EDUCATION IN THE FRINGES OF URBAN CITIES

A Study of Slums in Hyderabad and Ludhiana

Sunita Chugh

This book gives a definitive account of the social and educational status of children living in slums of Hyderabad and Ludhiana, focusing on access, participation and learners' competencies of children, cutting across all levels of school education. The strength of this book lies in the stimulating context it provides of the process of urbanization and migration that shape the educational coordinates and outcomes of children living in slums. In a broader spectrum, the book intends to examine how the education of children is related to their economic, social and migration background. It suggests that the state needs to strive for holistic development of these areas to promote and ensure meaningful and successful school participation of all the urban disadvantaged children.

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Foreword

Illiteracy and innumeracy are sources of insecurity and deprivation. They limit anyone's ability to understand and invoke one's legal rights and access to opportunities to progress. Schooling is a powerful process to alleviate illiteracy and to assert one's rights. Right to education is a fundamental human right. The Right to Free and Compulsory Education Act (2009) enacted in India has brought into the forefront the right of each child to have education. The principle underlying this legislation can have a phenomenal impact if implemented in its full earnest.

The global education development agenda reflected in the Goal 4 of the Sustainable Development Goals (SDG 4) seeks to ensure inclusive and equitable quality education for all. The National Education Policy 2020 (NEP 2020) of India reaffirms that education is fundamental for achieving full human potential, developing a just society, and promoting national development. The new 5+3+3+4 structure envisaged in NEP 2020 attempts to extend the coverage of compulsory education from pre-school to secondary education for children in the ages between 3 and 18 years. In fact, the centrally sponsored scheme of Samagra Shiksha, which extends the provision of education for all children in the age group of 3 to 18, is a good example of this national commitment.

Given the complex dynamics of a country like India, such legislation faces several challenges in its implementation. Despite these national commitment and efforts, the empirical studies that have critically reviewed and evaluated the progress of universalisation of elementary education have shown that India has miles to travel to reach the target. Further, the situation is worse in many pockets of population which, at times, do not even form a part of the official statistics. The poor in the urban localities belong to this category. Most children in the slum localities are subjected to spatial and social exclusion. However, very little is known about these groups of people and children. This book is a sincere effort to fill up that gap and to provide empirical evidence on the social and educational status of children living in slums.

This book highlights how educational access (or absence of it) contributes to other forms of marginalisation and social exclusion of children living in urban slums. It further explores factors shaping the educational experiences, progression and outcomes of children living in slums. Based on the empirical evidence drawn from slums of Hyderabad and Ludhiana, this book provides an empirical ground for designing programmes to promote and ensure universal school enrolment, meaningful participation, successful completion, and enhanced learning outcomes of all, especially children from the disadvantaged urban backgrounds.

This empirical study is carried out under the effective leadership of my colleague Dr. Sunita Chugh, and I congratulate her on bringing out the issue of children in slums to the forefront of empirical analysis and to the centre of evidence-based policy discussions.

N. V. Varghese
Vice Chancellor, NIEPA

Date: 29.01.2021
Place: New Delhi

Preface

India, as a country, has been witnessing fast pace of urbanisation, evident in not only emergence of urban centres but also in movement of people from rural areas to towns and urban cities. This movement, that has come to be known as migration of people from one place to another, can never be disentangled with the process of emerging opportunities at urban locations. As a consistent trend over decades, migration, as a subject for research, is all the more significant in a developing nation like ours, where rural-urban disparities are high and there is a constant upsurge of people seeking various forms of livelihood and better standard of living, presumed to be available in cities. There are migrants who have the educational and economic wherewithal to succeed in an urban context but there are also those, especially belonging to low socio-economic strata, whose aspirations often get stalled by their lack of education and skills. Even though, they are able to become part of city life, they often experience what is known as social exclusion. This happens as a result of a complex interplay of economic, political and social processes that relegate them to the status of an underclass or a marginalised section, excluded from urban or educational planning. Over time, perhaps a few from within this stratum of migrant population are able to empower themselves and exhibit upward mobility.

This book is set around the milieu of migrants who reside in the fringes of cities, and grapple with the existing resources to make a living and provide education to their children. Given this context, the book is essentially about investigating the educational status of the children living in slums. It presents the findings of an extensive and comprehensive survey of households in selected slums of two metropolitan cities - Hyderabad and Ludhiana - focusing on access, participation and learners' achievement of its children, cutting across all levels of school education. Education of children in slums has a peculiar character. The environment is challenging because of lack of basic services, poor educational opportunities and grave environmental hazards, influencing the participation of school-going age group with a high drop-out rate or else a high never-enrolled child population. The incidence of a child's background factors, such as, the social group, income of the household, education level of the parents in slums can also vary his/her school going status to a large extent. The educational participation of children assumes more complexity with the existence of social aberrations, such as, child trafficking and violence. Though not all of these dimensions were studied in the book, the prime focus of the research was to ascertain the household characteristics and study its linkages with school going status of children. The study also included assessing the provision of education by both government and private sector, and understanding to what extent this impacted children's access to education. Further, participation of children in basic or secondary education cannot be considered meaningful and complete unless it equips the learners with appropriate knowledge and skills. This is important in light of providing quality education and in such a context challenging, as additional efforts are required to offset the background

factors of children. In India, there are a number of programmes and initiatives that have been taken to improve quality of schooling at both elementary and secondary levels, but these can be successful only if challenges of disadvantaged locations and children are factored in. In view of this, the study also assessed learning levels of children in Classes III, VII and IX in the selected government and private schools in order to find out some reasons behind the results. Overall, the thrust of the book was to examine and explore factors of and for educational access that led (or did not) to social exclusion of children living in slums. Broadly, factors of educational access related to provisions, such as, availability of schools, distance from household to school, medium of instruction in school, quality of teaching as manifested in learning assessment of children, etc whereas, factors for educational access referred to socio-economic determinants of households that shaped the choice of parents to send their children to a particular school (government or private), relation between parental income and education to school-going status of children and their participation in school.

This study with its empirical evidence hopes to contribute to a building corpus of research on urban disadvantaged children as also provide a few recommendations to educational policy and planning process. The relevance of this research is significant in present times in the context of the Samagra Shiksha, a centrally sponsored scheme launched (2018-19) by the Ministry of Human Resource Development, Government of India. This is a comprehensive scheme covering all stages of school education with the central objective of achieving quality education; quality education that covers not only bridging social and gender gaps but also achieving equitable learning outcomes. The fundamental recommendation of this book lies in its call for extending the right to basic education substantively, and for providing opportunity for secondary education to children in slums, who unfortunately do not figure in most of the official statistics. However, in the context of Samagra Shiksha, it would be more appropriate to argue for providing integrated opportunities for school education (right from basic to senior secondary) to children living in slums. The field insights documented in this book can be integrated within the framework of implementation of Samagra Shiksha specifically in the context of educational planning for urban areas. The educational planning for urban areas must also include planning for the 'marginalized', for providing opportunities towards universal access and universal participation. This research, thus, attempts to make available findings to urban planners, educational policy makers, administrators, academicians and researchers so that they can advocate and create a more inclusive space for these children in the educational process.

This book has been possible due to the cooperation and help extended by many individuals and institutions; to each one I am grateful. I would like to express my sincere thanks and deep regards to Prof. N. V. Varghese, Vice Chancellor, NIEPA for his academic guidance, kind support and constant encouragement. I am grateful to Prof. R. Govinda for helping me conceptualize the study and guiding through the process of book writing. I am thankful to my colleagues at NIEPA, in particular, Mr. A. N. Reddy for his critical comments

which proved useful in the interpretation and analysis of data. I wish to express my gratitude to Prof. Neelam Sood, (former Head, School and Non-formal Education Department) and Prof. Rashmi Diwan, Head, National Centre for School Leadership for their unstinted support. I wish to express my sincere thanks to Shri Pramod Rawat (Deputy Publication Officer), Shri Amit Singhal (Publication Assistant) for their untiring effort in bringing out this publication. For formatting of the book, contribution of Shri Sudhir Dagar is gratefully acknowledged. Thanks are also due to Ms. Ronish Gothalwal, who helped in the proof reading of the book and Mr. Hanuman Prasad Verma, Graphic Designer, NCSL, NIEPA, for designing the cover page of the book. I express my gratitude to the people living in selected slums for their cooperation in providing relevant information. The study could be completed with the support of heads, teachers and students of the selected schools, and I am thankful to them for their cooperation.

Sunita Chugh

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Education as Rights-Based
The Context of Slums

Developed nations of the world, long known for their economic prowess, have reached to such levels by reaping the benefits of investments in education over the past few decades. This can be gleaned from numerous documents generated by the United Nations Development Programme, chiefly through the Human Development Report (HDR). The HDR takes into account three core dimensions for calculation of indices on which countries of the world are ranked. These are health, education and standard of living, establishing the fact that economic growth and development has to necessarily rest, not solely but surely, on educational foundations. The latest Human Development Report (2015) places the Scandinavian countries within top five rankings, which include Norway, Australia, Switzerland, Denmark and Netherlands; some of them also known for their exceptional education systems. However, India is far behind at 130th position, implying a long way before it can reach the top. The only approach perhaps is to invest in education that is more inclusive and taken up as a right-based agenda by the national government.

Time and again, the above adage has been reiterated by many international forums. For instance, the Millennium Development Goal Report (2012) mentioned that poverty of nations is related to as much lack of resources as it is to their lack of access to knowledge. It acclaimed the importance of education's ability in equipping learners with knowledge and competencies necessary to respond to various challenges. This has been further stressed by economists who have many a time advocated that investment in education has the highest rate of returns and the development of human capital is essential for achieving better living standards and an equitable society. It was this importance of education in transforming human lives that led to the movement of 'Education for All' and Universalisation of Elementary Education across the world. While some perceive education as a means to achieving economic growth, which it is, there is also another school of thought that looks at education as development, put forward exceptionally well by the capability approach (Sen, 1999). Hence, education is an intrinsic ability to enjoy the freedom of existence, from the ills of life and contribute to the well-being of oneself. Education is also not a one-time investment. It is also 'lifelong learning', a process of engaging in continuous knowledge and skill development, throughout one's lifetime (Delors Commission Report, 1996).

In this globalised world, pronouncements made in the international forums do impact in the formulation of educational policy and programmes at the national level, and India is no exception to this. The value of education, highly extolled in the classical tradition and literature of India, has ever since found its place in the policy documents and planning of post-Independent India. However, history of education in India has remained chequered, with gradual developments in policy. The initial five year plans prepared by the Planning Commission had placed more premium on expanding access to basic education and improving higher education. It was not until much later that secondary education got its due. Much before today, educational development, at least at the elementary level, meant increasing access to schools, creating infrastructure, provision of teachers and emphasising on increasing enrolment. What was amiss in these schemes of things was a comprehensive policy to include access, retention and quality in one holistic framework. Though the elementary education grew in size, it was yet to achieve qualitative changes that probably existed as case-based but were not pervasive in the entire system. In fact, Sarva Shiksha Abhiyan (2000-01) and Rashtriya Madhyamik Shiksha Abhiyan (2009) gave an additional fillip to India's strive for universalisation of education at the elementary and secondary levels with a focus on quality.

The piecemeal approach, first to improve access and retention and later plan for quality improvement has met with much criticism as it tends to exclude the poor, segregated and marginalised populations in the long run, instilling in them a notion of perceived disadvantage towards educational benefits. Education, as such, is already a third or fourth priority much after food, clothing, shelter and health for the poor, and not being able to receive qualitative educational experiences, disenchants them further. Hence, in recent discourses, the emphasis is more on quality improvement in school education through various centrally sponsored as well as state-funded programmes. Even, the recently launched Samagra Shiksha (2018-19), a centrally sponsored scheme by the Government of India, with a comprehensive approach to improve access, equity and quality in school education is a positive step in this direction.

The interplay between access and quality can be understood from a different perspective as well. While expansion of education system can be achieved by providing access to increased infrastructure (number of schools, improved school building, sufficient teachers, text books, etc.) and ensuring participation of children through demand generating financial strategies (incentives, scholarships, mode of transport, such as, cycle for girls), this is not enough. Needless to say, that provision of better infrastructure and incentives enhances the possibility of enrolment, but the active participation of children is also determined by background socio-economic factors at all levels of education. To mitigate the incidence of these factors, especially for the children of poor and discriminated, is an uphill task. This is essentially an issue of schooling processes, where systems and schools have to design and implement interventions that support the child's learning and makes his/her experience worthwhile during the educational period. Only then, the

marginalised can be truly integrated and sustained in the system. In this direction, our country has made sustained efforts to serve to the educational needs of the disadvantaged and marginalised section of children. With this view, Sarva Shiksha Abhiyan (SSA) was launched in 2001 that focused on universal access and retention, bridging of gender and social gaps in education and enhancement of learning levels of children, including disadvantaged children living in slum areas. Sarva Shiksha Abhiyan provided a variety of interventions, including inter alia, opening of new schools and alternative schooling facilities, construction of school buildings and additional classrooms, adequate toilets and drinking water facilities, periodic teachers' training and academic resource support, textbooks and support for learning achievement. A quality component was, therefore, inbuilt in this scheme. Further, Samagra Shiksha has continued to stress on improving quality of education among its other objectives.

However, elementary education in India continued to face a few challenges. In order to increase the accessibility for schooling in remote areas, norms for opening new schools were relaxed. But states have not been able to provide universal access to schooling facilities to all the children, and this is especially true for the overcrowded slum areas. A large proportion of children do not attend schools due to non-availability of school at an approachable distance and at a safe place. Sometimes, home compulsions, such as, poverty and inability to pay for education are other reasons for them to remain out of school. Despite this, the sustained efforts of national and various state governments have led to successful completion rates at the elementary level. This has, in turn, led to an increase in demand for secondary education. In order to respond to the growing demand for secondary education, Rashtriya Madhyamik Shiksha Abhiyan (RMSA), launched in 2009, intended to provide equal opportunity for secondary education to all the children. The Rashtriya Madhyamik Shiksha Abhiyan aimed to make quality education affordable and accessible to all young persons in the age group of 15-17 years while overcoming gender and socio-economic barriers to education. The overarching objectives of the scheme were to achieve a Gross Enrolment Ratio of 75 per cent in secondary education by 2014, universal access to secondary education by 2017 and universal retention by 2020. Besides, special schemes were launched to address the educational needs of disadvantaged groups by opening schools like Kasturba Gandhi Balika Vidyalayas for disadvantaged girls and Ashram schools for Scheduled Tribes.

Despite the interventions of special programmes and schemes, disparities in access to education are persistent. Hence, to provide teeth to these nationwide attempts for universalisation of basic education, the Indian government enacted the Right to Education Act (2009) and made education a fundamental right. This was welcomed as a step in the right direction to address the anomalies and disparities of elementary education in India. Substantively, the right to education is much more than access to a school. Instead, it also includes the quality of education that is available as well as the conditions under which children are educated. It is not sufficient to ensure accessibility and enrolment but the rights approach emphasises that equal attention be

paid to the classroom processes, curriculum content and the language of instruction. In other words, the right to education is also about rights in education (Sandkull, 2005). It is misleading to regard human rights as neutral and value free. The principle of equality in human rights is not meant to merely afford everyone the same treatment; it is also to ensure that historical, structural and social inequities are appropriately addressed. Right to education is meaningful when they necessarily address both the practical and strategic needs of those who are excluded and marginalised.

Under the rights-based approach to education, the marginalised and the disadvantaged have got complete space for assertion in gaining education at basic level. More so, not just access but to the right to quality education as well. Nevertheless, its proper implementation at the grass root level is a serious issue which needs to be addressed at the bottom level. It is in this context, that the book talks about the right of education of children living in slums to basic level and providing equal opportunities at secondary level, in urban disadvantaged areas.

It is usually assumed that children living in urban areas have better access to schools with adequate infrastructural facilities. They also have higher chances of surviving in schools and completing at least basic levels of education. The aggregate data may lend some credence to these perceptions but are quite misleading. A disaggregated analysis of data reveals wide cleavages in living conditions, well being, and also opportunities to pursue education between various sections of the urban population. In particular, the contrast between the poor in slums and the urban middle class and rich is quite stark. Large number of children living on the streets, in orphanages, in squatter settlements do not find an equal chance for quality schooling and therefore face exclusion. Since there are few studies available on this theme, the nature of relationship between household characteristics and decision for schooling and its outcomes are also not clearly understood. As a fact, out of around 377 million (31.16 per cent) people living in urban areas in India, roughly about 93.06 million people (Census 2011) are living in slum areas where no well-planned schemes and programmes are initiated for the children. There is continuous migration into cities and cross migration within cities. This is the prime reason why children face innumerable challenges while accessing a school and these are hardly factored into educational planning.

Fringes of Urbanisation: The Context of Slums

The emerging urban landscape under the rubric of globalisation is characterised with several contradictions and tensions. The urban areas, particularly megapolis or mega cities are associated with upward mobility, vast opportunities, and engines of economic growth in the popular imagination. This perception however overlooks the reality on the other side. This 'other side' is characterised by some glaring realities, such as, abject poverty, vulnerability and fragile living conditions, no security either to lives or properties, living on edges outside the legal system and constitutional frameworks whereby basic human rights and entitlements are denied.

The startling growth in the number of slums and inhabitants and also the alarming conditions in which they live, have rightfully attracted the attention of policy makers, researchers and activists to study the multiple disadvantages faced by slums. Even though the slums are purported to be a bad patch in the landscape of city, they contribute significantly to the informal economy. People living in posh colonies use the services of slum dwellers who are basically engaged in the informal sector. Studies have shown that the informal sector accounts for 66.7 per cent of total employment in Delhi, while the corresponding figure for Mumbai is 68 per cent and, for Chennai, it is 60.6 per cent (Srivastava, 2005).

Despite their contribution to the economy, the slums are not part of the city landscape. Slums in India are usually located on public lands along drainage canals, rail and road networks, and river banks where the occupants have no rights on the land. Many a time, slums are unauthorised and continuously face threats of eviction and dislocation. The conditions of housing, health and hygiene in few slums that are authorised and recognized are no better than the unauthorised colonies. The title/tenure to land/house is not there or at best not clear to the dwellers, which makes them vulnerable to eviction, blackmailing from bureaucrats, petty brokers and so on. The living conditions in slums are dismal also because there is no or minimal provision of public services, such as, water and electricity. Most often, getting a ration card, access to Public Distribution System (PDS), issue of identity cards, access to other governmental services are less likely to be available in illegal slums. Drinking water facilities, proper drainage system, hospitals, schools that would have improved the quality of life are ignored by the authorities not because of financial and space constraints but due to the illegal or semi-legal status of these slums. The contemporary reforms under structural adjustment and globalisation that emphasise on privatisation, including the government services also further burden people living in slums as they do not have the paying capacity to afford the services by private players. The increase in informal sector of economy in the globalised conditions further shrinks the opportunities for decent livelihood and possibilities to overcome poverty and life in slums. In these conditions, a number of slums and population living in slums are likely to grow further.

Caught in this web of poverty and multiple drawbacks are the children living in slums, and when we look at their numbers, it is not insignificant. It has been observed in many researches that India must reap the benefits of the demographic dividend, essentially tapping the potential of one of the largest population of youth among the nations of the world. Quoted in a recent report, the figures of Census 2011 reveal that over 65 per cent of the population that resides in India is below 35 years of age, and 39 per cent is below 18 years of age. The same source states that more than 8 million children under six years live in slums (Save the Children 2015). This is an astounding estimate of children who are living in abject poverty and lack educational opportunity either in physical numbers or in quality. Basing its information on Census 2011, the same report also alleged that though the child population (0 to 18 years) increased by 12.8 per cent in urban areas between the last and the

present census, there was not found a commensurate increase in enrolment of children or increase in teacher facilities, possibly hinting at the silent exclusion of children living in slums.

At this stage, one can only state a few reasons for the documented poor educational status of these children. It is well known that a child's going to school has both supply-side and demand-side determinants. In the context of a slum, access to schooling is limited due to non-availability of schools as well as due to socio-economic background of the children. Singh (2015) found out that very few schools in urban areas have anganwadis (AWCs) and pre-primary sections. Children who avail of early childhood care and education do so in large number in fee-charging pre-school centres. But these centres and crèches are beyond the reach of urban disadvantaged children. Moreover, analysis of secondary data revealed that there was an under-representation of urban slums under Integrated Child Development Scheme (ibid.). This is just the status of pre-primary schooling available to slums, and the situation could be more pitiable at higher stages of schooling. From the point of view of background factors which determine the chances of school going status of these children, the hurdles are as complex. Besides the lack of economic and educational capital of parents, factors, such as, spousal violence, drug abuse and environmental hazards play havoc with the physiological, mental and emotional well being of children. Since most of the children in slums belong to migrant families, another background factor is their mother tongue which is often at loggerheads with the medium of instruction of schools in destination cities. This, it is found, is one of the major reasons why children remain out of the education system or gradually exclude themselves as they find difficulty in comprehending teaching at school.

As mentioned earlier, the lack of basic services that come with urbanisation also find a miss in the context of slums. These services range from fresh water supply, solid waste management, street lighting, civil works and availability of unadulterated food; the absence of these impacts the proper development of a child and affects her/his chances of attending the school. Moreover, the data on children living in slums is inadequate, as slums are often missing in official statistics. The lack of data for children living in urban poverty disaggregated by categories of children in notified and recognized slums, resettlement colonies, pavements, railway stations or on the street is behind the dearth of targeted approaches for urban development that is more suited for children's needs (Save the Children, 2015).

In addition to urban amenities, education if equally provided to the urban disadvantaged children can go a long way in leveling their life chances towards social and economic mobility. It is argued that elementary education empowers the individuals with analytical capabilities, instills confidence and fortifies them with determination to achieve goal-setting competencies. Basic education is the foundation for lifelong learning and human development, upon which countries may build systematically further levels and types of education and training. It, therefore, plays a pivotal role in improving the socio -economic condition of the nation. Current nature of compulsory schooling

involves eight years, imparting basic numeracy and literacy which is increasingly becoming inadequate. People now require a compulsory education that goes beyond basic skills to acquire at least rudimentary abilities for critical thinking and learning. Against this background, the compulsory years of schooling till lower secondary level have been increased progressively across the globe during the last couple of decades. In many nations, the compulsory schooling extends to at least lower secondary education covering ten or more years of schooling. The attempt of the Government of India to expand universalisation of education up to secondary education under Rashtriya Madhyamik Shiksha Abhiyan (RMSA) was a step in this direction.

Slums as Sites for Social Exclusion

The discussion above positions slum dwellers as 'marginalised' sections of population within urban boundaries. Their identity as the 'marginalised' is due to restricted and minimal access to public and private resources of the city or the urban area. However, it is not as simple as it sounds. Marginalisation occurs as a result of a complex and multi-dimensional process, which can be termed as social exclusion. The process of social exclusion involves the lack or denial of resources, rights, goods and services, and the inability to participate in normal relationships and activities, available to the majority of people in society. These can include activities of the economic, social, cultural or political arenas. Social exclusion affects both the quality of life of individuals and principles of equity and social cohesion (Levitas et al., 2007, p. 9). The concept of social exclusion can also be described as the "role of institutional structures and community attitudes in creating the barriers that lead to exclusion" (Saunders, Naidoo and Griffiths, 2007, p.12).

Sen (2000) draws attention to various meanings and dimensions of the concept of social exclusion. In his distinction of "active and passive exclusion", "active exclusion" was defined as the deliberate exclusion of people from opportunity through government policy or other means. "Passive exclusion", on the other hand, emerged through a social process in which there are no deliberate attempts to exclude, but nevertheless, may result in exclusion from a set of circumstances. Deprivations of either kind can be understood in terms of an imposed inability to enjoy fundamental human rights, such as, the right to education, the right to work and to a fair remuneration, right to health and well being and the right to vote and stand for election. Room (1995) adds a new dimension to the discussion by contextualising social exclusion in a rights -based perspective when he talks about social exclusion as the 'denial or non-realisation of civil, political, and social rights of citizenship.' The determinants of social exclusion illustrate the dynamic economic and social processes, the cumulative effect of which leads to experiencing marginalisation (Estivill, 2003).

Further, as discussed previously, children living in slums or children of the urban poor are devoid of basic rights of survival, development and protection. They are marginalised as a result of challenging conditions, surviving in overcrowded settlements as also facing constant threat of eviction. They suffer

exclusion from essential services like health care, clean water, sanitation, education, electricity, etc. Their existence is not acknowledged and sometimes even their births or deaths fail to get registered. The paradigm of social exclusion has been applied in the Indian context to understand the processes through which social, economic and political institutions of caste exclude Dalits from urban access (Masten and Narayan, 2012). This study argues that slums are the urban manifestation of the caste system and a manifestation of historical landlessness of Dalits resulting from exclusion of Dalits from property ownership, socio-economic capital, city planning, political power and educational access. Caste system manifests itself in urban India in terms of caste segregation, institutional inequalities in access to resources, inherent caste-bias in city administration and Dalit labour exploitation. Nambissan (2009) draws focus to the position of Dalits in the caste structure which historically led to their exclusion from knowledge and education in traditional Hindu society. The study highlights various ways through which oppressive and unjust hierarchies of the caste system continued to 'lock' Dalit children out of full participation in education within schools. Her study draws insights from classroom participation and analyses the levels at which caste as a defining feature of inter personal and social relationships continues to have prominence. The study catapults children's perspectives and experiences in relation to constraining and enabling factors at the institutional, familial (and communal) and individual levels. Further, children of the marginalised are considered to be at a disadvantage, since they are not familiar with dominant middle class culture as their (restricted) language code, differs from the one in the dominant culture (Bernstein, 1971).

Above enlisted researches and many more in the context of marginalisation and social exclusion, place direct or indirect thrust on state as an instrument for provision of quality education at affordable costs. These also point to the fact that state's responsibility is not only provision but also ensuring that children of the marginalised experience equitable learning opportunities. The state has made consistent efforts towards these goals; however, education of the urban marginalised still remains a moot question. There are many questions that come to the fore: whether the state is making sufficient quality education provisions for children living in slum areas? Are children able to utilise the educational facility and if not, what are the constraints and impediments for children to attend or remain in the school? Even by attending the school, are they able to learn? How do household and individual characteristics influence whether a child goes to elementary school or not? Would children complete the elementary school and attend secondary level? What are the differentiating factors for achievement level of children? Whether the achievement level depends upon the type of school? The present research began with these preliminary questions and furthered into an exploration of educational status of children living in the fringes of the urban cities, in temporary and shanty settlements as marginalised sections of the society.

Framework for the Empirical Research

The central argument of this book revolves around how educational access (or absence of it) contributes to social exclusion of children living in slums, in the backdrop of urbanisation and migration. As children settle in scatter and slum locations in the fringes of urban areas, their aspirations are seldom met by opportunities that are available to their well-off counterparts residing within legalised colonies and residences. Hence, one of the foremost factors determining educational status of these children is access to schools and its provisions. Access can either facilitate or obstruct participation of children in education of those living in slums. Poor access harbingers social exclusion leading to marginalisation whereas improved access can favour the process of inclusion. To explore this central argument, the book rests on empirical findings generated by a large scale survey on the educational status of children in select urban slums of Hyderabad and Ludhiana. This study holds greater importance in the context of implementation of Sarva Shiksha Abhiyan (SSA)/ Right to Education Act and Rashtriya Madhyamik Shiksha Abhiyan (RMSA), where it is significant to review the progress made with respect to access to schooling facility, participation, retention and also achievement of learning competencies by children living in slum areas. In fact, learnings from this research study are relevant in present times in the context of Samagra Shiksha in India (launched in 2018-19). This is a comprehensive scheme covering all stages of school education with the central objective of achieving quality education; quality education that covers not only bridging social and gender gaps but also achieving equitable learning outcomes.

