CHAPTER 5

CIVIL SOCIETY INTERVENTIONS: ROLE OF CHRISTIAN ORGANISATIONS AND PRIVATE SCHOOLS
Education is the Backbone of a Society
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As argued in the introductory chapter, the emergence of various civil society movements in education sector in the state is directly linked to the failure of the state in responding to the educational needs of children, most of who belong to rural poor households. It is true that Manipur is popular where communities traditionally contribute to school education in terms of material, moral and human resources. Yet, these resources could not be probably mobilised if individual visionaries, with a clear vision and passion did not volunteer themselves to take up the challenges through grassroots activism of providing schooling facility to children who are at risk of exclusion due to perpetual negligence by the state. The aspirations of these leaders are mobilised with the support and solidarity commonly shared with other likeminded individuals and social groups including those based on kinship and lineage ties in which the case is obvious in a small society such as Manipur. Yet, the goals of civil society are self limiting and hence are not accessible by all in the light of various constraints and limitations they face and due to this; there is every possibility that civil society shifts its interest and vision in the course of its journey. The present chapter addresses some of these issues.

The legitimate and successful existence of these civil society sectors depends on the acceptance of those whose interest is served. This way, the kind of education project, its agenda, curriculum, overall pedagogy, school environment, discipline, accountability of school authorities, in a nutshell, ‘the whole package’ must be pursued by the civil society institutions to attract parents whose interest and taste are similar. In the light of this observation, the present chapter explores the role of such civil society institutions by examining the educational contributions made by Don Bosco School, Bosco Mangaal and Bethel school. The success story of Don Bosco School demonstrates an excellent illustration wherein the organic relationship between physical and human dimension of school resources when mutually articulate and consistent, can indeed harness maximum propensity of growth in children. The chapter examines some of these dimensions of resources. The case of Bosco Mangaal illustrates how teaching-learning of children, when organically linked to their own community can be most successful despite
extreme resource constraints such as physical setting of learning environment. The study on Bosco Mangaal also highlights the significance of the joyous teaching-learning methods experienced by children and how such form of pedagogy can be truly empowering for the marginalised children residing in far flung scattered villages. Whereas the study on Bethel school mainly focuses on its humble journey of becoming a successful school in providing schooling facility to children in the locality though various similarities in terms of discipline, good feel factor of school environment can be observed between Bethel school and Don Bosco. The success journey of each of these initiatives is indeed enriching and provides significant insights about civil society’s activism in educational endeavour in the state.

5.1 The Arrival of Missionaries in Manipur
The Treaty of Yandabo\(^1\) between the kingdom of Burma and The English East India Company on 24th February, 1826, writes Frederick S. Downs (1992) first linked the North-Eastern region politically with the British India. The history of Christian Missionaries’ movement to North East India was seen as an integral part of such larger process of political change. The Treaty of Yandaboo forced the Burmese to withdraw from the control over Assam and Manipur and subsequently British sovereignty was established in Assam and Manipur. The initial British policy was to stabilise the buffer zone by installing rajas in the major kingdoms of Manipur, Cachar and upper parts of Assam. And wherever the British administration found it difficult to rule, a policy of direct administration and economic exploitation of the plain areas of Assam was adopted within the twelve years of the advent of British rule. In this process various plain kingdoms of the North Eastern region were gradually annexed.

Yet the British kingdom found it a difficult task to control the warfare tribes, inter-tribal conflicts, inter-village feuds, conflict arising out of British interference in tribal customary

\(^1\) The Burmese forces (the present Myanmar) occupied Manipur in 1819 during the reign of King Gambhir Singh who sought help from the British against the Burmese incursions. But finally with the help of British, the Burmese were driven out of Manipur during the Anglo-Burmese war in 1824. The war between Burma and Manipur came to an end by the treaty of Yandaboo on 24\(^{th}\) February, 1826. King Gambhir Singh was restored to the throne of Manipur. Successive Burmese invasions on Manipur for the last 60 years thus came to an end with the termination of the first Anglo-Burmese war (Roy Jyotirmoi:1958).
practices such as head hunting, human sacrifice or sometimes conflicts due to forced collection of revenue by the government or requisition of forced labour or stopping the tribes from raiding the plain villages (Ibid:1992). Finally the warfare tribes could be successfully subdued through direct and minimal administration for economic reasons. The policy of pacification at minimum cost to British government influenced the activities of Christian missions in the hill areas of the North East. Frederick S. Downs quotes S.P Sinha who referred to missionary activity not for advocating a faith but for keeping imperialism alive and the often quoted statement ‘first comes the missionary, then comes the Resident, lastly the Regiment’, implying an identity of objectives between the missionaries and the colonial power (Ibid:1992,p.30).

The missionaries and the colonial government were mutually beneficial, in that, the government found the missionaries helpful in pacifying the hills tribes providing education at minimal cost while the missions found the government useful in underwriting their educational work and in providing security for both themselves and their converts. Similar observation was endorsed by scholar like Lal Dena who had done pioneering work in the field. That, while the British officials looked at the introduction of western education as legitimising process of colonial rule, the missionaries used it as a vehicle for communicating with the natives. Yet as argued by Frederick S.Downs the colonial government was more useful to the missions rather than the other way round since in the later stage when the tribes had been pacified by the military forces, the missionary education system was simply a convenient and cheap way of rendering a service that would otherwise have been the responsibility of the colonial government.

In ‘Christian Missions and Colonialism’ (1988), Lal Dena argues that at the core of the missionaries’ activities, evangelism seems to be foremost objective but educational aims were also served in that if an individual had to worship God, he must be able to read and this is how education and evangelism remained intertwined. And hence educational programme were seen as supplementary to the primary task of communicating the gospel to the people. This was facilitated when the colonial government gave the missionaries additional charge of official duties in those regions where the missionaries had easy access for establishing schools and churches. As for instance, Pettigrew’s appointment as the census officer in 1910-1911 facilitated
his knowledge about many hill areas of Manipur where he could open new schools. The missionaries and the colonialists were mutually beneficial. Therefore while the British looked at the introduction of western education as the legitimising process of colonial rule, the missionaries used it as a vehicle for communicating with the natives. Lal Dena (Ibid:1988) quotes the mutual relationship between the missionaries and the colonial power arising out of conditional necessity rather than ideological confluence.

Most of the missionaries dealing with education in North East were Americans and Welshmen among the Protestants; German, Spaniards and Italians among the Catholics. Though it was the Serampore Missionaries who had initial interest in the North East, it was the American Baptists which became deeply involved in Manipur. Missionaries’ attempt to establish their mission work in the state dates back as early as 1836 when the American Baptist Mission expressed its willingness to work in Manipur when it was still a princely state. The strong opposition from the local Vaishnavite Hindus resulted in the postponement of the Missionaries’ entry to the state.

However it was in 1890’s when the colonial state firmly established its power in Manipur by dethroning the then king, Surchandra Singh and encouraged every arrangement for any missionary who showed willingness to work in the state. The first missionary to Manipur was William Pettigrew, a member of the Arthington Aboriginese Mission Society, reached Imphal in 1894 with the easy permission of the acting political agent, Major Maxwell. Pettigrew, being well versed with Meiteilon opened a school at Imphal in 1894 with full support from the then acting political agent of Manipur.

In an attempt to speed up his educational activities, William Pettigrew authored Manipuri dictionary, English- Bengali Manipuri dictionary and a Manipuri grammar. Within a year his school surpassed other educational institutions established by the British. A survey on Annual Report on State Education, 1991 notes that his educational activities were extremely large, which satisfied the British officials and the people at large. He was appointed an honorary inspector of school under the Education Department of Assam though strictly prohibited him from giving
Christian instruction among the people in the valley of Manipur. However, Pettigrew, despite his interest of working among the Hindu Meiteis was not allowed to teach Christianity in schools in the valley. The policy of non-interference in the native’s religious matter was a follow up of the precautionary measures adopted by the British political policy towards the princely states after the famous Sepoy Mutiny of 1857. Pettigrew was therefore directed to serve among the hill tribes who were animists. Pettigrew due to the instruction of Maxwell who anticipated his fear for the local orthodox Hindus who would be disturbed by Pettigrew’s work, therefore shifted his base from Imphal and moved to hill areas of Manipur and finally settled in Ukhrul, a Tangkhul Naga area.

By the end of nineteenth century and in the aftermath of India’s independence, when Christianity had gained a foothold in most areas of the North East, the government took direct responsibility for education throughout the North East and the practice of using Protestant missions for educational purpose came to an end while the Catholics began to establish an extensive network of schools. In the hills, the Christian educational activity was much more extensive with much greater impact mainly due to their unsophisticated background with no literary tradition as argued by Frederick S. Downs. Although hills primarily formed the main loci of missionary educational centres, yet, missionary run schools began to spread not only in rapid but also far and wide in various parts of Manipur in due course of time when the people of Manipur steadily began to accept English education.

The slow and steady acceptance of western education by the locals of the third world countries was seen as an inevitable natural process. As for instance, Pink and Nobilit in ‘Continuity and Contradiction: The Future of Sociology of Education(1985) examine the inevitable social formation of third world countries where actual provision of education is executed by private entities usually the religious bodies that act according to their own ideological mandates and secondarily in response to the guidelines of the state. Therefore states in third world countries due to its being subject to strong western influence initiatives taken in education by religious organisations such as the missionaries has been considered essential.
5.2 Don Bosco School: Chingmeirong

Don Bosco is the name of a holy priest of Turin. Don Bosco School which is presently located at Chingmeirong, Imphal East was earlier known as Don Bosco Youth Centre. The centre was opened in the year 1957. The school is located one and half kilometres south from the Zero mileage at Kangla, Imphal. The school was built by Salesian Fathers of Catholic origin. Fr. Aloysius Ravalico and Fr. Peter Bianchi are credited for establishing the school. The Fathers acquired the present site of Don Bosco, which was a low, marshy area, full of mosquitoes and frogs and was in fact considered a haunted place. The locals considered it to be the abode of evil spirits. The centre began with an unfinished residential building where fifty boy students of different tribes stayed. It was initially considered a tribal school since the local Hindu population were not friendly with the missionaries and would call them mayangs and the tribal students, hao machasing, a misnomer and considered derogatory name for the tribes. Occasionally the local Hindu population disturbed them by pelting of stones at their residence. In 1958, the centre provided facilities of classes up to 1V level. The number of students kept increasing and there were about 200 boarders. Most of the students were charged nominal fees or almost nothing. Interestingly, Fr. Ravalico who was headmaster would give the students money for their journey to home and school during holidays as a form of encouragement to get the students back to the boarding.

Don Bosco School has a reputation of being a ‘very good’ school and is well established. It is indeed one of the most reputed and oldest Catholic missionary schools in Manipur. The school is a three storey building, with a residential complex located at the opposite of the school building separated by the main road. The premise of the school is as large as 4 acres of land implying sufficient space and playground for children. The playground has a volley ball court as well. The school has a cemented boundary wall across the building, with a huge iron wall used as the main door to the entry of the school building. Almost 20 meters north away from the middle of the school building there is a well where clean drinking water is stored. There are ten room toilet facilities, all attached to the school building towards the end of the northern most corner of the building where classrooms are a little away.
The school is not only owned but also managed and controlled by Selesian Fathers. The school has a total strength of thirty three teaching and two non-teaching staff. Of the total teaching staff, almost half the staff consists of women forming as many as 15 female teachers, a marginally lower than those of male counterpart 17 in number. Teachers belong to social categories such as scheduled tribes forming 5 in number, 1 Anglo Indian while the rest are from Meitei Hindus who are from general category. There is a huge separate room for the staff, with sufficient number of tables, chairs, almirahs and shelves with calendars and pictures hung on the wall. A white board is seen fixed at the centre of the staff room to be used during teachers’ discussions, workshops and meetings. The room is well lit with sufficient ventilation of big size iron windows. Separate toilet facilities for female and male staffs are attached to the north end corner of the staff room.

On the ground floor, there is the Head teacher’s room. Though separated, it is located right in front of the teachers’ common room near the stair case right at the middle of the entry of the school building so that he can conveniently watch out about any happenings from the centre.
The head teacher's room is well lit. In his room, there is one main table with two subsidiary tables and seven chairs. There are three iron almirahs of books, one shelf, a calendar, meddles, globes, charts, and pictures of famous personalities such as Jawaharlal Nehru, Mahatma Gandhi, a calendar of virgin Mary are hung in the wall. In the room there is telephone connection, a wall clock, and dustbin. There is also a blackboard used as the notice board in the head teacher's room.

