that approved private schools paid more attention to Class-1 children, placed more emphasis on order and discipline, provided more frequent English-medium instruction, maintained higher student attendance and retention rates, and facilitated more teacher-parent interaction.<sup>25</sup> The government and private schools affiliated with the four residential institutions examined in this research all maintained high student and teacher attendance.

## **CRS Development Programming in India**

CRS began operating in India in 1946 with a donation of wheat for vulnerable people in the Bombay area. It then expanded food support to include Mother Teresa's first homes in Calcutta, and refugees in Bombay and West Bengal.<sup>26</sup> By 1957, CRS supported 900 schools and health clinics in India via a variety of child and institutional feeding programs.

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22 Tribal education problems are a microcosm of larger educational problems in India. For an overview, see The Probe Team (1999) *Public Report on Basic Education in India*. New Delhi, India: Oxford University Press.

23 Twenty-five percent of teachers were absent from school, and only about half were teaching, during unannounced visits to a nationally representative sample of government primary schools in India (Absence rates were up to 42 percent in Jharkhand with higher rates concentrated in the poorer states). For further information, see Nazmul Chaudhury, Jeffrey S. Hammer, Michael Kremer, Karthik Muralidharan, and Halsey Rogers, (2004) *Teacher Absence in India: A Snapshot*. Washington DC: World Bank.

24 It was evident in this research project that there was more parental resistance to education in areas where the children were first-generation learners than in areas where the children were second- or third-generation learners.

25 The Probe Team (1999) *Public Report on Basic Education in India*. New Delhi, India: Oxford University Press, pp. 102 - 106.

26 For further information see the Annual Public Summary of Activities for Catholic Relief Services' India Program (2004).

CRS/India now has twelve State Offices, with approximately 175 staff who oversee programs in education, health, agriculture, humanitarian assistance, microfinance, disaster management, HIV/AIDS, child labor and peacebuilding. CRS works primarily through a civil society network of more than 2,500 local partners that connect people representing the country's diverse faiths, including Hinduism, Islam, Christianity, Buddhism, Jainism, and Sikhism. As CRS' Mission Statement articulates, CRS assists persons on the basis of need, not creed, race or nationality.<sup>27</sup> The bulk of participants involved in CRS' programs are from marginalized caste or tribal groups who live in highly food-insecure districts. In 2004, the total CRS India program value equaled \$32 million, of which approximately \$20 million was Title II food-aid commodities (49,688 metric tons).

**The Catholic Church as Partner.** CRS works with the Catholic Church as a major partner in development work in India. The Catholic Church's network of social service providers is large, and second in size only to the Indian government's. The social service wing of the Catholic Church engages in development activities in the areas of child labor, HIV/AIDS, child and maternal health, community-based disaster preparedness and response, women's empowerment and Self-Help Groups (SHGs), and education.<sup>28</sup> These activities are designed and managed by a network of distinct Social Service Societies established across the country.

For well over a century, the Catholic Church in India has sought to meet basic health and education needs in India. The Church's networks have therefore established an extensive infrastructure in India around these two areas.<sup>29</sup> For example, the Catholic Church operates 787 hospitals, 2807 dispensaries, three medical colleges and a myriad of village-level health services in India.<sup>30</sup> Similarly, the Catholic Church runs 7319 primary schools, 3765 secondary schools and 240 colleges in India. In the year 2000 these schools reached approximately three million students at the primary level and almost two million students at the secondary level (Catholic Directory of India, 2000 Edition). This vast network of social institutions has provided the Church with unparalleled leverage to tackle some of India's most perplexing problems, such as illiteracy of scheduled castes and tribes. The empowerment of these marginalized groups, however, has threatened numerous vested interests which in turn now view the Church with suspicion.

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27 Catholic Relief Services. nd. Mission Statement. CRS: Baltimore, MD. Available at: [http://www.crs.org/about\\_us/who\\_we\\_are/mission.cfm](http://www.crs.org/about_us/who_we_are/mission.cfm) [Accessed Aug. 25, 2005].

28 The Social Service Societies support a wide network of approximately 3,000 SHGs, representing more than 45,000 families. These groups are comprised of 10 to 15 women who contribute to a common loan fund, similar to the Grameen bank model.

29 For a summary of the history of and activities of the Catholic Church in education see: Indian Catholic. 2004. *Church and education*. Indian Catholic: News Site of the Catholic Bishops' Conference of India. Available at: <http://www.theindiancatholic.com/education.asp> [Accessed Feb. 2, 2005].

30 Such as leprosy relief and rehabilitation units, centers for disabled persons, hospices and care units for the HIV infected.

**Two Types of Development Programming: Food Assisted Education and Peacebuilding.** This research centers on two previously distinct areas of CRS India programming: education and peacebuilding. These sectors also formed in different periods of time and possessed unique goals. The vision for CRS/India's education program has been to work with partners to increase access to quality, basic education for the most marginalized. In 1995 CRS focused its food-assisted education programs on the primary level. Programs sought to improve the quality of education, promote community participation, and develop linkages between schools and communities and between CRS-supported institutions and other education-related institutions.<sup>31</sup> These objectives predated a more refined programmatic approach to peacebuilding. In 2003, CRS support was coordinated by 63 partners and reached 350,000 children in primary and pre-primary schools. This included 44 outreach transitional schooling programs that were designed to reduce child labor. Eighty-six percent of the children receiving food as part of the education program, either in the form of school meals or take-home rations, belonged to the marginalized STs and SCs.

One component of CRS' food-assisted education programs has been the provision of support to residential institutions. These institutions, as noted above, give children access to schooling where there would otherwise be an inadequate infrastructure.<sup>32</sup> The children in the residential programs represent the most disadvantaged populations in India, and are typically first-generation learners whose parents are not literate. The residential institutions that CRS

supports are linked to either a school on campus or a nearby government school. The four residential institutions featured in this comparative research were operated by Catholic Church partners and utilized a combination of government and private schools for primary and secondary levels of study. As of 2004, CRS supported nearly 1,700 residential institutions. The majority of these institutions were located in tribal areas.

*“Peacebuilding became a strategic priority for CRS”*

Food-assisted education programs were developed as part of a strategy to enhance a community's ability to achieve long-term food security. Food is used as an incentive to attract children and youth, as well as parents and other community members, to support education

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31 Improving the quality of education included introducing more child-centered and activity based pedagogical methods and a stronger commitment to education for girls and other vulnerable community groups.

32 For CRS, these programs are known as Other Child Feeding (OCF) programs.

programs. It has long been established that formal schooling provides individuals with the opportunity to gain the necessary skills and knowledge to further human capital and social development. Studies have shown that food-assisted education programs enhance attendance and retention of the children in schools, especially those from the marginalized sections of the society like STs and SCs, and, notably, the girls.<sup>33</sup>

Peacebuilding became a strategic priority for CRS as an agency in 2001. Its evolution was informed by the larger awareness of the impact of aid on conflict, as well as a re-valuing of guiding principles rooted in Catholic Social Teaching, and an accompanying focus on justice and peace. Since 2001, peacebuilding has flourished in stand-alone activities as well as activities integrated into other sector relief and development programs.<sup>34</sup> CRS uses the term peacebuilding broadly to refer to activities that help prevent or mitigate violent conflict as well as promote recovery. CRS defines the purpose of peacebuilding as “a process that aims to: change unjust structures through right-relationships; transform the way people, communities and societies live, heal and structure their relationships to promote justice and peace; [and] create a space in which mutual trust, respect and interdependence is fostered.”<sup>35</sup>



33 Laxmaiah, A. (1999). Impact of mid day meal program on educational and nutritional status of school children. *Indian Pediatrics*, 36: 1221-1228.

