

A Critical Analysis of Mid-Day Meal (MDM) In India

Chandra Sekhar Swain¹ & Dr. Susmita Das²

¹Swain is PhD scholar and doing his research in Sam Higginbotton University of Agriculture, Science & Technology(SHUATS), India

²Das is senior lecturer in Home Science, City Women's Degree College, Bhubaneswar, India.

Abstract: Literacy rate of children in India is marginally very low due to various reasons. Most scholars and social scientists attempt to find out reason of low literacy. One of the core reasons was malnutrition among underprivileged children. Government of India has implemented Midday Meal Scheme in India, so they designed the **Midday Meal Scheme** for school to get better the nutritional status of school-age children nationwide. The objective of this programme was to give boost to universalization of primary education and to impact the nutritional intake of students in primary classes. This paper will analysis the real factor of MDM and how MDM brings an impact to present education sector in India.

1. Introduction:

“They played here, studied here and got buried here!” (*Yahin khela, yahin padha aur yahin ho gya dafan*)ⁱ. Hunger is also a stumbling block for education. Many studies have demonstrated that a hungry child cannot learn. Health and education are two components which Indian Government focuses to build nation and compete with first world country. This is not new phenomena the condition of education in Government school in India. “Since 1948 Dr. Radhakrishana’s constituted and brought a new mode of Indian education with Dr Ambedakar. Sarva Sikhya Abhijan (SSA) has constituted many methodologies to reach out India with quality education.”ⁱⁱ Chief focus of SSA was to provide free education to all children in India without any discrimination of caste, race, religion, and color on this point of view our government implements MDM, free book distribution and uniform to encourage underprivileged parents. One of them MDM was a great challenge for government to bring all children to school. The main reason of MDM is to provide a meal and encourage schooling to children of daily wagger and collie. At present Midday Meal is the key issue in education sector which creates gender variation, caste issue, corruption, lack of quality education and also malnutrition.

In the post independence era, Gujarat was the first state to start school lunch programme in 1984. However, it was only in 1995 that the National Programme of Nutritional Support to Primary Education (NP-NSPE) was launched at the national level.ⁱⁱⁱ Before that “in 1958 Tamil Nadu, led by the visionary Chief Minister K Mamarah, become the first State to initiate a noon-meal program. It worked because it was in situated in a well functioning state-funded common school system designed to eliminate class and caste based segregation”^{iv}. But the responsibility rested entirely with the teachers, thereby adversely affecting teaching. Then union territory of Delhi followed suit immediately. Presently, MDM scheme in India is the world’s largest school lunch program, reaching to about 113 million children in over 1.26 million schools across the country, with an investment of more than Rs. 100 billion.^v “The mid-day meal programme was introduced to mitigate social inequalities inherited through the hierarchical division of society, or what is called “resilience of social structures”. This structural discrimination directly impedes equal access to benefits of development by excluding the poor and marginalized.”^{vi}

2. Objective of Study methods on Midday Meal (MMD)

The objective of the study method on the MMD was to give boost to universalisation of primary education and to impact the nutritional intake of students in primary classes. Since then, the programme was revised in 2004 and is popularly known as the Mid Day Meal (MDM) scheme. The incumbent government at the centre has emphasized its implementation in its Common Minimum Programme. It envisages provision of cooked, nutritious midday meal to primary and secondary school children. Importantly, it mentions setting-up of an appropriate mechanism for quality checks. “Despite the broad-based efforts of the central government for more than a decade and a half and a few pioneering efforts earlier on, the problem of malnutrition, anemia, deficiency in

vitamin A and Iodine is very common among children in India. Today, 94 percent of children in the age group of 6 to 9 are mildly, moderately, or severely overweight. About 67.5 percent of children under 5 years and 69 percent of adolescent girls suffer from anaemia due to iron and folic acid deficiency.”^{vii}

Given the scope of MDM scheme in terms of the expenditures incurred and number of beneficiaries on one hand, and the abysmal health and demographic statistics on the other, it becomes imperative that an evaluation of the scheme be attempted to judge its efficacy. The obvious enormity of the administrative and logistical responsibilities of offering mid day meals in schools raises the issue of alternative forms of nutrition delivery to the children.