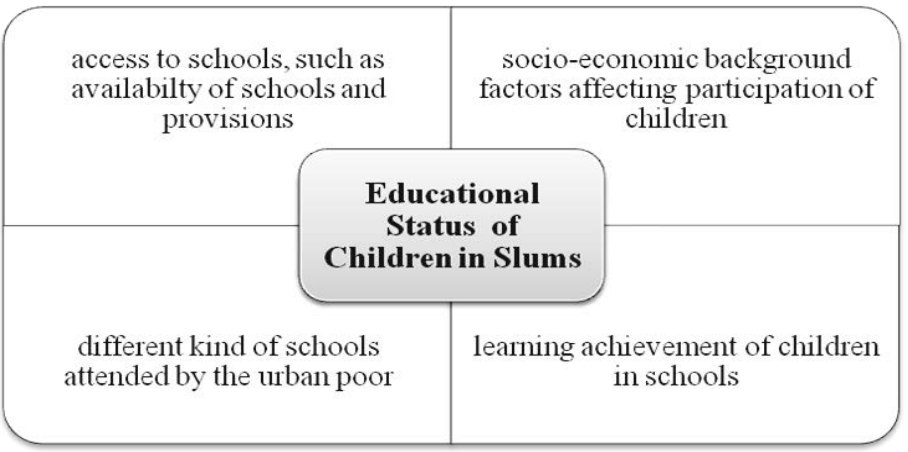
The book attempts to examine and explore factors of and for educational access that led (or did not) to social exclusion of children living in slums. Broadly, factors of educational access related to provisions, such as, availability of schools, distance from household to school, medium of instruction in school, quality of teaching as manifested in learning assessment of children, etc. whereas, factors for educational access referred to socio-economic determinants of households that shaped the choice of parents to send their children to a particular school (government or private), relation between parental income and parental education to school-going status of children and their participation in school.

Further, the research framework delves deep into causal factors affecting participation of children in school education, seeking answers behind enrolment/never enrolment and drop-out. The socio-economic and demographic details of parents of these children were collected to find out the incidence of these factors on their school going status. Parents were interviewed to ascertain the reasons for their preference of sending their children to government or private schools, the possible reasons behind non-enrolment and drop-out, and the constraints they faced as inhabitants of urban slums, affecting their choices. While access to schooling was an important parameter in the research framework, the survey explored in much greater depth the pattern of children's participation and the reasons for it. Children belonging to the school going age group of 6-17 years were the target

group for this study. In order to derive a comprehensive understanding of the educational status of these children, another important dimension of the study was to assess the learning levels of children in different classes, and to see if learning assessment varied with school related factors. The variables of access, participation and learning achievement taken together were studied to understand the process of social exclusion leading to marginalisation of children living in slums. Thus, the arguments presented in this book are based on an extensive field research in selected slums of two metropolitan cities in India focusing on access, participation and learning levels of children cutting across all levels of school education.

The dimensions of this research survey are captured in Fig. 1.

Figure 1



Educational Status of Children of Slums: A Framework

To carry out the research, survey design was preferred as it was considered the most appropriate design where self-reported beliefs and opinions of the participants are sought (David and Sutton, 2004). For the survey, households and schools were the units of collection of data. Household surveys are an important source of information on education patterns, complementing information collected by national administrative systems. In particular, household surveys provide more detail about the background of pupils (wealth, area of residence, parents' education levels) and can include educational details not collected by national administrative systems (such as, non-formal schools, unrecognised schools). These micro surveys can serve as a useful data check function against the educational information system. Two local researchers from universities/directorate of education were employed to provide logistic as well as academic support to carry out the field work. The method employed for field understanding was focused on systematic description of salient features of the phenomenon with a focus on the patterns that emerged.

The key terms and their operational definitions used in the book have been given in Table 1.

Table 1

Key Terms and their Operational Definitions

Variable	Description
Slum	A slum is a contiguous settlement where the inhabitants are characterised as having inadequate housing and basic services. A slum is often not recognised and addressed by the public authorities as an integral or equal part of the city" (UN-HABITAT, 2002, p. 21; 2003a, p. 10). Slums in this context also include squatter settlements or informal settlements. Slum is classified as a compact area with 300 residents or which has 60-70 per cent households that are poorly built, having congested tenements with inadequate infrastructure like lack of proper sanitary and drinking water facilities, and located in congested environment (Census 2001).
Access	Availability of schooling facilities by the size of the habitation and distance as per national norms, SSA/ RMSA guidelines at primary, upper primary and secondary levels of education.
Participation	Participation implies enrolled, never-enrolled and drop-outs.
Social Exclusion	Social exclusion, in the context of the present study, is seen as how access to education (or absence of it) leads to marginalisation (non) of children living in slums.
Enrolment	Refers to a child being enrolled in any school.
Type of School	Refers to the school where the child is enrolled viz. (i) government (ii) government aided (iii) private recognised (iv) private unrecognised.
Educational Attainment of Adults above 17 years	Refers to the highest level of schooling reached by the household members. The variables categorised as follows: Illiterate, primary, secondary, college education, post graduate, any other.
Family Size	Refers to the number of people staying in the same room/house.
Household Income	Total income of the family members staying together.
Per Capita Income	Total income of the household divided by the number of family members.
Age of Child	Child's chronological age. This was measured as a continuous variable.

Distance to School	Distance refers to the physical distance between the household premises and the nearest school. This may not necessarily mean that children were attending the nearest school.
Educational Status of Child	This variable implies if the child is attending school or has dropped out and the class in which he/she is studying.
Educational Expenditure	Annual amount spent on education for one child or more than one child which includes fees, books, uniforms and others.
Choice of School	Households and their particular choice of school for their children's education.
Government and Local Body Schools	Owned and managed by government and elected local bodies respectively and financed by government directly in case of government schools and indirectly through grants to local bodies, in case of the latter.
Private Aided Schools	Owned and managed by private individuals, charitable trusts, Non-Governmental Organisations, etc. and financed *de facto* up to 100 per cent by government under grants-in-aid policies and generally follow the government rules and regulations.
Private Unaided Schools	Sustain mainly on fees paid by students and other alternate sources and do not receive any financial assistance from government with an exception for the allotment of land at below market prices.
Unrecognised Schools	Not recognised by either central or provincial governments.
Migration	Movement of humans from one area, state, country to another; sometimes individually/with family or in a group.
Learning Achievement	Assessment of the child in accordance to the prescribed curriculum corresponding to their grade.

Coverage of the Study

Two million plus cities - city of Hyderabad, from the state of Andhra Pradesh now Telangana (in the Southern region, and city of Ludhiana from the state of Punjab in the northern region of India - were selected for this study. While Hyderabad became a million plus city by 1951, Ludhiana reached the million figures in 1991. Four slums from Hyderabad and three from Ludhiana were randomly selected and the schools near to these slums were also surveyed to ascertain the physical and academic facilities. Children of Classes III, VII and IX studying in these schools were administered the test to assess the competency level of children.

Sampled Slums and Respondents

The comparative analysis of the educational status of children living in slum areas has been sampled across two cities namely, Hyderabad and Ludhiana. Slums were chosen randomly from each city. The study was carried out in Guddi Malkapur in Golconda Zone, *Hera Nagar, ASR Nagar & Sai Nagar, Kanka Durga Nagar, Tulja Bhawani Nagar slums of Hyderabad*. In Ludhiana, *Dr. Ambedkar Colony Pakhowal Road, Bihari Colony Tajpur Road Ludhiana, Shaheed Bhagat Singh NR Balmiki Colony*, were taken up for collection of data. The field work was carried out during August 2010 to April 2012.

In the first stage of the survey, socio-economic and educational characteristics of all the households of the selected slums were collected. The total households were 2,791 from Hyderabad and 1,219 from Ludhiana. The dimensions for which information was collected related to both socio-economic and educational indicators, such as, the occupation of the father, monthly income of the household, educational attainment level of family members and current status of the school going children with the kind of school being attended. In the second stage, 706 households from Hyderabad and 622 from Ludhiana were surveyed along the same lines, with addition of many more parameters.

Besides the household surveys, information from schools where children living in selected slums studied was collected. The information gathered related to the infrastructural facilities, physical and academic facilities, teacher-pupil ratio and other parameters. The learning level of children was assessed by administering test in language and mathematics corresponding to their respective classes (see Table 2).

Table 2

Sample Size and Number of Households and Children Covered

Type of Schedule	Number of Schedule Canvassed		
	Hyderabad	**Ludhiana**	**Total**
Number of Slums	4	3	7
Household Schedule: Stage I	2791	1219	4010
Sample Household Schedule (6-17 years of age group): Stage II	706	622	1328
Assessment of Number of Children *Class III* *Class VII* *Class IX*	 270 219 257	 358 220 111	 628 439 368

To fulfill the objectives of the study, secondary data regarding the total number of settlements in each ward, and schooling facilities available to the number of settlements were collected from the Slum Department, Municipal Corporation of Hyderabad and Ludhiana and Directorate of Education. Primary data was collected through the survey of households and the schools serving the children of the selected slum area.

Questionnaires were developed to gather information from the households with regard to enrolment, drop-out and repetition of children, factoring the reasons behind these phenomena. Questionnaires were also administered to the heads of the school that served the children of selected slums. Besides, information related to infrastructural facilities, teachers' profile, results of the examinations were also collected. Students were also given the test to assess the learning achievement level corresponding to their class. Statistical analysis of the data was done using MS Excel 2007 and SPSS version 17.

Chapter 2

Urbanisation and Slums

Existence of Twin Realities in Ludhiana and Hyderabad

Rapid urbanisation of spatial areas is a phenomenon that is organically linked with development of services, spread of industries, better infrastructure and advanced systems of governance. These areas have emerged as vibrant cities which have attracted people and opportunities for growth and expansion from across all social strata. Undoubtedly, the economy generated in cities, through manufacturing, services, banking, industries and other sectors have contributed significantly to the country's gross domestic product. India is not untouched with this sway of development. It is said that India is fast urbanising, however, the latest Census (2011) revealed that only 31.2 per cent of the country's population resided in urban areas. One of the recent studies quotes that against the global figure of 54 per cent of population who lived in urban areas, about 31.2 percent of total population in India lived in urban areas (Bhagat, 2015), finding that the country is still trailing the urbanisation wave. Within India, urbanisation presented a varied picture. There were states, such as, Punjab and Tamil Nadu which boasted an urbanisation level of 37 per cent and 48 per cent respectively. On the other extreme were Bihar, Assam and Himachal Pradesh which were predominantly rural with less than 15 per cent of urbanisation (ibid.).

There are many plausible factors behind urbanisation that are context-specific to a country. In the Indian context, Bhagat (2015) states that researches conducted on this subject have found three components as integral to urbanisation, viz. natural increase in urban areas, net rural to urban migration and net rural-urban classification of and boundary changes of urban centers, however, only recently, data-based evidence demonstrates that growth of cities has occurred predominantly as a result of migration as well as expansion (ibid.). Another characteristic feature behind Indian urbanisation has been its expansion not as much due to growth in non-agricultural activities but for the enterprise of service sector. This has been in contrast to the experience of other countries of East and Southeast Asia that have experienced urbanisation because of the manufacturing sector (Chandrashekhar and Sharma, 2014).

While there is an attractive side to urbanisation, there are parallel

undercurrents too that accompany this phenomena. Migration is one such undercurrent that is characteristic of cities world over and is fast reflecting the inter-urban infrastructural, education and health inequalities emerging in cities. People from nearby rural or semi-urban areas throng cities in search of livelihood and opportunities that range from economic prospects, better health and education services. This flow of migrants is never stagnant and hence there is always a continuous pressure on the cities to accommodate this inflow within the resource structure that it provides to its citizens. Urbanisation thus pulls the fringe population within its ambit who reside in settlements that are temporary and fragile. Numerous empirical studies indicate that economic push factors like unemployment, rural poverty, insufficient physical amenities, and land labour are the main reasons for migration from rural to urban areas while economic pull factors, such as, the expectation of better education and job opportunities along with better living standards are the predominant reasons for migrants to get uprooted from their native place (Connell et al., 1977, Baril et al., 1986). Few studies also capture the trend of migration and suggest that rural-urban migration is facilitated by concentration of migrants of same origin in the destination city (Mora and Taylor, 2005). In India also, the migrants migrate to those places where either their relatives or friends stay leading to an increase in households and population in slums over the years. Though migration presents different patterns and trends, as a phenomenon, it points to the widening inequalities amongst the residents of the city. On one hand, there are the affluent and the middle class who settle in posh colonies and own legal houses, on the other, there are people who settle as migrants out of distress and poverty, in areas that are deficient in physical facilities and do not have legal status.

Migration as an important contributor of urbanisation is not just a modern phenomenon and existed even in historical past. From the ancient times to pre -colonial era in India, historical evidences suggests movement of people from one area to another for the purposes of trade and as part of military expeditions. However, with the coming of British, a new era of machine-made garments flooded the Indian market, which hit the indigenous production of textiles and handicrafts. This started a reverse process, whereby artisans moved back into rural areas from townships and cities and this continued between last half of eighteenth century to beginning of nineteenth century. Once again, after the end of British rule, some of the industries started to take foothold in the Indian hinterland, such as, tea, rubber, cotton, jute, mining, etc., and these Industries located in specific towns pulled migrants from other parts of the country (Bhagat, 2015).

In modern times, migration from rural to urban areas is a significant factor behind increase in urban population. The Census data provides information on POLR (place of last residence) which is useful in getting to know the last location of migrants and tells about return migration as well. In Census, a migrant is defined as one who has a separate place of birth (POB) or place of last residence (POLR) from place of enumeration (POE) (Bhagat, 2015).

Countries, such as, India are experiencing high levels of internal migration that is from outer pockets of the cities, or even from remote rural areas to the city hub (Deshingkar, 2005). Internal migration in India, in terms of number, almost doubled from 159 million 1971 to 309 million in 2001 in about 30 years (Lusome and Bhagat, 2006). One can gather a wealth of information on migration through the Census data, which is collected after every 10 years in India; however, data collected at the macro-level is unable to capture various patterns existing within this complex dynamic (Sheng, 2002). Added to this, there have also been fluctuating trends in migration which gets substantiated through analysis of NSSO (2007- 08) and Census (2001 and 2011) that found a decline in the rate of migration in India, only because this data did not take into account all kinds of migration, especially the temporary migration.

In migration studies, two specific trends have been discerned; one, in relation to a sharp rise in its rate after the 1991 policy of liberalisation and globalisation evident through Census of 2001 and NSSO 2000-01 and the other, an increase of migration among females, predominantly between rural areas (Bhagat, 2015). Though for females, the reasons for migration have been related to the movement of family or marriage (Chandrashekhar and Sharma, 2014), for males, the reasons lay in seeking employment opportunities. Comparing different types of migration, for instance, rural-urban and rural-rural, Singh (2009) found that nearly two-thirds (63 per cent) of migrants moved into the cities for employment reasons from rural to urban areas as compared to just 48 per cent in case of rural to rural migration. NSSO (2010c) also shows similar trends as employment-related reasons for migration of males increased from 42 per cent in 1993 to 52 per cent in 1999-2000 and then to 56 per cent in 2007-08. The share of in-migrants (all duration of residences) varied from less than 15 per cent in million plus cities like Allahabad and Agra to 55 per cent and more in cities like Surat, Ludhiana and Faridabad. The share of migrants was as high as 45 per cent in Mumbai and Delhi in 2001 (Bhagat, Das and Bhat, 2009).

While employment and family related reasons could be regarded as major reasons for migration, it would be useful to categorise the pull of cities into opportunities of labour demand and supply, remittances, return migration and skill development (Bhagat, 2015). Migration is largely governed by the want of cities in terms of skilled and unskilled labour at rates that are sometimes below the standard wages. The labour gets engaged by city industries into a synergistic relationship, where the enterprises earn profits in return for cheap wages. People also move into destination cities for remitting expenditure of migrants at their source, which could be related to debts, or expenses incurred for health and education. It is through remittances that migrants are able to improve their living conditions (Srivastava, 1997). The other two opportunities for migration result in increasing social capital, whereby the migrants in return bring with them the additional knowledge and skills that they have acquired. This helps them in starting small scale business or home-based industries in their native places.

In India, migrants do move from one city to another, but many of them move from rural to urban areas. A sizable section of the population in an industrial metropolis is composed of migrants both from rural and urban contexts. The migrants emerge as a separate social class who undergo a long drawn process of moving in and accommodating in a new habitat, in contrast to the natives of the city. This process has several facets, such as, the prime reasons for moving into the cities, sending benefits to their native places, pulls of the hinterland, their decision about settling permanently in the city and so on. All these aspects have a considerable bearing on their urban settlement and their ultimate assimilation with and adjustment into the city environment.

Migration is an important economic strategy for poor households for improving their livelihood prospects in several regions of India (Srivastava and Sasi Kumar, 2003). A few facts and figures confirm this argument, such as; migration in India is predominantly within a short distance, as around 60 per cent of migrants were found to change their residence within their home district. Of the 27.4 per cent who shifted from their place of residence in 1991, 8.8 per cent moved out for employment reasons. In case of temporary migrants, the most popular reasons for migration were found to be seasonal industries and informal sector work in urban areas (ibid.). A high level of temporary migration, increase in rural-urban migration caused by new push and pull factors and a higher propensity to migrate among certain castes were noted as key features of migration (Deshingkar, 2008). Dayal and Karan (2003), cited in Deshingkar (2008) found that in Jharkhand, while 15 per cent of the scheduled castes and scheduled tribes migrated, it was only 8 per cent of upper castes and other backward classes who did so. A few scholars argue (Fuller, 1997) that caste distinction is not visible in urban areas where society is more divided on the basis of class, that is, rich and poor. Beteille (2003) also argues that caste-based practices remain salient to urban status distinctions. Few micro-level studies have revealed that individuals from backward castes occupy slum clusters in larger number than other groups in many different cities. People belonging to SC/ST communities formed more than 25 per cent of the population of slums in Delhi, Nashik, Nagpur, Bangalore, Bhopal, Chennai, Jaipur and Pune (Neekhra, 2008). More detailed surveys of selected slum settlements in Delhi (Gidwani, 2006) reported numbers as high as 60 per cent. In Ahmedabad, this figure was as high as 91 per cent when it included OBCs and Muslims (UN-HABITAT, 2003). On the other side, Bhattacharya (2000), cited in Waddington and Wheeler (2003) found that states with higher proportion of scheduled tribes demonstrated higher rates of rural-rural migration which was attributed to their greater comfort levels and confidence in being within known areas/regions.

Migration trends in India are, therefore, as much framed by strong push factors as pull factors for people, who struggle to pace up with economic growth and globalisation. But this movement from one place to another takes different forms. There is reference to circular labour migration in literature Deshingkar (2008), where the poor from low productivity regions moved out seasonally both within the state and outside for work and wages. A new and emerging trend in migration has been termed as ‘accumulative migration’,

a phenomenon where the migrants migrate less out of necessity and more due to aspirations and need for additional income. In this case, people continue to migrate much after the distress reasons are no longer relevant.

Besides migration, many rural and urban centers also have large number of floating population, that do not fit into the conventional definition of migrants, but who contribute to either the rural or the city's economy, utilise the resources. Chandrashekhar and Sharma (2014) point to a burgeoning floating migrant population. There are a substantial number of rural households from where one or more workers commute to urban areas. Such persons number 31.99 million commuting from rural to urban areas. On the contrary, 15.44 million individuals, who form part of the urban population, reside in households where at least one member commutes from urban to rural area. This floating population thus serves both the rural and the urban economy.

Often studies point to the movement of rural poor to cities in search of employment opportunities. But this truism presents a partial picture of migration. Migration is also constituent of people belonging to higher social groups and economic classes who are pulled out or pushed into different regions driven by many factors. Migration process has an inbuilt screening system, which picks up people from relatively higher economic and social strata (Kundu and Saraswati, 2012). The decline in the share of migrants moving in search of employment and an increase in business and study-related mobility further confirms this proposition. Analysing the educational attainment of migrants between the age group 15-32 years, it was found that migrants coming to Delhi, Gujarat and Maharashtra graduated at different levels of education. This was not the case in Karnataka, which attracted migrants who had either completed higher secondary and diploma, graduation or above. Whereas, Punjab and Haryana pulled those who had not even completed primary school, as they had to be engaged primarily in agricultural work (Chandrashekhar and Sharma, 2014).

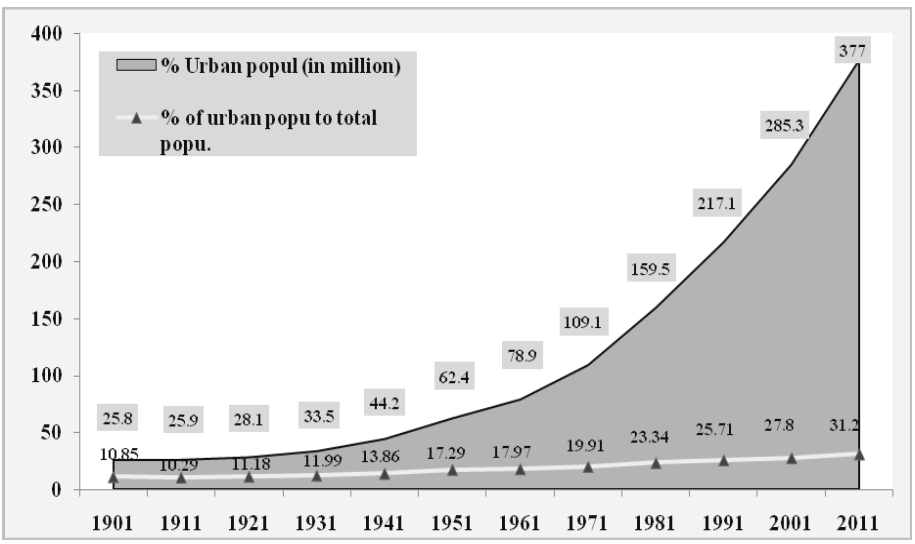
In contrast, poverty-induced migration has become a less important component of mobility over time. Urban centres have become less accommodating to the poor, restricting their entry and thereby increasing rural-urban economic inequalities (ibid.). Hence, there is an inherent fallacy of contemporary migration in India which states that social marginalisation and economic destitution is driving people out of their homes. Migration is no longer only from among the weakest and most vulnerable section of the labour force, which is still constituted by the poor as a substantial proportion of the migrants. An increasing share has now been taken over by middle and high income categories.

Though new trends of urbanisation have been captured in the literature, yet the fact remains that a large population migrates out of distress and poverty. Given the scenario of urbanisation and migration as a twin process, there has been a rapid increase of urban agglomerates and slums in India. If we look only at the urban scene, it is characterised by existence of towns of varying population and sizes, varying from a large number of small towns that

are marginally ahead of some of the developed rural areas to the large metropolitan cities, which are amongst the largest in the world. In India, out of the total population of 1210.2 million in 2011, about 377 million (31.2 per cent) live in urban areas (Fig. 2). The net addition to the population over 2001-11 was 90.47 million in rural areas and 91 million in urban areas. The percentage growth of population in rural and urban areas in the decade 2001-11 was 12.2 and 31.8 per cent respectively. Some of the trends in urbanisation for the country are presented in Annexure-I.

Figure 2

Increase in Urban Population in India (1901-2011)

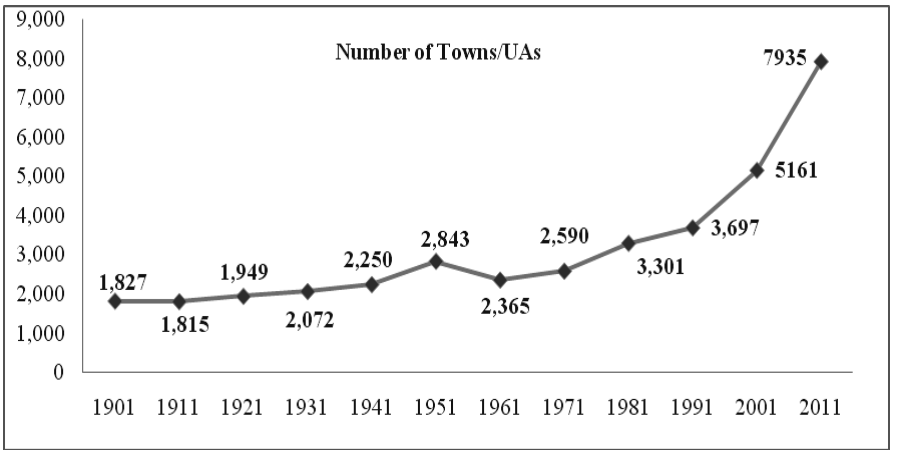


Source: Census of India, Registrar General, New Delhi (Table-1 in Annexure-I)

As per Census 2011, there are 7,935 towns in the country. The number of towns has increased by 2,774 since last Census of 2001. Many of these towns are Urban Agglomeration (UAs) and the rest are independent towns as given in Table 3 and Fig. 3. Class I UAs/Towns are grouped on the basis of their population in Census. The UAs /Towns which have at least 1,00,000 population are categorised as Class 1 UA/Town. In the Census 2011, there are 475 such UAs/Towns. The corresponding number in Census 2001 was 384. An urban agglomeration (UA) "is a continuous urban area consisting of a town or city and its adjoining outgrowths (OGs), or two or more physically contiguous towns/cities with or without their adjacent outgrowths" (Bhagat, 2015) and these are thus known as million plus UAs/Cities. These are the major urban centres in the country. A total of 60.7 million people (or 42.6 per cent of the urban population) live in these million plus UAs/cities.

Figure 3

Increase in Urban Agglomeration in India (1901-2011)



Source: Census of India, Registrar General, New Delhi (Table 3.1 in Annexure-I)

Table 3

Number of UAs/Towns and outgrowths in India

Sl. No.	Type of Urban Units	2011 Census	2001 Census
1	Towns	7,935	5,161
	a. Statutory Towns	4,041	3,799
	b. Census Towns	3,894	1,362
2	Urban Agglomeration	475	384
3	Outgrowths (OGs)	981	962

Source : *http://censusindia.gov.in/2011-prov-results/paper2 Census 2001,2011*

A substantial rise in the population of these million-plus cities has been attributed to migration. The share of migrants was found to be above 55 per cent in cities like Surat, Ludhiana and Faridabad, further emboldening the industrial capital of these locations (Bhagat, 2015). Looking at the macro-details of inter-state migration patterns, there are some interesting pathways revealed in a latest analysis (Chandrashekhar and Sharma, 2014). Uttar Pradesh is the largest feeder state in addition to Bihar, sending people from its boundaries to other states across the country. These two states account for highest outflow of migrants to other states. Some of the other significant movement between states, indicates migrants from *Uttar Pradesh to Punjab, Haryana and Uttaranchal*; *Uttar Pradesh to Delhi and Maharashtra*; from *Bihar to Delhi, West Bengal and Uttar Pradesh* and two-way flow between Maharashtra and Gujarat (ibid.).