34 For more information on the CRS strategy and CRS' approach to peacebuilding see [www.catholicrelief.org](http://www.catholicrelief.org). See also Cilliers, Jaco, Gulick, Robin and Kinghorn, Meg. 2003. Words create worlds: articulating a vision for peacebuilding in Catholic Relief Services. In Cynthia Sampson, Mohammed Abu-Nimer, Claudia Liebler and Diana Whitney (Eds.) *Positive Approaches to Peacebuilding: a resource for innovators*. Washington, DC: PACT Publications.

35 “Peacebuilding: Statement of Purpose” (2001) Baltimore, MD: Catholic Relief Services.



For CRS/India, the central goal of peacebuilding has been to bring people together across social, political, ethnic and religious divisions. CRS/India has engaged in stand-alone peacebuilding programming in places like Gujarat and the Northeast to promote reconciliation and social harmony. It has also integrated dimensions of peacebuilding into women's SHGs and emergency response through applying “Do No Harm” principles.<sup>36</sup> A number of partners with whom CRS works have independently integrated elements of peacebuilding into their education programs. This research examined programs that some of these advanced partners had developed to identify practices that might be utilized in other schools to improve the peacebuilding and social impact of food-assisted education programming.

Education programming is one component that contributes to improving long-term food security in a community. However, as noted, violent conflict often exacerbates local problems and undermines development achievements in communities that are already at risk. This research explores the question: *how can food-assisted education programs positively address local conflict as part of their programming?* In doing so, it combines the CRS peacebuilding approach, with its focus on transforming unjust structures and relationships, with the more traditional food security lens, and contributes to our understanding of successful IHD strategies.

***“Peacebuilding for CRS is a process that aims to change unjust structures through right relationships”***

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<sup>36</sup> Based on Anderson, Mary B. 1999. *Do no harm: Supporting capacities for peace through aid*. Boulder, CO: Lynne Reinner Publishers.





### III.

## Research Methodology: A Cooperative, Comparative Case Study

A cooperative, comparative case study approach was utilized to identify ways that food-assisted residential programs also positively address local conflicts. Cooperative inquiry refers to research “with” rather than “on” people.<sup>37</sup> This means that individuals who are usually considered research subjects participate in the planning, data collection and analysis phases. This investigation utilized a team of researchers who represented the residential institutions being studied as well as CRS staff from India and the United States to explore the research question. The research sought to:

- Identify lessons for effective integrated peacebuilding and food-assisted education programming;
- Deepen the analysis of integration that is occurring, but which has only been captured anecdotally;
- Document key factors and inputs;
- Provide an opportunity for skills transfer and linkages between programs, staff and partners in the research process.

The case study methodology was used to permit examination of processes and programs within their complex, real-life contexts.<sup>38</sup> The comparative approach allowed each of the four cases to be explored in detail, and enabled a comparison of practices across the cases to identify common programming ideas, challenges and opportunities.<sup>39</sup> The case study sites were selected to allow a focused comparison of programs in tribal areas in order to generate an initial set of field-based practices that may be applicable across multiple settings.

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37 Heron, John & Peter Reason (2001) “The Practice of Co-operative Inquiry: Research 'with' rather than 'on' People.” In P. Reason & H. Bradbury (Eds) *Handbook of Action Research: Participatory Inquiry and Practise*. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage Publications.

38 Yin, Robert K. 1994. *Case study research: Design and methods*. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.

39 The focused case comparison method draws on George, Alexander L. 1979. Case studies and theory development: The method of structured, focused comparison. In *Diplomacy: New approaches in history, theory and policy*, ed. Paul Gordon Lauren: 43-68. New York, NY: The Free Press.

The research process had three distinct phases: research design, data collection and analysis. Two consultations were held in the design phase in order to define the parameters of the research and solicit input from CRS staff and local partners. The data collection phase occurred over a two-and-a-half week period. It began with a meeting of the full research team and review of the research design and tools (discussed further below). Each of the four site visits were three days long, and included team field meetings at the end of each day in order to review significant information and trends. The analysis phase began at the conclusion of the site visits. The two research team leaders brought each sub-team's analysis together, synthesizing and refining it and producing an initial report, which team members reviewed.

## **Case Selection**

Four residential institutions were selected for the case study. The residential institutions were selected as exemplars of programs located in the states of Andhra Pradesh, Jarkhand, Madhya Pradesh and Orissa. Approximately 50 percent of CRS-supported residential institutions are located in these four states, with: 341 residential units in Andhra Pradesh, 209 in Jharkhand, 111 in Madhya Pradesh, and 163 in Orissa. They are also states with significant tribal populations, and the majority of residential institutions CRS supports are located in the tribal areas of these states. Initially, two other research sites were also selected (Gujarat and the North East) but were not included in the data collection phase due to monsoon flooding.

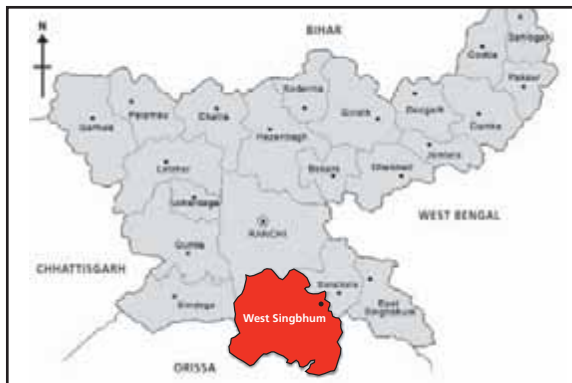
The four institutions were selected to represent a range of variables. These included the length of time the residence has been operational, the intensity of the conflict context, the size of the institution, and the degree to which the residential programs was linked to the government education system (see Box 5. Comparison of Hostel Institutions). Two of the residential campuses provided classes on campus, and sent students to attend a nearby government school for some levels of instruction. One campus had a significantly higher number of residential students because there were fewer education alternatives in the area.

### Box 5 – Comparison of Hostel Institutions

|                                             | St. Xavier | Deogarh | Datigaon       | LITDS<br>(Loyola Integrated Tribal Development Society) |
|---------------------------------------------|------------|---------|----------------|---------------------------------------------------------|
| State                                       | Jharkhand  | Orissa  | Madhya Pradesh | Andhra Pradesh                                          |
| Year established                            | 1953       | 1992    | 1986           | 1993                                                    |
| Residential students                        | 319        | 283     | 325            | 520                                                     |
| Classes taught on residential campus        | 1 - 10     | 1 - 6   | 1 - 3          | 6 - 10                                                  |
| Classes taught at nearby government schools | None       | None    | 4 - 10         | 1 - 5                                                   |
| Main tribal group                           | Ho         | Oriya   | Bhils          | Koya                                                    |
| Recent violence                             | No         | Yes     | Yes            | No                                                      |

The oldest institution, St. Xavier, was located in the state of Jharkhand and established in 1953 (see the shaded area on Box 6). St. Xavier provided a school for all class levels on campus, and utilized several government-paid teachers in addition to the Church-paid teachers. The newest institution, the Loyola Integrated Tribal Development Society (LITDS) was located near Bhadrachalam in the state of Andhra Pradesh and established in 1993 (see shaded area on Box 7). LITDS provided a series of social services - such as a mobile health clinic, and a bridge-course camp - and supported a network of women's SHGs. Students attended the government school for the lower-level classes and the higher-level classes were taught on campus. LITDS paid for some of the teachers who were employed at the government school.