- We focus on the quality attributes of the food provided to the beneficiaries. If we are to continue with the MDM scheme, we need to raise the question - Are the beneficiary children being provided safe and sufficiently nutritious food as has been envisaged in the scheme?
- Document food and food service quality issues observed during school visits.
- Moreover, objective laboratory evaluations of hidden attributes such as nutrition and food safety of a typical meal are presented.
- Students value equal, mutual interaction relationships more than authority model relationships
- Specific suggestions are made in relation to the observations and analysis which is observed on quality of MDM and management of school.
- What is the difference in the effect of students having strong relationships with multiple teachers compared to only one teacher on student spirituality?

3. Analytical Structure:

As per the census 2001, literacy rates for the Scheduled castes and Schedule tribes are 54.69% & 47.1%, respectively as compared to 68.81% for higher castes.^{viii} In generally SC and ST children are higher than lower children. Most of general category children in urban sector go to private school where MDM is not available for them. One of the reasons for this developmental gap is resilience of social structure”.^{ix} Social structure, here, refers to the hierarchical division of society based on caste, class and gender of Individuals. Resilience of social structure refers to the

perpetuation of social inequalities inherited through the hierarchical division society.

While studying the shaping of MDM programme in rural and tribal sector in Odisha, I explore into this aspect of resilience of social structure. The research design I would use is survey research, which can have characteristics of experimental and descriptive research. The research purpose is to find the crises of MDM, a correlation between students and teachers and important of MDM in school. Two variables and will therefore have traits of co-relational research.

4. Finding and Discussion:

4.1. Hygiene Goes for a Toss at MDM

Case Study: At Pathan Mohalla Urdu Primary school under NAC, MDM is cooked right next to a lavatory and a choked drain. This is not a solitary case. At many Government schools in the district, noon meals are being cooked next to lavatories, abandoned houses, under trees, on roads and even close to drains, because none of these schools do not have kitchens.

Teachers and cooks at the Pathan Mohalla Urdu Primary school said they stoop cooking MDM during rainy days as the drain overflows flooding the road where the food is cooked. For 180 students of the school having five classes, there are just three classrooms and one of it is uses as the office cum store room.

The story at Kharapapada Urdu Primary School in Balasore town is a little different. Two years back, money was sanctioned to the school for construction of a kitchen, but the work is yet to begin. During monsoon school’s cook prepares the meal at her house and brings it to the school. Fifty years old Cook Isratun Bibi said ‘I cook the food at my house during rainy days and on the other days; food is prepared inside a partially constructed structure under a tarpaulin cover’.^x

Though the authorities of Sunahat UGUP School had begun construction of a kitchen before funds were sanctioned a couple of months back, the work has not been completed. Here too, food is cooked in unhygienic condition. Due to lack of rooms, they have converted a classroom into a store room. This disparity is one of the major reasons for the vicious cycle of malnutrition, disease and poverty which entraps, specifically, the vulnerable social groups. Keeping this view the impact of this cycle on the school participation of rural children, one of the objectives of MDM programme is to enhance the nutritional status of these children.

While the district project coordinator (DPC) of Sarva Siksha Abhiyan (SSA) said only 62 schools out of 3040 schools in the district do not have kitchens, officials dealing with MDM said 19 crore rupees has been sanctioned for 3202 kitchens in the district, but they do not have the exact figure of completed kitchens. Most of schools do not have proper kitchens and Government is planning forward to build some kitchens after issues of MDM. 60% of schools do not have kitchen and 45 of them are from Balasore district, Odisha.