Picture 5.2
Principal, Don Bosco School

Source: Primary Survey, 2008

The school has classes from 1 to X. There are 23 classrooms altogether; eight small size classroom on the third floor, eight large classrooms on the second floor and 7 large rooms. The floor of the classrooms and the walls are made of pucca. The walls are neatly painted in green faded colour where interesting pictures are hung. There is electricity connection and one ceiling fan in each classroom though quite often fan is not required since weather in the state is quite pleasant even during summer. There is one table made of iron and chair in each classroom. Classrooms are well ventilated and large enough to accommodate sixty to seventy students. Not
only that the school has various physical facilities but they are also efficiently utilised Basic
requirements of teaching learning - material aids such as globes, charts, maps, demonstrative
materials, science kits, mathematic kits, and audio visual aids are not only available but regularly
utilized in the classroom teaching as and when required. There is one library hall where books,
newspapers, journals, science fiction books are available. Desks, benches are made of iron
painted in light blue colour while tables and chairs are made of wood painted in light blue colour
to protect from termites or any form of wear and tear. The school uses white board for regular
teaching purpose in the classroom.

There are pictures and writings about discipline, practical moral science on boards hanging on
the walls of almost every corner of the stair case leading to the first floor and second floor
building. These writings and pictures are highlighted in bright colour to capture the attention of
students. The displays are oriented to disciplining and sensitising students about habits of
cleanliness, punctuality, discipline, important announcements, and latest important news on
events of the school. The school thus manages to create some kind of learning environment with
whatever resources with the cheap and simple means available to them.

5.3 Preparing for the Incalculable: The Youths through Education
A crucial element in the modus operandi of teaching system in Don Bosco School is the central
focus on the welfare of youths as the teachings of Don Bosco emphasises on youth development
as a matter of principle. To achieve the goal, the entire school community such as the Director,
the Board of Executives, the Head master, the teaching staff make every possible stride apart
healthy cooperation and encouragement from the parent community. The nature of functioning
of the sample school demonstrates an excellent illustration wherein the organic relationship
between physical and human dimension of resources when mutually articulate and consistent,
can indeed harness maximum propensity of growth in children. Teachers certainly care about the
school because they believe that it is also their children's school. There are pressures from
parents of raising high quality standards along with traditional value systems within the school
and teachers have responded to this demand. Parents come forward to cooperate in thriving to
achieve the same goal by at least concentrating on their children’s effort to achieve cognitive learning which is often reflected in the most visible outcome, examination results.

5.4 The Teacher: Its Myriad Journey of Dedication

Teachers of the sample school were found diligent, sincere, knowledgeable, prudent and most importantly accountable. Most teachers consider themselves to be serious professionals. They were quite pleasant to interact with and intellectually stimulating too. Intense observation of the teachers in the sample school convinces one to a truer view of a teacher’s vocation. They were always busy due to myriad tasks that particularly stand true for the Head master. The Head teacher has been working in the sample school for the past 20 years and hence quite an experienced teacher. His tasks begin from before the moment teachers and students enter the school to that time long after the class hours are over in the evening at 3.30 PM when the final bell has rung and when the school caretaker who is a resident within the school premise attempts to repair the havoc that hundreds of walking, running and skipping feet of students have wrought on corridors, classrooms and staircases. Perhaps the tasks are too great to capture its ‘felt’ reality.

Such a task is indeed multifaceted requiring considerable flexibility of mind, spirit and insights on the part of the teacher’s personality. It thus suggests that a school teacher is not just a teacher who engages in a vocation of teaching as per se but truly a one who engages in professional readings, lesson plans and preparation, occasional participation in teachers training courses, examining and assessing, maintaining discipline and order, imparting knowledge, administration, field trips with pupils, sports and games, coaching, organising extra classes for weak students and organising of all kinds of activity for holistic development of their students as the most important cherished goal of Don Bosco school. In the sample school, it was found that teachers even during holidays were assigned responsibilities round the clock on rotation for student welfare for providing free teaching for weak students of class X who were appearing for the High School leaving Certificate Examination conducted by the Manipur Board of Education. Salesian Fathers assigned such duties even during odd and night hours and all teachers complied as a matter of duty and principle. In all these situations, the Head teacher is careful to create
conducive conditions for teachers to help remain spirited among his junior staff members and well acknowledges their efforts and innovative suggestions. And no teacher seems to have major grievance or dissatisfaction about any extra responsibility shouldered to them besides academic engagement.

What is therefore truly remarkable and inspiring about the teachers of the sample school is their commitment to their duties that can perhaps be traced to the autonomy and accountability of school organisational structure directed by Salesian Fathers. This best illustrates that the functioning of the sample school is free from the myriad of bureaucratic problems that beset government schools and hence are able to accomplish their goals with minimum interference and misuse of school resources. That the school finds itself in a favourable environment that can insulate the system to establish and accomplish its goals. By adopting its own internal mechanisms, the school establishes their own goals. The inward focus encourages greater goal clarity and consensus. Not a single teacher was found involved in activity related outside school such as assignment for survey, election duty, census collection or any other assignment given by government department as rampanty prevalent among government school teachers.

Thus unlike, the various layers of administration governing government schools, often than not, the major task of responsibility lies in the hands of the school Head teacher often in consultation with Fathers who are readily available. That the Head master is not only an instructional leader but also plays a watchdog role. When asked about the inspection system in the school, the Head teacher firmly responded, 'We don't have inspection system, I myself monitor regularly, I sit in classrooms like a student though to observe how teachers're teaching. I also check student class notes. I walk around the school verandah to watch out what is happening in classroom teaching. There's constant watch while teachers're teaching and inter act with students in the class. Not only that it's my responsibility to even examine lesson plan for teachers before hand; it's mandatory that all teachers submit their lesson plan before hand. We aren't a part of any Teachers' Association, we don't invite outside agencies 'cause we're under Selesian missionaries; we're under their control. So we have our own internal system of management, every now and then we interact with Fathers, discuss school related issues and about children;
we get our things done in our own ways nor do we get any help from government since we don't want any interference from government, sometimes we get pressure from Minister when they want their children to be admitted in our school'.

The absolute autonomy in school organisation was also observed in other spheres such as recruitment rules for teachers, training of teachers, orientation courses, curricular formation and so on. For example, unlike in government schools, the recruitment of the head master and his induction in the sample school was done by the Board of Executives of Salesian Fathers. The appointment of the rest of the teachers was done through written test, viva, interview and demonstration methods of teaching in classroom. Teachers were selected according to subject specialisation that would match with the subject for teaching students in classroom interaction. The selection process was however rigorous and tough as narrated by teacher themselves, for instance, the teacher who is presently teaching English literature recounted, 'While recruiting in the present job, there were more than sixty candidates who came for one post. Ten candidates were selected through demonstration method in classroom teaching; and then three candidates were called for interview. Finally two of us were selected. The entire process was tough and done through series of filtration'.

Similar norms are followed in selection process of other disciplines as well. A teacher who is teaching Manipuri literature shared delightfully, 'There were thirty candidates for the post I'm teaching at present. But only one candidate was selected to teach Manipuri literature'. Same recruitment rules imply for other posts such as disciplines in Mathematics, History, Geography etc. While sharing their existential circumstances honestly, teachers admitted, 'My life started with struggles, you know, I guess you know what I'm trying to tell you. I faced grinding poverty when I was a child with large number of siblings such as ten of us. Father was a driver, mother was a weave, how could they afford. With so much of struggles, steadily I could complete Masters Degree. This was a time when I started seriously thinking of helping and assisting young people that were thoroughly possible by educating them. Ultimately I took up teaching with this idea at the core of my heart'. 'I'm a graduate in social science. I took up teaching as my profession 'cause I had nowhere to go, unemployment problem in the state is extremely acute
and by compulsion, I joined teaching due to financial crisis in the family. But by now, I have developed a sense of passion for teaching young students. Today I’m a dedicated teacher. ‘By circumstance of family poverty, I took up teaching job; but by now I’m willing to take it as a profession, I honestly like the idea that I’m guiding my young students’. I’m post graduate in English literature. Since my childhood days I used to dream of teaching and becoming teacher in my future too. Every time during my holiday, I used to teach students lower to me just by one class. On the financial side too, I had no any other option since there is acute problem of unemployment. I took up teaching both by choice and compulsion since other options is also quite constrained, nowadays attempting to get a government job is just like chasing a wild goose’. The salary paid for the teachers interviewed ranges from Rs 3,450/- per month to Rs 4,393/- per month, which is quite low compared with their counterparts teaching in government schools and unmatched with their academic and other school related works. Teachers unanimously agree that the salary paid to them is much below to their contribution and the amount is extremely marginal when compared to government teachers. Despite such low salary, there is huge competition for getting a teaching job, which is also indicative of the critical situation of unemployment problems in the state. This was commonly lamented by all teachers while citing reasons for taking up teaching as a profession.

Reasons for joining the profession of teaching thus cannot be divorced from the acute situation of unemployment problem in the state. In that, teaching profession was never the first choice for some of these teachers, however, once inducted in the profession either by compulsion or choice, teachers were found to naturally cultivate a sense of satisfaction and commitment to the vocation of teaching, sort of a devotion to a calling. As for instance, a teacher who is teaching Mathematics and Science subjects claimed in his own words, ‘Truly speaking we can mould children in any shape; they’re just like clay, I mean I believe it, we can impart them with true knowledge, and this is possible through teaching, it’s a great opportunity, children’re the pillars of a nation; it’s most important to build them (they’re incalculable) rather than building up concrete buildings’. Emphasising the role of formal schooling, he added, ‘Building children in this manner is not possible through any other means, say media or other forms of institution’. Here the main ideology conveyed by the teacher in building the future of a pupil runs parallel
with the concept of *Tabula Rasa* first introduced by John Locke in 1693, while comparing the child's mind to a completely blank slate on which adults provide information. In this way, teachers as adults are looked upon as powerful role players in nurturing a child into a pupil who come to school to acquire certain specific skills and knowledge. School teachers are blissful with the concept that it is in their hands to cradle a child. A child according to its fundamental concept is a person who is endowed with certain inherent qualities which he develops in conformity with his environment.

It can rightly be argued that all teachers are recruited in the sample school by virtue of being meritorious in their own disciplines and teaching skills as well. All teachers enjoy permanent position in their teaching jobs; receive salary on time, i.e., on 1\textsuperscript{st} or 3\textsuperscript{rd} of every month. On the orientation programmes and teachers training, all were given the opportunity to attend training programme. The teachers receive teachers training and orientation programmes occasionally organised by Manipur Board in Manipur, Salesian Fathers at Guhawati and sometimes in collaboration with other corporate sectors such as the Insurance Company. The content of training programme received was mostly oriented to progressive pedagogy in classroom teaching in which the teachers effectively utilised the skills in classroom teaching and interaction with students as discussed by them.

When asked about the training programmes and its usefulness, all teachers unanimously agreed its usefulness in classroom interaction with students in particular as shared by the teachers. 'Yes, I have attended many educational seminars/workshops/training programmes under Manipur Board and sometimes the ones organised by Fathers. I attended Orientation programme on methods of teaching and how to teach, how to make lesson plan, how to guide students, how to punish naughty students. There 'ere also courses on how to make questions. There were resource persons for different subjects for example. I teach Poems and Poetry; these disciplines're under Manipur Board. Most of these resource persons are lecturers and professors. I believe this is the same for other subjects as well. In a year 3 days are held for training programme for a period of 6 hours, it 's not fully satisfactory, say, there 's only one trainer for 40 trainees and hence overcrowded but I can say at least there is 80% benefit, good enough; Teachers from
surrounding schools also join the course. How to make blue print question is another method we learn. Thus we’re assigned some activity to test our understanding of the course taught to us. However despite such usefulness, the course was without deficiency as the teacher pointed out, ‘Time was short, the course might take 8 months duration but it was completed in 3 days, it’s pointless, sometimes we don’t know head or tail. Most important parts of the course ’ere selected and trained us in the field concerned, for example, how to teach a lesson, how to control students in classroom. Apart this, Catholic Fathers trained us about child psychology; they also discussed with us about qualities of a teacher before three/ four days of a session. Their main orientation was purely on academics’.