**Box 6 –  
Map of Jharkhand (St. Xavier)**



**Box 7 –  
Map of Andhra Pradesh (LITDS)**





Two institutions were diocesan-based. Deogarh came under the aegis of the Sambalpur Social Service Society based at Jharsuguda town, District Deogarh and was established in 1992. Datigaon (Madhya Pradesh) was established in 1986 under the Jhabua Diocese. Both of the latter institutions were located in areas where there was recent social and political tension and periodic violence (see shaded areas on Boxes 8 and 9 respectively). In Deogarh all students attended classes on campus (levels 1-6). At Datigaon, a school for levels one to three had just been established, and children attended nearby government schools for levels four through ten.

**Box 8 –  
Map of Orissa (Deogarh)**



**Box 9 –  
Map of Madhya Pradesh (Datigaon)**



The institutions were similar in that they were all located in low-literacy, food-insecure tribal areas and students were predominantly tribal. Catholic social service partners also ran all four residential institutions. The cases focused on tribal areas and therefore did not represent the full range of caste conflicts frequently found in India. This delimitation was made in order to make the cases more comparable and to focus on the areas where the majority of CRS-supported residential programs are located.

## **Research Team**

The research was conducted by a combination of CRS staff with research experience and local partners, in order to benefit from a combination of internal program knowledge and external analysis. The insider knowledge enhanced the research team's ability to understand the community context and conflicts, as well as the range of interventions implemented within a residential program. Local partners also provided informed insights into the analysis of sister-institutions in comparative settings. The outsider perspective brought an external

lens to assess the peacebuilding dimensions of residential institution programming, raised challenging new questions for partners, and facilitated the comparative research process.

The research team consisted of ten people. The team included four representatives of the residential institutions being studied, four members of CRS/India's national staff and two members of the CRS Program Quality Support Department (PQSD), based in Baltimore, Maryland. The four partner-institution representatives were teachers and administrators. The CRS/India staff consisted of two senior staff and two program managers, all of whom had research experience. The PQSD Technical Advisors for Education and Peacebuilding led the research team as researchers who were external to the country program. The research team was divided into two balanced sub-teams for data collection, with each sub-team visiting only two of the four research sites.

## **Data Collection**

Each case study site visit was an intensive three days. Data collection was primarily conducted through focus group discussions (FGDs), individual interviews, and observation. The sampling was “stratified purposeful” in order to identify and gather information from the main sub-groups and stakeholders involved in the residential institutions and communities.<sup>40</sup> In the cases where there were significant community tensions, sampling was also guided by “politically important case” criteria.<sup>41</sup> This meant that groups in the community that were important to consult for the overall well-being of the program were interviewed, and in one instance a sub-group was not interviewed because of their desire to remain at a distance from the residential institution. Interview decisions were made by the research team and guided by the local partner. The sub-groups interviewed by the research team were: current residential students, former residential students, parents of residential students, local parents of non-residential students, community members, government representatives, the residential institution's principal or director, school teachers (government and private), and hostel wardens. For a full list of interviewees please see the Appendix.

During the site visits, the sub-teams divided up to conduct simultaneous focus group discussions or individual interviews, with no more than three researchers participating in any one meeting. One member was always assigned to take notes, another to lead the discussion and if there was a third, to take observational notes. Interview protocols were designed for

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<sup>40</sup> Miles, M.B. and A.M. Huberman. 1994. *Qualitative data analysis: A sourcebook of new methods*. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage, p.28. Reprinted in Cresswell, John W. 1998. *Qualitative inquiry and research design: Choosing among five traditions*. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.

<sup>41</sup> Ibid.

each sub-group.<sup>42</sup> Interviews occurred in the language the interviewees were most comfortable conversing in, whether the local dialect, the state language or English. In total, the research teams met with 425 people across the four sites. Members of the research team also toured the residential and teaching facilities and larger campus, and observed residential life in the time between interviews and FGDs.

## **Research Limitations**

This research project was exploratory and descriptive in nature, rather than prescriptive or designed to measure a precise impact. The research tried to gather a substantial amount of information from a complex situation in a short period of time in order to distill common patterns and activities across the four cases. While the research team met with a considerable number of representatives from each community and gathered substantial primary data, there were several limitations in the site visits that should be noted in order to keep the research results in context.

Three main limitations arose. First, each site visit was intensive but brief, which meant that considerable amounts of information were gathered but there was restricted time for participant observation or for other methods of data triangulation. The team therefore relied heavily on the research team member with local knowledge for contextual and historical information. To reduce this bias, the team sought external opinions where possible after the field research was complete. Secondly, the sampling procedures were somewhat uneven across the four cases and contained an inherent bias towards individuals affiliated with the residential institutions. Again, to reduce the bias, external opinions were sought following the research. Some of the focus groups were also larger in size than was ideal for full participation in a FGD. Thirdly, at each site there were multiple languages used, and information was sometimes translated from a local tribal language into Hindi or Telugu, and then into English. Some interviews were conducted in one language and the note-taker simultaneously translated without requiring additional verbal translation; in some cases interviews occurred in English and did not require translation. The research team worked at resolving translation issues by comparing research notes regularly, and discussing the content of interviews daily to identify inconsistencies and clarify interview content.

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<sup>42</sup> Copies of the interview protocol are available upon request.



## IV.

### **Analysis: Integrative Peacebuilding in Residential Education**

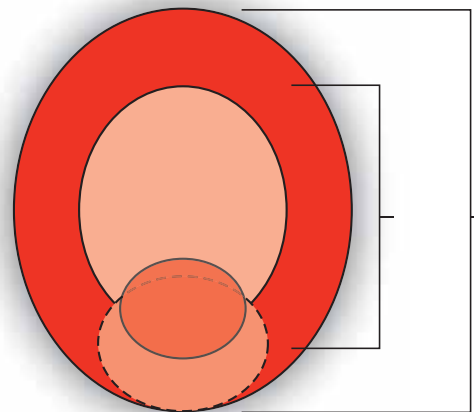
**A**s noted above, the level of violence targeted at minority groups, including Catholic institutions, has increased over the last decade in India. While CRS' Catholic partners have a long history of providing high-quality education in India they are not immune to the conflicts and violence. As institutions located within communities in conflict they are both affected by the conflict, and themselves affect the conflict dynamics. Sometimes, within these dynamics, the residential schools prove to be flashpoints for violence and at other times they provide relational bridges to work at conflict issues (as described above).