4.2. Unhygienic food causes plagues & Plan of data analysis

Schools in Sambalpur do not have enough cooks and helpers to implement the MDM scheme. "The scheme was transferred from women and Child Development Department to School & Mass Education Department in October 2011 with the district nodal officer in charge of implementation of the scheme. A total of 1,11,794 students enrolled in 1583 schools comprising primary and upper primary schools are covered under the scheme in the district. The 2, 974 cook and helpers have been engaged to cook meals in some schools, others are devoid of cooking staff as per the student strength."^{xi} The District inspector of Schools (DIS) Amulya Kumar Pradhan puts this figure at 250. "According to the provision of SSA, there has to be one cook for a school having student strength of a minimum of 25 students, while a cook and a helper are required where the student strength is between 25 and 100 and three staff for schools with 100 or more students."^{xii} Ironically, there is not a single school having three cooking staff in spite of having student strength of more than 100. Some of the schools cook the MDM in the verandah of the School. This despite the fact that 1.20 core is at disposal of DI of schools for the purpose.

Case Study-1: Seventy Six students of a government school in Rajasthan's Bhilware district on Tuesdays fell ill after consuming their MDM in which a dead lizard was found. District collector Onkar Sing said "the children of the higher primary school in Beneda complained of nausea after having the meal"^{xiii}.

The collector said "he ordered examination of the meal, after which the school staff found a dead lizard in it. The children were rushed to hospitals and given treatment. Their condition is normal and they are likely to be discharged soon". The Head Master and Three cooks are suspended from the post.

Case Study-2: Raghunathpur primary school in Puri-Bhubaneswar roadways is not function running in properly and broken slates of roof. Most of students are managed within two rooms and

some of them are managed in veranda. All children have MDM in Veranda and classes in same.

First standard to fifth standards classes are combined classes by two teachers and they are proud on their efficiency how to manage their classes. This is condition of education in Government school, Raghunathpur.

Godown of MDM is unclean and rats, cockroach and other insects are existing in the stock of MDM.^{xiv}

Case Study-3: Last many years Dantiling Primary school in Rayagada District cooks MDM in cow shelter. The proportionate rate of teacher and children is 33 children for one teacher. This school has only teacher with 33 children.^{xv}

Case Study-4: The mid-day meal horror continues in Odisha. After cockroach, lizard and earthworms, it was the turn of insecticide, but a possible Bihar-like tragedy was averted.

A packet of insecticide was found in a rice bag supplied for MDM in Bhanjabhumi Girls School in Betnoti block of Mayurbhanj district on Tuesday, school authorities said. A teacher spotted the packet inside the sealed bag before the rice was taken for cooking. "When I went to the storeroom to bring rice, poison-like smell came out from a bag. We opened the bag in which we found the insecticide packet with nearly 20 gms of powder," Hindi teacher Karunakar Barik said. As the news spread among the students, they refused to eat the meal sensing further trouble.^{xvi}

As per the token printed on the rice bag, school authorities said the rice was packed at Haldipada rice mill in Balasore district and poison was written on the insecticide packet

4.3. MDM in Market place:

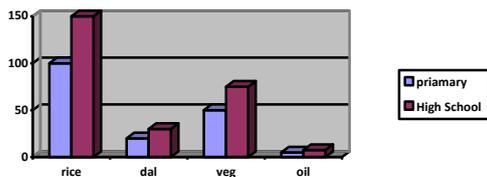
Most of schools misuse the MDM for their personal gain. MDM comes to school according to the strength of students list, but most of time all students in school are not present every day. Headmaster or In charge of MDM makes record for 100% attendance. In fact absence students share of MDM are sold into Market. A headmaster of Akshay Kumar Junior Basic School, Utama Kumar Bhattacharya sold 25kg rice from MDM godown and he was arrested in the same day. Now School Education Minister Tapan Chakarboroty had directed all headmasters and inspectors of schools to taster meals before it were served to the school children.^{xvii}

4.4. Mismanagement of MDM

Amid widespread concern and criticism for mismanagement of mid-day meal scheme and unhygienic kitchen condition in the school across the state, the Government has decided to go for a complete makeover of the kitchens and cook cum helpers.