However experience of teachers training orientation for some was not just on academics but purely on progressive pedagogy where teaching orientation attempts to maximally focuses on the existential reality of students as shared by a teacher who is teaching English literature, ‘I have attended many seminars, one was held at Silchar in Assam from July 9th to 14th July, 2006, this was most exciting and enriching experience. The programme was organised by Insurance Company and Christian Missionaries, Don Bosco Silchar. Two of us were selected for the training. The approach of the training ranged from classroom orientation, not teacher oriented or teacher dominated, but drawing constantly from the students’ own experience, learning by doing, development of democratic attitudes and how to deal with weak and shy students. That’s when a student is suffering from low self esteem and can’t face up a teacher by raising his head while speaking or talking to the teacher. For example, we ’ere taught how to deal with students who’re shy and withdrawn in classroom interaction. To deal with the situation I was trained to place myself just at the level of the student by being in the students’ position. Another teacher who is an M.SC in mathematics, teaching mathematics said, ‘Yes, during my vacation I attended one training programme, there was one orientation programme held and I attended the programme. Most of the training programme focused on how to teach, role of a teacher, Teaching -learning methods in classroom etc’. Another teacher who attended training said, ‘I attended training programme for teachers organised by Don Bosco. During the training we learnt about how to prepare questions and conducting of examinations; and also we learnt about evaluation studies’. 186
5.5 Teaching-Learning Methods In and Outside the Classroom

Teaching methods in the sample school are by and large qualitatively different from those followed in government schools and other lesser known private schools though certain parameters remain similar such as reciting numbers, memorising texts, classroom and home work assignments. In the sample school, teachers closely monitor the students, receive close attention, and study the psychology of children in classroom interaction. A teacher who is teaching English literature said, 'We make a point that our teaching methods 're multifaceted take care of children's psychological needs. If a student suffers from low self esteem, he surely feels uncomfortable to look up to the teacher remains shy and withdrawn. Whenever we find a student in this position, we knell down to the student's level and start interacting. The gesture symbolizes equal or democratic relationship between the teacher and the students. We don't have to think for completing syllabus only, taking care of psychological needs of students is utmost important. In classroom interaction, disobedient and naughty students don't want to follow the instructions in the class, rather want to distract by not following the instruction. In that case, we adopt a different approach. 'Cause, simply classroom brutalising, beating a student does not work; it doesn't help. Here maintaining eye contact with the students is very important. Sometimes, simply teaching like a teacher in the classroom does not work. Then we narrate stories about a particular event and then students 're better able to understand about the particular episode; my teaching must arouse curiosity in children about learning to make more it enriching and exciting. For example, he further argued, 'If I'm teaching poems to my student, I have to certainly relate the insights, the history, the background of the episodes of the poem. Interestingly, he uttered few lines of one of his most favourite poems "The Charge of the Light Brigade" written by Alfred Lord Tennyson.

'Half a league, half a league,
All in the valley of Death
Rode the six hundred.
"Forward, the Light Brigade!"
"Charge for the guns!" he said.
Into the valley of Death

... .......... .......... ..... When can their glory fade?
Honour the charge they made,
Honour the Light Brigade,
Noble six hundred'.

To make the above poem ever interesting and enjoyable, he said, 'I have to be well informed and knowledgeable about the war fought between different nations, what type of war it was, incidents behind the war and its causes, why the war remains mortal till now, reasons that inspired the poet to make a tribute to those British soldiers; how each stanza tells a different part of the poem with a delicate balance between celebration of nobility and brutality of war and heroic death of those six hundred soldiers who vehemently fought for their motherland and whose glory never fade away; even the rhythmic expressions with passion while citing the poem with full attention drawn to me by children makes them completely involved. Then last not the least, is let children know that the poem is not merely the poet's ode to the brave six hundred soldiers of his native country but in bosoms profound historical truths of man, war fare, defeats and victory, a timeless living truth of our existence'. The teacher further added about the importance of demonstrating such historical events with a world map but difficult as this method consumes plenty of time, though significant.

Apart this, all teachers use teaching methods such as textbook study, verbal instruction, white board, demonstration, field visits, briefings of the lesson to be taught and sometimes audio visual methods when there is electricity. All teachers compulsorily make lesson plan, share it with the head teacher, teachers committee and Catholic Fathers. Fathers verify the lesson plan and return to the concerned teacher.

Using textbooks and verbal instructions in classroom interaction are again different from those followed in other schools as the experience narrated by a teacher who is presently teaching history of class VIII, IX and X, 'While teaching history lessons, I simply can't have knowledge
about history alone, I must be equally aware about anthropology, at least its fundamentals like different stages of culture through which man had passed before man starts revealing us about the emergence of history itself, races of mankind, their distribution, colours etc. I must also possess adequate knowledge about the discipline. Having knowledge itself is not sufficient enough, my attitude as a history teacher must be oriented in such a way I 'm capable of maintaining scientific spirit, for example, while I am teaching about nationalism, religion, I can't be biased or dogmatic or fanatical. In the same way when I 'm a Christian, I can't emphasis on Jesus as the most important historical figure rather I equally highlight Akbar, Bir Tikendrajit or Hindu kings in equal measure as the heroes before children.

Use of audio visual method is another form of popular method in classroom teaching. Highlighting the importance of the method, he shared, ‘While teaching ancient civilisation about Egypt, I used Pyramid made of clay and ancient antiques for observation of my students in classroom teaching; a fairly large globe of the world is also used in class, historical graphs showing the rise and downfall of dynasties as great historical movements are nailed to the wall just for demonstration to my students, they can recall very easily what happened what, when and where, their learning lives in their mind very clearly.’ Another teacher who is currently teaching Manipuri literature shared, ‘I was teaching about culture- modern and traditional just the other day. I used different shapes of houses indicating both modern and traditional house types and shapes. It was very attractive for children; children thoroughly enjoy such methods; their participation is amazing’.

In ‘The Art of Loving’ Erich Fromm states about the art of learning in two ways-the mastery of theory of what one learns and the mastery of the practice of the theory one learns. He states, ‘If I want to learn the art of medicine, I must first know the facts about the human body, and about various diseases. When I have all this theoretical knowledge, I am by no means competent in the art of medicine. I shall become a master in this art only after a great deal of practice, until eventually the results of my theoretical and the results of my practice are blended into one- my intuition, the essence of the mastery of any art’(1956:p.5). Drawing inspiration from such methods of learning, in the sample school, learning of objects, living beings, historical facts by
experience and practice through field visits for students remained at the core of the heart of teaching. A teacher teaching geography, explained the importance of learning of pragmatic field exposure for children. He narrated the delightful experience of children while making them study about a deer locally known as **Sangai, the dancing deer** or Brow antlered deer available only in the famous national park of Manipur, called Keibul Lamjao, 'floating sanctuary' that comprises 40 sq km of wetland overgrown with 1.5 m. deep floating vegetation, mostly of reeds, called **phumdi**. The park has several distinguishing features. Besides its vegetation and terrain, a large portion of Loktak Lake falls within the park. There are dwelling houses where the villagers inhabit the island by thriving on the natural vegetation of the island and fishing.

**Picture 5.3**

*A photo of Sangais at the floating sanctuary of Keibul lamjao,*

He teacher further described, **'It's a species available only in Manipur that too nowhere else but only on the floating National park in the world. As a part of an interesting exercise I make children to give a description of the animal, its habitat, surrounding environment, its vegetation, the local culture etc. It's a common practice that children of every class 're taken off to the field, for sightseeing is considered as most exciting and educative exercise for them'.** Teachers shared the fact that children learn better with seeing and observation. For this purpose, they are taken to sites of interesting and educative places such as Polo ground, Zoo, museum, Singda Dam, historical places like Khongjom War Memorial located at a hillock on the Indo-Myanmar road, where the brave major General, Paona Brajabashi, who fought vigorously
against the invading British Army at khongjom war in 1981, the Indian National Army (INA) museum at Moirang where Netaji Subhas Chandra Bose as the leader of INA unfurled the flag of INA on April 14, 1944, the Kangla, the sacred historical embodiment of successive kings of Manipur, and many such important places such as Andro, Dzudko valley and so on.

Picture 5.4
Site of Dzuko Valley, Senapati District.

The teacher further explained, 'When we teach children, sometimes we go beyond everything in geographical terms and Knowledge'. 'Take Dzuko valley', said he. 'It's one of the most beautiful green valleys and picturesque in Senapati district. From a distant of few years, before Independence, it was an apple of discord between the two states of Nagaland and Manipur. 'So here', he continued, 'We go back to history, why it became a bone of contention, political reasons behind the contention; children's curiosity of knowing a particular thing must be supported through facts, observation and their own history'.

Field study method is an opportunity made available for all students. After their exposure to sites of field, students are asked to write reports and description about what they saw and
observed during such visits. In that teachers make field learning a truly enriching and enlightening experience by empowering young children to reflect about the real world and object they constantly interact. It empowers children to enter into the creative power of dialogue and clarification of vague ideas and knowledge which they previously had and after which children feel closely rooted to the very soul of the objects of their study.

Interestingly debates on the Sociology of knowledge propound that social origin of knowledge are related to the possibility of grasping truth. For example, social knowledge for Durkheim is based on the observation of universal structures which could be uncovered by scientific knowledge. His sociology of knowledge postulates that man’s thought such as his ways of conceiving space and time for example, can be traced to his mode of social life. This, Durkheim discusses in one of his most celebrated books, ‘The Elementary Forms of Religious Life’. Referring to the religious organisation of the Australian Aborigines as a case study, Durkheim argues the basic mental categories by means of which we order the world are rooted in the way we organise society i.e., the underlying social structure; such as society is decisive in the genesis of logical thought by forming the concept of which the thought is made. Temporal divisions into days, weeks, months and years correspond to periodical recurrences and celebration of life cycle rituals, rites, feasts and ceremonies of man. A calendar expresses the rhythm of collective activities, while at the same time its function is to reassure their regularities (Coser.A.Lewis, p.140) and maintain social order. Durkheim’s observation provides insights about specific systems of thought and systems of social organisation but remains vague on his epistemological proposition.

For the Marxian tradition, the basis of truth is the content determined by material conditions such as economic position of the bourgeoisie and the proletariat in capitalist mode of production. Marx, the stern fighter and austere thinker in whom his best friend Frederick Engels had faith to possess a deeply loving soul was a witness to the wretched concrete existence of working class, workers being trampled down by the ruling classes, streams of stormy upheavals in Europe including France more than anywhere else. The scene was a ghostly spectre which deeply inspired Karl Marx to eventually challenge Hegel’s teachings, the most dominant German
philosophy of that time. Marx argues human mind and spirit must be derived from nature, the matter. Marx perceived that just as material causes underlie all natural phenomenon, the development of human society is conditioned by the development of material forces, the productive forces. Marx argues man naturally enters into relationship with one another in production process and in these relations lays the explanation of all the phenomenon of social life, human aspirations, ideas and laws. As the development of productive forces grows phenomenally, it leads to creation of social relationship based upon private property (Marx and Engels: 1968, p.17) by depriving the proletariats of their property and concentrating it in the hands of an insignificant minority, the bourgeoisie. The bourgeoisie's world view is oriented to individualism, competition, survival of the fittest while that of proletariat is in opposition such as cooperative enterprise, mutual support. Bourgeoisie’s main preoccupation remained with development of material forces, establishment of factories and industries, development and expansion of markets, cities and roads for their own good while proletariats lived in destitute circumstances. Marx thus takes this position of worldview of both the categories of class as emerging from their own experience of relationship entered in production process. Marx has however been challenged of reducing knowledge to ideology that is purely economic in nature determined by materialism which was indeed at the heart and soul of Marx’s philosophy.

Karl Manheim’s contribution was most influential in shaping the dominant tradition of Sociology of Knowledge by proposing to replace all forms of knowledge by a direct grasp of living reality. He established the foundations of a more rigorous sociology of knowledge as an analysis of how social groups construct systems of knowledge based on existential conditions by rejecting phenomenologist’s theory of an objective, absolute knowledge of values (Manheim Karl: 1952, p.8). In similar lines Michel Foucault suspects perhaps the social scientists of not knowing what they are doing. Social scientists as he claims suffer from self deception because their methodologies purport to produce the so called objective knowledge about society. Manheim argues, all knowledge and ideas are bound to a location though to different degrees, within the social structure and the historical process and hence human thought is perspectivistic, like the proverbial seven blind men trying to describe the properties of an elephant. It views that persons viewing a common object from dissimilar angles of vision rooted in their different social location.
are apt to arrive at different cognitive conclusions and value judgements. Human thought is thus 'situationally relative'-*situations-gebunden* (Coser.A Lewis:p.432). And the process of knowing is influenced by existential factors. The existential determination of knowledge is further strengthened when they are relevant to the genesis of ideas and also penetrate into their forms and content that they decisively determine the scope and intensity of our experience and observation, i.e. the 'perspective' of the subject. Manheim’s discussion is favourably oriented more towards historicism but with a tinge of sociological flavour. This is clear when he is naive like his predecessors to provide the types of relations between social structure and knowledge. Secondly his historicism succeeds sociology of knowledge. In his discourse on sociology of knowledge, Manheim argues, the subject who knows history is the subject who participates in history; he is an active being, sharing in the dominant social aspiration of his epoch. There is an inner link between aspiration and knowledge. Historical knowledge is bound to a location

**Picture: 5.5**

*A night view of Kangla gate, Imphal*

within the historic process, the claim to ‘self- evident’ knowledge of ‘absolute’ values, put forward by the phenomenologists, is nothing but an illusion. In reality there is nothing

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2 For the phenomenologist knowledge originates in its subjectivity; its primary reality being in the consciousness of the individual. Everyday life is dominated by consciousness wherein everything such as time, space, social reality is
‘absolute’ about such firmly held value positions: they too, merely reflect a ‘standpoint’ resulting from the interplay of historical, social forces (Manheim Karl: 1952, p.14).