Among the million plus UAs/Cities, there are three very large UAs with more than 10 million people in the country, known as Mega Cities (2011 Census). These are **Greater Mumbai** UA (18.4 million), **Delhi** UA (16.3 million) and **Kolkata** UA (14.1 million). The largest UA in the country is Greater Mumbai UA followed by Delhi UA. Kolkata UA which held the second rank in Census 2001 has been replaced by Delhi UA in Census 2011. The growth in population in Mega Cities has slowed down considerably during the last decade. Greater Mumbai UA, which had witnessed 30.47 per cent growth in population during 1991-2001, has recorded 12.05 per cent growth in population during 2001-11. Similarly in Delhi UA (from 52.24 per cent during1991-2001 to 26.69 per cent during 2001-11) and Kolkata UA (from 19.60 per cent between 1991-2001 to 6.87 per cent between 2001-11) growth in population has also slowed down considerably. Studies have attributed different reasons for this declining trend in the population. A process of 'sanitisation and formalisation' seems to be discouraging the inflow of rural poor into many of the million-plus cities, resulting in exclusionary urban growth (Kundu, 2013). The civil society organisations and resident welfare associations have become active in urban governance and have been instrumental in curbing the growth of squatters and slums in cities. Despite the decline in growth of population in mega cities, an absolute increase in urban population over the intercensal period of 2001-11 is larger than the increase in rural areas which has been due to an increase in the reclassification of census towns. The trends in urbanisation show that while the total urban population increased thirteen-fold between 1901 and 2011, the number of urban settlements had grown around 4 times (Fig. 2 and Fig. 3)

This phenomenal pattern of urban growth has resulted in undue pressures on the urban resources. Imperfection in the land and housing markets and exorbitant increase in land prices and rents have virtually left the urban poor, which is inclusive of the migrant population of lower economic strata, with no alternative except seeking informal solutions to their housing problems. This has led to the origin of slums and unauthorised settlements, across the urban agglomerates and metropolitan cities.

Slums: Origin and Issues

Slums have become an integral part of the phenomenon of urbanisation in India. A combination of push and pull factors have operated behind the unplanned and unsustainable growth of cities resulting in multiplication of slums and squatter settlements in and around the city. The forces of poverty, population growth and unemployment have pushed people out of their land to the cities, while the industries, trade centres and government, corporate sectors, private offices and facilities of urban areas have pulled people from villages to towns, resulting in the unmanageable exodus of population. They are compelled to put up in an environment that is much below the minimum standards of urban amenities and services.

The existence and mushrooming of slums is largely due to non-governance and poor planning of urban planners (Ooi and Phua, 2007). Such an argument

appears to be supported by evidence of large slum populations in many developing countries, particularly in rapidly urbanising regions like Asia. The evidence discussed in the above research suggests that city authorities face rapid urban development but lack the capacity to cope with the diverse demands for infrastructural provision to meet the economic and social needs of the burgeoning population, inclusive of migrants. Even though strategic planning and intervention are major issues in agenda to manage rapid urbanisation, the cause lies deeper somewhere. It is said that the real reason is the inability of city governments to effectively link and assess the impact of economic development trajectory of their region on the implications for urban growth. Only when the impact is assessed, the local governments would be able to estimate the requirement of housing needs and provision of services, in order to plan better.

With the intensely competitive demand for land in cities, and limitations thereof, the urban poor are increasingly marginalised. Hence, many can be seen settling at the fringes of the most growing cities. Rapid growth of large cities and mega urban regions in the developing countries are reflected in slum formation which is being surrounded by dense and generally improvised shanty towns and numerous other forms of the so-called informal and poor irregular housing. These are characterised by inadequate infrastructure, poor service provision and lack of security of shelter and land tenure. These slums have inadequate basic municipal services - water, sanitation, waste collection, drainage, street lighting, paved footpaths, roads for emergency access, schools and clinics within easy reach, safe areas for children to play or places for community to meet and socialise.

The literature on informal housing and land development has grown considerably in the last decade. Research on the economic, social, and political forces that generate and lead to sustainability and the formation of informal settlements or slums are abundant (UNCHS Habitat, 1996; Kombe and Kreibich, 2000; Risbud, 2003; Dupont, 2011; Ali and Toran, 2003; Akter, 2008; Chandrasekhar, 2005). These studies have consistently observed that squatter settlements due to their inherently "non-legal" status have services and infrastructure below the "adequate" or minimum levels. These services include both network and social infrastructures, such as, water supply, sanitation, electricity, roads and drainages, as well as schools, health centres, market places, etc. For example, water supply to individual households may be lacking, instead public or community stand pipes may be provided, using either the city networks or a hand pump. Informal networks for the supply of water may also be in place. Similar arrangements may be made for electricity, drainage, toilet facilities, etc., with little dependence on public authorities or formal channels.

Most squatter settlement households belong to lower income groups, who either work as wage labour or in various informal sector enterprises. On average, most of the wages are at or near the minimum wage level. But household income levels are usually higher as a result of the number of income earners and part-time jobs. Squatters are housed by migrants, either coming

from rural to urban areas for the first time or who have been staying there from two to three generations. The degraded environments in this informal sector housing in the cities of developing countries continue to cause severe health problems. In particular, the inadequate quantity and quality of household water supplies, inadequate sewage and waste disposal and the effects of crowding reflect the continuing inability of city authorities to supply infrastructural services and adequate housing. Kombe and Kreibich (2000) have attributed these failings, during the last 20 years, to rapid population growth and immigration, economic decline, political instability and institutional decay within cities.

Studies have highlighted the state of workers engaged in the urban informal sector who form the bulk of the urban poor (Bhowmik and More, 2001). Workers in this sector either received low wages or if they were self-employed, their income was found to be meager. This implied that their living conditions were poor and even if employed, their wages were less than the stipulated minimum wages. There were hardly any regulations on the working conditions of slum dwellers and social security was virtually non-existent. A large section of this population consisted of low-skilled rural migrants or migrants from smaller towns. Hence, for these people, right from the time of their entry to the city, they become a part of the informal sector as they neither had the skills nor the opportunities to enter better-paid and more secure formal sector jobs. They thus moved from one level of poverty at their place of origin to another level of poverty at their destination. At the same time, there was a growing section of workers in the formal sector who had lost their jobs and were compelled to work in the informal sector. To these people and their families, this change meant a reduction in their standard of living and led to insecure, unregulated employment.

In the slums of Ahmedabad, in the early-1970s, the informal sector was estimated to account for around half of all work in the urban economy, but, by the end of the 20th century, it had grown to between three-quarters and four-fifths of the total (Jan 2002). The informal sector work can be defined as *'work on one's own account which generates income but is not regulated by an explicit employment contract and enjoys no protection'* (ibid.). This definition includes people who work in the street, in homes, small-scale enterprises, power-loom workshops, etc. The informal sector workers work for as long as their employers require them to and in the process they run the risk of being exploited. Sometimes, these workers may be working in the context of a secure, organised workplace but their status of work is contractual and therefore classified as informal. According to Breman (2002), the move from formality to informality in the work context almost immediately means a fall in the standard of living. The lower-income classes are mainly visible in this new neighbourhood as domestic servants, street vendors, repair and odd-job men, cleaners, day or night guards. Majority of these migrants are either self-employed or casual workers. About 30 per cent of migrant workers work as casual workers, such as, construction workers, hawkers and vendors, domestic servants, rickshaw-pullers/drivers, electricians, plumbers, masons, security personnel, etc. Only 35 per cent of migrant workers are employed as

regular/salaried workers (NSSO, 2010c). The realities of the informal sector are vividly expressed in the existence of slums. And the state of the informal labour in Ahmedabad city too was manifested in the rise of its slums which, in 1998, had about 55 per cent of the slum population living in tin-shed houses, another 80 per cent of households not having water connections and an overwhelming 93 per cent with no toilet facilities of their own.

There are few but significant studies conducted on slums in major cities of India, which present a varied picture of life in slums. One of the slums in Hyderabad city was found to have originated due to the squatting of poor migrants in a group of deteriorated buildings in the old part of the city (Rao and Rao, 1984). Majority of the residents in the slum expressed their desire to stay in the same area but wished that civic amenities like water, electricity and health centres as also schools could be provided to them in the same place. Prasad (1995) also tried to look at the problem of urban poor in Hyderabad city and the constraints and limitations of the changes brought about through migration. He found that among many constraints, the slum dwellers unanimously agreed that the environment in the slums was not conducive for the education of their children. According to Census 2001, 37 per cent of households had only one room for living. This share for the city of Delhi was 39 per cent, 41 per cent in Chennai and as high as 61 per cent in Mumbai.

In a slum in Delhi, Singh and Kochupillai (2005) found extreme poor health conditions of people. It was found that cancer was one of the leading causes of morbidity and mortality due to high consumption of liquor and harmful dietary factors. Generally, the cause of these health conditions are attributed to lack of uncontaminated water and sanitation facilities, as well as non-durability of dwelling, insufficient and overcrowded living area and insecurity of permanent status (UN-HABITAT, 2002). Adverse living conditions and low socio-economic factors result in poor health conditions of slum dwellers and affect children's education as well (Karn and Harada, 2003; Bauni, 2000). Due to lack of basic facilities such as, safe and adequate drinking water supply, sewerage and sanitation, slum dwellers and their children in slums of Mumbai were found to be prone to many diseases and malnutrition. This was especially true for girl children (Geetha, S. and Swaminathan, 1996). Few more studies focused on the relationship between environmental condition and health status of children in different cities like Mumbai, Kannur, Trivandrum and Kerala (Hatekar and Rode, 2003; Karn et al., 2003; Gangadharan,2005; Retnaraj, 2001) and found that poor environmental conditions and lack of basic amenities were the root cause of many health problems. This led to malnutrition among the children which had an adverse effect on the education of the children.

Despite deplorable circumstances in slums, they can also be focal points for a vibrant economy. Not just as feeders to the city's industrial growth, the slums can generate wealth from within its resources. One such case is that of *Dharavi*, a large slum in Mumbai which houses a number of industries, such as, recycling plastic, paper, leather, metal, clothing, food, etc. This slum boasts of

highly skilled craftsmen with a large repertoire. There were about 5,000 small scale industries and 1,500 single room factories with an annual turnover of half-a-billion US dollars (Bhagat, 2015). Apart from contributing to the economy, slums have also spearheaded the formation of community-based organisations, such as, National Slum Dwellers Foundation (NSDF) and *Mahila Milan*, operating in slums of Mumbai, working in the area of urban poverty, housing and creating innovative solutions to the challenges faced in dwelling (ibid.). Exemplars, such as, these must compel policy makers to look at the fast growth and urbanisation taking place in small cities and towns fuelled by the economy generated in and because of slums. Hence, the need of the hour is to improve conditions of small cities and towns so that they are able to sustain this growth and contribute effectively to the country's economy (Chandrashekhar and Sharma, 2014).

Children in Slums: Poverty, Distress and Social Exclusion

A survey showed that poverty incidence was 50 per cent (Gupta and Mitra, 2002) in notified sample slums in Delhi, which was much larger than the 14.7 per cent reported by the Government of Delhi (2008) for Delhi as a whole, six years later. The concept of poverty cannot be delimited around the income level but it is determined by the prevailing conditions of the slum dwellers. People may be poor not just because of their low incomes, but also poor in terms of an inadequate, unstable or risky asset base, overcrowded housing, low access to safe water, sanitation, health, schools, lacking a supportive safety net, lack of protection by law and regulations, denial of economic, social and cultural rights and denial of voice within the political system (UN-HABITAT REPORT, 2008). Therefore, it can be inferred that slums and poverty are closely related and mutually reinforcing. Most importantly, poverty adversely affects the educational chances of its children. Slum conditions are definitely the physical and statutory manifestations that create barriers to human and social development.

Child labour is characteristically deep rooted in slums and more severe than what is found in urban areas. Poverty might be one of the reasons for child labour primarily because there is a dire need for survival and any coin that can be brought home would be preferred over any other engagement of the child. Moreover, the context in which slum dwellers and their children work, such as, the construction sites, etc., is not conducive for helping them continue their schooling (Mugisha, 2004). These children find employment in casual and unskilled jobs which are less paid and for which there is stiff competition. One of the predominant reasons for child labour happens to be the abject poverty of people residing in slums. For 2011-12, for rural areas the national poverty line using the Tendulkar methodology was estimated by the Planning Commission at Rs. 816 per capita per month (rural) and Rs. 1,000 per capita per month in urban areas. Thus, for a family of five, the all India poverty line in terms of consumption expenditure amounted to about Rs. 4,080 per month in rural areas and Rs. 5,000 per month in urban areas. The percentage of persons below the Poverty Line in 2011-12 was estimated at 25.7 per cent in rural areas, 13.7 per cent in urban areas and 21.9 per cent for the country as a whole. However, disaggregated data for the slums was not available.

In a study conducted in Kolkata slums, it was found that slum life was challenging and full of struggles (COHRE, 2008). Khasnabis and Chatterjee (2007) reported that sickness of the children due to poor environmental conditions was the major reason (32.06 per cent of the cases) behind the irregular attendance of the students in schools. Out of total enrolled students, 19.71 per cent of students did not show regular attendance because of seasonal and non-seasonal migration. This arose out of the fact that a section of the families could not settle permanently because of the absence of regular jobs and, as a result, children were uprooted from the school (ibid.).

A Report by Centre for Good Governance (2008), explained the need to provide fairly accurate estimates of child labour for all the slums of Hyderabad, including identification of hotspots. This study provided an estimate of various categories of children in the slums of Hyderabad, such as, school-going/out of school children, children involved/not involved in any economic activity, children involved in hazardous/non-hazardous occupations and children involved occasionally in work, etc. The analysis estimated that the percentage of out-of-school children in the slums varied from 2.87 per cent to 5.84 per cent and, on an average, the percentage of out-of-school children in the slums of Hyderabad stood at 3.75 per cent. The percentage of working children in the slums of Hyderabad stood at 3.17 per cent. Additionally, the percentage of children who were engaged in hazardous work and lived in the slums of Hyderabad stood at 2.07 per cent. In terms of numbers, the study reported that 11,178 children in the slums were found to be working.

It is well known that the health status of slum dwellers is greatly influenced by the living condition they live in. Slum congestion, homeless families, street children, drainage problems, air pollution, stinking water bodies, heaps of garbage, unhygienic working conditions are all unique characteristics of urban fringe environments. While studying Mumbai and Pune slums, Bapat and Agrawal (2003) found that slum dwellers lived in a variety of circumstances - on pavements, besides railway tracks, in swampy spaces and on steep slopes. The degraded environment, in which they lived, took a toll on the physical, mental and moral health of the slum dwellers and their children.

Due to lack of proper living conditions, slum children were vulnerable to diarrhea, typhoid, malaria and other such diseases (Nijama et al., 2003). A Mumbai slum study by Verma et. al., (2001) indicated that the health status of the slum dwellers and children was influenced by poor economic status of the household. In another study on Mumbai slums, it was pointed out that poor hygiene and sanitation and lack of safe drinking water contributed to health problems of the slum dwellers (Sijbesma, 2006). In another cultural context, a study of slums in Brazil indicated that chronic non-communicable and communicable diseases like hypertension, diabetes, intentional and unintentional injuries, tuberculosis, rheumatic heart disease and HIV infection existed in slums (Riley et al., 2007). In the light of the above, it can be opined that the survival of low income households in an urban slum area is a matter of great concern.

The multitude of findings, revealed through the studies that have been documented until now, point to the dynamics of educational disadvantage, health jeopardy and the status of urban poor. The hazards of living in sub standard conditions directly impact the well-being of slum dwellers and their children putting the latter at risk of becoming excluded from the educational process. Gradually, children living in slums assume the status of marginalised, at the receiving end of educational and social exclusion. Research has been conducted to find the barriers to access and participation in education in the urban contexts. Although data is increasingly available on the learning outcomes of children in rural India, little evidence is available on the same scale for urban India. Limited research has been conducted on the impact of urbanisation on education and health, especially those living in the squatter settlements, slums and streets dwellers. Though there are a few micro-level studies undertaken to ascertain the extent and kind of schooling facilities available for the urban disadvantaged and to estimate their participation, they are a drop in the ocean.

Slum Population in India

In India, slums have been defined as mainly those residential areas where dwellings are in any respect unfit for human habitation by reasons of dilapidation, overcrowding, faulty arrangements and designs of such buildings, narrowness or faulty arrangement of streets, lack of ventilation, light, sanitation facilities or any combination of these factors which are detrimental to safety, health and morals (Section 3 of the Slum Area Improvement and Clearance Act, 1956). The Census of India (2001) defined slums as a compact area of at least 300 persons or about 60-70 households of poorly built congested tenements, an unhygienic environment usually with inadequate infrastructure and lack of proper sanitary and drinking water facilities. In this Census, slum areas were earmarked across the country particularly in cities and towns having population of 50,000 or above in 2001 Census. Subsequently the slum data was also reported for towns with population of 20,000 to 49,999 in 2011 Census.

Census (2011) brought refinement in the definition by characterising slum as any compact housing cluster or settlement of at least 20 households with a collection of poorly built tenements which are mostly temporary in nature, crowded together usually, with inadequate sanitary and drinking facilities and unhygienic conditions. The Census categorised and defined slums into the following three types - notified slums, recognised slums and identified slums. In 2011, Census compiled more disaggregated data on housing stock, amenities and assets based on the House listing and Housing Census, compared to the earlier Census which released slum data only on demographic characteristics based on population enumeration.

Looking at the data in India, the total slum population was 42.5 million comprising 23.1 per cent of the total urban population of cities/towns, with over 50,000 inhabitants and 15 per cent of the total urban population of the country (Census 2001).The slum population according to Census 2011 is

estimated to be 93.06 million (Details in *Annexure-II*). Among the states, Andhra Pradesh has the largest number of cities and towns (77) reporting slum population, followed by Uttar Pradesh (69), Tamil Nadu (63), Maharashtra (61), West Bengal (59), Madhya Pradesh (43) and Gujarat (41). Every eighth urban child in the age group of 0-6 years stays in slums (Slums in India: A statistical compendium 2011). Roughly 1.37 crore households or 17.4 per cent of urban Indian households lived in slums in 2011. The new data is difficult to compare with that in the previous years because the Census 2011 data covers all 4,041 statutory towns in India, as compared to 2001 when only statutory towns with population over 50,000 were covered. However, Census 2001 underestimated the effective number of slum dwellers or towns with population below 50,000 (Kundu, 2011). Even clusters with less than 60 households were not covered. Adding to this underestimation, another challenge with the Census data is the count of unrecognised category of slums, as state governments are unwilling to admit the existence of these slums in cities.

The state governments see the slums as an overburden on the existing resources of the city. Slums in the 61 towns of Maharashtra account for 11.2 million people, which is more than one-fourth of the total slum population in the country. This is followed by Andhra Pradesh (5.2 million), Uttar Pradesh (4.4 million), West Bengal (4.1 million) and Tamil Nadu (2.9 million). In fact, these states account for about two-thirds (65.3 per cent) of the total slum population of the country (Census 2011). As per Census 2011, there are 53 cities which have more than one million population in the country and with about 17.7 million population that resides in these cities. Greater Mumbai Municipal Corporation with 6.5 million (48.88 per cent) slum dwellers has the highest slum population among all the cities followed by Delhi Municipal Corporation (1.9 million), Kolkata (1.5 million) and Chennai (0.8 million).

These figures clearly remind us that the country's urban portfolio is large enough to merit serious concern. In fact, even in relatively better served metro cities, there are pockets of utter neglect where the marginalised people stay. Living conditions of the urban slum dwellers, contrary to popular belief, are in no better shape in most regions than in rural areas. There are also complications arising out of the existence of relatively large numbers of street children, child labourers, children of commercial sex workers and children of migratory workers. If universalisation of elementary education and equal opportunity for secondary education are our goal, then the educational issues of the urban disadvantaged demand their firm place on the national agenda and in particular the urbanised states need to play an active role in finding suitable programmes and strategies for urban deprived children living in slums. Having discussed the trends in urbanisation and increase in slum population, it would be important to understand the demographic and educational profile of the sample cities of the study.

Profile of Hyderabad City

Hyderabad is the fourth most populous city of India (Census 2011). As per Census 2011, the population of Hyderabad was 6,731,790 of which males and females were 3,442,696 and 3,289,094 respectively. Between 2001 and 2011, the population of Hyderabad had increased by 87 per cent adding 3.1 million in its ever growing population in the last 10 years. The migratory population stood at 24 per cent of the overall city population. Its urban metropolitan population was 7,674,689 of which 3,927,029 were males and 3,747,660 were females. The sex ratio of Hyderabad was 954 females per 1000 males which were slightly higher than the national ratio of 933 per 1000 (Census 2011). The literacy rate of population was 82.90 per cent with males having literacy rate of 87.12 per cent and females 78.50 per cent. The population of Hyderabad is a cross-cultural potpourri of native Telugus and settlers from various parts of the country and the world. Hyderabad mainly comprises Hindus and Muslims, however, people from north Indian states and other migrants from western states stay here as the city is an emerging IT hub. The cosmopolitan culture in the city promotes such an influx from other states.

Greater Hyderabad is divided into five zones and eighteen circles that contain 150 municipal wards, each controlled by a corporation. The Mayor and Corporators are elected from political elections through popular vote. The Hyderabad Metropolitan Development Authority (HMDA) manages the urban planning of the city. The jurisdiction of HMDA includes the entire area of GHMC and also its suburbs. The enlarged jurisdiction of HMDA extends to 54 mandals that are located in five districts.

In Hyderabad, all the schools are managed and governed by the state education department. Education department has a Director, who is an IAS officer, assisted by an Additional Director. Next in hierarchy are the Regional Joint Director and DEOs. The Greater Hyderabad Municipal Corporation (GHMC), established in 2007, manages the administration and infrastructure of Hyderabad. In Hyderabad, as far as education is concerned, there are 12 zones which are headed by Deputy Education Officers and the Academic Inspectors assist the Deputy Education Officers. As far as primary education is concerned, there are 24 mandals, and Deputy Inspector of School is the head. The Deputy Education Officer looks after Secondary Education. The demographic features and literacy rates of selected cities are presented in Table 4 (a &b), Fig. 4 (a & b) and Fig. 5.

Table 4 (a)

Population, Sex-ratio, Literacy Rate of Slum Population in Selected Cities

Name of the Cities	Total Pop.	Total Slum Pop.	Sex Ratio of Population		Literacy Rate of Slum Population			Literacy Rate of Non-slum Population		
			Non-slum Pop.	*Slum pop.*	*Person*	*Male*	*Female*	*Person*	*Male*	*Female*
Hyderabad	5742036	626849	930	938	71	77.1	64.5	80.3	84.9	75.3
Ludhiana	1398467	314904	764	759	77.9	80.6	74.3	80.4	82.4	77.8

Source: Census, 2001

The Census data between two datasets has shown considerable shift in slum population of both Hyderabad and Ludhiana. If we look at the data of Census 2001 {Table 4 (a)}, it revealed that slum population in Hyderabad comprised 17.2 per cent of the total population, whereas in Ludhiana, slum population constituted about 22.5 per cent of the total population. However, in the inter-census decade of 2001-11, the total population of Hyderabad increased from 5.7 million to 7.7 million with an increase of its slum population from around 6.2 lakh to 22.8 lakh (around three times). In Ludhiana, the total population increased from 1.3 million to 1.6 million during the same period. In contrast to an increase in the total population of the city, the latest Census figures reported a decline in its slum population from 3.1 lakh to 2.4 lakh. Few reasons for this decline in slum population in Ludhiana can be attributed to loss of employment opportunities due to closing of small scale industries, lack of demand for workers, probable migration of slum population to some other places instead of continuing in Ludhiana and the like. Another probability could be that during the enumeration of people for Census purposes, a share of the slum population could have left the slum for their native place, as a result, wouldn't have been enumerated. Hence, the slum's population could have been an underestimation. Nevertheless, further probe needs to be conducted to find the set of real reasons why Ludhiana has shown a decline in slum population in the decadal period, to be able reach to any conclusive statement.

Table 4 (b)

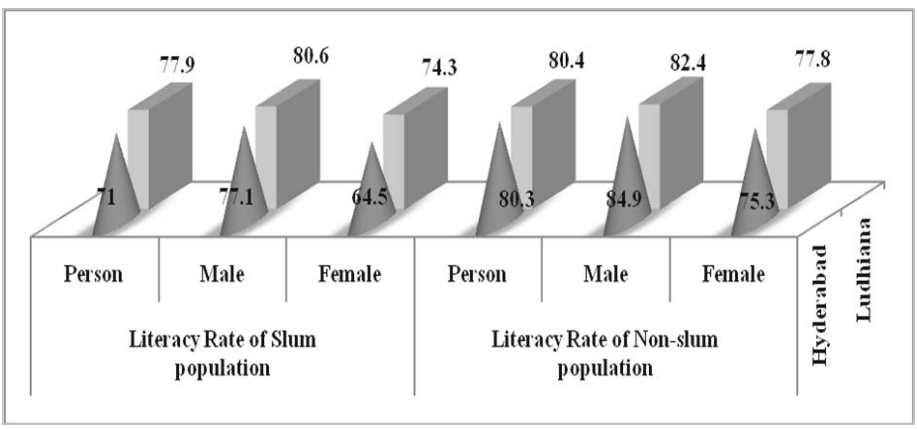
Population, Sex-ratio, Literacy Rate of Slum Population in Selected Cities

Name of the Cities	Total Pop.	Total Slum Pop.	Sex Ratio of Population		Literacy Rate of Slum Population			Literacy Rate of Non-slum Population		
			Non-slum Pop.	*Slum Pop.*	*Person*	*Male*	*Female*	*Person*	*Male*	*Female*
Hyderabad	6731790	2287014	940	955	67	71	62	77	79	75
Ludhiana	1618879	244163	845	844	70	74	66	77	80	74

Source: Census, 2011

Figure 4 (a)

Literacy Rate of Slum and Non-slum Population in Ludhiana and Hyderabad (2001)

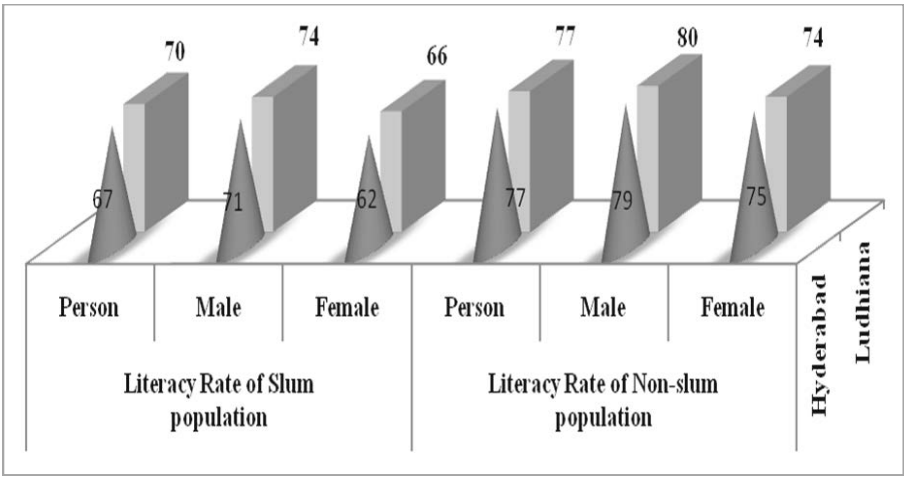


Source: Census 2001, Office of the Registrar General and Census Commissioner, India

In Hyderabad, the literacy rate of slum population was much lower in comparison to non-slum population, whereas Ludhiana reported much better literacy rate for slum population. However, the field data revealed that the literacy rate for population living in Ludhiana was abysmally poor.