After the dress code for school teachers, it is now the turn of cook to wear aprons. 'As per a decision taken from Government MDM in primary, upper primary and integrated nodal schools would be provided schools would be provided.'^{xviii} Cause of mismanagement is based on low remuneration of cook-cum-helper like 1500 rupees per month and no extra budget for aprons.

As per Government record 'the cost of MDM is 3 rupees and 11 paise and there are 11-20 gram proteins with 450 to 700 calories. School records show a particular menu rice, dal, vegetable, oil, garlic, salt, egg, soyabin, etc. 'Government of India provided two rupees and eleven paise for MDM and state governments provides seventy eighty paise.'^{xix}



Figur-1(quantity in gram for Primary & High school)

Primary school and high school have different menu for MDM. Now Indian economic has gone down and price of things are very high. Management of MDM never changes in every year and Government has plan for 3-5 years. It is not possible to provide MDM within three rupees and eleven paise for primary school and four rupees and fifty paise for sixth to ten standard children. Due to insufficient fund for MDM children could not get proper meal with nutritional food. MDM has proved to beneficial for the disadvantaged children, especially those from lower economic status families. BPL The nutritional content of the school meal was not better than that of food which consumed at home, in lunch.

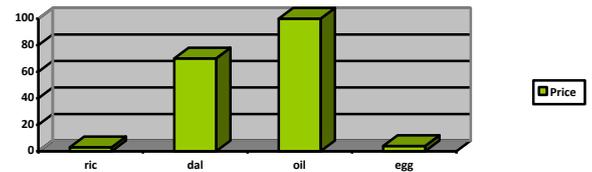


Fig-2 (Price of commodities on month of July, 2013)

4.5. Proportion of Gender for MDM

The enrollments of genders always get deviation between private and government schools. Considering the male children as an "economic benefits" and female children as "economic liability", these parents choose to invest in the education of their sons rather than daughters. Therefore more of female children are shown in government school and found regular attendance.

Some of Government schools in urban and rural sector, Odisha provide quality education and excellent governance, but male children never have MDM. It is only for female children, school peon and cook staff. An interesting observation is the MDM has not helped improve the attendance rates for boys, significantly. Attendance of MDM for girls is in urban sector only 10%, Rural Sector for 30% and tribal sector 60%. Urban sectors' female children belong to SC, ST and OBC group, rural sectors' female children belong to SC, ST and BPL(Below poverty Line) and Tribal children belong, SC, ST, OBC and poor marginalized people.

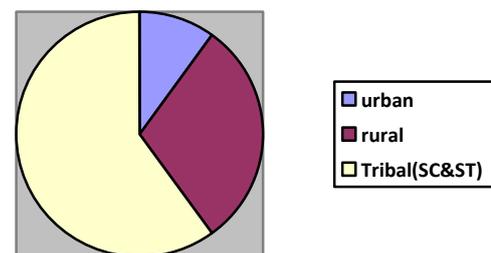


Figure-3(Attendance of female for MDM in different part of Odisha)

Overall, the comparison of attendance rates across gender depicted a better participation of girls than that of boys. The difference between the enrolments of girls and boys are one third proportion in the schools.MDM has improved school enrolments of these girls and it has also helped in improving the attendance of these girls.

Attendance of girls has improved at higher rate than that of boys. Last five years, girls' enrollments are increased rapidly. Moreover, the rate of improvements is higher in case of girls. Teachers and parents attribute this improvement to the provision of free hot meal.

In rural and *Adivasi* Areas, the practice of gender disparity curbs the school participation of girls to a great extent curbs the school participation of girls to a great extent. Even if the girls are enrolled in schools, they have an irregular attendance. This is one of the key grounds responsible for poor performance of girls in school. Many of the girls drop out in between the primary schooling, and thus, remain illiterate. Irregular attendance, as commonly observed, is due to the household burden of girls. Most of girls help their parents in household work like taking care of elders, sick and infants; cooking food; cleaning of house and carrying water; feeding animals; helping at farms; and such other responsibilities. In personal Interview with a villager of *Adivashi*, Mohan Kuldip says "if my daughter will go to school and who will give me *dabu* (Money). Mohan Kuldip lives with his wife, one son and two children"^{xx}. Elder daughter is 11 years old and works at home and performs "unpaid labour" within family networks. These categories of girls are found in families with low social economic status.