**Picture: 5.6**

*Site of remains of an inner wall inside the Kgala Fort, Imphal*

Source: *Primary Survey, 2008*

Yet, these contributions no doubt make relevant appearances in academic areas of interest such as relevant as the present case study in sample school. Returning to the study of Kangla, the picture above is as important as to understand the annals of history of Manipur. Kangla symbolises sacred meanings to its people. Its study opens up the history of social formation of its own society, a timeless living memorabilia in the hearts of its own people. As the history teacher shared his emotive reflections, ‘It’s utmost important to let children aware about what Kangla symbolises; its preoccupation by the Assam Rifles is the most insensitive thing the Manipuris despise very strongly. People of Manipur due to their continued protest to hand over the Kangla to Manipur state to restore its sanctity finally freed Kangla from the security forces of Assam Rifles; Kangla is a sacred zone. With thoughtful gestures, he continued, ‘After almost 57 years down the line in history, Kangla was freed from the preoccupation by Assam Rifles in 2004. I know why I choose to take children to such an important place like Kangla, it has been a part of organised according to its degree of relevance to the self. Everything in everyday life is knowable only to the extent that it is interpreted in consciousness. Typification is the basis of knowledge and the individual interprets on the basis of types constructed in consciousness. Subjectivity and typification have a tendency to bind together the world of differences of knowledge and discourses (Lemerst. C. Charles:1990).
our own living and history since time immemorial with its ups and down in her own making, its destruction and reconstruction.

In ancient Manipur, Kangla was the capital of Manipur; then, became a palace, in fact the most important abode of successive rulers in Manipur. Interestingly it was also the ancient University of Manipur where the king permitted the Meitei Pundits to impart education to its subjects free of cost. It's still a sacred place for the Manipuri where even rituals and prayers were performed to ward off calamities befallen the people Manipur. While walking round inside the Kangla Fort, children were exposed to the rich historical royal chronicles, the archaeological sites, the political, religious and holy symbol of Kangla which successive invaders including the British failed to destroy with their mighty power'. Within the Kangla, there are 360 important sacred places; the Kangla is the very soul of its people. We have a folklore explaining why Meiteis worship snake, the symbol of Pakhangba, the Almighty from whom our ancestors are believed to have descended; our basic instinct is to kill the snake at its sight 'cause it’s dangerous; still we offer prayer when a snake crosses us'.

Picture: 5.7
Site of Boundary wall of Kangla Fort destroyed by British during Anglo-British war (1891)

Source: Epao.net
The school Head added, 'Besides field education, for every week there's counselling session for classes VII, VIII and IX. This provides better scope for parents, teachers and students to interact. And most importantly as the school Head teacher proudly shared, 'There's practical moral science lessons taught to our students up to class X; but it's taught only up till class IV in other schools'. The dedication and commitment of the school to the cause of students' moral well being is thus reflected in the pedagogic content of the practical moral science book by compiling the lessons from true personal accounts of lived experience of individuals that various forms of media highlight. For example while giving value and peace education as part of practical moral science lessons, Father M.C. George, the then director of Don Bosco School compiles materials about adolescence's violence on crimes, drugs and substance abuse, HIV/AIDS. As the school head said, 'The real story is there in the news paper report, but we change the true identity of the youth. The moral message is to sensitise adolescents about
vulnerabilities of youths and crimes and its harmful consequences on the health of both individual and society. The interesting venture of this method is that these lessons’re prepared with pictographic highlights that’re quite appealing to the imaginations and sentiments of children of their own communities and neighbourhoods’. The method is considered most effective from preventing of children and adolescence trapping into risky habits. ‘What makes these students stand out in today’s chaotic Manipuri society is, these students have an edge over their peer groups studying in other schools in terms of moral and character formation that too in the formative years of their youths’, reasoned another teacher.

Each class teacher is responsible for taking children to field sites of study for the whole day. This form of pedagogy draws closer to Manheim’s vision when his sociology of education suggests to make education as relevant to the social environment as one must be prepared and expected to live in that environment and that, one is not taken hostage by the storm of life, for life has to deal with a very concrete form of social existence in a particular situation (Ibid: 1952). Manheim’s observation makes all the more sense when teacher themselves exercise certain amount of autonomy in contribution of school curricular making as revealed in the sample school. That all teachers expressed satisfaction regarding curriculum content of different grades since the official curriculum is made locally relevant. Secondly, while teaching Manipuri literature, Manipuri language, though is the lingua franca of the state is not made compulsory for those students who choose to opt for English language. Thirdly, few teachers were a part of the committee of curriculum making. The fact that curriculum content is made most locally relevant and familiar for children can perhaps be attributed to a combination of factors such as similar ethnic background, relative openness, less casteism and accommodative nature of social fabric of Manipuri society.

Despite teacher’s commitment to teaching and overall well being of students, surprisingly enough, teacher themselves unanimously admitted, 90% that children opt for private tutor, not solely for learning purpose, but for other reasons that are cited as, ‘Yes, most students do, 90% students go to tuition for fashion, most students do it for a freak, because teacher ’re committed and teach very well in the class, they try their level best with commitment; parents
take X standard with extreme serious and most importantly as if exam result decides the entire course of student life for the future. There’re maximum tuition centres in Imphal. Tuition is like doing revision and fashion. They’re the children of affluent parents, these parents don’t want to be responsible for their wards, whether they have time or not, busy or not busy, they simply don’t want responsibility; don’t want to control their ward and think only money can manage by hiring private tutors’. ‘The system itself has created two types of school education though it should be only one for all children coming from all backgrounds. The rich families started the concept of hiring private tutor; my child has to become IAS officer, this is what the aspiring parents want, they feel sending a child to private tutor may realize their dreams. Now it has become a habit for all children coming from different backgrounds. Teachers’re responsible to cover syllabus but often they fail to do so since there are bands, strikes and trafficking of life just as the order of the day. In the past children opted for private tutor, for better clarifications and understanding and it were confined to one discipline. For example, some students face language problem and the teacher teaching English language in the class may not be able to help the child thoroughly in the class since he is managing so many other children. With private tutor’s help, the child wanted to clear the weak area he/she faces. But now, hiring tutor for all subjects has become a fashion; so the trend is something else. Even on Sundays children start going for tuitions. In classroom situation, children learn so many things continuously, may be in the process, there’re plenty of information in the subconscious mind of children. During tuition, specific areas of the information gets cleared and filtered. Through tuition, what exists in the subconscious mind of the child can be transferred to the conscious mind. In a classroom, out of the total students such 60/70, 30 of them are really good even without going to private tutor. However as I said, going to private tutor has become a fashion, most children opt for private tutor. It is the personal pleasure of households to send their children to school’. The mathematics teacher opined, ‘Tuition system is for fashion and status enhancement. I teach mathematics and Science subjects only. When I teach students in the class, they seem to understand what I teach. But most children go for private tutor. Parents force them to opt for private tutor in the perceived idea of getting more knowledge. My students’re free to ask about any problem in class but parents initiate tuition for children. Earlier, opting for private tutor was a fashion, now it has become a culture, has become a way of life, our children
belong to middle class families. If a student does not like a teacher, he can't concentrate in the class, and then he has to opt for private tutor. On our part, we take even extra classes to complete the syllabus, we in most cases complete course on time because of strict order from Catholic Fathers, we devote extra time for them, why should any student face problem when we ‘re always there for them’. These were some of the concerns raised by teachers of Don Bosco School while citing reasons for students fathoming for private tutors while they remain committed to their teaching vocation and welfare of students.

5.6 Discipline, Examination and Ranking

On the enforcement of discipline in the sample school, the school operates like a laboratory where students are meticulously observed in habits, walking styles, rules, orders, examinations, their rankings and ultimate preservation of school reputation. The students are under constant surveillance through discipline and moral order by teachers who strictly enforce such moral order communicated by Salesian Fathers to them. Discipline and moral formation remain the cornerstones of every behaviour and action of the students in particular. The pioneering work of Michel Foucault who examined the origin and development of the processes of discipline beginning in ancient Europe has brought interesting observations on the issue of discipline in schools. Foucault’s dealing with discipline and punishment in schools is traced to the ancient regime, placing visible power on the offender as retribution for trespass against kings.

In ‘Discipline and Punish’, 1977, Foucault writes, the mechanism of discipline prevalent today in schools, monasteries, military institutions, hospitals can be traced to the period of 1760-1840 Europe where penal detention in various forms of punishment replaced public execution as a brutal technique, to alter individual behaviour. Foucault details how torture of bodily inflictions (body as the major target) during public executions, punishment as an exciting spectacle was replaced by the penalties of prison. Foucault while highlighting the shift, documents in detail about the stricter method of surveillance and the dying out of penal repression of targeting body as sort of gloomy spectacle of symbolising the tortured body as an object of pity or admiration by the end of eighteenth and beginning of nineteenth century, say in France in 1789, and in England in 1837. Equally significant is that it marked the slackening of hold on the body to be
condemned and mocked. With disappearance of bodily condemnation of punishment, he argues, the mechanism of discipline underwent changes. That, from being an art of unbearable sensations, punishment has become an economy of suspended rights. If it is still necessary for the law to reach and manipulate the body of the convict, it will be at a distance in a proper way, according to strict rules, and with a much 'higher' aim (1977, p.11). As a result of this new restraint and strict rules, a whole army of warders (wardens), doctors, chaplains, psychiatrist, psychologists and educationists gradually took over from the executioner. The movement as discussed by Foucault affected the various legal systems in Europe.

Following from the above discourse, Foucault related school as a disciplinary and grading mechanism through the organisation of space and time. That, in schools, discipline proceeds from the distribution of individuals in space and that discipline requires enclosures. It made the educational space function like a learning machine but a machine for supervising, hierarchising and rewarding just as we do in factory where production was divided up and each variable of the workforce such as strength, promptness and skill was observed, assessed and computed. The concept of economising time emerged, which can be most visibly seen in schools through the gradation of time table according to which the use of rhythms and regular activities are meticulously followed.

In the sample school, the division of time and activities of students and teachers alike are governed in detail by orders to be obeyed immediately. For example, as the Head teacher narrated, 'By morning hours, sharp at 8.30 o'clock, all students 're present within the enclosure of school complex, by 9 immediately the school bell rings, all students rush to the morning assembly ground by lining up, there's pin drop of silence, students keep their body straight forward with full concentration on moral education and announcements by Catholic Father followed by prayer songs in praise of the Lord while all teachers standing behind the students nod their heads down in silence. After the assembly is over, students move forward in row to their respective classrooms. By 9.30 they occupy their benches, keep their books and exercise copies ready on desks'. Teachers alike seem to try their best to assure that time is not wasted in vain to the extent that even the feeling of a child wanting to go to toilet or respond to the call of
nature is suppressed. As noted by Foucault, it is a question of constituting a totally useful time, with precision, application and punctuality, the fundamental virtues of disciplinary time.

While narrating distribution of individuals in space, Foucault relates it to ranking that defines the great form of distribution of individuals in educational order: rows or ranks of pupils in the class, ranks attributed to each pupil at the end of each task and each examination from week to week, month to month, year to year and so on. Similar pattern such as ranking of students as the most cherished value is visibly noticed in the sample school as many teachers shared delightfully. In the words of the school head teacher, ‘We conduct class test, weekly test, monthly test for students to ensure ranking in final examination. Making efforts to increase the number of ranking students is our endeavour; rank holding by students of Catholic school is prescribed as a matter of principle. Our school is very good ’cause we take out only the creams, every year students take rank, discipline wise, character formation etc. is extremely good. Ranking of students is good; they bring prestige and reputation to the school. Teachers and committee members always consult each other for the welfare of students and student ranking’.

Here to obey immediately the order of the Catholic Fathers looks like a norm not to be violated as it is revealed in the discussion with the head teacher, ‘Catholic Fathers ’re quite concerned and serious about students’ ranking in Board Examinations; it’s as a matter of principle. Teachers ’re asked to teach weak students even in the night by assigning duty to teachers, no teacher refuse, we ’re under constant scrutiny by Fathers, our teachers ’re not only committed but very very committed’. Similar view was endorsed by another teacher who is teaching Manipuri literature, ‘General reputation of the school is very good, staff members’re very hard working, much disciplined, relationship between teachers and students’re very cordial and good. Committees of the school’re formed; they’re the senior staff members of the school. The committee is concerned with assigning of roles such as examination duties, duties during sports, festivals, field visits etc. In confidence and spirited tone, he continued, ‘Very often, we, advice students to be the first and winners in competition such as examinations’.
A history teacher appreciates the performance of the school in terms of the number of positions students hold in examinations every year. He said, 'Our student comes out with flying colours at examination performance. Most students clear examination with first division apart holding top positions in Board Examination. We're equally committed. Our school reputation is extremely good. Yes, result and ranking really matter to us; Catholic Fathers 're very particular of our students taking ranks in examination, every time during meeting, we discuss about student performance'. Another teacher who is teaching Science complimented Don Bosco School as one of the best missionary schools in Manipur. He reasoned, 'Meritorious students, their performance, of course, we, teachers' commitment to student well being 're contributory factors for the success of the school; our Fathers 're very strict with our responsibilities, they constantly remind us that we 're the models of our students, we naturally become conscious, we steadily get adjusted.' Competition among students in the sample school is so intense that students are divided up into different houses such as Red, Blue, Yellow and Green. Each student is identified with each of these colours. Once accorded a particular colour to a student, the symbol remains permanent with the student. House system is usually followed in debates, sports, quizzing, charity drives etc. Merit points for behaviour, discipline and academic achievement are also totalled up for comparison between houses. A teacher explained, 'Students 're assigned to houses randomly, on their first or last names or based on ability, with the aim of balancing the houses in order to increase competitive spirit in group and foster the spirit of leadership by choosing a house captain.'