Figure 4 (b)

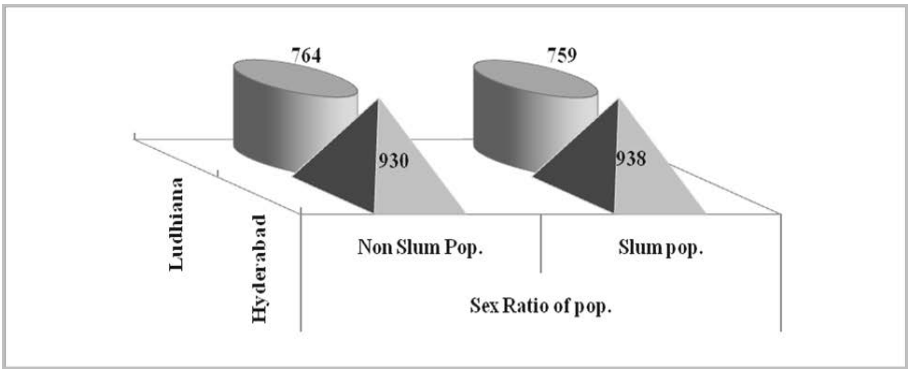
Literacy Rate of Slum and Non-slum population in Ludhiana and Hyderabad (2011)



Source: Ibid.

Figure 5 a

Sex Ratio among Slum and Non-slum Population in Ludhiana and Hyderabad (2001)

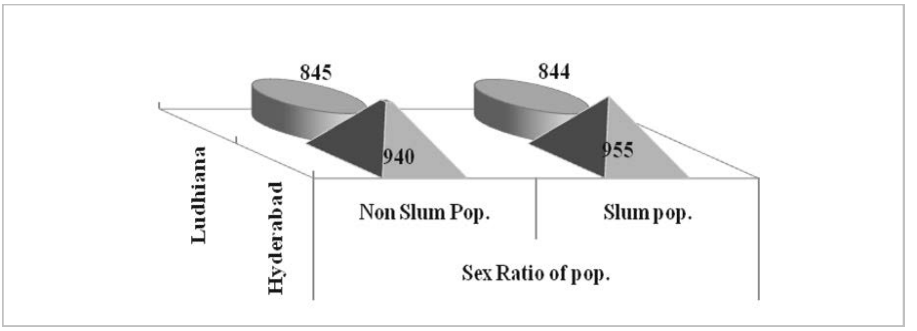


Source: Ibid.

The sex ratio for slum population in Hyderabad was better with 938 women per 1000 men in 2001 and 955 women per 1000 men in 2011 whereas in Ludhiana, it was very low and stood at 759 in 2001 and increased to 844 in 2011.

Figure 5b

Sex Ratio among Slum and Non-slum population in Ludhiana and Hyderabad (2011)



Source: Ibid.

Slum Population in Hyderabad

Hyderabad is characterized by a very significant presence of the urban poor, with a growing poverty profile. Slum settlements have multiplied over decades and the living conditions of the poor have not improved significantly. Environmental decline, pollution, inadequate basic services and infrastructure in the poor settlements affect the poor the hardest. Slums are scattered across the city and surrounding municipalities with high population densities. It is estimated that more than half of these slums are on private land, and rest of the land belongs to various public entities. There is notable presence of slums across Hyderabad. Twelve per cent of Hyderabad is occupied by 1,476 slums in which 28.65 per cent of the city's population lives, and out of the total number of slums, 1,179 slums are notified. There are 985 slums in the core area of the city, which house 66 per cent of the total slum population and 491 are in peripheral areas where the rest live. There is a Corporation (GHMC) in the Hyderabad city which has a total population of 68,09,970; of whom, 17,36,152 live in slums, which account for 80.45 sq km of the total 625 sq km of the city. The urban agglomeration houses 1631 slums, hosting around 2 million people spread unevenly all over. Several of these slums are non-notified thus making it difficult for the provision of infrastructure and other services on sustainable basis. Some of the slums in the MCH area are very old and were established more than five decades ago; however, these continue to suffer deprivations.

According to Census 2011, literacy rate in the slums is estimated to be around 60-80 per cent and the female literacy rate varies from 52-73 per cent. The literacy rate of the city as a whole is reported to have been 82.96 per cent, out of which, 85.96 per cent are literate males, and the literate females carry a share of 79.79 per cent. The literacy rate of the city is slightly higher than the national average of 74.04 per cent. Though Hindus form majority of the population, Muslims have substantial presence across the city and are predominant in and around old city. Telugu and Urdu are the official languages

of Hyderabad while English is commonly used. Slum population in Hyderabad Urban Agglomerate (HUA) is heterogeneous in character - with Hindus, Muslims and Christians having migrated from different neighbouring districts; districts that once formed part of the erstwhile Nizam's dominion.

Table 5

Slum Population in MCH Surrounding Municipalities

Towns	Number of Slums	Slum Population	% of Slum Population
		2001	
MCH	985	1411000	20.72
Serilingampally	61	73866	1.08
Kukatpally	68	19585	0.29
Quthbullahpur	64	138360	2.03
Alwal	49	62585	0.92
Malkajgiri	42	47396	0.70
Kapra	51	47064	0.69
Uppal Kalan	29	43586	0.64
LB Nagar	75	23478	0.34
Rajendranagar	45	84287	1.24
Total	**1476**	**1951207**	**28.65**

Source: Slum Survey of GHMC 2009-10

In Hyderabad Urban Agglomerate (HUA) area, as can be seen from Table 5, there are 1476 slums with an approximate population of 2.0 million which are not concentric at a particular location. The poor not only habitat the slums of HUA but are also spread in squatter and informal settlements in small groups deprived of basic services. This makes them more vulnerable to vagaries of nature and threat of eviction. There is no record of data on the number of such settlements and their population.

Characteristics of Selected Slums in Hyderabad

The information on the profile of slums was collected from local community leaders who were able to furnish details on the demographic, socio-economic and educational indicators of their slums. In addition, some information was also sought from district offices regarding schemes and programmes for old age people and slum dwellers that were for instance, run by the state government in Hyderabad. However, in Ludhiana, there were no special interventions made by the state with respect to programmes for slum dwellers.

Heera Nagar Slum

This slum is situated in the city of Hyderabad and came into existence in 1995. The ownership of land where the slum was located is private. It had an area of

800 sq. meters having 433 households with a population of 3,210, out of which, 470 belonged to scheduled castes, 135 to scheduled tribes, and 2,175 to other backward classes and 430 belonged to general category. In this slum, there were a total of 424 illiterate persons, out of which, 114 (26.9 per cent) were illiterate males, and 310 (73.1 per cent) illiterate females (information in a questionnaire provided by the local ward member). Around 37 per cent of the total population was salaried whereas, about 30 per cent were self-employed, another 31per cent engaged in labour work. The remaining 2 per cent were engaged in other work, such as, kabadi (waste) business. Out of the total population, 78 per cent earned up to Rs. 3,000 per month whereas the remaining population had an average earning of more than Rs. 3,000.

The slum had one Anganwadi under the Integrated Child Development Scheme (ICDS) and two private pre-schools within the slum and two pre-schools near the slum. There were one primary government school and four primary private schools situated in close proximity of the slum, and two secondary government schools and two secondary private schools located within 7 kms from the slum.

One government hospital was located near the slum, and other health centers situated within a distance of 5 kms from the slum. One community centre existed within the slum for the social welfare and development of the slum dwellers.

ASR Nagar & Sai Nagar

This slum is also situated in the city of Hyderabad and came into existence in 1990. The ownership of land where the slum was located belonged to the state government. The type of area surrounding slum was residential and was located along a nallah, the major storm water drain. It had an area of 1200 sq. meters and a total of 740 households with a population of 6,400, out of which, 490 belonged to scheduled castes, 190 to scheduled tribes, 5020 to other backward classes and 700 belonged to general category. There were 1750 total number of illiterate persons, out of which, 729 (41.4 per cent) were illiterate males, and 1021 (58.6 per cent) illiterate females. Around 70 per cent of the total population was self-employed, 10.8 per cent were salaried and the remaining 19.9 per cent engaged in labour work. Out of the total population of the slum, 78 per cent were earning in the range of Rs. 2,000- 4,000 and 22 per cent had monthly income of more than Rs 4,000. This slum also had one Anganwadi under the ICDS scheme and four private pre-schools near the slum. There were one primary government school and two primary private schools situated in close proximity of the slum, and one secondary government school and one secondary private school located within 5 kms from the slum.

Only one government hospital was situated near the slum area, and other health centres were located within a distance of 5 kms from the slum, along with a community centre.

Kanka Durga Nagar

The existence of this slum has been since 1998, and it is situated on private land. The area of the slum was 800 sq. meters and had a total of 95 households with a population of 560, out of which, 40 were scheduled castes, 20 scheduled tribes, 450 other backward classes and 50 belonged to general categories. There were a total of 145 number of illiterate persons, out of which, 55 (37.9 per cent) were illiterate males, and 90 (62.1 per cent) illiterate females.

Around 44 per cent of the total population was salaried, 10.6 per cent were self-employed and the remaining 44.7 per cent were engaged in labour work. Around 64 per cent of the total population earned in the range of Rs. 2,000-3,000.

No school was located within the slum. However, an elementary level school was available within a radius of 1 to 1.5 kms. The secondary school was located a little far from the slum and was within a radius of 5 to 6 kms. No health centre was situated within the slum. There was one street children rehabilitation centre within the slum. This slum was small in population size and was less privileged as compared to other slums.

Tulja Bhavani Nagar

The slum was established in 1975 and is situated on private land. It was located in the middle of the residential area in a non-hazardous zone. The slum had an area of 600 sq. meters, and the total numbers of households were 384 with a population of 2,165, out of which, 232 were scheduled castes, 37 scheduled tribes, 1,441 other backward classes and 455 belonged to general category. Out of a total of 370 illiterate persons residing in the slum, 140 were illiterate males and 230 illiterate females. Around 40 per cent of the total population was casual labourers, 38.3 per cent were under regular wage and 21 per cent were salaried. Around 60 per cent of the total population earned in the range of Rs. 3,000- 4,000.

Anganwadi was located outside the slum at a distance of less than 0.5 km. Two government schools and four private schools of primary level were situated next to the slum. One government and a private school up to the secondary level were also located outside the slum. One government hospital and one primary health centre were available near the slum, and other health centres were situated outside the slum, along with a community centre.

Profile of Ludhiana City

Ludhiana is the largest city in Punjab, both in terms of area and population. The city is spread over an area of 159.37 sq. km. and accommodates approximately 1,613,878 persons, of which, males and females are 874,773 and 739,105 respectively (Census 2011). Since 1951, Ludhiana city has witnessed a virtual explosion in population growth. During 1981-91,

it recorded a growth rate of 71.77 per cent, the third highest among metropolitan towns in India. In 1991, Ludhiana became the first million plus metropolitan city of Punjab. Growth trends of urban population in Punjab and Ludhiana are given in Table 6.

Table 6

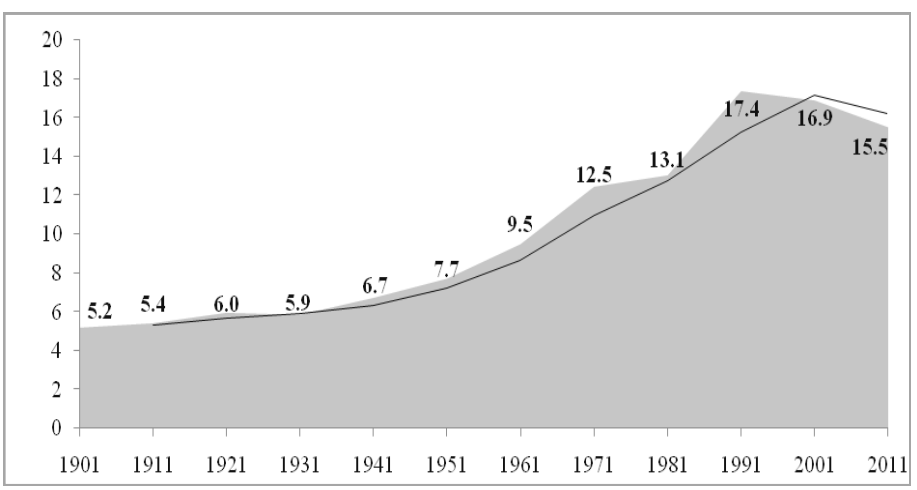
Growth Trends-Urban Population in Punjab and Ludhiana

Years	Urban Population of Punjab (persons)	Population of Ludhiana Municipal Corporation (LMC)	Population of LMC as % of Total Urban Population of Punjab	Decadal Growth Rate of Urban Population of Punjab (%)	Decadal Growth Rate of Population of Ludhiana city (%)
1901	934766	48649	5.2	--	--
1911	813224	44170	5.4	-13	-9.21
1921	869526	51880	6	6.92	17.46
1931	1168463	68586	5.9	34.37	32.2
1941	1657414	111639	6.7	41.85	62.77
1951	1989267	153795	7.7	20.02	37.76
1961	2567306	244032	9.5	29.06	58.67
1971	3216719	401176	12.5	25.27	64.39
1981	4647757	607052	13.1	44.51	51.32
1991	5993225	1042740	17.4	28.95	71.77
2001	8245566	1395053	16.9	37.58	33.79
2011	10387436	1613 878	15.5	37.49	13.56

Source: Ludhiana City Plan (2012-13)

Figure 6

Percentage of Ludhiana Municipal Corporation Population to Total Urban Population of Punjab state



The district population of Ludhiana constitutes 12.59 per cent of total Punjab's population. The sex ratio of Ludhiana city is 845 per 1000 males. Total children of 0-6 years of age in Ludhiana city are 173,021, out of which boys are 92,492 in number and girls 80,529 in number. The population density of the city is around 8,755 per sq. km.

Ludhiana district comprises of eight tehsils, seven sub-tehsils and twelve development blocks. It has 75 wards with a Mayor as Head and also has a Deputy Mayor and Councilors for each ward. As far as education is concerned, there is one District Education Officer and two Deputy District Education Officers. For urban areas, most of the schools are governed by state and Director of Public Instruction. There are 19 Block Education Officers to look after the primary education. Under the Block Education Officer, there are Centre Head Teachers who are like a cluster coordinator and assigned to provide support to 10-12 schools. At secondary education level, 329 secondary schools are divided as clusters and there are 34 cluster Inspectors who are in charge of an average 9 to 10 schools with one Head teacher as head for each secondary school.

The population of Ludhiana consists mostly of Sikhs and Hindus. The city is commonly known as the "hub of Indian Hosiery Industries" and also as industrial capital of small scales industries in the country. One, out of every six urban dwellers (16.92 per cent) living in the state of Punjab, resides at Ludhiana. There are in all 209 slums in the city with a population of 2, 33,400. The average number of households is also found to be high in slum areas, placed at 7, as compared to 5.2 for the entire city. Around 22 per cent of its population lives in slums. (City Development Plan 2007-21, Survey carried out under SJSRY). Most of the slum dwellers are migrants from different states, such as, Bihar, Madhya Pradesh, Rajasthan and Uttar Pradesh. They are basically casual workers and work in the hosiery and other industries.

Characteristics of Selected Slums in Ludhiana

Dr. Ambedkar Colony, Pakhowal Road

This slum was established in 1987, situated on the land that belonged to Improvement Trust. The physical location of the slum was in a hazardous environment. Though the slum was established around 25 years back, the environmental and physical conditions were still deplorable with no drinking water and toilet facilities. Most of the houses were kuchcha. The area of the slum comprised of 600 sq. meters and had 350 households with a population of 2,400, most of them belonging to the scheduled castes. There were 2,100 illiterate persons, out of which, 1,225 (58.3 per cent) were males and 875 (42.7 per cent) females. All of them were engaged as casual labours with no proper income. Around 60 per cent of the total population earned in the range of Rs 1,500-2,000 per month.

As far as the education facility to the slum was concerned, no school was located there and only one primary government school was situated at a

distance of around 2 kms. Secondary schools were located at a distance of around 5-6 kms. Health facilities were not available inside the slum but government hospital and health centres were situated at a distance of about 5-6 kms from the slum. There was no existence of community centre in or around the slum.

Bihari Colony, Tajpur Road

This slum was established in 1988, on the land belonging to housing board. The type of area surrounding the slum was residential and the physical location was along a nullah. It had an area of 800 sq. meters and a total number of 396 households with a population of 2,930 persons. People came from different regions and different castes into this slum community. Around 2,050 people were illiterate, out of which, 1,175 were males and 875 females.

Most of the people in this slum were engaged as casual labourers and had no regular income. Around half of the total population in the slum was earning in the range of Rs 1,500- 3,000 per month and, the remaining half, at less than Rs 1,500 per month.

There was no education facility within the slum, and all the schools were located outside the slum at the distance of 2 kms or more from Bihari Colony. Even a secondary school was not available within the distance of 6 kms. Here, no government health facility was available in close vicinity. The government hospital and health centres were located at a distance of 5-6 km from the slum. No community centre for social welfare and development was available in this slum.

Shaheed Bhagat Singh, NR Balmiki Colony

This slum was established in 1985. The ownership of the land, where the slum was located, belongs to an Improvement Trust. The type of area surrounding the slum was residential and the physical location was along the railway line. It had an area of 500 sq. meters and 480 households with a population of 1,075; most of them belonging to the scheduled castes. There were 870 illiterate persons in total, and around 15 per cent of the total population was engaged in occupation like rag picking. Approximate 65 per cent of the total population had an income ranging from Rs 1,000-1,500 per month.

There was no education facility within the slum. One primary school was located at a distance of little over 2 kms, and others were located at a distance of more than 3 kms from the slum. Like other slums, there was no government health facility nearby and the government hospital was located about 10 kms away from this habitation. There was also no availability of community centre.

The forgone analysis makes it clear that in both Hyderabad and Ludhiana, there had been a consistent and considerable increase in the population both by natural increase and through migration from other states. The environmental and physical conditions, like any other slums, were

deplorable, especially in selected slums in Ludhiana. Most of the houses were kuchcha or were covered with asbestos sheets instead of a cemented roof. In these households, the so called luxury items like refrigerators, televisions, etc were not available; rather in a few cases, one house was being shared by two to three families. The households did not have necessary items like beds, utensils, etc. As they did not have ration cards, they were not able to avail of the subsidy on food items like grains and sugar. In contrast to this, the physical and infrastructural facilities were much better in selected slums of Hyderabad. Majority of the houses in slums of Hyderabad were either semi pucca or pucca. Large number of the households had individual drinking water and toilet facilities.

Given the hazardous conditions that children live in slums, their access and participation to education is largely shaped by their environment, and the schooling facilities available to them. These children are a part of the urban provision of education. Before understanding the educational profile of slum children, this section provides a macro-snapshot view of the number of schools and teachers, the type of schools and the enrolment by type of school for children at elementary level in both the districts of Hyderabad and Ludhiana.

Status of Elementary Education: Hyderabad and Ludhiana

The educational profile at elementary level for both the selected cities is presented with the data obtained from District Information System for Education (DISE, 2011-12). The figures given in the tables below illustrate the information for Hyderabad (which is all urban) and Ludhiana districts which include both urban and rural areas.

Table 7 indicates that in Ludhiana, there were a total of 1612 government schools, 598 private schools and 429 unrecognised schools. Whereas in Hyderabad, the total number of government schools stood at 639, 2176 private schools and 210 unrecognised schools. It has been observed that in Hyderabad, private schools outnumbered the government schools, while in case of Ludhiana; government schools were more in number in comparison to private schools in both rural and urban areas. In Ludhiana, the total number of government rural schools was 1369 and the number of private schools stood at 233. More number of single-teacher schools was found in Hyderabad than Ludhiana. Ludhiana had more number of small size schools with an enrolment of less than 50 students.

Table 7

Number of Government and Private Schools in Ludhiana and Hyderabad Districts

SCHOOLS	LUDHIANA						HYDERABAD					
	Primary	PUP	PUSHS	UP Only	UP SHS	Total	Primary	PUP	PUSHS	UP Only	UPSHS	Total
Government	1026	11	55	195	325	**1612**	622	10	7	0	186	**639**
Private	78	94	406	0	20	**598**	899	329	56	0	892	**2176**
Unrecognised	132	119	176	0	2	**429**	151	33	15	0	11	**210**
Rural Govt.	892	4	23	176	274	**1369**	0	0	0	0	0	**0**
Rural Private	37	29	159	0	8	**233**	2	3	1	0	0	**6**
Total	**2165**	**257**	**819**	**371**	**629**	**4241**	**1674**	**375**	**79**	**0**	**1089**	**3031**
Number of Schools with <=50 Students	364	32	35	44	13	**488**	289	25	2	0	132	**448**
Single- teacher schools	86	1	1	4	0	**92**	103	3	0	0	1	**107**

Source: DISE, 2011-12

Table 8 depicts the total number of teachers and also pupil-teacher ratio in government, private and unrecognised schools in both districts of Ludhiana and Hyderabad. The strength of teachers was more in private schools in Hyderabad, whereas in Ludhiana, the government schools had more teachers compared to private schools because the number of private schools was comparatively less in Ludhiana.

Table 8

Total number of teachers in Government and Private Schools in Ludhiana and Hyderabad

TYPES OF SCHOOLS	LUDHIANA						HYDERABAD					
	Primary	PUP	PUSHS	UP Only	UP SHS	Total	Primary	PUP	PUSHS	UP Only	UP SHS	Total
Government Schools	3451	139	1123	1029	4628	10334	2595	72	339	0	2789	5795
Private Schools	415	769	5220	0	197	6601	6892	2673	1547	0	8243	19355
Unrecognised Schools	653	837	1648	0	8	3146	657	178	100	0	91	1026
Total Teachers	4483	1745	7991	1029	4833	20081	10144	2923	1986	0	11123	26176
Pupil-Teacher Ratio	29	20	26	16	11	22	31	25	25	0	16	24

Source: DISE, 2011-12

Figure 7

Pupil-Teacher Ratio at Elementary Level in Hyderabad and Ludhiana

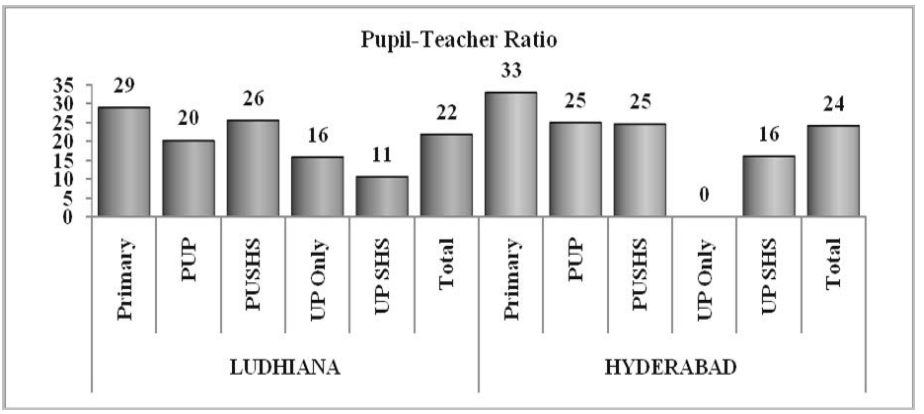


Fig. 7 shows the pupil-teacher ratio in which it was observed that the ratio was higher for primary schools in both the cities. There was one teacher for 29 students in primary schools in Ludhiana, whereas, one teacher for 33 students in Hyderabad.

Table 9
Total Enrolment in Government and Private Schools in Ludhiana and Hyderabad

SCHOOL TYPE	LUDHIANA						HYDERABAD					
	Primary	PUP	PUSHS	UP Only	UP SHS	Total	Primary	PUP	PUSHS	UP Only	UP SHS	Total
Government Schools	114584	2094	21593	16226	47396	201893	72001	1761	6862	0	29414	110038
Private Schools	7636	17518	141063	0	3678	169895	239426	64184	39062	0	147305	489977
Unrecog-nised Schools	8688	15606	41675	0	17	65986	22440	5315	2851	0	1298	31904
Rural Government Schools	87033	856	10720	13850	37273	149732	0	0	0	0	0	0
Rural Private Schools	2439	3714	45320	0	1414	52887	248	410	122	0	0	780
Total Enrolment	220380	39788	260371	30076	89778	640393	334115	71670	48897	0	178017	632699

Source: UDISE 2011-12

Data in Table 9 shows the total school enrolment of children in government and private as well as unrecognised schools in both Ludhiana and Hyderabad. It was observed that a higher number of children were enrolled in private schools in Hyderabad as the number of private schools was higher in the city. In Hyderabad, the number of private schools has increased tremendously in urban areas as compared to rural areas (Tooley & Gomathi, 2007). Hyderabad is also known for having high number of private schools, especially the low fee or low budget private schools as compared to Ludhiana.

Key Insights

In India, over the years, growth in urban population in absolute terms has been very high, though it constitutes only 31.2 per cent of the total population. This growth is a result of many factors; however, in the context of the present study, we choose to emphasise that migration has contributed significantly to the emergence of million-plus cities. Cities, as centers of economic vitality and innumerable opportunities, have attracted people from nearby places as well

as from remote areas. This inflow of migrants has resulted in undue pressures on city's resources; as a result, they have found solace in squatter settlements and congested habitations, mostly at the fringes of the cities. Slums, as we have seen, are characterised by inadequate basic municipal services, lack of hygiene and a dim future for children. In this chapter, a brief snapshot of educational details pertaining to Hyderabad district (which is totally urban) and Ludhiana district were analysed. This and the forthcoming analysis in the book would attempt to study in detail the educational status of children of selected slums of two cities - Hyderabad and Ludhiana.

Chapter 3

Demographic and Educational Profile of Slums: Comparing Scenarios in Hyderabad and Ludhiana

The urban poor residing in squatter settlements and slums have unequal access to basic services and amenities that are available to those who are the legal occupants of the city. The hardest hit opportunities are related to health and education, which adversely impact the mobility of slum dwellers into higher economic classes. Besides the availability of external services, the migrants in slums struggle to adapt to the changed circumstances as they belong to different regions of the country and present a varied demographic and linguistic structure. It is in this context that, in this chapter, we discuss a detailed profile of the socio-economic and educational characteristics of the sample area, which covered four slums from the city of Hyderabad and three slums from the city of Ludhiana. The socio-economic background of the population helps in understanding the cultural milieu of the population and the economic status of families of children.

The chapter also describes and analyses the availability of schooling facility and the participation of children in school education of the selected slum area. These indicators, demographic and educational, taken together are helpful to plan educational access, especially at the level of school education. Data gathered through this exercise has implications for educational planning so as to evolve appropriate strategies for the disadvantaged and marginalised children to ensure their enrolment and completion of elementary and secondary levels of education. Considering the significance of the demographic and socio-economic characteristics of the population, information on key indicators, such as, total population of the area, age composition of the population (caste, religion, language and gender, state of origin), family size, occupation of the parents of the sample children, monthly household income and per capita income of the selected population were collected and analysed.