For CRS/India, the central goal of peacebuilding programming has been to bring people together across social, political, ethnic and religious divisions. CRS/India has supported stand-alone peacebuilding programming in places like Gujarat and the Northeast to promote reconciliation and social harmony. It has also integrated dimensions of peacebuilding, such as the “Do No Harm” principles, into other types of programming (e.g. women's SHGs and emergency response).<sup>43</sup> A number of partners with whom CRS works have taken it upon themselves to independently integrate elements of peacebuilding into their education programs. This research examined several food-assisted education programs that had developed some peacebuilding innovations on their own. The innovations primarily involved activities to build relationships across social divisions (explored further below). The cases were studied in order to identify practices that might be utilized in other residential institutions to improve the positive impacts of programming.

Two basic levels of social interaction were utilized to identify and analyze peacebuilding activities. These levels were: 1) relationships amongst members of the residential community (depicted in Box 10 as the child and school circles); and 2) relationships between members of the residential institution and members of the larger community (depicted as covering all four circles in Box 10). The larger community was understood to have two constituent parts, which were the community that the school was physically located in, as well as the more

distant communities that the children were from and in which their families lived. The analysis did not clearly differentiate between the two constituent parts of the community, and therefore both were referred to as the community. The two levels of societal interaction provided a useful heuristic device to initially separate, analyze and compare the information across cases, although the levels were not mutually exclusive in practice. The school effectively operated as a subsystem, connecting people within the school to larger social and political systems within the community.<sup>44</sup>

There were also two basic types of peacebuilding activities identified for analysis in the field settings. The first type of peacebuilding activity was defined as an action that brought people together to develop positive social relationships between individuals from otherwise divided social groups (referred to as relationship building in Box 11). The actions could be further separated into reactive or proactive, that is, the actions occurred either as a reaction to a conflict situation, or the actions proactively tried to prevent future conflict. The second type of peacebuilding activity was aimed at addressing underlying issues, particularly issues of structural violence or injustice, which were understood to fuel local conflict (referred to as structural change in Box 11). Structural violence has been defined as the limits or constraints placed on human potential by economic, political or social systems.<sup>45</sup> Activities geared to addressing structural issues could be further divided into two categories of either reactive or proactive actions.<sup>46</sup>



The following section examines the four cases utilizing the two levels of societal analysis (relations within the school's campus, and between members of the school and the community), and the two types of peacebuilding activities (relational change, structural change). The categories and dimensions of analysis are depicted in Box 11.

44 For further discussion of subsystems in conflict transformation see: Dugan, Maire. 1996. *A nested theory of conflict. Women in Leadership*. 1(1): 9-20. Lederach, John Paul. 1997. *Building Peace: Sustainable Reconciliation in Divided Societies*. Washington, DC: United States Institute of Peace.

45 See Galtung, Johan. 1969. Violence, peace and peace research. *Journal of Peace Research* 6, no. 3: 167-191. Galtung, Johan. 1985. Twenty-five years of peace research: Ten challenges and some responses. *Journal of Peace Research* 22, no. 2: 141-158.

46 The two levels of analysis correspond to the two levels of intervention identified by the collaborative Reflecting on Peace Practice Project: the individual personal level and the social and institutional level.

### Box 11 – Categories of Analysis for Peacebuilding Activities

| Peacebuilding Levels                                         | Relationship Building |           | Structural Change |           |
|--------------------------------------------------------------|-----------------------|-----------|-------------------|-----------|
|                                                              | Reactive              | Proactive | Reactive          | Proactive |
| <b>Level One:</b><br>On Campus                               |                       |           |                   |           |
| <b>Level Two:</b><br>Between the Campus<br>and the Community |                       |           |                   |           |

#### Level One: Peacebuilding on Campus

To identify the types of peacebuilding activities that occurred on campuses, it was useful to first recognize the range of conflict issues that concerned children, teachers, and headmasters. In all four cases there were numerous minor conflicts on campus. These conflicts involved such things as one child taking another child's school supplies or toys, or not doing chores appropriately. Minor conflicts were generally resolved amongst the students by themselves, or were periodically referred to a teacher or headmaster if the students felt like it required an intermediary. This type of peer conflict resolution generally occurred without much instruction or intervention by the hostel wardens or teachers. There were two examples of campuses that included more active problem-solving techniques into the weekly routine, and also operated more child-centered learning environments.<sup>47</sup> The conflicts that arose at this level were not reported to occur along more significant societal division lines, and therefore were not focused on in detail.

At each residential institution there were also more significant conflicts that reflected larger societal divisions, but within the confines of - and the regular operations of - the institution. For example, one conflict involved a land-dispute bubbling over into a classroom disagreement between students. Another conflict involved a covert and disapproved-of

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<sup>47</sup> Interestingly, a comparison across the cases indicated that campuses that utilized more child-centered learning techniques also incorporated more proactive and communal approaches to resolving conflicts on the campus. For example, the administration and teachers at one institution employed a collaborative weekly review process. In the review sessions students and teachers sat together, discussed the week and problems that had arisen, and developed potential solutions. The children were also updated on challenges that the school faced, such as temporary food shortages or efforts to get regular electricity to the area, and often provided unsolicited support for solutions. The children at another institution were able to provide regular written comments to evaluate their teachers' performance. The comments were utilized as a way of identifying problems and potentially prevent conflicts. In both of these cases, the children were also more engaged with the research team members and asked numerous questions.



male-female relationship between two students of different castes. Another example of a conflict that involved economic and social gaps was tensions at a school between those who received or did not receive school lunches on campus. These more significant conflicts highlighted a greater difference in the approaches that the administration in each institution employed in dealing with conflicts, and the techniques they modeled for students.

The responses to these conflicts typically involved an attempt to restore the relationships on campus, and therefore were classified as the first type of peacebuilding activity (relationship building). There were both reactive and proactive relationship-building activities. An example of a reactive relational response was that, in an attempt to restore the student-student relationship that was fractured by the land dispute, the teachers began to regularly alter the seating pattern so children would sit beside, and get to know, all of their classmates.<sup>48</sup> Successful relationship building may have occurred on campus, but it did not necessarily address larger societal divisions, or addressed some divisions but negatively contributed to others. For example, in one situation - the illicit relationship between a boy and a girl of different castes - the administrator's solution was to reduce the number of older girls in the residence, and only accept those who, along with their parents, signed a particular agreement. This action actually reproduced a social, male-female division in a new admissions policy, although it was undertaken to respond to a tense situation, and to prevent the surrounding community from viewing the campus negatively.

One area of proactive relationship building was building awareness of and respect towards people of various faiths on campus. This was particularly present in one of the newer schools. At this school there was a very conscious effort to ensure that the various faith traditions that the students grew up in were present and respected in services on campus. The respect that was fostered was evident in various dimensions of life on campus. The respect emerged in student's work as well as in their attitudes during interviews. For example, in one play written by students, a succession of actors recognized the various practices of worshipping God in Christianity, Islam, Hinduism, as well as the local Tribal faith tradition. The play concluded with an actor dressed as Mahatma Gandhi walking offstage to symbolize India's unity in diversity.

### **Box 12 – Sample Relationship-building Activities on Campus**

- Rotating seating plans;
- Eating, playing and living together;
- Active, joint problem solving;
- Faith traditions and tribal customs of students incorporated into campus life.