Parents from SC, ST, OBC and *Adivasi* send their preschool girls to school for free meal. In generally preschool children accompany with elder sister. Therefore they are benefited in two ways one is MDM and other one is school attendance. Thus free cooked meal helps bring girls, especially for disadvantage groups to school regularly.

The practice of gender disparity in food allocations is well known in the Indian context. Economist Amitya Sen observes, "at the time of birth, girls are obviously no more nutritionally deprived than boys, but this situation changes as society's unequal treatment takes over from the non-discrimination of nature"^{xxi}. Many of the Indian family serves food first for boys and next for girls. Best food in the family will be served to male candidates at home and this practice has been used in India society. In the same ways elder girls learn how to give first preference to boys. Gender discrimination in Indian society comes from family to education sector.

MDM for the Poor

SC and ST children' attendances are further in government school rather than general children. In my personal interview with Madhusmita Nath Sharma, HM of primary school at Tribal(*Adivasi*) village, Diasili says "all children belong to SC and ST and school attendance depends upon only MDM. Some of children from Tribal belt enroll in private school, due to MDM they discontinue their education from private school."^{xxii} Most of the children who eat MDM in school do not have lunch at home. The means that MDM substitutes their afternoon meal, quantity as well as quality, at home. In school, these children are provided with hot cooked MDM which is little better than home food.

4.6. Caste Discrimination in MDM

"Racism seems to be a universal phenomenon that transcends geography and culture."^{xxiii} Children from SC and ST groups are made sit always from upper castes; in some cases, they were not given food or they were served leftover food. Depict discrimination against SC and ST cooks and throwing always food when cooked by women of these groups. All these and others depict the hegemony of better of sections, and their continuous efforts to disable the policy structures. Head Mistress of Disili primary school, Odisha, Madhusmita says "if *Dam* (sweeper-ST) cooks the food, upper caste children and teachers never join the meal"^{xxiv}.

5. Recommendation and Suggestion:

With the twin objectives of improving health and education of the poor children, India has embarked upon an ambitious scheme of providing MDM in the government and government assisted primary schools. The delivery of MDM scheme may be improved by partnering with private entities and NGOs and by including fortified nutrition bar and fruit of weekly menu.

5.1. Mutual cooperation of MDM through (Public Private Partnership)PPP

Education in government primary school has been place of entertainment for children. These schools have created division of caste, race and class through MDM and teachers of the schools have become cook and care taker of MDM.

My personal Interview with Mrs. Madhusmita, the headmistress of Diasili primary school, Odisha says "MDM disturbs our education system and we do not have time to look after the MDM. There is only three teachers for primary schools and teacher

cannot give their time to kitchen and food items.^{xxv} And also she suggested that if this MDM transfer to *panchayat* or block department, which will be better rather than taking responsibilities of teacher. If *panchayat* or block department will cook the MDM and distribute to different school according to the strength of children like Mumbai *Dhababala*, so teachers will get be free from MDM's work. Partnership with private agencies will also reduce the non-teaching commitments of the teachers. Currently, while separates cooks are assigned for meal preparation, the teachers have to spend their time to serve food to the students. Often recess one hour is not enough for the teachers to serve food and have their own meal as well. Therefore, provision of meals to students is taking place at the cost of study-time meant for student-teacher engagement. In the OT, Manna was an experience preparing the people to live in harmony. There was strong teaching against accumulation (Ex.16:22-27). The manna experience was thus a preparation for the community to be content in subsistence economy.

At present teachers are so busy with marketing and making report to DIS (District inspector of School) office. Teachers from Bhubaneswar unit-6 girls' school commented on my interview that Government should find voluntarily organization like NGOs who are interested to join this program as partly partnership with government for MDM. So teachers will get much free time and relieve from the responsibility of MDM and concentrate their teaching. Government and non-government sector could work together implementing friendly environment initiatives to ensure that our operations are environmentally sound and sustainable for the children.