Many studies point to the correlation between literacy and the educational attainment level of parents and older siblings with the participation of children in education. Therefore, information related to the educational attainment level of parents as well as of siblings (more than 17 years old) was collected. There was also an attempt to capture information on the educational status of the target group of this study, i.e. 6-17 years of age. Information related to children's participation, such as, age of children, classes they are

currently studying, type of school attended, whether going to school or have dropped out, were gathered. This information helped us understand the number of children attending school and number of out-of-school children. This also gave us a glimpse of number of children attending the government schools and number of children attending the private recognised/ unrecognised or the non-formal education centers.

Generally, data on age and gender are essential in computation of basic measures related to population change, and in the study of educational facility requirements. However, it was also used for examination of educational status, such as, adult literacy rate, school going age population and youth population eligible for secondary and higher education. Considering the significance of this information, data was gathered on age variables of the selected population. This led to classification of school going children according to their age and gender in order to determine how many children attended the appropriate grade corresponding to their age, how many of the girls were enrolled in proportion to their total population as well as in proportion to the boys. This analysis was done on the selected slum population of Hyderabad and Ludhiana.

Demographic Distribution of Selected Slums in Hyderabad and Ludhiana

There exists a close link between demography and education. To explore this linkage, a detailed analysis of the demographics of the selected slum area is provided henceforth. In Hyderabad, total population of the households of selected slums was 12,337, out of which, children in the age group of 6-14 years constituted around 23.1 per cent, and children in the age group of 15-17 years comprised 6.1 per cent of the total population. In Ludhiana, total population of the households of selected slums was 6,330, out of which, children in the age group of 6-14 years constituted around 31.3 per cent, and children in the age group of 15-17 years comprised 7 per cent of the total population. Age and gender-wise distribution and sex ratio of population for all age groups in the study area are given in the table below.

Table 10 illustrates the age and gender structure of slum population in Hyderabad. Nearly 50.3 per cent of the total population surveyed in the slum area of Hyderabad city comprised of males and 49.7 per cent females. The age-wise distribution of population in the area showed that nearly 57.7 per cent of the population belonged to the working age group i.e. 18 to 59 years, 39.6 percent were below 18 years of age and only 2.9 per cent were 60 years and above. If we look at the potential demand for school education, nearly 29.2 per cent of the total slum population in Hyderabad belong to school going age group i.e. 6 to 17 years, which indicated that the schooling facilities were required for around 3600 children.

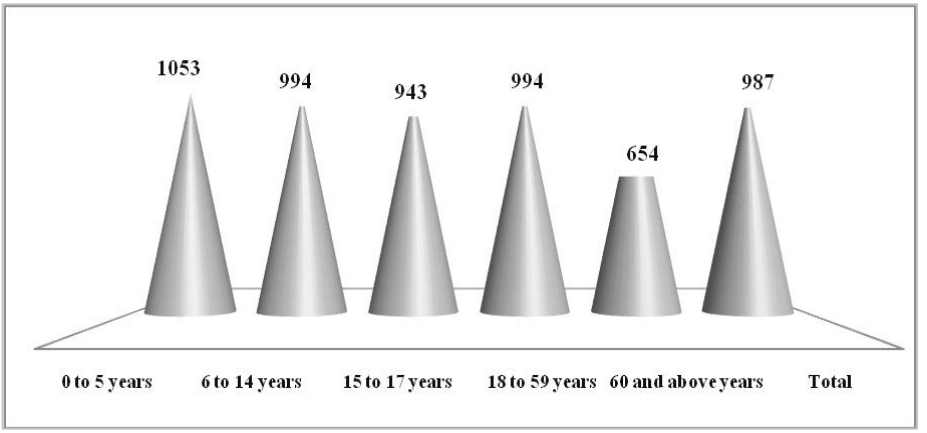
Table 10

Age and Gender-wise Distribution of Slum Population in Hyderabad

Age group	Male		Female		Total		Sex Ratio
	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%	
0 to 5 years	624	48.7	657	51.3	1281	10.4	1053
6 to 14 years	1429	50.2	1420	49.8	2849	23.1	994
15 to 17 years	389	51.3	367	48.7	753	6.1	943
18 to 59 years	3568	50.1	3547	49.9	7115	57.7	994
60 & above	217	60.4	142	39.6	359	2.9	654
Total	6210	50.3	6127	49.7	12337	100	987

Figure 8

Sex Ratio of Hyderabad Slum Population (Females per 1000 Males)



The overall sex ratio in the slums in Hyderabad stood at 987. It is to be noted that the sex ratio was comparatively high in the age group of 0 to 5 years (1053) while lowest (654) among the senior citizens. The sex ratio among the school going children showed that the ratio was, more or less, good among the age group of 6 to 14 years while among 15 to 17 years age group, the number of male children was more than the female children, perhaps due to early marriage of girls.

The disaggregated gender-wise information of different age groups in the selected slums of Ludhiana is provided in Table 11. The table illustrates the age and gender structure of population in Ludhiana. The data revealed that nearly 53.5 per cent of the study population in Ludhiana constituted males

and 46.5 per cent females. The age-wise distribution of population in the study area showed that nearly 46 per cent of the population belonged to the working age group i.e. 18 to 59 years; around 51 per cent were below 18 years of age and only 2.5 per cent were of 60 years and above. Among the children, nearly 38.3 per cent belonged to school going age group i.e. 6 to 17 years of age which indicated that the schooling facilities were required for 2,425 children.

Table 11

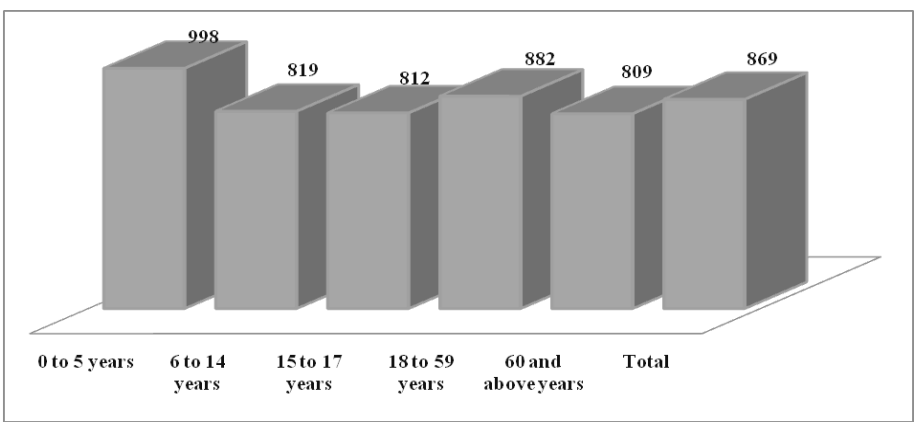
Age and Gender-wise Distribution of Population in Ludhiana

Age group	Male		Female		Total		Sex Ratio
	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%	
0 to 5 years	416	50.1	415	49.9	831	13.1	**998**
6 to 14 years	1089	55	892	45	1981	31.3	**819**
15 to 17 years	245	55.2	199	44.8	444	7	**812**
18 to 59 years	1548	53.1	1365	46.9	2913	46	**882**
60 & above	89	55.3	72	44.7	161	2.5	**809**
Total	**3387**	**53.5**	**2943**	**46.5**	**6330**	**100**	**869**

The overall sex ratio in the selected slums of Ludhiana was as low as 869 females per thousand males. While the sex ratio was comparatively high in the 0 to 5 years age group (998), it was lowest (809) among the senior citizens.

Figure 9

Sex Ratio of Ludhiana Slum Population (Females per 1000 Males)



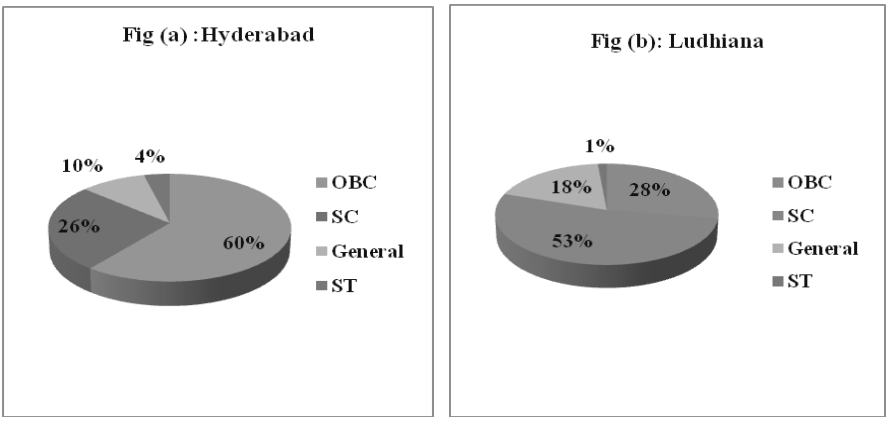
Distribution of Slum Population by Social Group

The Indian society is socially, geographically and economically differentiated through caste, class, religion, region, tribe, gender, and language. Certain caste groups' such as SC, because of their low ritual and social status in the traditional social hierarchy, as well as tribal groups, because of their spatial isolation and distinctive cultures have been subjected to impositions of disabilities and lack of opportunities (Galanter, 1984). In villages, people belonging to social groups that are lower in the hierarchy, often due to their low status, do not own a land and work as a labour in the farms struggling to meet ends. It is not only in villages that one finds this discriminatory pattern, often hierarchies of social caste seem to manifest in employment patterns in urban areas as well. Few research studies (Oomen and Meenakshisundarrajan, 2005; Fuller and Narasimhan, 2006; Upadhyay, 2007; Thorat and Newman, 2010) explored the employment pattern in the IT sector and found the existence of negligible number of employees from scheduled caste population. It was found that most of the employees in the management and IT sector belonged to the middle and upper caste background. One of the significant reasons for this was that these people had educational opportunities and possessed professional and technical education. With urbanisation, these people are presented with an opportunity to migrate to cities and improve their life chances. It is observed that majority of the population that migrates to slums in cities belongs to backward classes and scheduled castes. Quite a few of them have been landless labourers in their native place, and out of distress and poverty, were forced to move out of villages to search for better job opportunities in the cities. As they cannot afford decent housing in cities due to high prices, they get settled in squatter settlements. Census of India (2011) estimates that slum households constitute about 17.4 per cent of the total households in urban areas.

Fig. 10 (a) and (b) give a comparative picture of social structure of population living in selected slum areas in Hyderabad and Ludhiana. In selected slums of both cities, the above argument is substantiated by numbers. We see that, in both cities, the selected slums had lowest share of people belonging to general category, with only 9.6 per cent in Hyderabad and 18.3 per cent in Ludhiana. Majority of the population residing in these slum areas belonged to OBC category (60 per cent in Hyderabad and around 28 per cent in Ludhiana), and Scheduled Caste category (26 per cent in Hyderabad and nearly 53 per cent in Ludhiana).

Figure 10 (a) & (b)

Distribution of Slum Population by Social Group in Hyderabad and Ludhiana

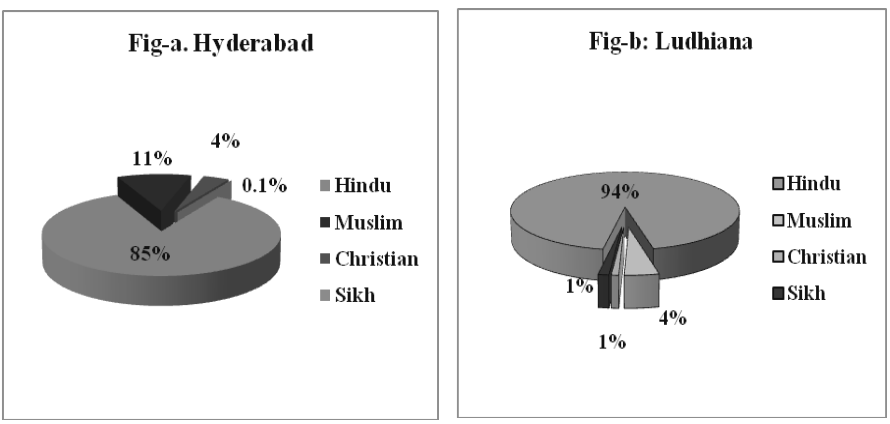


Distribution of Slum Population by Religion

The Census data (2011) reported the population of Hyderabad to be around 6.8 million, of which, Muslims constituted about 40 per cent. However, in the selected slums of Hyderabad, the percentage of Muslims was only around 11 per cent of the total population, whereas Hindus comprised 85 per cent of the total population. In the selected slums of Ludhiana, only 4 per cent of population reported to be Muslims and around 94 per cent of population were Hindus. Details about the distribution of population by religion are pictorially presented in Fig. 11 (a) and (b). The city of Ludhiana is Sikh dominated; however, the same does not get reflected in the slum population. Very few numbers of people of the Sikh community were found in slums of Ludhiana because most of the slum dwellers were migrants from other states like Uttar Pradesh, Rajasthan and Bihar.

Figure 11 (a) & (b)

Percentage Distribution of Slum Population among all Religions in Hyderabad and Ludhiana



Slum Population as per Place of Origin

As has been mentioned in the previous chapter, India has experienced high levels of internal migration that doubled from 159 million to 309 million people during 1971-2001. Migration, as we have observed, is a dynamic process and result of push and pull factors. Poverty, low produce from the farms, lack of job opportunity in the rural areas are some of the significant factors that push people from rural areas to cities and towns. Apart from these, pull factors like better job opportunity, health facility, and educational facility in the cities are the main reasons of migration into the cities. Considering the linguistic and cultural diversity of India, it is important to understand the composition of migratory population in order to ensure that schools become responsive and cater to the needs of those children who belong to a different language and culture. In view of this, information on the state of origin of inhabitants was collected which is presented in Table 12.

Table 12

Distribution of Population by Place of Origin

Place of Origin	Hyderabad		Ludhiana	
	Number	%	Number	%
Andhra Pradesh	12063	97.8	60	0.9
Bihar	9	0.1	1405	22.2
Haryana	0	0	10	0.2
Himachal Pradesh	0	0	21	0.3
Karnataka	158	1.3	0	0
Madhya Pradesh	7	0.1	29	0.5
Maharashtra	52	0.4	33	0.5
Punjab	0	0	664	10.5
Rajasthan	23	0.2	802	12.7
Uttar Pradesh	0	0	3119	49.3
Any Other	25	0.2	187	3
Total	**12337**	**100**	**6330**	**100**

The data from the field revealed that in Hyderabad, majority of the population residing in slums (97.8 per cent) belonged to Andhra Pradesh perhaps due to intra-state/city migration whereas in Ludhiana, majority of the migrants came from Uttar Pradesh (49.3 per cent) followed by Bihar (22.2 per cent) and Rajasthan (12.7 per cent). Ludhiana is commonly known as the "hub of Indian

Hosiery Industries" and as the industrial capital of small scale industry in the country, which attracts substantial number of people from nearby states like Uttar Pradesh and Bihar. Both these states have also established themselves as the largest feeder states for migration (Chandrashekhar and Sharma, 2014).

Occupation of the Residents

The residents living in slums work in informal sector and earn low wages. The fact that income inequalities are on an increase in urban India are substantiated by a research which disclosed that 39.4 per cent (around 38 per cent for men and 40.8 per cent for women) of urban casual workers were paid below the national minimum wage (Belser and Rani, 2011). The Report of the National Commission for Enterprises in the Unorganised Sector (NCEUS, 2007) further highlighted that casual workers at the bottom of the working force in the unorganised sector had much lower levels of education. Studies also point towards existing inequalities between skilled and unskilled workers (Awasthi, Kashyap and Yagnik, 2009). The survey data of the select slums also corroborated the findings of these researches. Field data show that most of the slum dwellers in both the cities were found to be engaged in low skilled jobs and find jobs near the place of residence as the public transport system was not well developed in many of the cities. Staying at a distance would also become time consuming and expensive for those who earned low wages. This finding was similar to a study by Moona (2012) which observed that people living in slum areas preferred to take up occupation or jobs near their place of residence rather than travelling long distance due to the physical and spatial distances. The field survey also revealed that majority of people did not travel long distance to reach their workplace. They either chose to commute by cycle or shared autos and local buses.

A large proportion of slum dwellers was engaged in unorganised or informal sector. Many of the parents of children under study were employed in the unorganised sector, which indicated instability of job as well as low income. It explained the economic condition and standard of living of the household. The slum dwellers in Hyderabad and Ludhiana were employed in informal sector but were engaged in a variety of jobs; the details for which are given in Table 13 and Fig. 12. The number of occupations of slum dwellers, that were identified, has been classified into 4 broad groups viz. (i) Labour (ii) Regular employed (iii) Self-employed and (iv) any other. In terms of distribution of slum population by types of occupation, around 2 per cent of the household heads did not depend on any kind of wage employment and belonged to the category of retired, unemployed, invalid and not being engaged with any productive occupation. They were generally dependents and people living on pensions, especially in Hyderabad. This was not the case in Ludhiana.

Table 13

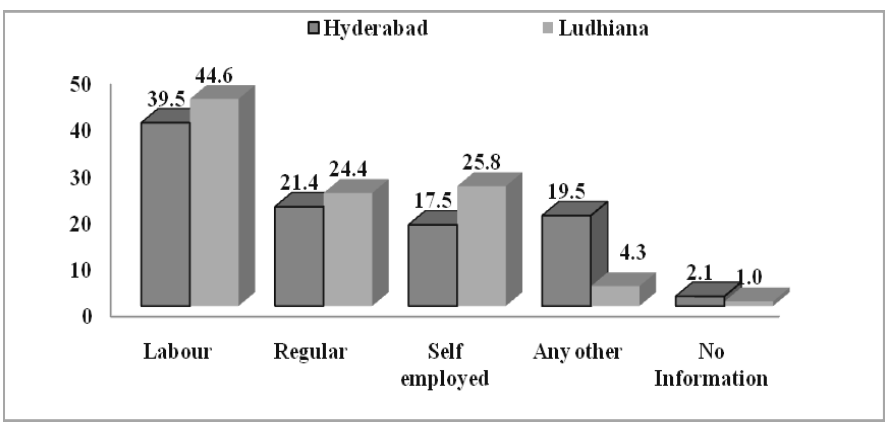
Occupational Status of Head of the Household

Occupation	Hyderabad		Ludhiana	
	Number	%	Number	%
*Labour**	1102	39.5	544	44.6
*Regular***	596	21.4	297	24.4
*Self- employed****	489	17.5	315	25.8
*Any Other*****	545	19.5	52	4.3
Benefit from State Scheme	59	2.1	12	0.9
Total	**2791**	**100**	**1219**	**100**

* *Labourer (Construction worker, mason)*
** *Peon, sweeper, govt. service, factory worker, auto/taxi driver*
*** *Vendor, hawker, domestic help, rag picker, barber, rickshaw/cart puller, kabadiwala tea/panbidi/grocery shop, electrician, carpenter, helper in the shop, embroidery worker*
**** *helping parents/ household members and involve in income generating activities without being paid, housewife assisting husband/household members*

Figure 12

Occupational Status of Head of the Household



Other than dependants, the occupational profile of the surveyed households in the sample showed that majority of them earned their livelihood from labour work in the informal sector. Data in Table 13 and Figure 12 makes it amply clear that 39.5 per cent residents in Hyderabad and 44.6 per cent in Ludhiana were involved in construction and building activities that implied their movement from one location to another within the city. When the construction work got completed at one site, they were shifted to another one

which could have been at a distance, disrupting the schooling of the children. Second to labour work, 21.4 per cent household in Hyderabad and one-fourth in Ludhiana earned their livelihood by pursuing regular occupations. About 18 per cent of the slum dwellers in Hyderabad and around 26 per cent in Ludhiana were engaged in self-employment. Data on income of the sample households showed that their earnings were small, placing a burden on them for continuing the education of their children. The women from slums in Hyderabad worked in factories making incense sticks, safety pins, etc. For making one kilogram of incense stick, the women were paid around Rs. 12 to Rs. 15. If a woman worked speedily for the entire day, she could make four kilograms of incense sticks and was paid a meager amount of Rs. 50, or else, if a woman made a kilogram of safety pins, she was paid even less, just Rs 25. Some of the women were also engaged with work related to pearls but again the wage was nowhere close to the hard work that was invested by them.

Ludhiana has a large number of hosiery factories; therefore, around 24 per cent of regular employees among slum dwellers were engaged as factory workers. On the contrary, around 65 per cent of women were involved in activities for which they were not paid. In Ludhiana, the living conditions of households were more deplorable than Hyderabad. Majority of the houses were *kuchcha* with no water, and electricity facility. The huts were very small and made of mud. Around 20 per cent women worked as domestic maids and earned an amount in the range of Rs. 600-800 per month to add to the earnings of their men as the latter received low and irregular wages.

Another important occupation of households in slums of both Hyderabad and Ludhiana were informal services that included self-employment and contractual works like plumbing, electric works, painting, laundry, barbing, sweeping, etc. The occupational pattern of households clearly showed that the earners were mostly low skilled people. As majority of them were daily wage workers, there was a high risk of employment insecurity. The average duration of wage employment of a regular wage worker varied from 20 to 22 days during a month and about 15 days during rainy season. Owing to lack of skill and minimum level of education, the quality of human capital was low, and very few among them were capable to earn a reasonable level of income to cross the barrier of poverty in slums of both the cities.

Monthly Income of the Household

Household income is defined as the total amount received by a household from any source in an average month. The total household income in India was estimated to be 21.7 trillion in 2012-13. A little less than half of this or 10.5 trillion was spent by urban households. Urban households account for only a third of the estimated total 263 million households in the year. It shows that the urban households which account for one-third of the total households have a share of half of the total consumption expenses. However, the averages conceal the reality. Highlighting the inequalities in urban India, the study revealed that the top one per cent of urban India (roughly 800,000 households) earned Rs. 1.2 million per household. At the other end of the

spectrum was the bottom one per cent of the households that earned Rs. 21,000 (around 1750 rupees) or less during the year (Consumer Pyramid, CMID, 2012). NSSO which takes Monthly Per Capita Expenditure (MPCE) as a proxy to monthly income in a survey estimated average MPCE in 2009-10 to be INR 1054/USD 23.71 and INR 1984/USD 44, 63 in rural India and urban India respectively implying per capita expenditure level of the urban population was on an average 88 per cent higher than the rural counterpart. The consumption inequality within the rural population was also considerable with the top 10 per cent of India's rural population having an average MPCE (INR2517/USD56.63) 5.6 times that of the poorest 10 per cent (INR453/ USD10.19). A similar trend was noticeable within urban population with the top 10 per cent having a 9.8 times higher average MPCE (INR5863/ USD127.85) as compared to that of the bottom 10 per cent (INR 599/ USD13.48) (NSSO Household Expenditure Survey 66th round, July 2009-June 2010). Though the separate figure for people living in slums is not available but majority of the poor in urban areas are settled in these slums.

Even while being engaged in a wide range of jobs and occupation types, the economic condition of the slum dwellers remained poor, and for a sizeable section, the condition was appalling. During the household survey, the total wealth income for all the households could not be estimated as information related to their land in their native place was not revealed. However, the household assets and belongings could provide an estimate of the wealth income of the households. It was found that in Hyderabad, around 50 per cent families lived in rented houses though most of the households had colour television, some had refrigerators and few had a scooter or a motorcycle. However, in Ludhiana only five households had televisions in one of the slums. In two other slums, there was no electricity connection. Thus the standard of living was found to be much better in slums of Hyderabad in comparison to those of Ludhiana. In comparison to Hyderabad, slums of Ludhiana appeared to be miniature slums.

Household income has a significant positive impact on children's schooling. Documentation of positive relationship between school attendance and household level of wealth for 41 developing countries was established using DHS data (Filmer, 1999). Another study by Elkogali and Suliman (2001), using data for Egypt and Yemen, found significant positive association between household level of wealth and child's schooling. The information gathered from the slums of both the cities revealed that majority of earners among the slum dwelling households were engaged in unskilled labour work without any fixed place of employment or were self-employed. They also worked in manufacturing or service-based informal sector without any fixed establishments of their own at low average monthly income. However, at this stage it remained to be seen if low income of these households impacted their decision of sending their children to low fee paying schools or not at all sending their children to schools.

Table 14

Distribution of Households by Monthly Income in the Selected Slums

Income Range (Rupees)	Hyderabad		Ludhiana	
	Households	%	Households	%
No response	8	0.3	13	1.1
< 1000	150	5.4	37	3
1001-2000	163	5.8	286	23.5
2001-3000	473	16.9	489	40.1
3001-4000	528	18.9	222	18.2
4001-5000	576	20.6	92	7.5
5001-7000	486	17.4	50	4.1
7001-10,000	261	9.4	17	1.4
> 10,000	146	5.2	13	1.1
Total	**2791**	**100**	**1219**	**100**

Table 14 represents the distribution of households across different income groups. From the above table, it is evident that more than two-third of the total households in slums of Ludhiana and over one-fourth of the households in slums of Hyderabad earned in the range of Rs. 1000-3000 per month, which was very low considering the living expenses in the city. Government of Andhra Pradesh defines those households as below poverty line (BPL) in urban areas (used for determining the eligibility to hold ration card) whose annual income is less than Rs.24000 (2008). Around 27 per cent of the households in Ludhiana and around 11 per cent of households in Hyderabad had household income less than Rs.2000 per month. More than half of the families in Hyderabad earned in the range of Rs.3000-7000 whereas in Ludhiana, about 18 per cent of families earned in the range of Rs.3000-4000. Only a small portion of families (2.5 per cent) in Ludhiana and (14.6 per cent) in Hyderabad had household income above Rs.7000.

Per Capita Income of Households

Per capita income, denoted as income per person, is considered to be the mean income within an economic aggregate. It is often used to measure an area's standard of living. With increase in population in India, inequality among classes in India has also grown and the gap between the rich and poor has widened over the past decades. New data based on consumption expenditure survey shows that income disparity is growing over the years and is more pronounced and glaring in urban areas. The micro-level picture of per capita income in the selected slums also depicts a dismal picture and is more acute in the selected slums of Ludhiana as presented in Table 15.