As seen above, what lies at the core of the totality of the performance of the sample school is discipline, a technique that draws up everything so minutely such as time tables, prescribes movements and dressing codes, behavioural patterns including punctuality, imposes performance and a permanent competition among students. Foucault would then argue, discipline in schools presupposes a mechanism of coercion by means of observation which is found in the construction of school building such as confinement and enclosures like thick walls, heavy gates preventing entry or leaving of students to discipline them. The functional surveillance as argued by Foucault was decisively extended to a whole micro penalty of time in school such as lateness, absences, inattention, negligence, lack of zeal, idle chatter, insolence, incorrect
attitudes, unhygienic and so forth. It is through this discipline that the power of norm appeared in which the normality is established as a principle of coercion. According to Foucault, the technique of normalising judgement is through examinations that determine averages, hierarchies the good and the bad, while doing so, it also punishes and rewards. Thus according to Foucault, examination is another new form of modality of power regulated by the mechanism of discipline. Therefore discipline for Foucault as a tool for power is a means to painful normalisation, control and surveillance.

Discipline for Durkheim takes a metaphorical departure from that of Foucault. In his book, Moral Education3 (1961), Durkheim analyses discipline as a Sui Generis of education; and is the first and foremost element of morality. Durkheim’s analysis of discipline seeks to understand morality as a Social Fact. And to understand morality as a social fact is to examine the way in which it serves to the needs of social organism in that morality is binding, coercive, external and general to the individual members in society. His argument essentially reflects social determinism of moral education.

According to him, when a child is in his elementary stage in school, it is a period when the child is utmost in need of moral education which schools as the most effective agencies must take it up as the greatest challenge as a matter of necessity (Durkheim Emile: 1961). He further argues morality consists in infinity of special rules, fixed and specific which not only regulates a man’s conduct but also allocates rights and obligations in as much as the domain of morality is the domain of duty. And most importantly, as argued by Durkheim if foundation of such morality has not been laid at the elementary stage of a student’s life, they never will be.

3 One major social factor that influenced Durkheim’s contribution to moral Education was the surrender of two provinces of France to Germany such as Lorraine and Alasce with Germany during the German-Franco war of 1870. Durkheim critically reflected on the surrender of the two provinces of France to Germany. He felt that France was defeated in the war due to declining moral order among the youths. It was a period when the third republic was formed in France. The new republic opened new schools which competed with schools run by churches. The attempt was to revamp the new education system with a new social philosophy for which Durkheim ceased the opportunity by being a major player.
Discipline sets limit through which defines the goal of a child’s activity in the condition of moral happiness since discipline exercises self control. For Durkheim discipline is indispensible in schools since discipline trains individuals to master over one’s thoughts, and hence it is a means to emancipate and freedom while Foucault necessitates it as the most torturous, exploitative and brutalising technique. According to Durkheim, it is the morality of the class to maintain peace, allowing the classroom to roll on tranquilly. For this, necessary authority must develop in a teacher who can resist to arrogance, vanity or pedantry to the extent that a student obeys his authority without questioning it. Durkheim argues that the punishment coerces the child to obey the authority of a teacher but to punish is not to make the child suffer in body or soul; it is to affirm in the face of an offense, the rule that the offense would deny.

Durkheim thus condemns corporal punishment of a child that is so brutalising and dehumanising; because, as he argues the chief function of moral education is to instil humanistic morality, ‘to give the child a feeling of the dignity of man’, raising an important issue that disciplining with humanitarian feelings forms an integral part of pedagogy reforms and educational rehabilitation in as much as educational issues and problems cannot do away with it (Morrow Raymond Allen and Torres Carlos Alberto: 1995). For Durkheim punishment is only a symbol through which the inner state of the child and the teacher is represented; a language through which either the general social conscience or that of the school teacher expresses the feeling inspired by the disapproved behaviour (Durkheim Emile:1963). The emphasis is on social character of discipline that prevails over and above individuals. Punishment in schools thus bolters the authority of society’s moral form of life by confirming that social ideals and practices cannot be encroached without proportionate repercussions. It is through punishment that society’s collective representation is strengthened.

Despite such startling contrasts between the two propositions, there is interesting convergence between the two. Both the thinkers treat ‘discipline’ as an art of instrument that reigns society as a whole. Both agree that authority of social norms is not only instilled but also secured through educational institutions. Yet, Durkheim has been criticised of placing teachers as the sole moral custodians of children in school despite the possibility that some teachers may suffer from moral
bankruptcy. Durkheim's teleological approach to discipline and punishment remains unbridgeable to those of Foucault who first unearthed the buried horrors of bodily torture of punishment and discipline and has shown how the modern world has evolved and managed to change its form which are seen prevalent mostly in total institutions.

5.7 School Children in the Line of Crossfire

The most unimaginable experience for the present living generation in today's Manipuri society is their being accustomed to living in constant outburst of unanticipated sporadic violence in the state; an experience none had thought possible has become a reality nightmare for the child, the young and the old. The tragic experience brings despair and disillusionment for one and all but with its greatest toll on youths more than any other social category. This was reflected in the study of the sample school.

Over the alleged killing of school children of Don Bosco School, Senapati district, the school Head shared his grief in low tone as if the present crisis of violence is non-corrigible. 'Pictures of those children murdered is flashed in media, we're extremely sorry and pain within. We always pray that such tragedies don't befall our school children. During school assembly we pray for them. In appreciation of the school about arrangement made during bands and strikes, he said, 'There's some peculiarity about this school, even if there're bands and strikes, we always arrange van to pick up children, but when van fails to turn up with children, class strength is very less, ultimately school is closed'.

Another teacher who is teaching English literature recounted, 'Look! Given the climax of violence, I always start my class with children on peace education and practical moral science lessons due to its necessity. Depending on the potential of violence, school remains closed, say, if the violence occurs at a far distance from the school, then school remains open or else how will children come to school. Most children come to school by van. It creates a sense of insecurity among children. Yes, in the case of general strikes, children feel extremely discomfort and dismayed; it creates a sense of insecurity among them. The murder case of a student, Lungnila Elizabeth has frightened the students. Common issues directly killing students, such as
the killing of student of Don Bosco, Senapati compelled all young children to protest in the street. Protest, yes certainly and compulsorily children do, particularly when Student Association calls for it. It affects general academic performance of students.' He reaffirmed, 'Of course indirectly it does affect.' The teacher further lamented, 'Apart these disturbances, we have so many irrelevant holidays such as, Holi is observed for 4 days and in the aftermath of Holi, there're so many festivals followed, like thabal chongba (moonlight dance) which goes on for months. Such celebration is during the peak time of final examination for children. Celebrations with loud music creates nuisance for children's study'. In an assertive high pitch tone of condemnation and concerned over the growing violence in Imphal valley, a literature teacher shared, 'More than anywhere else, Imphal valley is gripped by violence all the time. It's very important to give value education to students in the light of violence in the state especially in Imphal valley. In 2004, a student of Little Flower School, Imphal, Lungnila Elizabeth was killed. Immediately after her disappearance, all children observed sit in protest march. After disappearance for 14/15 days, her body was found in gunny sag. Such a case occurred three times in the recent past as the students're soft targets of violent insurgents when they fail to attack their parents or fail to get their demands fulfilled by the parents. Elizabeth's killers have not yet claimed the murder. Two boy students disappeared from our Don Bosco school, Senapati district mysteriously; later on found death. Every time our students protested against such acts of violence by putting up posters. We select the grown up students to join such protest. Another teacher felt, 'Frequent violence has great demoralising effect on both teachers and students, it jeopardises transport and communication system, the general academic performance of children, gun culture was an alien culture in the past, we're peace loving people. In today's present situation our life is always in danger, we adults are so affected; nowadays small children don't ask for toys but for guns to play, continuity of violence certainly creates psychological warfare in children, very often there're barbaric killings of people both by insurgents and commandos and armies, then there's sudden closure of school due to strike and bands, we're operating within a cruel system hardly accountable to our lives.'

Another teacher condemned the acts of violence of insurgents, 'Time has never been a great healer; we have never forgotten the unforgettable horror of murder of our young students by
insurgents even with passage of time. Whenever violence erupts, students are used as weapons to protest. In case our children refuse, these insurgents dictate us to close the school or pay fine to them’. On interaction with students of class VIII, about their participation in protest march, 70 percent of them admitted participation in protest march due to killing and disappearance of fellow students while all disgruntled and condemned great social unrest and trafficking faced by them in the heart of Imphal capital. All students agreed that social unrest in the state is a cause for occasional stress, anxiety and restlessness, greatly affecting their concentration on studies and normal functioning of school. Students also expressed extreme distasteful of Manipur Students Union (MSU) and Democratic Students Association of Manipur (DESAM) for brutally misusing them and coercing them to often participate in protest march on almost all issues in the state as they shared they were innocent students. These organisations have often been accused for their alleged nexus with some of the banned terrorist outfits in the state. As narrated by a teacher above, it is also true that Imphal valley has been the focal point of violence since as many as 70 percent students of Don Bosco were found participating in all forms of protest march against violence in the state. This was again a huge number as compared to the 5 percent of children who joined such protest march from Bethel school and Phoijing No 6 Junior High School which is located relatively in rural Imphal west district. This further indicates that though violence has affected students all over, it is impossible for children studying in schools located in Imphal to escape themselves from the wrath of any form of violence erupted in Imphal which is often the epicentre since they are compulsorily forced to be a part of it in the form of protest and other forms of trafficking.

Violence and conflict greatly affect regular function of schools such as conducting examination on time; completing syllabus and even celebration of school related functions like sports, cultural programmes, golden jubilee celebration of the school as opined by teachers interviewed.

3. DESAM was established in 2002 as a student frontal organization of KYKL( kanglei Yawol Kunna Lup), a banned terrorist outfit actively operating in Manipur. DESAM is based in Imphal as its head office. Its main aim is to address educational issues such as teacher absenteeism, irregularities on the part of authorities, school infrastructure, judicious utilization of funds and schemes, interference of politicians. Conversation with teachers revealed that many government teachers who were reportedly found to be irregular in attendance were called to the head office for explanation call for neglect of duty and charged fine ranging from Rs2000/ besides warning of stern action if found absent in the future.
Teachers and students alike are demoralised. Teachers also alleged how violence in the region has encouraged private tuition system which was previously a culture of rich families only but has now become sort of a norm among almost all families. Violence has demoralised students maximally since their future hope is often crushed without having any expectation from a violent state.

While conversing informally with the then Director, Father M.C. George about the vision and mission of Don Bosco, one striking issue emerged regarding the educational concern of disadvantaged children hailing from destitute families and their opportunity to access schooling facility in Don Bosco School as one of the elitist schools in Manipur. To this, Father George admitted honestly about the difficulties of such feasibility since the operation of the school depends on the contribution of the students.

It suggests that almost all students of Don Bosco School belong to relatively well off middle class and affluent families. The monthly school fee is Rs 260 per month for all classes starting from nursery to X. The amount is almost 24 times bigger the amount paid by a student studying in government school. Apart this payment, there is instalment wise payment of fees for three times a year. The charge for the first instalment is Rs1200/ for the old students while it is Rs1400/ for the new students. And all those students who join computer classes pay an extra amount of Rs500/ per month. The study also revealed that 55 percent children had parents who are salaried, 35 percent are business class while 10 percent are farmers. 65 percent of these students enjoy better housing facilities such as pucca houses and more than 60 percent of them commute to school by van.

Despite the expensive and elite status of Don Bosco School, orphans admitted are naturally given free education. Besides the school authorities have been identifying poorest students from classroom itself to support them free education. Teachers due to their proximity with students in classroom interaction are given the responsibility to identify two poorest students from each sections of class in case there are no orphans. No enough with it, Father George sensing the precarious condition of many destitute children being deprived of literacy and education,
strongly felt the necessity of opening mobile literacy centres to spread literacy and education far and wide in the state. This gave birth to Bosco Mangaal in 2002, an NGO operating with special focus on literacy and education of children and youths, awareness education about HIV/AIDS and women Self Help Groups. However the present study focuses on the literacy and education mission of the organisation through interviews of programme manager, animators, teachers and visits of mobile literacy centres organised by Bosco Mangaal. Bosco Mangaal provides the best fill up for those households who are constrained of sending their children either to private or government school. This benefits the best for children who are hanged up in between those who are not able to afford both private and government school.