5.2. Teacher and Student relationship

India today boasts of its educational system being the second largest in the world. There are largest primary and upper primary schools and near about 2 million teachers in India. The concern for quality of education has been voiced from time to time in India. Student-teacher relationships ought to be predominantly important during early adolescence, as students move from the supportive environment of elementary school to the more disjointed atmosphere of a middle school or junior high school.

Children come to school not only for MDM or fellowship with other children. Children in India live in multicultural and multi religious environment and they observe to discrimination of religion, culture, race, caste, class, etc. Students are more likely to be emotionally and intellectually invested in the classes in which they have positive

relationships with their teachers, but MDM carries intolerances between students and teachers. Therefore teachers who build the co-relationship between teachers and students without any caste and race and also they teach and transform the new relationship between them. "Transformation does not happen by only transference of knowledge and acquiring of specialized skills."^{xxvi} The most essential part of education is the change of attitudes and motive of children. "Students are very sensitive to teachers' attitudes towards their dealing in school and the class; therefore, teachers must be extremely self-reflective, making certain that they are modelling constructive actions and behaviours for the class."^{xxvii} We can find a great example in the Bible the relationship between Masters and discipleship. Jesus says if anyone loves me, he will obey my teaching (John 14: 23; or "keep my word,"). Jesus is referring not to simply holding onto his teaching, but to actually acting in accordance with it, as he himself has responded to the Father. To obey his teaching is to adopt God's pattern of life. John 14:26 says "that one will teach you everything, that is, he will remind you of everything". He builds his relationship though his love which is to lay down his life. Concept of present world in primary school is not as profession to teach, but show their love to children as *guru* does for *sisya*. Master or teacher needs focus the holistic development of children life.

5.3. MDM and Education

"Mental strain of children up to 13 strains could be costing poor IQ (intelligence quotient)."^{xxviii} MDM in primary schools should be proved balanced and nutritious diet and our observation of MDM has become partly functional work of teachers. MDM can play the major role in improving schools attendance, literacy rate of nation, eliminating classroom hunger and fostering social equity. R Khera's suggestion on MDM that "the net impact of the scheme on child's health will depend upon whether the meal is a supplement or a substitute for food intake at home both in terms of quality and quantity. If it is largely a substitute for home food, the nutrition impact may not be large."^{xxix} Due to poor MDM and lack of infrastructure, the enrollment of children in school has gone up. Loka Shaba has passed food bill to *Anganwadi* as well public on 29th August 2013. The suggestion of school teacher that If *Aganwadis* work mutually in the company of primary school and organize healthier groceries to children, so it will be more supportive to students and teachers. Moreover, looking into future, there is a distinct possibility of introduction of genetically modified (GM) foods in market. Better quality of rice and *dal* may improve

nutritional delivery to the targeted children and make better future for them.

Food and education go together to build better future for children. Jesus earthly ministry focuses to build up the whole aspects of human being. "God becomes a part of every struggle for establishing people's control over resources in the face of the greedy forces of the market"^{xxx}.

Conclusion

MDM is the common minimum program in nationwide which is implemented non-officially a century back. Future of the nation depends upon healthier and brighter of children. That hunger and malnutrition have serious, long term negative consequences on cognitive ability, social and emotional development, and motor and sensory skills of children. These children face a life with a greater risk of disease and early death and a much smaller chance of succeeding in school. Government of India put into action compulsory MDM for the children to eliminate illiteracy rate from nation. Hunger children and poor children never come to school and moreover they could not concentrate their education. The intention of MDM is to give good health along with education and education brings insights to know the discrimination of religion, caste and class.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

BOOKS

Diller, Jerry V. *Cultural Diversity*. CA: Thomas Higher education, 2007.

D'Souza Victor S. *Development Planning and Structural Ubiquities: The response of Underprivileged Children*. New Delhi: Sage Publications, 1990.