Table 15

Distribution of Households by Monthly Per Capita Income

Income Range (Rupees)	Hyderabad	Ludhiana
	Households (%)	**Households (%)**
Below 250	2.7	17.3
251 to 500	16.6	48.6
501 to 750	18.8	20.9
751 to 1000	20.8	7.6
1001 to 1500	27.9	3.8
Above 1500	13.2	1.9
Total	**100**	**100**

Figure 13

Distribution of Households by Monthly Per Capita Income

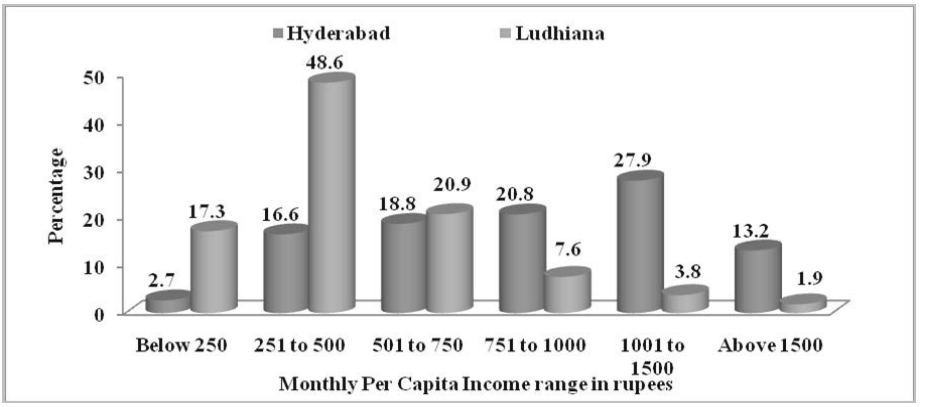


Table 15 shows that 69.5 per cent of the families living in Ludhiana slums had per capita income ranging between Rs.251 and Rs.750 per month, whereas in Hyderabad slums, nearly half (48.7 per cent) of the families had per capita income ranging between Rs. 751 and Rs.1500. Similarly, Nath Indrani et al., (2013, 2014) found that in slums of Kolkata, the monthly per capita income of around 73.3 per cent households was below the poverty line. This was because NSSO (2004-05) demarcated people having income less than Rs. 449.32 as living below the poverty line. Kumar and Aggarwal (2003) estimated the incidence of urban poverty in Delhi slums for the year 2001 on the basis of primary data. They adopted the urban poverty line of Rs. 451.19 per capita per month or Rs 15.04 per capita per day derived from Sundaram for the year 1999-2000. The study revealed that around 48 per cent of the households and 57 per cent of the survey population were below the poverty line in Delhi slums. Majority of population in slums of Ludhiana had less than Rs. 750 per capita monthly income. However, the situation seemed slightly better among the slum population in Hyderabad as compared to those living in slums of Ludhiana. With such low income, the education of children often becomes

the last priority for poor who are fighting even for their basic amenities in the slum areas.

The above description, specifically with reference to occupational status and income of households, provides a more disadvantaged context to the urban poor residing in slums in Ludhiana as compared to slums in Hyderabad city. There is more persistence of labour in informal sector, despite Ludhiana being a hosiery/industrial hub, in contrast to more self- employed persons in Hyderabad. The monthly income as well as monthly per capita income in slums of Ludhiana trails much behind that of Hyderabad. Given this understanding, the background factors under which the children of these slums find themselves might have an impact on their educational trajectory in the two sets of slums (Ludhiana and Hyderabad), which now remains to be seen. Before that, it will be useful to expand the discussion on a broader canvas and derive a few insights from researches done elsewhere. This would anchor the findings of the educational status of children from the selected slums, in a context.

Access and Participation in Education: Status of Children in Slums

The conceptual framework of this research revolves around how educational access (or absence of it) contributes to social exclusion of children living in slums. Within this conceptualisation, access has been defined both as a criteria of and for social exclusion. Access can thus be defined as the availability of school spaces (of) as also the eligibility and willingness of students to become part of the schooling process (for). The first lens looks at access from supply side, referring to the provision of schools and the availability of opportunity to gain admission. The second part of the definition looks at access from the view point of demand for education, largely dependent on household characteristics or facilitated by the state, whereby the state provides incentives or free-ships/ scholarships to offset disadvantaged household characteristics. In this interpretation, demand for education translates as participation of students in schooling. Hence, access includes within its conceptual understanding, both the existence of schooling opportunity as well as the notion of participation. Another way of understanding the notion of access is to assess supply-side and demand-side factors that determine participation of children in schools. Supply-side factors for access may include availability (non) of schools in the neighbourhood, free or strict and discriminatory admission policies, inclusive or overcrowded schools, poor or quality teaching in schools and attitude of teachers which determine the participation of students. Though India has achieved the goal of universalisation of elementary education, with schooling facilities in all habitations, still there are places that are at a disadvantage and access to schooling facility is not adequate. Low access to availability of schools adversely impacts the participation of girls, which is not just enrolment but also retention in schools. This supply related factor was found to have a far reaching impact on the attendance of students in formal schools in eastern slums of Kolkata. It was found that retaining the students in a formal school was far more difficult than enrolling them, particularly if the students were from very poor economic backgrounds (Khasnabis and

Chatterjee, 2007). On the other side, there are demand side factors that inhibit participation of students, such as, poverty, low awareness about the importance of education and poor faith in the public school system. These factors have an impact on children being enrolled in schools or successfully completing elementary and secondary levels of education.

The challenge in widening the coverage of elementary education in India to slums lies in the availability of school at manageable distance; it being socially or linguistically inclusive and economically affordable in addition to having sensitive and facilitative procedures for admissions. Many other studies also indicate that poor quality of schooling in state provision; demotivated teachers and inadequate infrastructure are responsible for low retention of children (Colclough, 1993; Bhatty, 1998; PROBE, 1999; Dreze and Gazdar, 1996). Lack of teachers, dilapidated buildings, absence of toilet facilities and lack of other ancillary facilities also contribute to low participation of children in the government schools.

This inter-linkage between supply-side and demand-side factors was explored by Cameron (2010) while studying access to education in slums of Dhaka in Bangladesh using the CREATE model of "zone of exclusion". The findings showed that urban slum dwellers in Bangladesh were at least as marginalised as the rural poor. While concerted and innovative policy efforts were made to include the rural poor in education through alternative education, stipend schemes and school building programmes, these interventions were not extended on the same scale to the growing numbers of the urban poor in the country. The problems of access to education faced by slum dwellers were fundamental. There were many locations that lacked access to any government school and the inhabitants too were poor to avail of even the lowest cost private providers. The proportion of children who never enrolled in the urban sample was found to be double than that of the rural sample. One out of ten pupils who were enrolled in schools dropped out before reaching to the Grade 5. A large proportion of children were 'silently excluded' from education, meaning they attended infrequently, repeated years of schooling and had poor achievement. Upon completion of primary education, very few children from these slums could make the transition to secondary schooling.

In a survey conducted in Bhalswa in 29 resettlement colonies by Bachpan Bachao Andolan and other resettlement colonies by Patel (1983), Chugh (2004) and Jha and Jhingran (2002), it was found that the availability of schooling facilities at the elementary level were grossly inadequate. In most of the resettlement colonies, the schools were not available within the slum area and the children needed to cross the road or railway intersection to reach the school which became a major impediment for children to continue in schools.

Media reports, from time to time, state that schools are not located at the demand point. Even in a few upscale areas in Delhi, such as, Lajpat Nagar and Defence Colony, schools were closed as children attended private schools irrespective of the distance (Asian Age, August 2, 2003). Similarly in Indore city, the government schools were merged due to low enrolment. Often, state

governments' drive to relocate slum dwellers happens without taking into consideration the availability of educational facility at the new place. Around two thousand families of Hari Nagar Slum, a locality in West Delhi were shifted to Pappan Kalan (Hindustan Times, April 27 and 29, 2001), with no arrangement of a new school. Majority of children were forced to stay back at home and were silently absorbed into the statistics of drop-outs in the capital.

In Andhra Pradesh, the spatial distribution of municipal schools was not uniform and only 13 districts in Coastal Andhra and Rayalseema had municipal schools (Centre for Good Governance, 2008). There were no schools within the powers of municipalities in the 10 districts of Telangana region. Schools in urban areas of the ten districts of Telangana region were under the state government. Over the years, children's enrollment in municipal schools showed a downward trend and at different levels of school education, namely, primary, upper primary and secondary levels. In addition to the findings generated, what is worthwhile to note were some of the useful recommendations, that included having a clear strategy for urban schools, particularly for the slum children in such flagship programmes as JNNURM and SSA and to create quality choices for urban poor in terms of free yet, quality schooling. The strategies recommended were focused on the quality of education to be provided to the burgeoning urban children in municipal schools and issues related to monitoring and supervision. The Planning Commission (2012) in its report observed that the economic growth in India has bypassed the weaker sections due to their ineffective access to basic services like primary education. Traditionally identified weaker sections based on social criteria (SC and ST population) seem to have a similar or relatively better access to primary education. However, there is no direct evidence available for the weaker sections on the economic criteria or the population living below poverty line (BPL).

In a study conducted in five states - Madhya Pradesh (MP), Uttar Pradesh (UP), Rajasthan, Andhra Pradesh (AP) and Karnataka - there was an attempt made to identify the degree of access of vulnerable sections (on economic criteria) to the primary education services (Dholakia and Iyengar, 2008). The findings suggested that there was a problem of access of the poor (BPL) households to the primary education services. Primary enrolment ratios among the children of poor households were considerably lower than that of the respective state average and also as compared to the aggregate enrolment ratio of the country. The findings also revealed that incentives, such as, mid-day meals, free textbooks and cash subsidies given by government schools to the poor children did not actually reach them. This calls for a change in the policy level thinking with respect to providing quality education to all, especially to those who are at the margins of existence.

Apart from ensuring provision of school facilities, there is a need to improve the processes within the school which can make the system accountable, thus accelerating the participation and retention of students from across all social strata. In their study on selected countries, Lewis and Pettersson (2009) suggested that good governance can serve as an entry point to raising

institutional performance in the delivery of education services. Crucial to high performance are standards, information, incentives and accountability. Performance indicators that offer the potential for tracking relative education performance, parameters of good governance in education in the areas of budget and resource management, human resources, household payments, and curbing corruption perceptions help in raising standard of the system. This is in addition to improved teacher performance which matters for consistently achieving better learning outcomes. For teacher performance to reach and remain at acceptable levels, effective incentive structures, oversight mechanisms, and teacher accountability can be introduced.

When we look at the issue of participation of students, there are a plethora of researches that have been conducted. One of the key reasons cited for lower level of school participation in India and other developing countries is the cost of education (NFHS, 2005-06) like overhead costs of books, uniforms, transportation and opportunity costs, even though the tuition fee in public schools is usually negligible (PROBE Team, 1999, 2010). The PROBE Report highlighted major progress in a few developed states in areas, such as, schooling facilities, provision of midday meals, enrolment rates and consequent narrowing of social and gender gaps. At the same time, it stated that the fundamental problems remained same. For instance, enrolment does not mean attendance. Problems with school access and quality at this stage are also acute. Findings of both survey and experimental studies suggest that programmes which reduce the cost of schooling can be an effective means of improving participation rates in developing countries. Schultz (2004) and Coady (2003) proposed free uniforms and textbooks to all children, Kremer et al., (2002) suggested scholarships or fee exemptions to all children, Kremer et al., (2004), Deininger (2003) and Grogan (2009) advocated raw food grains programme. Farzana et al., (2010) analyses the effects of cooked school meal on daily attendance and enrollment in municipal schools in Delhi. The study found that the decision to provide cooked meal to students led to 5 per cent increase in attendance. These studies have been useful in policy making and initiating several schemes to benefit the disadvantaged children and improve their participation rate in different contexts.

A cross-country study conducted by Lewis and Pettersson (2009) highlighted that the cost of education to households was significant even when children attended free public schools. Costs included a combination of uniforms, parent teacher association (PTA) fees, transportation, textbooks, and general contributions. These required fees which made schooling too costly for some households, effectively preventing parents from sending their children to school. Parents, in addition had to pay informal fees for a variety of services, such as access to school, advancement to the next grade, to pass examinations, access to library resources, or for their children to be taught the stipulated curriculum after school-hours, and so on. The household burden of informal payments could be seen in terms of their relative share of average income. This varied substantially across countries from 4.4 per cent of half monthly per capita income in Bulgaria, to 14.3 per cent in Ghana. In case of Pakistan, 92 per cent of parents reported making informal payments (all types) for

education, combining this with the large amounts paid through official channel. The scale of the problem is enormous and may help to explain why private primary schools have seen the fastest growth over the last decade. Even in countries where informal education payments are smaller in absolute terms, the school expenditure still constitutes a large share of total household expenditure, impacting the participation of students for better or worse (ibid.).

Findings of the 61st round NSS (2004-05) point to the prevalence of illiteracy despite considerable progress in alleviating forms of educational deprivation over the years. Many children, who dropped out from education system, are the first generation learners as their parents are illiterate. The same situation was characteristic of almost every slum. Amongst many other factors, absence of adult literates in a large number of households in the slums had considerable impact on the life and education of children. It had been found that in as many as 8 per cent households in urban areas, there were none in the age group of 15 years or above who could read and write a simple message with understanding. In such community settings with predominantly illiterate population characterised by rigid norms of social behaviour, education was not a priority. In other words, all the adult members in those households were illiterate. Further, as high as 20 per cent of the urban households had no literate female member. This could be perhaps because private returns from elementary education were low and hence the guardians of students belonging to the disadvantaged families did not assign much value to elementary education (Khasnabis and Chatterjee, 2007).

The argument for increasing demand-side strategies to improve participation of students is not the only lateral linkage. It merely counteracts foregoing opportunity costs by disadvantaged and poor families to some extent; rather there are social and cultural reasons as well. A girl child does not always enjoy the right of childhood for reasons extraneous to her (Tewari, 2005). It is the gender and culture that determines the position of girl child in the Indian social structure. A study of gender biases in slums indicated the low status of girls both in the higher caste and lower caste slum dwellers, reflected in terms of fulfillment of demands of children, the type of work assigned to them and the mode of punishment, etc. A few exceptions did exist, such as, the gender development index values revealed slightly better position of girls in lower caste in comparison to the higher caste girls of Allahabad city of Uttar Pradesh (Srivastava, 1997). In another study conducted in slums of Allahabad city, it was found that educational attainment of poor children depended not only on the standards of living of their own families but also on the economic composition of their local surroundings (Montgomery et al., 2007). In the slums where mixed income communities exist, other families provided demonstration of the pay-offs to schooling. Poor families found themselves more motivated to promote their children's education as they made note of the role of education that made difference in the economic and social mobility of the community's better-off families.

The perception of personal security also impacts school enrollment and attendance of students (Mudege et al., 2008), such as, threats of physical harm,

crime, community and domestic violence. These fears can include insecurity that the children suffer from as they go to school, maybe through the use of unsafe routes, within school premises and even in homes. The same study derived findings from individual interviews, and focus group discussions to construct narratives of slum dwellers on how insecurity impacted the educational attainment of children. The study concluded that insecure neighbourhoods may have had a negative impact on schooling. As a result, policies that address insecurity in slum neighbourhoods can also improve school attendance and performance of students (ibid.). Despite school availability within short distances, the educational participation among slum children was low. It was found to be barely above fifty per cent and overage and drop-out was high among these children in a study conducted by Tsujita (2009). In slums of Kolkata, Nath et al., (2013) found that out of the total number of children of 6-14 years age group, a little more than 50 per cent did not go to any school, either they had dropped-out or were never enrolled. Children from slum areas also lacked in terms of participation in secondary education (Lewis, 2010).

Some of the issues and findings raised in the literature find resonance in the study area of this research as well. There were few schooling options available within slums in Hyderabad and Ludhiana, which impacted the participation of children. In the analyses presented below, this research attempted to estimate the school-going status of children from slums of both the cities. As we have seen, the decision to send the child to school is one of the foremost decisions made by a household, and in the context of an economically disadvantaged household, this decision is a trade off with the opportunity cost. Compounded with this is perhaps a more difficult decision, which is, where to send the child; to a government school or a private school. Such decisions are influenced by socio- economic contexts and sometimes even cultural dispositions. More often than not, these cultural dispositions influence the schooling pattern of girls as has been indicated by many studies. Some of these parameters were taken up for this analysis in this chapter. The starting point of the analysis of educational status of children in the slums was to have a macro picture of how many children went to school, how many dropped out from the education system and how many never enrolled in any of the classes. This analysis was undertaken for the total number of children of 6-17 years in selected slums and total population of the selected slums in both the cities. The data in Table 16 presents details on the school going status of children in the age of 6-17 years in the selected study area. Fig. 14 presents the same data in a graphical form.

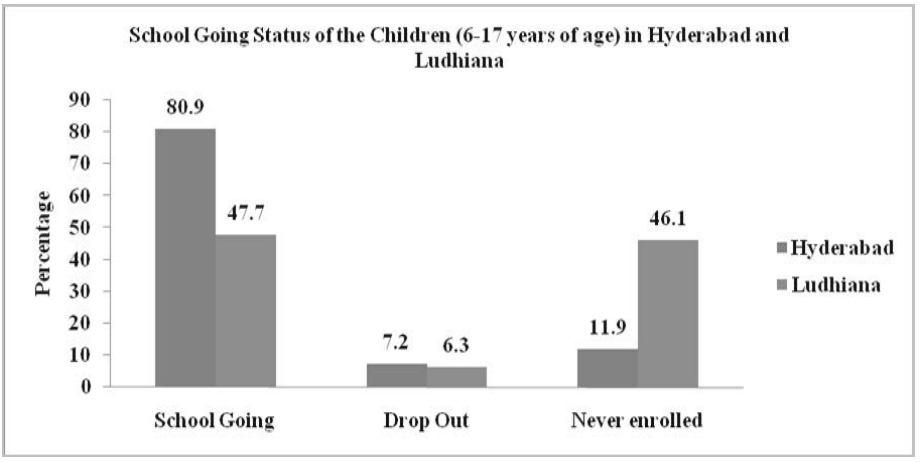
Table 16

School Going Status of the Children (6-17 years of age group) in Selected Slums of Hyderabad and Ludhiana

School Going Status	Hyderabad		Ludhiana	
	Number	%	Number	%
School Going	2914	80.9	1156	47.7
Drop Out	259	7.2	152	6.3
Never enrolled	429	11.9	1117	46.1
Total	**3602**	**100**	**2425**	**100**

Figure 14

School Going Status of the Children (6-17 years of age group) in Selected Slums of Hyderabad and Ludhiana



In Hyderabad, 80.9 per cent of the children belonging to 6-17 years went to school, whereas nearly 12 per cent of the total children were never enrolled in any school. Around 7 per cent children dropped out from the school without completing the education cycle. In Ludhiana, less than half, that is, 48 per cent children went to school as against around 46 per cent children who never entered any school premises. The reason behind a sharp divide in Ludhiana, between children who went to school and who never enrolled, could perhaps be attributed to low income of households in the slums. However, at around 6 per cent, the drop-out percentage of children in slums of Ludhiana was not found to be more than that of slums in Hyderabad. Further, disaggregation by age group of the school going status of children has been computed for 6-14 and 15-17 years old and provided in Table 17.

Table 17

School Going Status of the Children (6-14 and 15-17 years of age groups) in Selected Slums in Hyderabad and Ludhiana

School Going Status	Age Group of Children					
	6-14	**%**	**15-17**	**%**	**Total**	**%**
Hyderabad						
School Going	2478	87	436	57.9	2914	80.9
Drop Out	143	5	116	15.4	259	7.2
Never Enrolled	228	8	201	26.7	429	11.9
Total	**2849**	**100**	**753**	**100**	**3602**	**100**
Ludhiana						
School Going	1028	51.9	128	28.8	1156	47.7
Drop Out	93	4.7	59	13.3	152	6.3
Never Enrolled	860	43.4	257	57.9	1117	46.1
Total	**1 981**	**100**	**444**	**100**	**2425**	**100**

Data in Table 17 reveals that more than half of the children in slums of Ludhiana were out of school. It was found that in Ludhiana, no school was available in the close vicinity of slums, as shall be discussed later. In fact, there was not a single school that could have been said to be located nearby the slum area. Another significant reason for low enrolment and high drop-out in Ludhiana was the low household income because of which parents could not afford to send their children to school. The field data revealed that in Hyderabad, in the age group of 6-14 years, around 87 per cent of the total children were enrolled in school in comparison to Ludhiana where only around 52 per cent children of the 6-14 years age group attended school. In Ludhiana, a large proportion of inhabitants in the selected slums hailed from Uttar Pradesh and Bihar, and they migrated from rural areas out of distress, perhaps because of which the children found it difficult to adapt to the medium of language in schools in Ludhiana and hence, felt alienated. There also could have been school related factors that would have led to the exclusion of children from the mainstream, which will be highlighted later in the book. In Hyderabad, however, the residents of selected slums had better availability of schools in the neighbourhood. Therefore, the participation level of children in school was higher in the selected slums of Hyderabad. It was also found that the level of awareness on the importance of education was much higher among the residents of Hyderabad.

School Going Status of Children (6-17 years of age) by Gender

The cultural dispositions and prejudices on the part of people may lead to households giving less priority to education of girls as compared to boys. This is also a result of gender inequality that is pervasive in society and finds inroads in to the conservative attitudes and mind sets of people, acting against

the educational life chances of girls. Moreover, families with low income often have to decide on which child to be sent to private schools, and the boys are almost given preference. One of the other prominent reasons for not sending the girls to school is that they are expected to help with domestic work and take care of their younger siblings. Table 18 throws light on the school going status of girls and boys in the age group 6-17 years in slums of both the cities.

Table 18

School Going Status of Children (6-17 years of age group) by Gender

School Going Status	Gender					
	Boys	**%**	**Girls**	**%**	**Total**	**%**
Hyderabad						
School Going	1510	83.2	1404	78.6	2914	80.9
Drop Out	117	6.4	142	7.9	259	7.2
Never Enrolled	188	10.4	241	13.5	429	11.9
Total	**1815**	**100**	**1787**	**100**	**3602**	**100**
Ludhiana						
School Going	681	51	475	43.5	1156	47.7
Drop Out	82	6.1	70	6.4	152	6.3
Never Enrolled	571	42.8	546	50	1117	46.1
Total	**1334**	**100**	**1091**	**100**	**2425**	**100**

The gender differential in school going status of children was apparent as around 83 per cent of boys in Hyderabad and a little more than half of the boys in Ludhiana were found to be school going as against about 79 per cent girls in Hyderabad and only 44 per cent girls in slums of Ludhiana. In addition, the never-enrolled percentage among girls was higher than that of boys in slums of both the cities, clearly placing girls at a relegated position in terms of access to schooling. Table 19 below provides disaggregated information by age and gender on the school going status of children in the select area to get a better understanding of the situation.

Table 19

School Going Status of Children (6-14 and 15-17 years of age groups) by Age and Gender

School Going Status	Gender and Age Group									
	6-14 years					15-17 years				
	Boys	%	Girls	%	Total	Boys	%	Girls	%	Total
Hyderabad										
School Going	1269	88.8	1209	85.1	2478	241	67.3	195	49.4	436
Drop Out	62	4.3	81	5.7	143	55	15.4	61	15.4	116
Never Enrolled	98	6.9	130	9.2	228	62	17.3	139	35.2	201
Total	**1429**	**100**	**1420**	**100**	**2849**	**358**	**100**	**395**	**100**	**753**
Ludhiana										
School Going	602	55.3	426	47.8	1028	79	32.2	49	24.6	128
Drop Out	46	4.2	47	5.3	93	36	14.7	23	11.6	59
Never Enrolled	441	40.5	419	46.9	860	130	53.1	127	63.8	257
Total	**1089**	**100**	**892**	**100**	**1981**	**245**	**100**	**199**	**100**	**444**

When seen in a disaggregated manner, the data in Table 19 shows that the same gender disparity with respect to participation of girls in the schooling process. In Hyderabad, in the age group of 6-14 years, around 89 per cent of boys went to school as against 85 per cent of girls. In Ludhiana, only 55.3 per cent of boys of 6-14 years of age attended school as against 48 per cent of girls out of the total population of girls of this age group. The higher age group of children, 15-17 years, in Hyderabad showed a wider gap in participation of boys and girls in schools, where about 67 per cent of boys was enrolled as compared to around 49 per cent of girls. The gap in participation of boys and girls at secondary level was thus of 18 per cent points as compared to a gap of just 4 per cent points at the elementary level in the slums of Hyderabad. In Ludhiana, while there was a gap of 7.3 per cent points in the participation of boys and girls at elementary level, there was an almost similar gap at secondary level, with 7 per cent points. The data revealed that gender disparity in participation was wider between secondary and elementary levels in Hyderabad when compared with the scenario in Ludhiana. Even then, the school going status of both boys and girls was far behind in Ludhiana than in Hyderabad at both levels of school education.

School Going Status of Children by Social Groups (6-17 years of age)

Population belonging to scheduled castes and scheduled tribes have faced discrimination and remained economically and educationally backward for a long time now. Equity being the cardinal principle of Indian Constitution,

special programmes and schemes has been initiated to improve their educational status. At the national level, disaggregated data is collected and analysed for different social groups to understand the educational progress they have made over the years and also to see the disadvantage that might still exist in comparison to the general category. Hence, field level data for slums of both cities was analysed separately for children belonging to different social groups to get a clearer picture on educational status of children of different social groups.

Table 20

School Going Status of Children by Social Group (6-17 years of age) *

Social Group	School Going	%	Drop out	%	Never Enrolled	%	Total
Hyderabad							
SC	745	81.1	60	6.5	114	12.4	919
ST	101	82.8	10	8.2	11	9	122
OBC	1794	80.9	163	7.4	260	11.7	2217
General	271	79.5	26	7.6	44	12.9	341
Total	**2911**	**80.9**	**259**	**7.2**	**429**	**11.9**	**3599**
Ludhiana							
SC	684	53.5	76	5.9	519	40.6	1279
ST	13	48.1	2	7.4	12	44.4	27
OBC	164	31.1	29	5.5	335	63.4	528
General	295	49.9	45	7.6	251	42.5	591
Total	**1156**	**47.7**	**152**	**6.3**	**1117**	**46.1**	**2425**

* *The total population given in each may not be equal to the total sample size of the population because some questions like caste, religion, income, educational attainment, class studying was not replied by all the respondents. Thus the analysis is based on the responses received. However 'no response' is not significant (in the range of < 1-5%) and does not have serious repercussions on the findings.*

Table 20 reveals that drop-out rate among children belonging to scheduled castes, in the age group 6-17 years, was 6.5 per cent, for scheduled tribes, it was 8.2 per cent and for general category, it was 7.6 per cent in the slums of Hyderabad. The drop-out rate for the general category was higher than scheduled castes but little lower than scheduled tribe students. As far as children who never enrolled in schools were concerned, in Hyderabad, around 12.4 per cent children belonged to scheduled castes, and in Ludhiana, the percentage of non-enrolled was very high for all categories, particularly high among other backward classes with 63.4 per cent. Data from the field reveals that not much difference was observed with regard to participation of children from the backward groups in comparison to the general category children. It indicated that social status was not a significant determinant of educational status of children living in slum areas; rather it was the economic conditions that affected the education of the children. This was substantiated by

the observation as well as data collected that people living in slums had, more or less, similar kind of economic background with low wages and irregular jobs in an unorganised sector. It was also possible that the general category of children had moved out from the public system and attended private schools. Only the poorest of poor from the general category went to publicly-funded schools. Therefore, among drop-outs, children belonging to general category were higher in comparison to that of children belonging to scheduled castes and scheduled tribes.

Type of Schools Attended by Children in Slums

The provision and financing of education, particularly till elementary level, has been the monopoly of state, across the country. However, during the last couple of decades, the trend is changing towards greater privatisation, and this trend is more pronounced in urban areas. A large proportion of urban children who attend schools enroll themselves in private schools increasing the demand for private schooling. It has been argued that the purported demand for private education has led to the emergence of a distinct category of schools now called as 'unrecognised schools (Aggarwal, 2000; NSSO 1998; Mehta, 2005). Many claim that the size of the private sector is much larger than the official statistics suggested, as these do not include enrolment of the so-called 'unrecognised schools'. Further, as the growth of private sector is higher than the state sector and is accommodating more number of additional children than the state sector, the private sector is argued to be the most desirable option to expand the education system (Kingdon, 1996 and 2005). This school of thought also believes that private sector is expanding to cater to the needs of lower middle class and poor children. Hence, the poor are not at a disadvantage and stand to benefit by the expansion of private sector. Few studies have further claimed that a large number of children belonging to poor and below poverty line families do attend private schools (Noronha et al., 2005; Dixon, 2014). The popularity of private schools is essentially on account of their superior performance, teacher presence, accountability, etc. The private schools are claimed to be providing good quality education at lower cost than state-funded schools (Duraisamy and Subramanian, 2003; Kingdon, 1996 and 2005).