5.8 Bosco Mangaal (Bosco Light), Chingmeirong

Deeply influenced by the ideologue of Bible philosophy to care for the poor and the needy and to discover their identify as being created in the image of God, Father M.C George ventured into the pioneering work of educating destitute children by establishing Bosco Mangaal on 12th October, 2002. The focus of the programme is youth oriented with a vision of 'Youth Friendly Manipur'. Organising youth friendly programmes are conducted due to the felt need of youths who are at greatest risk in Manipur for several reasons.

The programme was initiated by M.C George, who was the director of Don Bosco School, Chingmeirong, Imphal. Father George shared his passionate work as, 'In the light of their destitute existence, poor children can't get education from missionary school which is why I started mobile literacy centres for the poorest children of Manipur'. Father George at the risk of his life, being under constant threat of kidnapping him by local insurgents has sustained himself in his noble journey of empowering children and youths through educational programmes.' When asked about the threat from local insurgents, he said, 'It is through the weapon of support of Ima Meira Paibis(Mother Torch Bearers), teachers and local youths that has sustained my mission from continued threats of kidnapping and killing by local insurgents who engage in extortion'. Today Bosco Mangaal has become extremely popular among many poor households whose hopes can move from the zone of despair after providing literacy skills and education to many destitute children who otherwise would have remained trapped in illiteracy and destitution.
The main office of Bosco Mangaal is located at Chingmeirong Imphal within the residential premise of Salesian Fathers who are looking after the function and administration of Don Bosco School. The NGO is under the supervision of Salesian Fathers under whose direction, local staffs are hired. There are altogether 28 staff members. Among these members, there are Core Committee group, the teaching staff, the Administrative staff and two office assistants. The core committee consists of two programme managers, two assistant programme managers and two coordinators.

5.9 Opening of Literacy Centres: Modus Operandi

Literacy campaign under Bosco Mangaal is spread over greater and east Imphal and beyond Imphal, covering Moirang Kamphu an area that falls within Bishnupur district. In Imphal district, including east and west, there are 32 such educational centres in 23 leikais. Leikais are selected on the basis of availability of 20 children who are in the age group of 7 years and who have never been enrolled in school. The presence of never enrolled children in the age group of 7 years in any Leikai is prerequisite to open a centre in that particular leikai. The staffs prepare and compile a data on the actual number of children sent to school to identify the number of children who have not been in school.

Bosco Mangaal does not take care of children up to 6 years. According to Bosco Mangaal, their main aim is to provide bridge education. Bosco Mangaal argues that in the village, it is the responsibility of anganwadi teachers to teach all children at least up to six years of age. Angawandi centres operate in the hands of government since the year 2002. Bosco Mangaal staff initially used to campaign a lot to mobilise about the Basic Education programme by selecting villages where there is no government school and villages which are extremely underdeveloped. Household survey was conducted through the help of village head or pradhan. They examined the number of illiterate children in the village followed by household visits to discuss with parents if their children can be sent to their centres. Collection of profile of children includes sex, age, name and parental occupation. The survey of identifying these young children was assisted by the teacher himself/herself who is either class X pass or X11 pass from
the same Leikai. This method in many ways is similar with the famous Lok Jhumbis model practiced in Rajasthan, where identification of needy villages for opening of literacy centres for marginalised children are done through micro planning. And school mapping through participatory appraisal method.

Staffs of Bosco Mangaal choose the potential teacher while organizing sensitisation programmes relating to drugs and substance abuse and HIV/AIDS in villages of Manipur. While organizing the programme itself, they spot suitable candidates and approach. Choosing the teacher from the same locality almost ensures that he/she will not be at least absent and in many ways will be useful such as discussing with the parents or guardians about children when they face problems. The literacy centre can be any place that is comfortable and convenient for the children. It can be for example a Sanghoi or a verandah, a place under a tree or school building that can be used after regular schools are over or any other space in the neighbourhood itself. Children both boys and girls freely mix since they are from the same community and parents need not fear of sending their girl child since the literacy centre is located in the same Leikai.

In the initial stage of its operation, there was strong resistance from parents and guardians belonging to certain community such as the Muslims. In the process of spreading literacy campaign, these communities got upset on one issue. That, there was a song which runs as, 'If I have a white little box, I put Jesus in it........ ........ ' Children who came to literacy centre usually sing the song. And when children started singing the song very often even outside the class, parents and the elderly in the village started feeling fearful and worried if baptism among children was under way or not. Because of this suspicion, children failed to turn up for classes on the following day. Worried over the development, Bosco Mangaal staff visited the households and made them understand. After understanding their sentiment, the verse of the song was changed as 'If I have a white little box, I put Allah in it.... ........'. Today, as the staff members shared, children are benefited by the education they have received. Village elders come forward and have requested the staff of Bosco Mangaal to open more such centres. Today, there are 39 existing centres with a total number of students of 899, of which 417 are boys as against 482 girls.
Changes started in 2004-2005. That, it was no longer necessary for Bosco Mangaal to popularise or publish any advertisement relating to the basic education programme since the programme became very popular in a short span of time. At present, changes are made in the method of choosing teachers and students. Selection of teachers is done through the test of written with minimum qualification such as class X pass or XII pass. The teacher's skills of basic English Grammar and structure of written English is tested. These teachers are not only responsible to identify illiterate deserving children for enrolment in Bosco Mangaal centres but also verify students' family background such as income, parental and household profile through observation and interaction to ensure that these children are from below poverty line families. This can be done even by looking at the kitchen garden, how well the garden is maintained and other household items of the family.

At present, a teacher is paid Rs700/ per month and the duration of teaching is only two to three hours per day, say from 6.45 AM to 8.45 A.M., or as per the convenience of both the teachers and the students. The duration of two to three hours is chosen so that children are not taught at a stretch without any break. Moreover there are no toilet or latrine facilities available and hence the duration could be effective enough. Classes are conducted six days in a week. There are no long holidays not to risk the learning continuity of children but classes are not held on three national days and a few days of religious importance to the community of the teacher and children.

5.10 Teaching-learning Material Aids, Methods of Teaching: A Joyous Experience

The teachers are provided with in-service training every month at the time of payment of salary to ensure that none of them misses the training but quarterly training is also provided continuously for three days. Training is imparted by focussing on weak areas of a teacher. Training orientation covers issues of how to teach children who have no textbooks, skills of multi-grade teaching system, classroom management, discipline, child psychology, teaching through games and songs, making of teaching aids, creative activities such as soft toy making, and pictures with sand, leaves, flower petals, seeds, match sticks etc. Outdoor activities like
identifying concrete things such as stone, shape of the stone, leaves and plants are also taught to students. Games, songs, action songs, rhymes etc. play an important part of learning. Children are also taught *Meitei Mayek (Meitei Script)* to non Hindi speaking children such as Christians, Muslims, Meiteis but Hindi is taught to Hindi speaking children such as Nepalis and Biharis who are residing at Mantri Pukhri, Imphal. Teaching mathematics and English is compulsory with the ultimate aim of sending them to regular schools. Teachers are encouraged to be innovative and evolve interesting and pragmatic topics to be covered for teaching children. Therefore type of instructional language used depends on not only the location of the place but the language commonly spoken by children. Teacher pupil ratio is 1:20 and sometimes it is 1:30 only.

**Picture: 5.9**

*Children at one of the literacy centres, the teacher and the animator*

![Children at one of the literacy centres, the teacher and the animator](image_url)

*Source: Primary Survey, 2009*

Every class at literacy centres begins with citation of prayers. Muslim children will begin in Muslim language while Christian children will cite in their form of prayer, depending on the
community to which the children belong, as for instance, for Christian children, the class begins with a prayer such as ....

'Dear God, we thank you for this day
And also for giving us a good teacher
Help us to learn new things each day........'

While a Muslim prayer begins as follows:

*Bismillah ar-Rahman-ar Rahim
(In the name of Allah, the most beneficent and merciful)

"Rabbi Zidni Ilma ya Fa`tahu
(Who enhances the knowledge) (Repeat three times)

The class comes to an end with a song. The lyrics of the song run as follows

'School is over, school is over for today
We will come tomorrow, we will come tomorrow
Bye bye teacher, bye bye friends
Thank you teacher for your love, we will come tomorrow (Repeat two times)
Bye bye teacher, bye bye friends'.

Though the wordings are simple, they are made to be quite attractive through dance and body movements with tiny hands swinging according to the rhythm of the song. Children enjoy singing the song with dance and body movements collectively arousing in them sense of belonging to each other. The play way method in this way motivates them and interests them all the more to prepare them ready for the following day to be in school. Teaching-learning in all literacy centres have been made child centred and activity based. And as such de-motivation caused due to lack of commodious facilities such is available in normal regular schools are to some extent compensated through such methods joyful learning. Secondly, the learning process has been made community specific in that students are readily able to relate themselves with the teachers who are in everyday interaction with them.

Thus there is no prescribed rule of teaching and no system is imposed on the teachers and the taught. The teacher prepares teaching aids on her / his own. Mobile textbooks and other related
books are provided to children in circulation among centres. These mobile books costing Rs.3 lakhs are mostly of folk tales, moral education, contents of joyful learning etc. Most of these are taught with pictures and diagrams, for example, letters such as A, B, C are printed on hand made cards with different bright colours. All are taught in a joyful learning through counting of papers, demonstration, English, mathematics, compulsory, rhymes, Conversation etc.

**Picture: 5.10**

A model picture of a honey bee used in multi-grade teaching at literacy centres.

![Honey Bee](https://www.freenaturepictures.com/bee-pictures.php)

Learning General Knowledge at literacy centres is compulsory. Teaching aids such as balls, numbers, cards, charts, blackboards, chalks donated by individuals are used for the literacy purpose. There is no sitting arrangement made but children naturally come. During creativity period, children develop the art of making mats and other requirements of their need initiated by the teachers.

Multi grade teaching system is adopted since teachers cannot teach all students of the same class at different timings. For example, let us analyse a situation such as study of a bee. To identify
the bee, it is drawn in colourful manner and the different bodily parts of the bee are highlighted. In this method of teaching, in the first class itself that is at the nursery level, the teachers identity what a bee is; then in the next stage such as at the level of group 11, teachers make the students acquaint with the bee by asking them its description or functions of bee at least in 10-15 characters about anything regarding the bee in a manner of their choice. At group 111 level, children are made to learn whether a bee is an insect or animal. At higher level, children are made to learn about how many wings, legs, eyes are there in a bee. As children move on to level of higher grade, say at level IV, questions related to such as functions of bees, what they produce and in what ways honey is produced is the type of knowledge children learn. These are some of the practical ways of joyful learning methods of teaching. In this way children will develop the art of knowing about bees in 10-15 ways. This method of learning is used for other items of

Picture: 5.11
Sign board indicating direction of Bosco Mangaal centre at Kairang Village, Imphal East


5 A sign board with the picture of Don Bosco on the roadside closest to the literacy centre where classes are held is displayed not only for directional indication but also for its publicity so that people who are passing by become curious and aware about its presence in their own poor neighbourhood. After enquiries made, they can approach Bosco Mangaal for opening a new centre in their own locality.
objects like anything such as a boy, banana, balloon, books etc. However, multi grade teaching system has been heavily criticised as an extremely form poor quality in instruction as a single teacher manages students learning in different grades.

In every literacy centres, both boys and girls in equal number attend the education centre. However when it comes to retention, more number of girls continue to be in the centre and does not attend regular schools by continuing till class X in this centre because of flexible timings so that they can attend household chores and family burden. This is despite of their qualification to go on higher education. When they reach 17-18 years old and don’t want to go to regular schools, they are provided with vocational education.

Picture: 5.12

Children welcoming the researcher at kairang Umang Leikai Literacy Centre, Imphal East


While visiting a Bosco Mangaal centre, established in January, 2008, at Kairang Umang Leikai, literally meaning Kairang Forest Leikai, Imphal east district, teacher was found teaching the students on how to sing certain rhymes. There were 23 students while visiting the centre. While interacting with them, children were found articulate, interactive though initially they
were shy. Children naturally assumed that the researcher was from Bosco Mangaal and welcomed the researcher with a song in Hindi which starts as follows...

‘Mere Liya Ek Dostic Hain
Bosco se Aaya Hain
Dost ke Sath Chalte Rahe To Kitna Accha Hain
Dost Ke Sath Khate Rahe To Kitna Accha Hain
Dost Eke Sath Sote rahe to Kitna Accha Hain.......’.