<sup>48</sup> There were differences of opinion amongst interviewees on whether or not these classroom efforts were actually successful.

Efforts to achieve structural changes and address root causes of conflict, or structural violence, were more difficult to pinpoint on campus. In general, structural change outcomes were linked to the broader goals of education for ST and SC children. This was typically the goal of enhancing students' - and as a result, communities' - capacities to build their basic human and social assets as a building block for acquiring financial, physical and political assets for a secure livelihood.<sup>49</sup> Gender and tribal/caste inequities were two basic structural and systemic barriers that affected the residential children's lives and ability to achieve these outcomes outside of the campus.

There were numerous examples at three institutions - in contrast to the one noted above - of active promotion of gender equity on campus, which inherently contributed to building female student's human and social assets. For example, one school that prioritized gender parity made special efforts to recruit and retain girls. If a parent wanted to send a boy to school, the Sister running admissions would also make it a condition that a sister had to be allowed to attend. Or, the principal would make a point of asking parents where their daughters were if they were absent for a few days in a row. The parents and daughters reported these efforts were effective. The female hostel students at this institution also spoke freely and with confidence, actions, which supported their self-reports of change.

There were significant efforts to bridge sub-tribal and caste divisions on campus. Children ate together and played together regardless of tribal or caste affiliation at all four campuses. These activities could be classified as both relationship building, as well as geared towards structural change, because they crossed significant socio-economic barriers in India. While the majority of students were STs, there were some children from various castes on any of the four campuses. Teachers and students reported there was no caste differentiation on all four campuses. On one campus, 40 children from a colony of people separated because of leprosy were also fully integrated into campus life, crossing a social health barrier. Teachers and students on the four campuses attributed the absence of social stigmatization around caste largely to the moral values education component of life on the campus.<sup>50</sup> They also cited the general operational structures of the residences and expectations of the school leaders, such as one school's motto 'love your neighbor as yourself.'

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49 The six assets identified in the IHD framework (presented above) are: 1) spiritual and human; 2) social; 3) political; 4) financial; 5) physical; and 6) natural.

50 The moral values curriculum was not studied in detail for this study. Moral values curriculum was, however, repeatedly cited by interviewees on all four campuses as playing an important component in helping to alter individual's perceptions of socio-economic class divisions.

It was important to note that a group of former students from one of the residential institutions commented that they had some difficulties adjusting to life at a subsequent higher-level school because of some degree of social stigma. For example, students no longer felt as free to engage in tribal dances at the school or share dimensions of their tribal culture. This example indicated that the institutions played a role in increasing the self-esteem and confidence of students (human and social assets). However, the larger systemic barriers outside the campus were more difficult to breach in that they produced a decrease in confidence and negatively affected the degree to which the students saw their culture as a social asset.

The combined effects of relationship building was significant in the context of India, where caste, tribal and gender distinctions continue to negatively affect the quality of life for many. It is important to note that the presence of relationship-building activities - and even structural change work that focused only internally on life within the residential campus - did not prevent externally-driven violence from affecting the school. The first incident noted at the start of this paper highlighted that good work occurring inside campus walls did not automatically translate into positive relations outside of the campus walls. This required analysis at the second level.

## **Level Two: Peacebuilding Between the Campus and Community**

The research team looked to identify and understand how residential institutions pursued relational and structural peacebuilding outcomes with the larger community. As noted above, the community was sub-divided into two components: the community in which the residential institution was situated, and the communities that children came from, which were from five to fifteen kilometers distant from the residential institution. The most dramatic communal



conflicts that impacted the relationship between campus and community were the two incidents noted at the start of this paper, which involved a nexus of political and religious divisions. Interviewees also spoke of conflicts in the community over land, dowries, and domestic violence. Across the four cases, there were some good examples of relationship building between the campus and community, an

### **Box 13 – Regular Activities that Connected Campus and Community**

- Joint celebration of tribal feasts and festivals;
- Weekly or bi-weekly visits by parents to campus;
- Informal discussions amongst students about home when they were at school and vice versa when they were at home;
- Hiring of Tribal teachers and wardens.

intriguing example of failed relationship building, and a smaller number of activities aimed at structural change. These examples are explored below.

There were a number of examples of more proactive measures that campuses undertook to build relationships across the social divides affecting regular campus activities. These activities tended to focus on the parents, since they were integrally linked to the campus. Residential institutions established a number of ways and times for parents and children to meet

- on campus on the weekends, in one case during the weekly market nearby, during festival times and so forth. These efforts were undertaken to ensure the bonds between parents and children remained intact, as well as to break down any misperceptions that Hindu or animist parents might have towards the Catholic-run campuses.

The residential institutions utilized a variety of techniques and activities to bring community life onto the campus or to interact with the wider community off-campus - all of which were geared towards building up relationships between the school and community. There were common activities in all four cases, including tribal celebrations, parental visits and the hiring of staff from the broader community (see Box 13).<sup>51</sup> These were generally a mix of reactive and proactive activities - that is, activities that occurred in reaction and immediate response to the conflict, or activities that anticipated and sought to prevent future conflict. An example of a reactive activity was that in three of the cases, children from the community came to the residential campus to play or study as day-scholars. A more proactive activity was that in three cases schools had management or education committees that involved parents in decision-making. One institution had an alumni association for community outreach activities. In two cases, staff from the residential institutions also proactively reached out to a much broader community and supported networks of women's

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51 There were differences between the campuses and the degree to which the cultural programs reflected an integration of tribal culture into the schools. In one case the principal suggested there was no real integration. In another case the principal and warden-teachers worked very diligently to bring the tribal culture onto the campus. For example, classes utilized local vegetation and resources for course content. There was also a transitional language period at this campus, to assist new students in adjusting to the state-language study medium. The latter transitional language curriculum was particularly unique across the cases although all four schools ensured that the teachers for the first two class levels could speak the tribal language.

SHGs. One institution also provided a mobile health clinic, and supported two community networks (NGOs and youth groups).

An excellent example of proactive relationship building, which also included activities geared to address structural problems in the region, occurred in an area where the school and residence were relatively new, and the local population was overwhelmingly illiterate.<sup>52</sup> Relationship building was a key foundation the institution was built upon. The Father who headed the institution first got to know the community and their needs through extensive visits to villages throughout the area. The nascent institution then reached out to the community in a variety of ways to meet the community needs, beginning with a mobile health clinic. The residence and school followed. Once the school was established, children presented dramas at the local markets to raise awareness on a variety of subjects, including health and education themes. These activities fostered relationships with parents and the broader community, and built-up support for children's education and the institution. Over time, the number of children who ran away to attend school decreased, as did the number of parents who came to campus to retrieve children. The institution intentionally established a flexible attendance policy for children so they could return home for brief periods of time, and return to school without penalty; the administrators also ensured school breaks occurred around significant celebrations in home communities.<sup>53</sup>

The larger community that schools related to included government institutions. The local government provided schools with textbooks, and in some cases there was an exchange of teaching staff; in two cases, government teachers worked in private schools and in one case, private teachers worked in government schools. In three cases, the interactions tended to be reactive to the institution's education needs, such as providing textbooks. In two of these three cases, the residential schools resisted working with the government to some degree because they were concerned about the quality of the school's education programs and the time and effort it would require to interact with government.<sup>54</sup> In the fourth case, the institution proactively worked with government to achieve structural changes for the school and community, and regularly invited government officials to visit the campus and interact with students (discussed below).