Many of these private schools differ widely in terms of resources, quality, exclusiveness, etc. and this gives rise to a multi-layered system of private schools catering to different clientele groups. On one hand, there are elite private schools whose facilities surpass even the five star hotels, catering exclusively to the rich and emerging upper middle classes. On the other, there are schools whose facilities and quality of teaching are worse than government schools catering to the poor, slum dwellers, etc. In between these two layers, there are several private schools in urban, semi urban and rural areas which host heterogeneous clientele group. Apart from this, there are many low fee paying schools run by trusts and non-governmental organisations which operate with a mission to provide education within slums or in neighbourhood to poor and marginalised children. Though the parents are paying low fee but they have to bear the expenditure towards books, school uniforms

and other costs. For the purpose of this analysis, these schools (run on a missionary mode) are clubbed with private schools as they do not provide free education. Table 21 provides details on the type of schools attended by children in the selected slum areas.

Table 21

Types of School Attended by Children in Slums (6-17 years of age)

Type of School	Hyderabad		Ludhiana	
	No. of Students	%	No. of Students	%
Private	1046	35.9	180	15.8
Government	1869	64.1	976	84.2
Total	**2915**	**100**	**1156**	**100**

The analysis on the type of schools attended by children showed a favour towards government schooling in both the study areas. About 64 per cent of children in Hyderabad attended government schools, and around 84.2 per cent attended the same in Ludhiana. In both the sample slum areas, there was a substantial share of parents, especially in Hyderabad who preferred to send their children to the private/NGO-run schools as they believed that these schools had better teachers and a more conducive environment. It may be parents' belief that private schools provided better learning opportunities than government schools. However, it was observed that parents could not distinguish between the recognised and unrecognised schools (both recognised and unrecognised private schools have been clubbed together in this research). As has been stated earlier, the per capita income of households in slums of Hyderabad was higher than in Ludhiana, hence, it was more probable that parents in Hyderabad sample area were seen sending their children to private schools. Table 22 provides information with regard to the type of schools attended by various social groups living in the sample area.

Table 22

Type of Schools Attended by Social Groups in Hyderabad and Ludhiana

Type of Schools	School Attending by Social group									
	SCs	%	STs	%	OBCs	%	General	%	Total	%
Hyderabad										
Private	355	47.7	36	35.6	575	32.1	80	29.4	1046	35.9
Government	390	52.3	65	64.4	1219	67.9	192	70.6	1866	64.1
Total	**745**	**100**	**101**	**100**	**1794**	**100**	**272**	**100**	**2912**	**100**
Ludhiana										
Private	13	2.8	-	-	81	22.4	86	26.5	180	15.6
Government	444	97.2	13	100	280	77.6	239	73.5	976	84.4
Total	**457**	**100**	**13**	**100**	**361**	**100**	**395**	**100**	**1156**	**100**

Table 22 shows the distribution of children by social groups and the type of schools they attended in the selected study area. The figures revealed that in Hyderabad, 48 per cent of children who attended private schools belonged to scheduled castes as against around 71 per cent of general category children attend government schools. As indicated above it appears that the type of schools attended was strongly linked with economic rather than social background of children. However, in Ludhiana, around 22 per cent children of other backward class's category and around 27 per cent of general category attended private schools.

Table 23 shows that quite a few numbers of people in both Hyderabad and Ludhiana sent their children to private schools. However, there was more number of girls enrolled in private schools as compared to boys in Hyderabad slums. Around 39 per cent of girls and about 33 per cent of boys attended private schools. In Ludhiana, the gender bias existed. Though only small number of children attended private schools but given the choice, boys were preferred to be sent to private schools. There were around 19 per cent of boys who went to private schools as against 11 per cent of girls.

Table 23

Type of School Attended by Gender in Hyderabad and Ludhiana

Type of Schools	Gender					
	Boys	%	Girls	%	Total	%
Hyderabad						
Government	1020	67.5	849	60.5	1869	64.1
Private	492	32.5	554	39.5	1046	35.9
Total	**1512**	**100**	**1403**	**100**	**2915**	**100**
Ludhiana						
Government	553	81.2	423	89.1	976	84.4
Private	128	18.8	52	10.9	180	15.6
Total	**681**	**100**	**475**	**100**	**1156**	**100**

Educational Attainment Level of Parents and School Participation

There is wealth of evidence on the positive relationship between parental education, especially of mother's education, and offspring's education. Research studies have found that an increase in maternal education is positively associated with children's academic school readiness and enrolment. The 'household production function' approach developed by Becker (1965) is often used by researchers to show that household characteristics, such as, income and level of parental education determine whether a child enrolls in school, retains in school, learns and makes progress to higher levels of education. In addition, Srivastava (1997) and Montgomery et al., (1999) found that education of mother had a positive effect on the school enrolment of children. In fact, both father's and mother's education had a

positive and significant effect on the possibility of child attending school (Duriaswamy, 2001). One of the reasons why parental education strongly affects their children's education is because parents who have gone beyond a high school education are found to be more involved with their children than those who did not finish high school. Many less educated parents simply have more unmanaged stress in their lives, and this stress interferes with the ability and opportunity to interact with their child (Sclafani, 2004). Parents with less formal education do not participate as often in their children's education because they do not realise the importance of their interaction with and contribution to schools. Considering the significance of the relationship between educational attainment level of parents and educational status of the child, information on the education attainment of parents was collected which is presented in Table 24.

Table 24

Education Level of Parents in Hyderabad and Ludhiana

Education Level of Parents	Hyderabad				Ludhiana			
	Father's Education		Mother's Education		Father's Education		Mother's Education	
	No	%	No	%	No	%	No	%
Illiterate	2118	58.8	2409	66.9	1835	75.7	2191	90.4
Primary	393	10.9	343	9.5	276	11.4	151	6.2
Upper Primary	371	10.3	333	9.2	162	6.7	59	2.4
Secondary & above	720	20	517	14.4	152	6.2	24	1
Total	**3602**	**100**	**3602**	**100**	**2425**	**100**	**2425**	**100**

Data in Table 24 reveals that literacy levels in slums of Ludhiana was very low, especially for women, while it was a little better in Hyderabad. Literacy has an impact on the education of children and the same can be seen from the data given in Tables 25 and 26. Data in these tables depict the relationship between the educational attainment level of parents and the educational status of children. The detailed information on the impact of educational attainment level of father and mother on the education of girls and boys separately and also on the type of school they attend is given below.

Figures in Table 25 indicate that in Hyderabad, out of 2118 children whose fathers were illiterate, 76 per cent of children attended school, and out of 720 children whose fathers had education up to secondary level or above, around 90 per cent children attended school. Similarly, in Ludhiana, out of 1835 children whose fathers were illiterate, around 40 per cent children went to school, and out of 162 children whose fathers had education up to upper primary level, around 75.9 per cent children attended school.

Table 25

Education of Father and Educational Status of the Children (6-17 years of age)

Father's Education	Educational Status of the Children						
	School Going	%	**Drop Out**	%	**Never Enrolled**	%	**Total**
Hyderabad							
Illiterate	1617	76.3	186	8.8	315	14.9	2118
Primary	313	79.6	36	9.2	44	11.2	393
Upper Primary	333	89.8	12	3.2	26	7	371
Secondary & above	651	90.4	25	3.5	44	6.1	720
Total	**2914**	**80.9**	**259**	**7.2**	**429**	**11.9**	**3602**
Ludhiana							
Illiterate	749	40.8	117	6.4	969	52.8	1835
Primary	181	65.6	15	5.4	80	29	276
Upper Primary	123	75.9	8	4.9	31	19.1	162
Secondary & above	103	67.8	12	7.9	37	24.3	152
Total	**1156**	**47.7**	**152**	**6.3**	**1117**	**46.1**	**2425**

Mother's education is another important factor influencing children's reading levels and achievement. Generally, traditional research has revealed that mothers with better education have greater success in providing their children with the cognitive and language skills that contribute to early success in school (Benjamin, 1993). This is because stereotypically, mother is more involved in her children's education, and therefore, has more influence on her children. Children whose mothers are having high level of education stay in school longer than children with mothers who have minimal or no education. Again, these findings are reinforced by the field level data. With increase in mother's education, the percentage of children who attended school increased in Ludhiana as well as in Hyderabad.

As far as mother's education was concerned, the data revealed direct relationship between educational status of children and educational attainment level of mother. In Hyderabad, around 14 per cent of never-enrolled children and 8 per cent of drop-outs had illiterate mother. Around 91 per cent of the children who attended school, their mothers had education up to secondary level and above. In Ludhiana, nearly half of the total children were out of school whose mothers were illiterate. Around 79 per cent children attended school whose mothers' had education up to secondary level or more.

Table 26

Education of Mother and Educational Status of the Children (6-17 years of age)

Mother's Education	Educational Status of the Children						
	School Going	%	Drop Out	%	Never Enrolled	%	Total
Hyderabad							
Illiterate	1878	78.0	201	8.3	330	13.7	2409
Primary	281	81.9	18	5.3	44	12.8	343
Upper Primary	284	85.3	22	6.6	27	8.1	333
Secondary & above	471	91.1	18	3.5	28	5.4	517
Total	**2914**	**80.9**	**259**	**7.2**	**429**	**11.9**	**3602**
Ludhiana							
Illiterate	987	45.0	138	6.4	1066	48.7	2191
Primary	104	68.9	10	6.6	37	24.5	151
Upper Primary	46	78.0	3	5.1	10	16.9	59
Secondary & above	19	79.2	1	4.2	4	16.6	24
Total	**1156**	**47.7**	**152**	**6.3**	**1117**	**46.1**	**2425**

Per-Capita Income and Educational Status of the Children

Parents with lower incomes often have to work more number of hours to earn their small wages. This leaves them with less time to spend with their children. There is also, typically, more conflict in the homes of lower income families because there are more tensions and stress within the family. Thus, it can be said that the per capita income has an important role in school education because standard of living or household income has greater positive impact on child's education as well as on the overall development of the child. Data was analysed to understand the differentiation of educational status of children attending, drop- out or never-enrolled along with the per capita income of the households. It may be true that households, which have better income status, may send their children to private school because they have the paying capacity. Data on relationship between per capita income and educational status of the children is presented in Table 27. With the rise in per capita income, the probability of children attending school also increases because the household with higher per capita income rarely neglects the importance of education and is able to afford the educational expenditure. In Ludhiana, 71 per cent of those children whose families had per capita income of more than Rs.1500 per month attended school. Whereas only around 30 per cent of the children whose families had per capita income less than Rs. 250 per month attended school. With such low income, it became difficult for parents to

support the education of their children and therefore, low enrolment was evident in these households, especially in the slums of Ludhiana.

In comparison to Ludhiana, around 50 per cent of children, out of the total sample in Hyderabad, had household with a per capita income ranging from Rs 750 to Rs. 1500. These households also had the highest percentage of school attending children. However, the data also revealed that in the low quartile (per capita income level of less than Rs 250 in Hyderabad), only 52 per cent children attended school and in the high quartile, around 83 per cent children were enrolled in school. This indicated that income is one of the significant factors to facilitate the participation of children in school. Besides income, the importance attached to education is another significant determinant of schooling decision. During the field survey, it was found that the awareness level on the importance of education for children was higher in Hyderabad. Profile of the sample area, especially in Ludhiana, brought forth the fact that most residents (not all residents) had low income levels. Many residents were actively engaged in the informal sector of the local economy. The slums of Ludhiana and Hyderabad can be characterised by a marked comparison of economic differentiation. Although many residents in both the areas can be described as poor, the residents in Hyderabad had better income level than those living in slums of Ludhiana.

Table 27

Monthly Per Capita income of Households and Educational Status of the Children

Household Per Capita Income	Educational Status of the Children						
	School Going	%	Drop Out	%	Never Enrolled	%	Total
Hyderabad							
Below 250	49	52.1	16	17	29	30.9	94
251 to 500	423	73.7	48	8.4	103	17.9	574
501 to 750	531	81.4	45	6.9	76	11.7	652
751 to 1000	605	84.0	41	5.7	74	10.3	720
1001 to 1500	823	85.3	61	6.3	81	8.4	965
Above 1500	376	82.5	35	7.7	45	9.9	456
Total	**2807**	**81.1**	**246**	**7.1**	**408**	**11.8**	**3461**
Ludhiana							
Below 250	128	30.6	20	4.8	270	64.6	418
251 to 500	580	49.4	82	7	513	43.7	1175
501 to 750	285	56.4	28	5.5	192	38	505
751 to 1000	89	48.1	10	5.4	86	46.5	185
1001 to 1500	40	43.5	10	10.9	42	45.7	92
Above 1500	32	71.1	2	4.4	11	24.4	45
Total	**1154**	**47.7**	**152**	**6.3**	**1114**	**46**	**2420**

In the ensuing pages, there was an attempt to undertake an analysis on the household data collected for all the children in the age group of 6-17 years. For this, logistic regression was computed for two parameters; one, for children attending private schools, and the second, for never-enrolled children. In both the analyses, the study attempted to ascertain the factors that were determining the phenomena.

Key Insights

This chapter explicated the detail profile of all the households covered in the selected slums of Hyderabad and Ludhiana. The demographic and occupational structure of population was described. This was necessary so as to understand the linkages between demographic, occupational and educational structure of the children who form part of this study, belonging to 6-17 years of age group. The findings revealed that the income levels of households in Ludhiana were low in comparison to Hyderabad, with more number of people engaged in informal sector and most importantly, its women having almost no interface with employability. The school going status of children in selected slums in both the cities found that around 54 per cent children went to school in Ludhiana as compared to 80 per cent in Hyderabad. There was further detailing with respect to school going status of children based on gender and social group. The data also showed that with the increase in educational attainment of the parents i.e. father as well as the mother, the participation of children in school increased and drop-out rate decreased. Similar kind of impact was observed with regard to household income on children's education. This held true for both Ludhiana and Hyderabad.

Chapter 4

Access and Participation in Schools
An Analysis of Selected Households of Slums from Hyderabad and Ludhiana

Access to basic services, such as, education and health, has a different connotation when we look for disadvantaged urban contexts and for people who are socio-economically far behind rest of the population. The migrants who reside in slums are often caught in a predicament, whether to survive with negligible services and avail of economic opportunities or go back to their native place and forego economic dividends. This is indeed a dilemma for migrants, yet they choose to stay back and make choices that their socio-economic status allows, for the sake of their future generations. But do their children get the opportunity to move upwards in socio-economic strata? Do they have access to schools, let alone quality schools? What constraints does a slum household face while making a choice to either send its child to school, or pull him/her out from the system or worse even, never get him/her enrolled in school? These were some of the questions that this study tried to probe in the earlier chapter; however, the analysis undertaken was on the entire population residing in the selected slums. In this chapter we explore some of these questions in sample households from the selected slums of both the cities. For gaining an in-depth understanding of access and participation of children in the sample households of selected slums, two objectives were framed, one, to examine the co-ordinates of available schools and facilities as well as factors contributing to the enrolment and retention of children in schools, and the second, the learning assessment of children.

While we examine the learning assessment of students later in this chapter, first we attempt to dive deeper into the lives and educational trajectories of children belonging to 622 households in the selected slums of Ludhiana and 706 households of the selected slums in Hyderabad. This chapter is divided into sections for purposes of meaningful interpretation. Section-I gives the demographic profile of 1328 sample households from the selected slums of Hyderabad and Ludhiana, taking into account the age, social and religious grouping, occupation and income of the households. This description is followed by Section-II, which is an exploration of variables that define access to schooling facilities, such as, location of schools, distance of schools from households, medium of instruction in schools and available demand-side financing strategies. Section-III is an extensive study of school going status of

children in selected slums, along with their socio-economic background factors. Towards the end of this section, statistical analysis has been presented to identify the background predictors which impact the school going status, drop-out and never-enrollment of children from sampled households. Section-IV is an interesting section that tries to capture the responses of parents on the choice they make for sending their children to a government or a private school and their involvement in their children's academic progress. Section-V provides a descriptive account of the 19 selected schools, both elementary and secondary, in Hyderabad and Ludhiana. This is followed by a detailed analysis of learning assessment of students in Mathematics and Language of Classes III, VII and IX in these selected schools.

Section - I

Demographic Profile of Select Households

Demographic Profile of Sample Households

The slums are spatial combinations of people coming from different regions, social and religious groups. These locations often exhibit a heterogeneous age group, with varying size of households. In Ludhiana, for instance, the average household size was about 5, with a total number of 3076 residents in 622 households. In Hyderabad, a total of 3078 persons resided in 706 households taking the average household size to about 4, slightly lower than Ludhiana. Looking at the age composition of population of selected households, it was found that there were people belonging to all age groups, identified for this study.

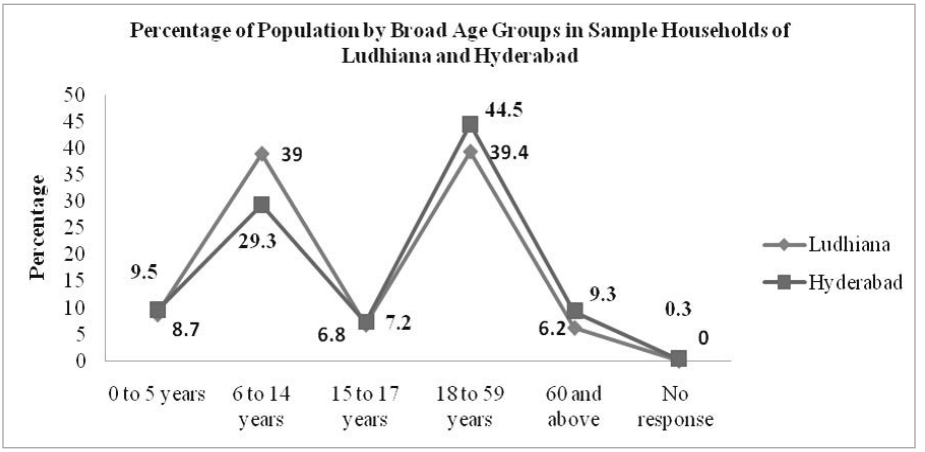
Table 28

Age Composition of Population in Select Households

	Hyderabad		**Ludhiana**	
	Number	**%**	**Number**	**%**
0 to 5 years	291	9.5	267	8.7
6 to 14 years	901	29.3	1199	39
15 to 17 years	223	7.2	209	6.8
18 to 59 years	1369	44.5	1211	39.4
60 and above years	286	9.3	190	6.2
No response	8	0.3	0	0
Total	**3078**	**100**	**3076**	**100**

Figure 15

Percentage of Population by Broad Age Groups in Sample Households of Ludhiana and Hyderabad



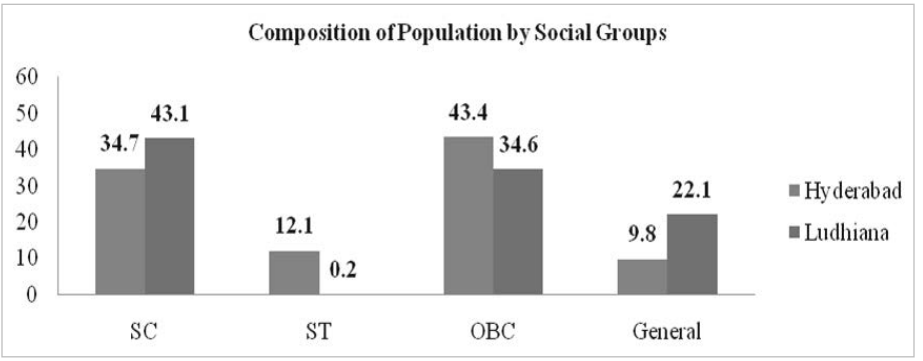
The data given in above Table 28 and Fig. 15 show that 39 per cent of children in Ludhiana belonged to the age group of 6-14 years and 6.8 per cent children were in the age group of 15-17 years whereas, in Hyderabad, 29.3 per cent belonged to the age group of 6-14 years and 7.2 per cent were in 15-17 years of age group. This implied that in Ludhiana, around 46 per cent children were of school going age and in Hyderabad, around 36 per cent were of the school going age group, from the sample households. There was a high share of adult working age group population in both the sets of sample households in Hyderabad (44.5 per cent) and Ludhiana (39.4 per cent). Similar to this finding, one of the studies conducted in the slums of Kolkata revealed that around 40 per cent of population in the select slums comprised of 6-14 years of age group for which the schooling facility needed to be provided (Nath, 2013)

Composition of Population by Social Groups in Sample Households

This information on the composition of population by social group was gathered in order to understand whether households were aware of the schemes and programmes that have been launched for their benefit. Moreover, it also indicated if education disparities existed across different social groups. Do the scheduled castes and scheduled tribes still face discrimination, though the population living in slums is more or less homogeneous having low income and poor environmental conditions? Fig. 16 gives information on the composition of population by social groups in the selected households.

Figure 16

Composition of Population by Social Groups



In Hyderabad, 43.4 per cent of people in the selected households belonged to other backward classes followed by scheduled castes (34.7 per cent). There were about 9.8 per cent who belonged to general category, and 12.1 per cent who belonged to scheduled tribes in Hyderabad. In Ludhiana, however, the proportion of scheduled caste category was higher (43.1 per cent) than all other categories. There was a substantial portion of other backward classes too in selected households of Ludhiana (34.6 per cent).

Composition of Population by Religious Groups in Sample Households

The population putting up in slums also has representation of different religious groups. Hence, information on population belonging to different religions was obtained to understand if there existed any difference in the educational status of children belonging to different religions.

Table 29

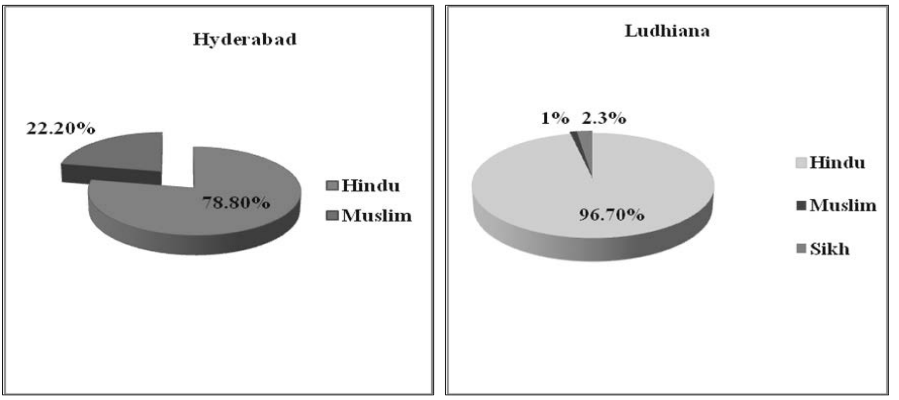
Composition of Population by Religious Groups

Religious Groups	Hyderabad		Ludhiana	
	Number	%	Number	%
Hindu	2426	78.8	2974	96.7
Muslim	652	22.2	28	1
Sikh	0	0	74	2.3
Total	**3078**	**100**	**3076**	**100**

In both Hyderabad and Ludhiana, majority of the population of selected households belonged to Hindu religion. About 22 per cent of the population belonged to Muslim religion in Hyderabad while only 1 per cent of the population in Ludhiana in selected households belonged to Muslims. In addition, in Ludhiana, 2.3 per cent belonged to Sikh religion.

Figure 17

Composition of Population by Religious Groups



Occupation of Father of the Selected Children

It is well known that children's educational outcomes vary sharply with their parents' socio-economic background. Differences in outcomes with parental background emerge early at the pre-school level and are reinforced in childhood, all through teenage years up to tertiary education. Socio-economic status depends on a combination of variables, including occupation, education, income, wealth and place of residence of the household. Occupation of father and that of the mother affects both the income coming to the family and the time devoted to children's development. In this regard, data from the field on these variables was collected and it was found that parents of select households were generally engaged in informal sector with irregular income which influenced the participation of children in school. The informal economy is scattered in the streets, on the road side and pavements, at home, on site and in unplanned unauthorised industrial zones or markets. A study found that 9 per cent of men work on construction sites, 29 per cent work in their own enterprise outside their dwelling, 13 per cent work in their own dwelling and 54 per cent women work from home (Bhowmik et.al., 2010). Fig. 18 provides information on the occupation of the father in sample households.

Figure 18

Occupation of the Father

The occupational structure of fathers of selected children was varied in both data sets in the two cities. Around 44 per cent of children's fathers in Hyderabad and 23 per cent in Ludhiana worked as labourers on construction sites, etc. Another 25 percent of fathers in Hyderabad and 26 per cent of fathers in Ludhiana were employed as regular workers, which included clerks, sweepers, peon, and gardeners in government or private sector. There were 16 per cent of fathers in Hyderabad and 19 per cent of fathers in Ludhiana who were employed in factories. In Ludhiana, as factory employees, they were engaged in hosiery industry, and in Hyderabad, in the pearl polishing and embroidery work industry. Another 24 per cent of fathers in Ludhiana and 14 per cent of fathers in Hyderabad were self-employed as rickshaw pullers, auto-rickshaw drivers, shop owners, beetle selling, etc. (Refer Table 13, Chapter-III)

Monthly Income of the Sample Households

A number of studies have found a strong link between earnings of the parent (typically the father) and the education of the child. Krueger (2004) reviews various contributions supporting the view that financial constraints significantly impact educational attainment of children. Ahmed (2012) analyses the relationship between education and the phenomenon of child labour in Aligarh city. The study reveals that poverty is really the most important reason for child labour and, consequently, low school participation in the city. There is a counter argument also which says that current parental income alone does not explain child's educational choices but family fixed effects, such as, parental education levels (that contributes to permanent income) have a much more positive role (Carneiro and Heckman, 2003). However, in most of the cases there is an inter-link between occupation, income and education. Hence, detailed information on these criteria was collected from the sample household which is given below in Table 30.

Table 30

Monthly Income of Sample Households

Income Range	Hyderabad		Ludhiana	
(Rupees)	**Households**	**%**	**Households**	**%**
No Response	2	0.3	3	0.5
<1000	23	3.3	47	7.6
1001-2000	43	6.1	304	48.9
2001-3000	81	11.5	136	21.9
3001-4000	363	51.3	99	15.9
4001-5000	101	14.3	27	4.2
5001-7000	75	10.6	3	0.5
7001-10000	11	1.6	2	0.3
>10000	7	1	1	0.2
Total	**706**	**100**	**622**	**100**

The monthly household income in Hyderabad was found to be higher in comparison to those in Ludhiana. Around 71 per cent of the households in Ludhiana had monthly income in the range of Rs.1000-3000 whereas in Hyderabad, around 18 per cent of the households had monthly income in this range. Around 51 per cent of households in Hyderabad had income in the range of Rs. 3000-4000 per month whereas 16 per cent of households in Ludhiana had income in the same range. The sample households in Hyderabad were hence, economically better placed. However, the income levels of households are quite low in many slums across India, such as, in Ludhiana. While taking a sample of households of slums in Kolkata, Nath (2013) found that around 57 per cent households had income less than Rs.2000 and only 10 per cent households had income more than Rs 4000.