Raj, Paul Mohan. *A guide to an Integrated Approach to Theological education*. Bangalore: TBT, 2008.

JOURNALS

Sadgopal, Anil. "Schools for Scandal: The Midday meal scheme is a grand idea in a flawed school system." *Frontline*, August 23, 2013, P38

Garg Manisha and Manda Kalyan Sankar, *Mid-day Meal For the poor, Privatized Education for the Non-Poor*. 'Economic & Political week', Vol.XLVIII No 30. July 27 2013.

Khera, R. MIDDAY Meal in Primary schools, *Economic and political Weekly*, Vol, 41, No 46. Pp, 4,742-50

Murray, Christopher. "Supportive teacher-student relationships: Promoting the Social and

Emotional Health of Early Adolescents with High Incidence Disabilities." *Childhood Education* 78.5 (2002): 285-290.

Rajadurai. S Samuel, "Give us this day Our Daily Bread: Biblical Insights of Food Sovereignty" *Theology of Our Times*, No 15, November 2012

Sen, Amitya. "The Many Faces of Gender Inequality", *Frontline*, 18(21), Pp-466-77

NEWSPAPER

Behura, Meera, Hin Nuhe Garib Jeevan/No cost of poor life, *The Samaj*, 10 August 2013.

Pradhan, Phanindra 'Death of Cooks, Helpers Plagues School meal Plans', *The New Indian Express*, Sambalpur, 6 August 2013,

Rout, Hemant Kumar. 'Hygiene Goes for a Toss at MDM Cooking Places' *The New Indian Express*, Bhubaneswar, 6 Aug 2013,

_____, 'Dead Lizard Found in Mid-day Meal' *New Indian Express*, Bhubaneswar 31 July 2013.

_____, 'The condition of SSA in Capital, Bhubaneswar', *The Odia Samaj*, 7 August 2013.

_____, 'Randha chulichhi in Guhalre/ Kitchen in Cow shelter', *The Samaj*, 8 August 2013

_____, 'Insecticide packet found in mid day meal rice bag', *New Indian Express*, Bhubaneswar 31 July, 2013, 9

_____, 'HM Arrested for selling Mid-day rice', *The New Indian Express*, Bhubaneswar, 22 July 2013,

_____, 'School Kitchens set for Total Makeover', *The New Indian Express*, 2nd Aug 2013,

_____, 'Cost of MDM in Three rupees', *Samaj(Odia News paper)*. Cuttack, 10th August 2013

_____, 'Poverty Reduces Brain Power', *Deccan Herald*, 31 August 2013,

WEBSITE

GOI, "Midday Meal", *Elementary education*, 2012(<http://mhrd.gov.in/elementaryeducation>).

GOI, 'Selected educational Statics 2004-05', Report, Government of India, Ministry of Human Resources

development, Viewed on 19 September 2012 (<http://educationalindia.com/SES2004-05.pdf>)

-MDM 'elementary education', viewed on 2nd May (<http://mhrd.gov.in/elementaryeducation>).

GOI, 'Guidelines of National Programme of Nutritional Support to Primary Education [Mid Day Meal Scheme, 1995]', <http://education.nic.in/>, accessed in 2007

INTERVIEW

Kuldip, Mohan. Villager of Adivasi. Santipadar, Koraput, Odisha, *Interview*, 15 August 2013.

Nathsharma, Madhusmita. Head Mistress, Diasili, Laxmipur Block, Odisha, *Interview* 20 Aug 2013.