**Picture: 5.13**

A teacher teaching students at Kairang Umang Literacy centre

Children despite the discomfort position of their sitting arrangement and lack of other facilities did not show any sign of fatigue and disinterest, rather they were found quite enthusiastic and interesting and most children displayed smiles on their faces.
5.11 Literacy Campaign, Mobile Library Facilities: Reaching the Unreached Children

The concept of mobile library facilities is excellent to meet the demands of books at various literacy centres. Children at literacy centres are deprived of books and printed materials. Since children are too poor to afford textbooks, Bosco Mangaal makes a point that children do not need textbooks except teachers. Therefore children learn whatever a teacher teaches them through chalkboard and what they themselves copy out in their books. But children need familiarity with printed words and hence mobile book facility facilitates their need through teacher at the literacy centre.

Library books costing around Rs3 lakhs are distributed to all literacy centres and after two months these books are collected back by ensuring that each centre gets new books on rotation for the children. Books are distributed to the teachers of each literacy centres. To avoid the cost of transportation of these books and other inconveniences such as accidents, vandalism during strikes and bands. Teacher themselves pick these books by visiting the literacy centre once in a month. These books are used while teaching by making children familiar to reading habits or sometimes children are allowed to take them to their homes for a day or two. Each centre has only 50 books. The content of the books is so good that even regular students are not privileged to access, for example all kinds of insects, animals like Hippopotamus, vegetables, fruits etc. as narrated by the programme manager.

Trained animators visit the literacy centres regularly. The frequency and the length of the animator’s visit can be however be reduced as the teacher steadily gathers experience. It shows that an animator has to be well qualified and trained enough to only guide the teacher but also motivate him/her. The animator signs the register each visit and is countersigned by the teacher. If a student is continuously found to be absent, the teacher visits the parents and enquires about the problem causing the child to stop attending the centre. In all possible ways the animator and the teacher encourage the parents to participate regularly. These animators during visit inspect the teaching of the teachers and students. An animator visits one centre four times a week and examines the progress of the particular centre, checks attendance sheet, evaluates the progress, inquires from the teachers about their progress weekly, monthly and the response from the
students as well. An animator is usually the one who has immense self motivation and who can be of immense help for the teaching programme and overall motivation of teaching. In case a child is found absent for consecutive three days, the teacher and sometimes with the animator visit the student’s house to discuss about the absence and take remedial action.

Another important dimension of educational programme of Bosco Mangaal focuses on health and hygiene of children. A teacher creates health awareness among children by stressing on the needs and importance of personal health and hygiene by sensitising them like if they fall sick, they will not be able to study. To motivate the children on maintaining health and hygiene, they are asked basic hygiene issues, and whosoever respond are rewarded stationeries. It is a normal routine that nails and hair of children are checked. In the centres visited, children were asked to show their nails and teeth. If any child was found having long or dirty nails, they were strictly sensitised about possible infection and ultimate falling in illness because of which they would fail to come to centre. This was communicated in a light and warm tone with smiles on the face of the teacher while the children listened keenly. Parents are also sensitised about the importance of health and hygiene for their children during meeting with them once a month. During the meeting, teachers communicate with parents about what they teach children regarding behaviour, bathing, cutting nails, trimming and combing hair, wearing clean cloths. Parents are also told to ensure that their children study at home even if they themselves are illiterates.

Examinations are held for three times a year such as monthly, quarterly and yearly. Nature of examination conducted is both oral and written. Students who perform well are rewarded with learning material aids such as pen, pencils, papers etc to motivate and encourage. After completing certain stage, If students want to attend regular school, the arrangement is made and students who score well in the quarterly examinations that is internal and final is external, then the student is admitted either in missionary run school or government schools. Skills, aptitude of the children are also tested. Quiz programme, song competition and storytelling are some of the programme children celebrate in addition to normal classes.
Once in a year, children from all literacy centres get together. They organise cultural programme, games and enjoy good meal together with other fellow children. Apart this, they are given opportunity to watch exhibition shows and other entertainment. During the gathering children from centres all over have an opportunity to meet others in circumstances similar to their own. The exposure boosts their moral confidence.

The staffs of Bosco Mangaal are quite encouraging that children are motivated to join regular and normal school system. In the monthly meeting of parents, Bosco Mangaal gradually introduces the issue of sending children to a regular school. In case they are unable to send due to financial constraint, Bosco Mangaal initiates the parents to join Self Help Group, savings, internal loaning, income generation activities etc. Bosco Mangaal requests the headmasters of private schools to admit the willing children into classes according to the level they have reached. There are as many as 2,344 students who enrolled in regular schools as there are cases where children have successfully done well by coping up and sometimes they perform better than those children enrolled in regular schools. For example, there were 14 students from the centre who got enrolled in regular schools and got rank in class V examination in the year 2007. So far as the number of failed students is in point, till now there is only one student who failed as reportedly informed by the programme manager.

Parents, local clubs, Ima Meira Paibis, Mahila Committees and Children’s Home are the main supporters of the programme. With the help of these groups, Bosco Mangaal is able to organise programmes and sponsor children who are deprived of education and who belong to families below poverty line. State Children’s Home have special demand for such education centres while even isolated individuals including government functionaries after realizing the goal and vision of such education centres started supporting the programme by distributing clothes, eatables, stationeries and other items. Closing down of centres indicates the successful completion of programmes. So far there were as many as 38 centres which were closed down and these centres sent children successfully to regular schools.
5.12 Bethel School, Nambol Phojing
The case of Bethel school illustrates another interesting experience of civil society participation in educational development of the state. It also demonstrates that in any given community there are few people who are quite voluntarily capable of contributing to the welfare of society. The school is an illustrative of a model that can provide schooling for children who have no options either to join a failed government school or an elitist missionary school such as the Don Bosco school which every parent even the well to do ones aspire but are not always successful in admitting their children.

5.13 Its Inception and Rough Journey
The inception of the school began way back in 1985, when government schools started declining steadily in the state. The school had an extremely humble beginning, with a mission to serve poor village children who despite of being talented, are deprived of schooling facilities of any kind. After having evolved for a period of 15 years, the school today has become the most sought after school by the local parents in addition to students coming from relatively distant area. 'Just for the sake of future generations, I felt lots of responsibilities since I witnessed many young children deprived of educational facility in my village, Langpok. It's around 4 Kilometers away from Nambol Keithel, these children are very talented but illiterate. Since government has failed to establish schools in this village, I decided to establish one school,' recounted the school manager (Secretary) who is popularly known as Oja Tomba (Tomba Sir) in the locality. It is his sense of humility, courage; unfailing faith and discipline that helped him achieve his burning desire. Since his childhood days, Oja Tomba felt deeply hurt by the non-availability of government school due to which his own village children remain beyond the reach of schooling facility. While conceiving the idea of establishing the school, he was in a sorry state.

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6 Nambol Keithel, a town market centre is situated on the banks of the Nambol river, about 14 Kms southwest of Imphal on National Highway, the Tidim road.
as he said, 'I was too poor, lived from hand to mouth. I was only 25 years old then, lived in broken family. My father lived with his second wife and my grandfather took care of us. Mother was illiterate, worked only on kitchen garden and paddy field for our living'. Yet he was insightful of recounting what went to his favour in his adventurous life, 'My grandfather was a constable in the police and being posted anywhere, I had the chance of meeting up with many people while accompanying him. My village is near a Tangkhul village called Kabiri where my grandfather was posted. My village and Kabiri village are very close though; they are not very different from ours in terms of eating habits, lifestyles etc. That way, we were freely interactive in terms of economic exchange. The villagers were always in search of Chengkup, a kind of rice grain left over after use to feed pigs and we were always asking for vegetables like cabbage if I remember. So we had economic interdependence. From this Tangkhul village, I came across two evangelists, namely Ibobi and Kuma who came to my village for mission work. These people have everything, all resources but I have no bread to eat. These’re the people who
strongly felt the need of establishing school in the village and provided ideas but they themselves did not know how to implement their ideas'.

Oja Tomba received both moral and material support from them however in small measure it was. Seizing the opportunity, Oja Tomba as he was already so passionate to establish a school, started working out towards the same idea that could serve to the needs of local children. He shared his interesting venture with great zest, ‘Since my childhood days, I was quite aware about educational problems and issues in the state; I was passionate to establish school so that children in my village would not be deprived of schooling facility. In the entire village there’s one government school which was no longer functioning. My faith in God has motivated me to go in this mission. At my personal level, I suffered a lot during my childhood days so far government schooling experience is in point. The government school I used to study in my village had no building, no benches, and I had to spread a gunny sag sheet (Vora) for myself while attending the school. There was no building and we had to sit in the open space. I studied this way till primary stage. After primary stage, I had to walk more than three and half Kilometres to join Junior High School. Any student who was travelling upto the school was bound to bear the brunt of any unforeseen natural calamity befallen such as sudden storm on the deserted way between school and home and that too in the absence of any shelter place in between’.

Considering the formidable difficulty, Oja Tomba established a primary school in his native village, Langpok in the year 1990. But the most difficult part of continuing the school as he recounted ‘I’m alone; so I needed the help of other likeminded people ‘cause it is a private school.’ However, unfortunately the school could not operate in his own village due to non availability of villagers who are somewhat qualified and who could contribute not only as a staff but also overall development of the school. In early 1993, the school got shifted to Nambol Bazaar on rent. Building a school of generally acceptable standard was just like a herculean task for Oja Tomba as it required lots of hard work and sacrifice at the individual level alone.
He thus narrated of building the school block by block, ‘I built the school of wood supported by bamboos; my family arranges these materials from my own homestead; made benches and chairs on my own. Slowly, my school became very popular and lots of volunteers came forward to contribute donations. In the process, my hard work and sincerity was paid off. There’re friends, students’ parents. I got tremendous encouragement from them such as stationery items, school blackboards. I’m particularly indebted to Kumar and Ibobi who’re no more; besides, my far off kith and kin also contributed’. It was during this period that lots of resources through voluntary help came to his school in the form of cash, school materials and other forms of donations from friends and his kith and kin from far off villages. The school operated on rent for seven years from nursery to class VII with the help of seven staff members.

In the meanwhile it was felt necessary for Bethel School to be shifted out from market place such as Nambol keithel to Phoijing just near Khoribaba hillock behind the tidim road of State Highway No 150. The area of the plot which is more than one and half acres of land was donated by a local physician who Oja Tomba considers an extremely gentleman. The school site was a paddy field. Presently, the school having one storey building stands on the middle of a large paddy field. The location is about 13 to 14 kms way down southwest from Keisampat, Imphal. At the time of deciding of purchasing the site of the school, there was no money at all to arrange for building the school and the most cumbersome is that the chosen site is a paddy field, full of mud and water. Yet, since it was a paddy field, Oja Tomba was confident the site will be favourable for children. Having decided to build the school on the chosen site, loan was procured and the school was ultimately built. Oja Tomba is today looked upon by others as an ideal man whose zeal and spirit can do yeoman service to his people though he quite humbly admitted, ‘I’m not trained, I’m not qualified, I’m just a graduate, like a child when I sleep, I always dream, I plan everything during the night time’. At present the school is owned by Oja Tomba. The school provides education to classes from nursery to class X level for both boys and girls.

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7 About one third of a mile away from Nambol keithel stands the famous Khoriphaba hillock, where the famous temple of the ancient traditional Meitei Umang Lai (Animistic God) popularly known as Khoriphaba Lainingthou Ibungo (King of Gods) is worshipped by all communities such as the Meitei Hindus and the tribes who reside in the khoriphaba hillock.
5.14 The School building and Infrastructural Facilities

The school building is made of pucca and is one storey building. The school is in the process of expansion and under constant renovation. Location of the school is ideal since it is built on the side of tidim road which is easily accessible from all roadways. It is also free from noise and other forms of disturbance.

Roofing and flooring of the building are made of pucca. There is sufficient natural light in the classroom. Windows and doors are made of wood and are large enough for sufficient ventilation. The building has one big staff room which is partially partitioned from the administration room where the head master and the Secretary sit in separate rooms partitioned by wooden wall. There are shelves where teachers keep students' copies. Staff room is separated from the Head Master’s room, which is adjacent to the secretary’s room. The secretary’s room has big table where lots of books and one laptop are kept. Calendar and pictures of geographical importance are hung on the wall. In the secretary’s room there are administrative and official

Picture: 5.15
Bethel school, Nambol phojing

Source: Primary Survey. 2008.
staffs but the room is half partitioned so that he can monitor and watch over the work of administration and also the teaching staff. In the administration room, there is one computer, chairs and tables along with laboratory and science kits for science students. There is just one table and one chair in the principal’s room which is located right in front of the secretary’s room.

Leading to the passage from the secretary’s room, there is the staff room. In the staff room there are strong wooden desks and chairs sufficient enough for the 24 staff teaching members of which 3 are females. The room is relatively large with basic amenities around such as drinking water facility kept in a filter container, shelves, calendar, fan etc. The room is a well ventilated room with large wooden windows on all sides. Recruitment and selection of staff was done on the basis of oral test and classroom demonstration method of teaching which is not as rigorous as the selection process adopted in Don Bosco School. The method of selection is based on one’s ability to speak English since English language is the medium of instruction in classroom interaction between teachers and students. Hence subject specialisation was not found to be the criteria of selection. Of the ten teachers interviewed, only one teacher was trained as Bachelors of Education, a formal requirement of teaching eligibility in schools. However, all teachers were found to have completed certain degree of qualification that five of the teachers completed Post Graduation in Mathematics, English, Manipuri literature and Science. One teacher was a PhD degree holder in Social Anthropology from Delhi University but was found teaching biology while the rest of the teachers were graduates.