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52 Some of the problems addressed here were also seen as key issues for the Naxalites, a small, armed revolutionary movement which began to fight for Communist principles in Andhra Pradesh in 1968.

53 Interestingly, the head of the this multi-pronged institution lamented that boarding schools were the only format of education that currently worked in the region given schools were difficult for children to get to, teachers were often absent, and home environments did not support studying (e.g. lacked electricity). He hoped that the region would be able to transition to having good local schools so children could live at home with their family, be able to study, and receive a quality education.

54 In one case, government officials approached the Diocese and requested that they become members of the management board. The Diocese refused because they were concerned that government involvement would dilute the quality of education and make them spend money in areas that were not prioritized.



There were examples of students taking their lessons back home to the household and village, an action that had a relationship-building element and a minor structural change dimension. These examples were noted because interviewees mentioned school attendance sometimes generated low-level conflict at home or in the village between former friends.<sup>55</sup> Positive relationship-building activities cited included school children teaching parents and other village children how to write their names, letters and numbers. There were also several examples of students or adults mentioning that parents were no longer taken advantage of in financial transactions with middlemen for goods or labor because they could now do math (e.g. multiply wages by days worked). Fewer tensions were reported between students and peers in villages where students were now second- and third-generation learners.<sup>56</sup>



Sometimes the schools engaged in community-level education projects and activities, which provided opportunities to build relationships between members of the residential institution and the larger communities. For example, students at one institution were given saplings to plant and maintain in their villages. The care for the saplings, and their impact on the environment, was reinforced with street plays. Community members reported that this type of engagement helped reduce caste differences in the village, and parents visited each other's homes now, although they did not eat together. The students at another institution regularly performed dramas in the marketplace, highlighting important messages about education, child labor, and health.<sup>57</sup> Teachers visited student's homes in three of the cases, and students occasionally participated in state and national competitions.

During the research, a very pronounced example of a failed, proactive relationship-building effort between a residential institution and community came to light and provided an

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<sup>55</sup> In some cases old friends would not play or interact with their more educated peers when they returned, or vice versa. In some cases there were familial conflicts, when the parents wanted their child to help bring income or wanted them to help plough and the student had become reluctant to do traditional work like feeding the cattle or ploughing.

<sup>56</sup> It also appeared that some labor responsibilities had shifted to older family members in these areas.

<sup>57</sup> Two institutions had troupes that performed dramas in villages to raise awareness on particular issues, although only one of these institutions performed regularly at the market.



excellent point for learning. The Catholic Father who ran the boarding institution in a community that had a fairly high level of anti-Christian sentiment wanted to improve relations, and so bought some cows to supply free milk to the community as a goodwill gesture. Unfortunately, some community members viewed this gift suspiciously. They wondered about the motives, and in the conflict-charged environment, speculated that the priest was trying to convert them. Others in the community had their stereotype reinforced that the Catholic Church was a wealthy institution while they were poor. Four years after this failed attempt at relationship building, the institution was subjected to the attack detailed at the start of the paper. Community members did come to the campus after the attack to express sympathy and solidarity. Overall, this negative example clearly highlighted that relationship-building efforts required grounding in the external community, its needs, and very clear and transparent communication with the community, which was lacking in the case of the cow's milk distribution.

In two of the cases, there were negative attitudes towards the Catholic residential institutions and schools amongst interviewed community members, which indicated lack of positive relationship building. In the community where the failed milk distribution effort had occurred, there were still opinions that the Catholic Church had a lot of money - a perception based largely on the nice school building on the campus rather than its financial situation. In two locations, community members also voiced suspicions that conversions might be occurring at the residential institutions. The institutions had not taken active measures to diminish the outside skepticism or fears about their intentions and operations. It was apparent that proactive relationship building in these areas could serve a preventive function.



Activities that deliberately intended to achieve structural change in the larger community were a challenging innovation within a sub-set of the cases. In one respect, all four institutions worked to achieve long-term structural change. As noted above, education was viewed as a process of equipping students with tools that would enable them to achieve a

higher standard of living than their parents - a strategy of enhancing their basic human assets. Indeed, an informal comparison across the four cases suggested that families with second-generation learners were more financially secure than families with first-generation learners. It might be said that because the Catholic residential institutions also provided instruction in English, this would increase the student's ability to achieve a higher pay rate or better jobs, eventually helping to build their financial assets. Two of the institutions also sought to address wider-scale social issues through supporting networks of women's SHGs. These SHGs - common across India - were designed to promote economic livelihood through joint savings and rotating loans. They were geared to help strengthen the social and financial asset base for women, and as a result their families.

Addressing underlying issues of structural violence, and achieving positive changes in the structures and institutions that affected life in the tribal communities was a visible part of operations at only one of the four institutions. This institution established a good working relationship with government officials and engaged with them to respond to social and economic problems that faced the school and the larger community. There were regular meetings between the institution and district-level government officials, and Panchayat members or other government representatives were invited to campus three times a year to address the students. These meetings provided a relational base to work towards structural change, effectively building the political assets of students, the campus and community. One concrete problem they addressed was community access to reliable electricity. The institution led a successful community effort to pressure the government over several years to enhance electrical services to the area. There were also examples of students working actively to achieve structural changes for their home villages. In one case, a former student registered his entire village to vote in the elections. The student also wrote letters to government officials on behalf of the village to gain access to government goods and services.

The most striking example of structural change that occurred was the improved provision of electricity in Andhra Pradesh. This action appeared to be successful because it involved a broad community constituency, individuals were aware of the political context and their rights, actions built relationships with the political decision makers, and community members were willing to act publicly in order to raise further public awareness about the issue. The children who attended the residential institution were more aware of their potential in achieving social and political change, and had enhanced social and political assets. The willingness to engage with government to enhance the community's public assets was unique to the one residential institution. However, its actions demonstrated that such activities could be undertaken successfully, and were both accompanied by and further generated positive relationships within the larger community. Members from the surrounding

communities, including the government officials, viewed the residential institution and its leader with the utmost respect and appreciation. The electricity enhanced the community's physical and economic assets, and the process of engaging with the government officials also bolstered the community's relational networks to achieve social and political change.





V.

## Analysis: Integrative Peacebuilding in Discussion: IHD Strategies

**T**he four cases studied in this comparative research provided examples of relationship building on the campus and between the campus and the community, as well as some - albeit fewer - examples of efforts to change problematic structures that contributed to what has been called structural violence or structural injustice. The cases illustrated a variety of activities and opportunities - both proactive and reactive - for peacebuilding within the campus, and between the campus and the community at the relational and structural levels. The relational work crossed family, health (leper), tribe, caste, political, gender, and religious social divides, of which the religious, political and caste conflict lines have proven to hold the most potent for violent conflict. However, successful relationship building on campus did not necessarily translate into building relationships across social divides off campus, as was illustrated in the example of the flawed milk distribution.