- ⁱ Anil Sadgopal, "Schools for Scandal: The Midday meal scheme is a grand idea in a flawed school system. *Frontline*, August 23, 2013, P38
- ⁱⁱ Meera Behura, Hin Nuhe Garib Jeevan/No cost of poor life, *The Samaj*, 10 August 2013.
- ⁱⁱⁱ GOI, 'Guidelines of National Programme of Nutritional Support to Primary Education [Mid Day Meal Scheme, 1995], <http://education.nic.in/>, accessed in 2007
- ^{iv} Anil Sadgopal, P38
- ^v GOI, "Midday Meal", *Elementary education*, 2012(<http://mhrd.gov.in/elementaryeducation>).
- ^{vi} Manisha Garg and Kalyan Sankar manda, *Mid-day Meal For the poor, Privatized Education for the Non-Poor*. 'Economic & Political week', Vol.XLVIII No 30. July 27 2013.
- ^{vii} GOI, 1996; 'Task Force Report on Micronutrients,' D/WCD.
- ^{viii} GOI, Selected educational Statics 2004-05", Report, Government of India, Ministry of Human Resources development, Viewed on 19 September 2012 (<http://educationalindia.com/SES2004-05.pdf>) -MDM 'elementary education', viewed on 2nd May (<http://mhrd.gov.in/elementaryeducation>).
- ^{ix} Victor S D'Souza, *Development Planning and Structural Ubiquities: The response of Underprivileged Children(New Delhi: Sage Publications, 1990), P 3-4*
- ^x Hemant Kumar Rout, 'Hygiene Goes for a Toss at MDM Cooking Places' *The New Indian Express*, Bhubaneswar, 6 Aug 2013, p.5
- ^{xi} Phanindra Pradhan, 'Death of Cooks, Helpers Plagues School meal Plans', *The New Indian Express*, Sambalpur, 6 August 2013, P.5
- ^{xii} Phanindra Pradhan, *The New Indian Express*, .5
- ^{xiii} _____, 'Dead Lizard Found in Mid-day Meal' *New Indian Express*, Bhubaneswar 31 July 2013. 8
- ^{xiv} _____The condition of SSA in Capital, Bhubaneswar, *The Odia Samaj*, 7 August 2013.
- ^{xv} _____Randha chalichhi in Guhalre/ Kitchen in Cow shelter, *The Samaj*. 8 August 2013
- ^{xvi} _____, 'Insecticide packet found in mid day meal rice bag, *The New Indian Express*, Bhubaneswar 31 July, 2013, 9
- ^{xvii} PTI, HM Arrested for selling Mid-day rice, *The New Indian Express*, Bhubaneswar, 22 July 2013, p-8
- ^{xviii} _____, 'School Kitchens set for Total Makeover', *The New Indian Express*, 2nd Aug 2013, p-6
- ^{xix} _____, 'Cost of MDM in Three rupees, *Samaj(Odia News paper)*. Cuttack, 10th August 2013
- ^{xx} Mohan Kuldip, Villager of Adivasi (Santipadar, Koraput, Odisha, Interview, 15 August 2013).
- ^{xxi} Amitya Sen, "The Many Faces of Gender Inequality", *Frontline*, 18(21), Pp-466-77
- ^{xxii} Madhusmita Nathsharma, Head Mistress (Diasili, Laxmipur Block, Odisha, *Interview* 20 Aug 2013).
- ^{xxiii} Jerry V Diller, *Cultural Diversity* (C.A Thomas Higher education, 2007), 34
- ^{xxiv} Madhusmita, *Interview*, 20 Aug 2013
- ^{xxv} Madhumist, interview, 20 August 2013
- ^{xxvi} Paul Mohan Raj, *A guide to an Integrated Approach to Theological education* (Bangalore: TBT, 2008), 80
- ^{xxvii} Christopher Murray, "Supportive teacher-student relationships: Promoting the Social and Emotional Health of Early Adolescents with High Incidence Disabilities." *Childhood Education* 78.5 (2002): 285-290.

^{xxviii} _____Poverty Reduces Brain Power, *Deccan Hearlad*, 31 August 2013, p.14

^{xxix} R Khera, MIDDAY Meal in Primary schools, *Economic and political Weekly*, Vol, 41, No 46. Pp, 4,742-50

^{xxx} S Samuel Rajadurai, "Give us This day Our Daily Bread: Biblical Insights of Food Sovereignty" *Theology of Our Times*, No 15, November 2012. P.100