On getting exposure and joining of teachers training programme, only two teachers were found having attended workshops and seminars on teaching skills while the rest were found deprived of it. Most of the teachers such as six of them were on temporary selection, two of them were appointed permanently while two were given teaching assignment against leave vacancy. Salary structure ranges from Rs1,700/ per month to Rs2,400/ per month. And all teachers had huge complaint against the low salary paid to them though they received payment on time. Hence teachers were found extremely unsatisfactory with the salary amount they were paid though one teacher distinctively argued that teaching job is a profession of commitment that needs not
be compromised with pay structure. Despite such grudges against the low salary structure, these teachers were committed to the profession of teaching with a clear-cut goal of leading young generation to the right path, making them become morally and spiritually trained with the belief if there were no teachers, there would not have been students who could one day become great men and women. And it is through these educated men and women, the whole society will one day become an educated society which most teachers feel as a cherished dream as shared by a conscientious teacher.

The staff members teach students for day shift starting from morning to evening classes from class 111 to class X. There are 13 female teaching staff and 1 male teaching staff for teaching classes from nursery to class 1. There are 20 classrooms used for instructional purpose. The strength of students per classroom was found overcrowded which was in the ratio of 1:60. There is strength of 943 students of class 1 to VIII. There are three sections in class V111 alone. The teachers’ priority in such situations is to maintain order to avoid disruptions and troubles while teaching. The problem of overcrowding in well performing private schools has become unmanageable by school management themselves. This has invited outside agencies such as DESAM to intervene in reducing the number of students to just 50 in one section which has to be followed as a matter of rule in all private schools starting from the year 2008. Pictures of demonstrative handwritten and cleanliness are hung on the wall of student classroom to deter the students from dirtying and littering around the room. Classrooms are separated from each other by walls and hence noise and disturbance from the other class are not audible.

The physical facilities and other infrastructure are of moderate but the overall school environment is pleasant. Teaching learning facilities of the school are however in moderate supply. Tables and usable blackboards are in good condition with sufficient chalks available. However, there is no Mathematical kit, children’s’ book bank school textbooks and audio-visual aids. There are science kits but inadequate. The facilities are not excellent, but the infrastructure and resources available are seen used judiciously. There is a small library facility, having 4000 books of Manipuri, English and Hindi literature kept in almirah since there is no separate library room. There is regular supply of newspapers and journals in English and Manipuri
language. The newspapers are distributed in classroom before classes begin. Teaching methods includes verbal instruction and use of blackboards though sometimes demonstration method is used while teaching geography in classroom.

Basic conveniences such as separate toilet facility for girls and boys are available in the sample school. There is drinking water facility through tape water. There is electricity facility although it is not used often. There is regular immunization facility for non resident students. First Aid Kit facility is readily available in the school. One nurse is also employed for attending upon the students as and when required. There is regular medical check up for residents and immunization facility for non resident students. First Aid Kit facility is easily available. Teaching Learning facilities of the school are in moderate supply. In the sense, there are no mathematical kit, children’s’ book bank school textbooks audio-visual aids, science kits etc.

5.15 Discipline and Obedience: Ingredients of Holistic Development of Students

In the sample school, there are no exciting and innovative methods of teaching -learning used in classroom such as audio visuals and other forms of field visit method. Yet students were found intact and attentive in classroom interaction with teachers. This indicates observance and maintenance of discipline in the sample school in great measure. As the school secretary shared, ‘Norms of discipline are strictly followed’. The secretary shared particularly ten major rules which are strictly prescribed in the sample school. These rules include:

- Sickness,
- Irregularity,
- Weak performance,
- Juvenile delinquents,
- Obedience, punctuality,
- Compulsory performance of home work assignments whether they are correctly done or not
- Punctuality
- Discipline
- Moral foundation
Obedience and discipline occupy top priority among the above traits as the secretary said, 'Once students start listening to what is good for themselves by being obedient what we prescribe to them, not much problem is likely to occur in future.' Taking the most prevalent crisis faced by adolescents in Manipur such as the case of drug addiction, he shared his concerns stressing what could hold good for students by being obedient, 'Before addiction its always better we guide our young students; our motto is learn to live responsively in family, society and the country; these attitudes’re built in them only when they inculcate the value of obedience and discipline. As elders we guide them just like elderly people do by holding hands of a child as soon as the child starts learning to walk. There is a huge demand for children’s entry in Bethel school from local parents. In the year 2007, it was found that there were as many as 717 population of students at primary level starting from class 1 to class IV and 442 students at elementary stage in the same year.

One feasible reason for the sample school to be famous and most sought after by local parents is the successful performance of students and ranking in final board examinations. This, parents consider as one of the most successful parameters of a school. Secondly the school provides the best model of a flourishing school where management of school affairs, norms and discipline are almost on similar lines adopted by elite schools such as Don Bosco School, just to site a case. Hence the sample school provides an alternative choice of parents whose children fails either to make entry or cannot afford to study in reputed private schools charging exorbitant fees. Lastly parents increasingly notice differential socialisation patterns of children schooled in such well managed private schools. Therefore, parents do not perceive result and examination performance as the end in itself of choosing private school.

Making the students cultivate holistic development in them as the secretary shared his concerns is another attractive factor, 'Result in examinations is not the end but moral foundation is the main issue. For this sometimes we use corporal punishment and repressive action. For example, I experienced of a child of class IV stealing money meant for tuition fees from his friend.'
asked for the money to be returned but he refused. The child confessed only when I threatened him by banging the table two or three times, I actually pretended my anger, then he confessed. The child spent one hour with me. All our efforts will not help children unless they are made self corrected. That's was the idea of my being with the child. Counselling him not to repeat such wrong doings was my responsibility. Later on I found him improving in his grade tremendously. This was indeed an example for us that there are other such students which is why we made counselling as an integral part of learning at least for class VII, IX and X. I visit Psychologists to discuss about dealing with student problems as when required. In the last three years we have changed from corporal punishment to psychological counselling. Our objective is to deal with students with affection and cooperation in an honest manner. My fellow teachers are extremely cooperative, I deal with them not as someone superior or manager but as equals.' The affectionate and cooperative nature of teachers was reflected during the conversation with students when 65 percent of students interviewed admitted that their teachers quite helpful and cooperative while 30 percent of them found the teachers quite loving as against the 5 percent of students who found their teachers quite authoritarian.

The concept of discipline and moral foundation as the prime criteria in the sample school can be observed at the time of school assembly and is extended to every move of the students whether in classroom interaction or taking a stroll during lunch hour. During morning assembly hours, students are under intense observation by 4 or 5 teachers who check students' dresses, such as shirts, trousers, skirts, shoes and shocks, hair, nails etc to ensure that students remain neat and clean and in proper order. The school premise is neat and clean and children do not litter around. There is boundary wall with proper concrete fencing. There is a small iron gate guarded by a watchman, making restriction to one's to the school. There is playground facility, however the facility is slightly small since the land is not big enough to provide sufficient amount of land required for playground but sufficient enough to accommodate almost one thousand students during morning assembly. The space however small is of extreme importance specially children in the sample school are fond of various sports and games. The festival of sports and games, the Annual Sports Meet held every year at the end of March month. During the Meet students show up thrilling performance and their performance surprise everybody.
an appreciative way of the spirit and zeal among students, the secretary said, ‘There are 10-15 items of sports including martial arts, football, chess, tennis, and other cultural items like singing, debating competition, poems etc. I find our locality quite creative and culturally very rich. During such competitions, I have found young children even a student of class IV or V very fearless and quite creative on stage performance to the extent that their performance surprise the audience’.

Right adjacent to the school building beyond the school playground, there is a huge cycle shade facility that can accommodate more than 100 cycles indicating that most students commute to school by cycle only. This indicates that a large percentage of students such as 85 percent of them commute to school by cycle as revealed by students in the present study. This also indicates that a large number of students such as 45 percent of them travel school more than 3 kilometres as against the prescribed norm of 3 kilometres. As many as 20 percent students travel a distance of 3 kilometres to reach school as against 20 percent of students who travel for 1 km.

5.16 Accountability
Another observation found in the school, is accountability and dedication as the topmost factor in running the school smoothly. The secretary must possess all sorts of managerial skills besides playing a watchdog role. He explained about the dynamism one must possess while taking up such a huge responsibility of running a school successfully. ‘I reside in school premise; I draw water from the pond and filter to store it in tank for drinking purpose, I clean toilet and latrine used by children, I help in constructing cycle shade, I also manage to maintain records. So I’m all in all. I work just like a clerk, a teacher, a manager and a fellow friend to my colleagues’.

This is in another sense to be responsive up to parental expectations which cannot be done way with since the survival and the operation of the school largely depends on the contribution of students in the form of school fees. This again illustrates that there is constant dialogue between the school and the parents. Consultation and discussion with parents is a routine programme for the school as Oja Tomba stressed, ‘Parents have lots of expectation from us; but we also expect
them to share accountability for children. Last time a parent discussed about the shortage of latrine in the school. So I'm planning to construct a latrine for boy students. So wherever we find problems raised by parents, next time we try to solve, we incorporate their suggestions. But everyday parents lodge lots of complaint.'

In the absence of school funds and any assistance from the state government, the entire expenditure is to be borne by the students collected in the form of school fees. The amount of monthly fees paid varies from class to class. Children of class 1 and class 11 pay an amount of Rs120 per month while the amount is Rs 130/ for classes 111, V1 and V. The amount increases to Rs 150 for students studying in class V1, V11 and V111. The amount is almost thirteen times bigger than the fee structure charged in a government school. The fee structure was thus found to be much higher as compared to that of government school.

The fee structure somewhat reveals the economic position of the students that as many as 55 percent of students belonged to salaried families as against the 40 percent of parents who engaged in both farming and cultivation while 5 percent of them had their parents engaged in low income business. This indicates that a little more than half the children although hail from relatively better off families, as many as 45 percent of them belong to low income families. It was also found that 30 percent of these children live in relatively comfortable house such as pucca house as against the 70 percent living in kuccha house. Yet, 65 percent of these students were privileged to have separate room for study purpose as against 30 percent who were found deprived of such facility.

In addition to payment of such high fees as tuition fees, all teachers interviewed agree that almost all children at least 95 percent of them hired private tutors most of who are their own school teachers. This is despite the awareness created by the school secretary on the harmful effect of tuition system in society as a whole. He showed his concerns and worry over the rising popularity of tuition system not just about his own school but in Manipur as a whole as he put it bluntly in his own words, 'According to my opinion, it's high time to sensitise both teachers and
students about the mass tuition system that doesn't result in good grades but a general symptom of failure'.

Nevertheless, Bethel school illustrates of an enterprising school where the limited available means of resources, if utilized judiciously can transform the school environment into a more vibrant and motivating place for children. The school, despite its rough and humble journey has become one of the most famous and sought after schools in the locality, providing schooling facility to an estimated number of 1,800 children in and around the locality. Every year the school produces ranked students besides first class holder students which are considered honourable. Besides honouring the school as one of the best performers in terms of examination results by state government in 2006, the school has been recognised as the best performance school of the year 2007 by All Manipur Private School Association.

Emerging from the ongoing discourse, both Don Bosco School and Bethel school have made varying significant contributions to providing education in the state. In the initial stage, the purpose of establishing both the schools was similar in purpose and spirit with the goal of providing educational facility to the unreached, neglected marginalised village children who are deprived of education. Steadily, these schools became very successful. In the course of its journey, both schools became flourished due to the overwhelming demand of parents most of who are well to do ones which is particularly true of Don Bosco School. As the schools became success in its performance, there was steady process of exclusion of the marginalised children as observed in the present study. Similar is the case with Bethel school. That today, both the schools have no room for the marginalised, neglected village illiterate children of poor families. This is due to the fact that the continuation, maintenance and running the school and its entire expenditure is born by the students in the form of fees and school development funds contributed by these children from time to time. This becomes unaffordable for poor families and hence a large chunk of children of poor households are excluded from gaining access to such schools. Similar is the case with Bosco Mangaal. As the NGO became extremely successful in its endeavour of literacy campaign and education mission for the most neglected children in far flung villages of the state, their education campaign and literacy mission became limiting by
imposing restrictions on the eligibility criteria of entry for children. This was noticed even in the selection and recruitment of teachers who come forward to volunteer in the mission. In the light of these observations of limitations and constraints faced by voluntary agencies, it can be rightly argued that the educational contribution of civil society alone is not sufficient enough to achieve educational right for children.