The four cases also highlighted that while structural change was difficult it was nevertheless possible, and it was in the interest of the local community and campus to work together in pursuit of social and economic development goals. Structural change opportunities were limited on campus, however education and skill development for disadvantaged students (tribal, and female students) contributed towards long-term structural change in the communities.

In this case study, all four residential institutions worked very diligently to build the basic human assets of students that would promote personal flourishing and IHD. Student's skill development included literacy, numeracy, a capacity in the state language as well as English, leadership, and moral values.<sup>58</sup> The schools also worked at building the social assets of individuals by improving communication skills and providing opportunities to build relationships across the various social communities and respect one another, and increase their awareness of opportunities for employment, loans, books and so forth.<sup>59</sup> In one case, the

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<sup>58</sup> Other assets identified by interviewees were health and hygiene practices, time management skills for study and play.

<sup>59</sup> All four residential institutions worked to recognize tribal culture as a social asset for students as well, although the efforts were not equal across the residential institutions.

political assets of students were also enhanced as students learned how to engage the political system and work towards future change and improvements within it.

Building these basic assets was very valuable for the students and for their families. They decreased the family's vulnerability to economic and political exploitation. Education also appeared to benefit the community in a number of ways. There was a more general awareness of the importance of education, and greater financial stability in second and third generation learner communities.<sup>60</sup> Interviewees also reported reductions in harmful behaviors, such as drinking, domestic violence. There was some indication that child labor responsibilities were being shifted to older family members, and in first generation learner communities it was also reported that young girls were getting married two to three years older now. In these cases, it was hard to identify “education” or the “residential institution” as having a direct impact, except in the cases where children or family members told stories of a direct link (such as teaching basic literacy).

Building the foundation to prevent violent conflict from erupting and promoting greater community development required more than individual asset development. However, individual leadership was an important skill for creating an environment that was conducive for peacebuilding and bridging the relationship between the community and school. The two residential institutions that were not attacked possessed extensive external networks and modes of engagement, and worked with the community to pursue outcomes that would benefit them collectively - building up the community social and political assets. The community members in these two cases were very supportive of the institutions and interested in discussing the institutions with the research team. Both institutions had SHG networks, supported local educational dramas and transitional bridge-courses and so forth. There were religious and political tensions in these two communities; however the joint work, networks and regular interactions appeared to buffer and reduce the tensions. There were even examples of when local community members took risks and interceded on behalf of the Father running the residential institution to prevent harm from befalling him.

The interactive process and widespread relational networks established in the two cases were important community assets in and of themselves and facilitated structural changes, which in return enhanced the community's assets. The networks provided a vehicle to mobilize the community and utilize opportunities to pressure and engage political leaders for structural

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<sup>60</sup> At one of the older schools, students who were second or third generation learners indicated that at least one member of the family was publicly employed. Public jobs in India are esteemed and tend to be more lucrative than other types of local jobs, which implied a long-term food security impact for children who received education, and their families. Education was also valued highly amongst these students and families.

change. It should be noted that all of the tribal communities had cooperative work practices and techniques to resolve conflicts within the community that were additional social and relational resources or assets for the community. For example, in each community neighbors worked together on agriculture, house construction, hunting and gathering. In one community, Christians called upon someone from the Hindu community to mediate conflicts and the Hindu's did the same in reverse. Or, in another area, if two villages were in conflict the surrounding ten villages would be invited to mediate. These social practices were valuable resources for peacebuilding in the community.

To return to the IHD framework presented earlier, we can understand the combined peacebuilding and education efforts as implementing several mutually reinforcing strategies to help students and the larger community achieve a more secure livelihood and realize their



full human potential. First, on campus, there were efforts to both diversify and maximize the human, social and political assets of students. Students would often transfer basic skills to friends and family at home, which produced a ripple effect. Second, in cases where the residential institution deliberately worked towards structural change, there was a strategy of engagement in accessing and influencing community-level decision making. These were combined with a third strategy, of reducing risks by addressing some of the underlying causes of structural violence. The

relational networks that were formed between the schools and communities - networks which included in at least one case the local political leaders - were positive experiences in and of themselves, and provided a platform for the schools to pursue changes in unjust structures and systems. The relational platform enabled schools to affect decisions made by actors in political institutions and produce some degree of structural change.<sup>61</sup> Together, these three strategies operated to produce changes for individuals and relationships in the community, as

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61 This finding builds on and reinforces John Paul Lederach's notion of relational platforms, and four change goals in conflict transformation (personal, relational, structural, cultural). See: Lederach, John Paul. 2003. *The Little Book of Conflict Transformation*. Intercourse, PA: Good Books, pp. 27, 44-46.



well as promote equitable access to structurally-mediated goods and services, such as electricity and fresh water.

This research sought to understand the ways that food-assisted education programs could synergistically promote peacebuilding as part of programming. The examples of peacebuilding activities that emerged could apply to other types of schools. The food-assistance provided an aid resource that was leveraged for an expanded positive impact in the communities. The economically weak and socially vulnerable tribal regions are prone to violent religious and political conflict cycles. In a situation of multiple vulnerabilities, the synergistic programming, which employed multiple livelihood strategies, appeared a necessary innovation to expand and multiply the individual and community assets, and successfully impact and transform the structures and systems to achieve IHD.<sup>62</sup>

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62 This fits USAID's concept of transformational development discussed in the USAID Bureau for Policy and Program Coordination's White Paper (2004), "U.S. Foreign Aid: Meeting the Challenges of the Twenty-first Century". Available at: <http://www.usaid.gov/policy/pdabz3221.pdf> [Accessed: August 12, 2005].



## V.

# Conclusion

**A**t the outset of this research project, four main objectives were identified. The objectives involved identifying lessons for effective peacebuilding within the context of food-assisted education programming; deepening the analysis of naturally occurring integration; documenting (where possible *ex post facto*) key factors and inputs; and providing an opportunity for skills transfer and connections between partners, programs and CRS staff. Each of these objectives was achieved in some measure, although some more successfully than others.

In terms of the research process itself, there was a rich exchange between partners and CRS/India and CRS/HQ staff. Partners were able to visit sister-schools, ask questions and probe deeply the peacebuilding impacts of residential institutions. They were engaged in refining the research questions, instruments and process. Some partners were challenged to think about the impacts of their programming in new ways. Community participants and other interviewees often expressed thanks for being asked questions about their local context and the role of the school within it. CRS staff was equally engaged in the research content and process. Thinking about peacebuilding systematically was a new challenge for some staff, which led to productive discussions that further enhanced the process and product.

The investigation produced an array of information in pursuit of the first three, interrelated research objectives of identifying lessons, deepening analysis and documenting key inputs. Data was gathered on relational and structural peacebuilding activities in each of the four cases, as well as on the operational context and self-reported outcomes of the activities. The analysis and discussion sections above explored both reactive and proactive peacebuilding activities. There were numerous lessons that arose, and are summarized in Box 14 (next page).

## Box 14 – Lessons for Effective Peacebuilding in Education Programming

| Peacebuilding Levels                                              | Relationship Building                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                       | Structural Change                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                              |
|-------------------------------------------------------------------|-------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| <p><b>Level One:</b><br/>On Campus</p>                            | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>■ Active, weekly joint problem-solving with student and teacher involvement contributed to proactive conflict resolution and a child-centered learning environment;</li> <li>■ Integrating diverse faiths and customs into activities on campus was important for facilitating an open and accepting atmosphere;</li> <li>■ Joint eating and playing contributed to positive relationships across caste and tribal divisions.</li> </ul>                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                             | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>■ Policies and actions promoting equity (gender, caste/tribe) within student body as well as the campus administration provided positive models for structural and systemic change;</li> <li>■ Moral values education was reported to be effective in transmitting concepts of equality.</li> </ul>                                                                                                                                                                     |
|                                                                   | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>■ On-campus relationship-building and structural-change activities were not sufficient to prevent future violent shocks or larger conflict cycles.</li> </ul>                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                        |                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                |
| <p><b>Level Two:</b><br/>Between the Campus and the Community</p> | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>■ Joint celebrations of tribal festivals provided opportunities for informal engagement and acknowledgement;</li> <li>■ Parental visits to campus were important avenues for campus-community exchange;</li> <li>■ “Listening” visits or village-level school projects promoted constructive relations;</li> <li>■ Hiring ST staff on campus facilitated local connections;</li> <li>■ Children who transferred skills at home (literacy, numeracy) built up positive views of education and relations between schools and the home community;</li> <li>■ Additional social support services, such as SHGs, expanded opportunities for the campus to be integrally linked to the community.</li> <li>■ Relationship-building activities in communities needed to be clearly communicated and transparent.</li> </ul> | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>■ Regular engagement with government officials provided a solid relational base (social assets) for the campus to work towards structural change;</li> <li>■ Some students educated within an environment that modeled structural change became leaders for change in their home communities;</li> <li>■ Joint campus and community actions achieved a measure of structural and systemic change in terms of equality of access to basic goods and services.</li> </ul> |
|                                                                   | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>■ Campuses that successfully combined relationship-building and structural-change activities were more appreciated by the surrounding community</li> <li>■ Communities where the campus worked to build relationships and achieve structural change appeared to be more resilient against conflict shocks and cycles.</li> </ul>                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                     |                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                |

Key lessons that emerged included the observation that a variety of actions taken on campus could effectively build relationships and address structural inequalities however these were not in-and-of-themselves sufficient to prevent future conflict. Campuses could effectively build-up relationships with and between members of the larger surrounding community, through hiring practices, projects in the villages, additional support services like SHGs, and so-forth. External networks and regular engagement with government officials provided a “relational platform” for structural change activities.<sup>63</sup> The connections between the community and the residential institution seemed to be further solidified by the structural change activities.

Structural change as well as relationship building took considerable time and energy on the part of the partners; relationships had to be regularly tended and structural changes were produced over many years of slow and often difficult work. However, the fruits of addressing underlying issues of structural violence that contributed to conflicts in the region, as well as the rewarding interpersonal relationships appeared to be well worth the effort.

The insights and lessons this research produced suggest that future programming needs to consider and monitor activities that take into account relationship building and strategies for structural change that support integral human development. This study found that actively designing and implementing programs that address the underlying issues that fuel local tensions ultimately improves the school's and community's ability to be more resilient in the face of conflict. There is great potential for integrating peacebuilding and education programming to realize full human potential and contribute to the growth of vibrant, flourishing communities.

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63 For a discussion of relational platforms see: Lederach, John Paul. 2003. *The Little Book of Conflict Transformation*. Intercourse, PA: Good Books.

## Appendix. Focus Group Discussions and Interviews

|             |                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                           |
|-------------|-------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| St. Xaviero | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>■ Interview Middle School Principle (n=1)</li> <li>■ FGD Middle School Teachers (n=16)</li> <li>■ FGD Middle School Parents (children in school feeding program) (n=6)</li> <li>■ FGD High School, Hostel Students (n=6)</li> <li>■ FGD Non-Hostel, High School Students (n=6)</li> <li>■ Interview Former Hostel Student (n=1)</li> <li>■ Interview High School Teachers (n=2)</li> <li>■ Interview Hostel Warden (girls) (n=1)</li> <li>■ FGD Village Members (n=8)</li> <li>■ Interview Headmaster of High School and Hostel (n=1)</li> <li>■ Interview Parents of Hostel Students (n=6)</li> <li>■ Interview Hostel Warden (boys) (n=1)</li> <li>■ Interview Government Official (n=1)</li> <li>■ Interview Operating Partner (n=1)</li> </ul> |
| Deogarh     | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>■ Interview Education Coordinator for Diocese (n=1)</li> <li>■ FGD Village Members (n=17)</li> <li>■ Interview School Principle (n=1)</li> <li>■ FGD Non-Hostel Students, School Feeding (n=12)</li> <li>■ Interview Hostel Warden (girls) (n=1)</li> <li>■ FGD Teachers (n=7)</li> <li>■ FGD Hostel Students (n=10)</li> <li>■ Interview Government Official (n=1)</li> <li>■ FGD School Feeding Parents and Community Members (n=8)</li> <li>■ FGD Parents of Hostel Students (n=10)</li> <li>■ FGD Community Animators (n=7)</li> <li>■ Interview Operating Partner (n=1)</li> </ul>                                                                                                                                                            |
| Datigaon    | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>■ FGD Mothers of Hostel Students (n=23)</li> <li>■ FGD Fathers of Hostel Students (n=40)</li> <li>■ FGD Former Hostel Students (n=10)</li> <li>■ FGD Current Hostel Students (female) (n=11)</li> <li>■ Interview Operating Partner (n=1)</li> <li>■ FGD Current Hostel Students (male) (n=10)</li> </ul>                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                          |

|       |                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                          |
|-------|--------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
|       | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>■ FGD Hostel Staff and Teachers (n=7)</li> <li>■ FGD Former Hostel Students now in Government (n=5)</li> <li>■ FGD Village Members (n=25)</li> <li>■ FGD Government School Principle and Teachers (n=6)</li> </ul>                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                |
| LITDS | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>■ FGD Hostel Children (n=15)</li> <li>■ FGD Bridge Camp Students (female) (n=8)</li> <li>■ FGD Bridge Camp Students Group 2 (female) (n=8)</li> <li>■ FGD Former Hostel Students (n=12)</li> <li>■ FGD Former Hostel Students (n=14)</li> <li>■ FGD Hostel Staff and Community Animators (n=10)</li> <li>■ FGD Network of Local NGOs (n=9)</li> <li>■ Meeting with Government Officials (n=5)</li> <li>■ FGD Teachers (n=6)</li> <li>■ FGD Bridge Camp Teachers (n=7)</li> <li>■ FGD Community Village Self Help Group (n=31)</li> <li>■ FGD Village Members (female) (n=16)</li> <li>■ FGD Village Members (male) (n=17)</li> <li>■ Interview Operating Partner (n=1)</li> </ul> |

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Page 18 - Mother visiting daughter at Datigaon (Kishor Patnaik/CRS India)

Page 32 - Meeting with the community in Deogarh (Rekha Abel/CRS India)

Page 34 - Members of a Self-Help Group supported by LITDS (Kishor Patnaik/CRS India)

Page 36 - Oriya children (Rekha Abel/CRS India)

Page 38 - School children at St. Xavier (Rekha Abel/CRS India)

Page 41 - Focus group discussion (Monojeet Ghoshal/CRS India)





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