The demographic data of sample households presents a varied picture of the slum population in Hyderabad and Ludhiana. Demographics and socio-economic variables, when studied, determine to a large extent the probability of a child attending school as well as influence the participation of children in schools. In addition to these background factors, there are supply side provisions which equally determine the access of children to schools. It is in this context that the next section discusses the status of access to schooling in slums of both the cities.

Section - II

Physical Access to Schools and Incentives to Study

For children to get enrolled, availability of school in close vicinity is one of the prerequisites. Children travelling long distances to school are more likely to drop out of school. Having a school within 1 km away from home has a positive and significant effect on the primary school attendance of children (Sathar and Llyod, 1994). It was observed that accessibility to school within the village seemed to contribute to 18 per cent increase in school entry and a decline in school drop-out by about 16 per cent (Swada and Lokshin, 2001). Other research studies (Glick and Sahn, 2000; Colclough et al., 2000; Ainsworth et al., 2005) have also established that long distance has a negative impact on a child's attending school. Distance travelled to school also has a proportionate relationship with absenteeism, delinquency, truancy, indiscipline and non-attendance in school. When the distance travelled to school is too far for the child, besides fatigue, there is a tendency for the child to be truant and may drop out of school completely (Arubayi, 2005; Duze, 2005 cited in Duez, 2010). Through empirical evidence Duez (2010) found that a number of primary and secondary schools in select provinces of Nigeria were located far away from homes of the children and this had a negative impact on the attendance of students in schools. These findings uphold true for the field survey conducted in the select slums, especially for Ludhiana. Distance becomes a determining factor, especially for disadvantaged children as their parents are neither in a position to drop the children to school nor can afford the transportation charges by other conveyances.

When parents and children were asked about the distance of school from their residence, they could not provide precise answer but did mention about the time taken by children to reach school, which helped to calculate a rough estimate of the distance. In Ludhiana, elementary schools were not available in the close vicinity, and even to go to upper primary and secondary schools, the children had to travel a long distance. This was compounded by the fact that not all children were able to get admission in the school which was around 2-3 km away from the households. This was perhaps due to a higher demand for these schools as they served other habitations as well.

Distance of School from Household

The national norm for providing primary school within 1 km and at upper primary level within 3 kms from the household was established keeping in view the reality that this distance could be easily traversed by children of lower age groups (6-10 years of age for primary level and 11-14 years of age for upper primary level). Even this has been further specified by the RTE Act, 2009 which stipulates that the state shall provide school in the neighbourhood. And if the school is not available in the neighbourhood, the state shall make transport arrangements. This is still to be implemented for the children living in slum areas. Various micro-level studies observed that as slums generally emerge in an unplanned manner and are overcrowded, schools cannot be located within the precincts of slums. However, an attempt is being made to make the school accessible to these children in close proximity of the slums. Despite the increase of population in the slum areas, the state governments have not been able to open adequate number of schools corresponding to the school attending population in these areas. There is a gap between demand and supply and therefore, the access to schooling facility is inadequate in many areas. Considering the significance of availability of public schools for children living in slum areas, the information was obtained which is presented in Table 31.

Table 31

Distance of School from Household of Children

Distance	Hyderabad		Ludhiana	
	Number of Children	%	Number of Children	%
Up to 1 km	500	57.4	-	-
1 to 3 kms	270	31	453	64.9
3 to 5 kms	58	6.7	221	31.7
> 5 kms	43	4.9	23	3.4
Total	**871**	**100**	**697**	**100**

The number of schools available near the slums was higher in Hyderabad in comparison to Ludhiana. In Hyderabad, even secondary schools were available within a short distance, whereas in Ludhiana, even primary schools were not located at a convenient place for the child to access. The schools were not located within the slum in Ludhiana. In Hyderabad, the school located nearest to slum was around 500 meters away, but in Ludhiana, schools were located at a distance of around 1.5 to 3 kms. In Ludhiana, very few children attended schools which were located around 5 kms away from the households of the children. Even though one school in each of the selected slums was located at a distance of around 1.5 to 2 kms, the roads around were not safe. These schools were also not able to accommodate all the children from these sample households as they served other habitations as well. In Hyderabad, more than half (57.4 per cent) of school going children reported that the schools they attended were located within 1 km radius whereas in Ludhiana, 65 per cent of the children reported a distance of about 2 kms of schools from their residence. In Ludhiana, in two of the slums (Dr Ambedkar Colony, Pakhowal and Shaheed Bhagat Singh NR Balmiki Colony), the children had to cross railway crossing even for reaching the primary school. In another slum (Bihari Colony, Tajpur Road), the school was situated on the main link road and the children needed to cross a busy road to reach the school. Thus, the schools were neither available to them in the neighbourhood nor in a safe zone. Adding to the plight of these children, was the fact that their parents remained busy earning wages, therefore, could not drop them to school. Access to schools was marred by long distances and extreme weather in a city like Ludhiana. In comparison, distances to schools were shorter from the selected slums in Hyderabad, facilitating access to schools at both elementary and secondary levels. Disaggregated information on the number of children attending different kinds of school is given below.

Children Attending Different Types of Schools

Access to schools is also differentiated by the type of management of schools. In any specific area, there is co-existence of both government and private schools, and the same was the case in the selected area of the cities under study. Information was gathered on different kinds of school available to children either within the slums or near to slums. As already mentioned above, the availability of schools, both government and private, was quite poor in Ludhiana. As we have seen earlier, the private sector consists of both recognised and unrecognised schools and both types also existed in both the cities. A study carried out in seven districts (which included Ludhiana) of Punjab, the findings revealed that around 35 per cent schools were unrecognised. It stated the percentage of these schools to be around 21 per cent in Ludhiana. In all of these schools, almost 98 per cent schools had pucca building (Mehta, 2005). Access to private schools not only depended on the distance but also upon the fees paid by the students. For low fee paying private schools, there would be more profit in opening their management schools where they could get at least marginal benefit. Perhaps this was the reason why in the selected slums of Ludhiana as the household income was very low, no private school existed in close vicinity of the selected slums.

In Hyderabad's old city, Tooley and Dixon (2005) found that a little less than 37 per cent schools were unrecognised private schools and only 35 per cent were government schools. The field survey found that in the selected slums of Hyderabad a large number of private schools had opened up near the location of slums which made it convenient for the children to access schools. Moreover, the income level of the selected households was higher; hence, considerable number of children attended these low fee paying private schools. The table below provides information on the number and percentage of children attending schools of different management according to distance from households.

It is clear from Table 32 that out of 871 children in Hyderabad, 548 children attended government schools. To about 40 per cent of these children, government school was available within a range of 0.5-2.5 km. The private schools were available to around 14 per cent children in close vicinity to their place of residence. It was evident that around 55 per cent children in Hyderabad had availability of school (either government or private) near their household. In contrast to this, in Ludhiana, children had limited access to schools near their residence. Only 13.7 per cent children out of the total of 697, attended government school within a distance range of 0.5-2.5 km. It can be safely concluded that school availability was insufficient for children living in slums of Ludhiana.

Table 32

Children Attending Different Types of School (Distance from Household)

	Children Attending Different Types of School (Distance from HH)					
	1/2 km to 2.5 kms		**3 to 5 kms**		**Total**	
	Number of Children	**%**	**Number of Children**	**%**	**Number of Children**	**%**
Hyderabad						
Government	351	40.4	277	31.6	548	72
Private	125	14.4	118	13.6	243	28
Total	**476**	**54.8**	**395**	**45.2**	**871**	**100**
Ludhiana						
Government	97	13.7	502	72.1	599	85.8
Private	5	0.8	93	13.4	98	14.2
Total	**102**	**14.3**	**595**	**86**	**697**	**100**

Type of Mode Used to Reach School

The Right to Education Act (2009) stipulates that the state shall provide neighbourhood school to all the children of 6-14 years of age. Neighbourhood schools are obliged to grant admission to children from all sections of society living within a specific area. Such schools are expected to bring children from diverse socio-economic and ethnic backgrounds together to help achieve larger desired objectives of integration and equity. The Act also specifies that the state shall make transport arrangement for the children to reach the school, if the school is not available in the neighbourhood. As a practice, even with limited means, many private schools make transport arrangements for children to reach school safely and on time while charging transport allowance as part of fees, whereas, this has not been a practice with the government schools. To support the children traverse the distance to school, the Sarva Shiksha Abhiyan makes provisions for transport allowance as a means of encouraging the children to attend school regularly. However in select slums, no such provision was made by the state. Also, no public (government) school was available to children, especially to those living in Ludhiana. Table below shows the means of transport which children used to reach their schools in both Ludhiana and Hyderabad.

Table 33

Type of Mode Used by Children to Reach School from Selected Households

Type of Mode Used	Hyderabad		Ludhiana	
	Number of Children	%	Number of Children	%
Bus	99	11.4	-	-
Bicycle	35	4	14	2
Rickshaw/ Auto	35	4	69	9.9
By Foot	702	80.6	614	88.1
Total	**871**	**100**	**697**	**100**

As seen in Table 33, most of the children went to school by foot but few of them depended on bus, bicycle, rickshaw or auto. Though the children had to walk a long distance they reported that they do not have any alternative. During verbal interactions, few children narrated that due to irregularity of the bus service; they reached school late and were punished without any fault. Children who walked a long distance, especially in Ludhiana, said that during the humid, summer and rainy seasons, it was inconvenient to travel to school by foot because of which they sometimes skipped school.

Time Taken to Reach School

On being asked, often the parents could not tell the exact distance to the school, hence, time taken to reach the school was taken as a proxy indicator to

measure the distance. Time taken to reach the school gave an estimate as to how much the child travelled to attend the school. The school the child attended was regarded as 'far' if a child would have had to travel more than 30 minutes to reach it. Information regarding this is presented in the Table 34.

Table 34

Time taken to Reach School

Time Taken	Ludhiana		Hyderabad	
	Number of Children	%	Number of Children	%
Up to 10 minutes	-	-	381	43.7
10-20 minutes	-	-	294	33.8
20-30 minutes	409	58.6	128	14.7
More than 30 minutes	188	31.4	68	7.8
Total	**697**	**100**	**871**	**100**

The percentage distribution calculated for students according to time travelled from home to school indicated that around 44 per cent of children in Hyderabad could reach school within 10 minutes whereas in Ludhiana, around 59 per cent children took around half-an- hour and 15 per cent children from Hyderabad took 20-30 minutes to reach their school. Among those who lived far away from school, around 8 per cent children in Hyderabad took more than 30 minutes to access the school. This was so because some of them attended private school and, for others, the government secondary school of their choice was available at a long distance whereas 31.4 percent children in Lucknow, spent more than 30 minutes travelling to and from school. In Ludhiana, most of the times, children travelled far out of compulsion as schools were not available in the immediate neighbourhood.

Medium of Instruction

Various research studies advocate that children, especially at the elementary stage, should be taught in their mother tongue. Fluency and literacy in the mother tongue lays a cognitive and linguistic foundation for learning of additional languages. When children receive formal instruction in their mother tongue during primary school, a gradual transition to academic learning in the second language is far quicker. Children who learn through their mother tongue are at an advantage compared to the children who learn through a second language (Macnamara, 1973; Miti, 1995; Mwamwenda, 1996; Ngara, 1982; Pattanayak, 1991; Wallwork, 1985). In instances where the learner learns through a language other than the mother tongue, he/she faces problems because his/her task is three-fold (Chaudron, 1998). Firstly, the student has to make sense of the instructional tasks, which are presented in the second language. Secondly, he/she has to attain linguistic competency that is required for effective learning. And finally, he/she has to master the content

itself. A poor grasp of language results in a feeling of incompetence and loss of confidence on the part of the student (Roy-Campbell, 1996). This aspect was probed during the field survey as the residents in slum areas were migrants from other states and the language of these migrants were different from their native language.

In Punjab, the government schools adopt Punjabi as a medium of instruction, and in Hyderabad, most of the schools had Telugu as a medium of instruction. In Hyderabad, there were a few schools which had one section in each grade where the medium of instruction was English. Even though children faced difficulty with English, it was preferred by most of them.

Table 35

Medium of Instruction in the Selected Schools

Medium of Instruction	Hyderabad		Ludhiana	
	Number of Children	%	Number of Children	%
English	592	68	13	1.9
Hindi	18	2.1	155	22.2
Regional	249	28.6	524	75.2
No response	12	1.4	5	0.7
Total	**871**	**100**	**697**	**100**

Table 35 shows that in Ludhiana, majority (75.2 per cent) of the children studied in the Punjabi medium schools. However, a serious issue was that most of the children studying in these schools were migrants from other states, such as, Uttar Pradesh and Bihar with Hindi as their mother tongue. This acted as a major constraint for these children in comprehending what was taught in the school. Parents and children reported that Hindi could be considered as an alternative medium of instruction in the schools. In Hyderabad, 68 per cent of the schools had English as medium of instruction because the percentage of children attending private school was considerably high. Even in the few government schools, the medium of instruction in one of the sections was English. Only 28.6 per cent children had access to Telugu as their medium of instruction in Hyderabad. However, it was a matter of choice for the children to opt for English language as Mohanty (2013) reports that English as medium of instruction is preferred by the parents.

Incentives to Children

To improve the enrolment and retention of students, the government has launched various centrally sponsored schemes and, in the same line, the states have also been giving incentives, especially to children belonging to poor socio -economic background, as a demand-enhancing strategy. As per Right to Education Act (2009), education for children in the age group of 6-14 years is

compulsory and free of cost. Children do not have to incur any expenditure towards fees, textbooks and uniform up to the elementary level of education. Even then, there is a need for incentives to children who cannot afford education either due to opportunity cost or involvement in household chores. The following table shows the incentives provided to the children at the elementary level by state-run schools.

Table 36

Incentives to Children in Government Schools

Incentives	Hyderabad		Ludhiana	
	Number of Children	%	Number of Children	%
Mid-day Meal	499	97.4	507	99.1
Free Textbooks	596	94.9	498	95.5
Free Uniform	508	99.2	493	88.4
Scholarship	82	10.8	28	5.4

It is encouraging to note that most of the families, during the field survey, reported that their children were getting mid-day meal and free textbooks in schools. However, a few parents complained about the menu and quality of food, especially in Ludhiana. The schools in Ludhiana had started giving uniform to all children from the academic year (2012). A few children received scholarship on the basis of caste, gender, economic background, merit, etc. In Hyderabad, around 11 per cent children received scholarship as against 5 per cent in Ludhiana. A positive scenario is seen in both the cities with regard to the incentives, such as, mid-day meal, textbooks and uniform.

The physical access to schooling and incentives available to children are often seen as enablers to improve the participation of children. But factors, such as, inability of the household to pay for child's education or cultural contexts, such as, where girls' education is not favoured, can act as constraints for participation, despite provision of access. This is what the next section attempts to present by analysing the school going and drop-out status of children, disaggregated on the basis of background factors of the households.

Section - III

School Going Status, Participation and Drop-out of Children of Sample Households

Education is viewed as both consumption and an investment good. Parents invest in the education of their children and send them to school with the hope that they would have better life chances for themselves and for their future generations. Parents also like to invest in education to ensure that their offspring will be better placed to support them in later life. It has been argued that parents' decision to send the child to school is determined by various factors, such as, present value of expected benefits and the cost to the households of educating their children. Costs are estimated through the duration of a child's schooling and include direct costs (e.g. fees and uniforms), opportunity cost of the child's time (those activities foregone whilst at school and travelling to school e.g. helping in home or engaging in parental work) and other non-monetary costs, such as, the probable increased risk of insecurity of children, especially if girls attend school (Samar and Peasgood, 1993). Moreover, changes in family income do not just influence the child's participation but also his/her cognitive achievement (Dahl and Lochner, 2012).

Given the above context and economic conditions of slum dwellers, the risk taken by sending their child to school might potentially offset the household's earnings. In addition, socio-cultural factors, which might operate behind a girl's schooling chances, can be a deterrent for her education. Hence, in any context, and specifically in the context of slum dwellers, the background socio-economic and cultural factors can greatly shape the educational experiences of the children. Taking this clue, this section tried to ascertain first and foremost, how many children went to primary/upper primary/elementary and secondary school, how many dropped out from the system and did not complete the education cycle, and how many never enrolled. The data also attempted to assess the required competency levels of children in classes. The question of access to school is still a pressing one in India. Despite elementary education being free and compulsory, yet all children are not in school. To create interventions ensuring that all children get enrolled and continue in school, it is important to ascertain the educational status of children, especially those living in slum areas.

School Going Status of Children

Not all children from the selected slum areas attended school. This was due to various demand-side factors (poor financial status, poverty, irregular income of households) and supply-side factors (non-availability of schooling facility in the neighbourhood, medium of instruction being different than mother tongue). This impacted the participation of children in schools. The details are presented below.

Figure 19

School Going Status of the Children of Sample Households

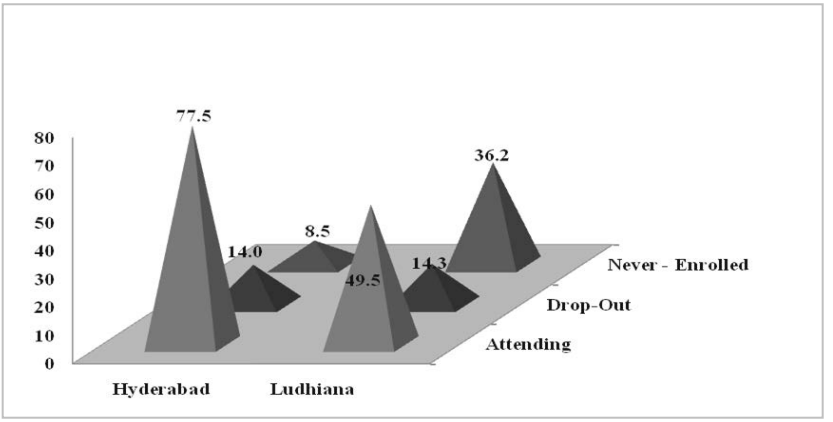


Fig. 19 depicts that in Ludhiana, around half of the total students from the sample households went to schools while a little more than half of them were out of school. A substantial portion of children in selected households being never enrolled was a grave concern in Ludhiana, and an unacceptable situation in the context of RTE (2009). In Hyderabad, around 77 per cent children attended school and about 9 per cent never enrolled. It was felt that special drives would be needed for children living in the slums of Ludhiana to improve the enrolment. Perhaps, the schemes and incentives, even if in place, were not implemented in all earnest and the result showed in never enrollment. The school going status of children by different age groups, classified into elementary level (6-14 years) and secondary level (15-17 years age) is given in Table 37.

Table 37

School Going Status of Children of Selected Households by Age Groups

School Going Status	Age Groups of Children					
	6-14	**%**	**15-17***	**%**	**Total**	**%**
Hyderabad						
School Going	755	83.8	116	52	871	77.5
Drop Out	87	9.7	70	31.4	157	14
Never Enrolled	59	6.5	37	16.6	96	8.5
Total	**901**	**100**	**223**	**100**	**1124**	**100**
Ludhiana						
School Going	636	53	61	29.2	697	49.5
Drop Out	151	12.6	51	24.4	202	14.3
Never Enrolled	412	34.4	97	46.4	509	36.2
Total	**1199**	**100**	**209**	**100**	**1408**	**100**

* *Children of this age group may still be studying in elementary stage.*

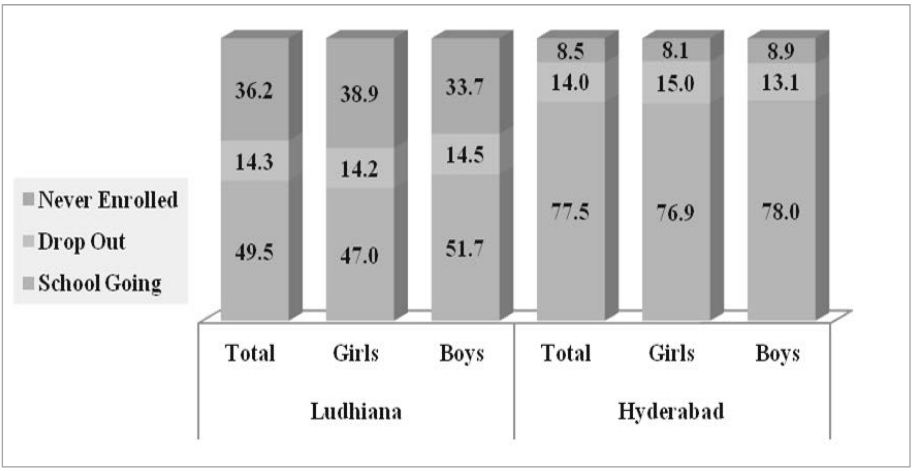
Figures in Table 37 show that the percentage of children attending school in the age group of 15-17 years was very low in comparison to those in the age group of 6-14 years. This held true for both Ludhiana and Hyderabad. Added to this, drop-out rate was also very high among children in the age group of 15-17 years of age. While around 84 per cent children of 6-14 years of age group attended school, only 52 per cent in the age group of 15-17 years attended school. As the age group increased for children, their school going status became low. This was the same trend in Ludhiana, where around 53 per cent of children of 6-14 years of age group and 29 per cent children in the age group of 15-17 years attended school. One of the reasons behind a higher share of participation in the age group of 6-14 years than of 15-17 years could be because of the persistent efforts of the government and targeted incentives. In case of children of 15-17 years of age group, a low share in their participation could be because of not completing elementary level or not taking admission after graduating from elementary level. This explains a low proportion of children going to school after the elementary cycle. The drop -out rate is also very high for children of this higher age group. This is because many of them are still found to be studying in elementary level hence, dropping out as they were over-age.

School Going Status of Children by Gender

The figures of school going status were further disaggregated for boys and girls to understand the gender parity in the selected area. Fig. 20 shows the school going status of children by gender in sampled households for both the cities.

Figure 20

School Going Status of Children by Gender (in %)



It is evident from the above figure that both in Hyderabad and Ludhiana, higher percentage of boys attended school in comparison to girls. Similarly, the non-enrollment and drop-out rates remained higher for girls. While only a marginal difference was found between the school going girls and boys in Hyderabad but significant disparity existed in Ludhiana. In Hyderabad, around 77 per cent girls attended school as against 78 per cent boys. In Ludhiana, 51.7 per cent boys attended school in comparison to 47 per cent girls. In sample households of Ludhiana, around 34 per cent boys and about 39 per cent girls were never enrolled in school. It may be noted that the drop-out rate and non-enrollment remained very high both for boys and girls in Ludhiana. This picture existed in Ludhiana, perhaps, due to many reasons, such as, low income levels of households, a higher distance of schools from households, medium of instruction in schools or cultural reasons.

Types of School Attended by the Children

The education system in India is governed by state funding and private sectors (Kingdon, 1996; Reddy, 2007). The state-funded sector further consists of government (both central and state governments), local body, and aided private schools. Government and local body schools are owned, managed by government elected local bodies respectively; and financed by government directly in case of government schools and, indirectly, through grants to local bodies in case of the latter. These schools purportedly comply with the norms, rules and regulations laid down by government for recognition. Private schools, in turn, are divided into two types: recognised schools (aided by the government and self-financed) and unrecognised schools. A large proportion of urban children who attend schools are claimed to attend private schools; both recognised as well as unrecognised.

In Hyderabad when asked about unrecognised schools, the parents could not understand the difference between recognised and unrecognised schools, but they could say that these were not government schools. Of the 243 children belonging to the sample households, around 123 studied in low fee private schools. When the schools in the respective areas were questioned, a few of the schools reported that they were recognised while a few reported that they were in the process of getting recognition. However, the private schools located in the selected slums were not in any separate building but comprised of five to six rooms in a residential building. In Ludhiana, very few children attended private schools and these private schools had classes up till Class VIII.

Some of the children in Ludhiana attended non-formal education centre where two volunteers would facilitate children of different age groups in a multi-grade set up. These children were charged around Rs.50 each but this centre had no linkage with any school. The children here learnt basic mathematical and language skills. It was found that the books of Classes I and II were being used with the children. Around 40 of those non- enrolled children attended these centres but they were not counted as enrolled in any formal set up.

A few children in Hyderabad also attended private tuition in addition to the regular school. In Hyderabad, the low fee charging schools had linkages with the government schools. The children would get admission in regular schools after graduating from these schools. The detail on the types of school attended by children is given in Table 38.

Table 38

Types of School Attended by Children of the Sample Households

Types of School	Hyderabad		Ludhiana		Total	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Government	628	72.1	599	85.9	1227	78.3
Private	243	27.9	98	14.1	341	21.7
Total	**871**	**100**	**697**	**100**	**1568**	**100**

The percentage of children who attended private schools was higher in Hyderabad (27.9 per cent) in comparison to Ludhiana (14.1 per cent). About 86 per cent children in Ludhiana and 72 per cent children in Hyderabad attended government schools. Though as per the DISE data, the number of private schools was much higher in Hyderabad; however, as per the information gathered from the sample households, the number of children going to government schools was higher in comparison to private schools.

Types of School Attended by Age Group of Children

There has been very little research concerning age appropriate enrolment in India. As a reason, we do not even know what factors related to the individual, family or region influence or inhibit age-appropriate enrolment. The plausible causes could be the socio-economic and educational background of parents. Well-informed and educated parents are aware about the appropriate age of admission at the entry level. During the field survey, it was found that many parents could not even tell the accurate age of the child. Therefore, the analysis presented below is based on the respondents' estimate of the age of the child.

Table 39

Types of School Attended by the Children by Age Group

Types of School	Age Group of Children					
	6-14 years	%	15-17 years	%	Total	%
Hyderabad						
Government	534	70.7	94	81.1	628	72.1
Private	221	29.3	22	19	243	27.9
Total	**755**	**100**	116	**100**	**871**	**100**
Ludhiana						
Government	541	85.1	58	95.1	599	85.9
Private	95	14.9	3	4.9	98	14.1
Total	**636**	**100**	**61**	**100**	**697**	**100**

Table 39 revealed that around 15 per cent children in the age group of 6-14 years attended private schools in Ludhiana whereas around 29 per cent in the same age group attended private schools in Hyderabad. In the age group of 15-17 years, around 5 per cent of children from the total school going children attended private schools in Ludhiana whereas in Hyderabad, 19 per cent attended private schools. One of the reasons for higher number of children of 6-14 years enrolled in private schools as compared to the number of children of 15-17 years of age was that many private schools serving these children were generally up to Class VIII. The schools with secondary and senior secondary grades were more expensive in the private sector and they also did not encourage these children to get admission in their schools. In both the age groups, 6-14 and 15-17 years, there was a substantial portion of total children who went to the government sector, in Hyderabad as well as Ludhiana. This was despite the presence of private schools around both the sets of slums in two cities, especially in Hyderabad.

Types of School Attended by Gender of Children

Research has determined that parental attitude and support has a great deal of influence on girls' enrolment in school. A major deterrent to girl child education is a near universal fundamental cultural bias in favour of boy child. The widespread operation of patriarchal system in Indian society, of heavier domestic duties like taking care of household chores, customary early marriage, a generally lower regard for the value of female life; all these factors combine to adversely affect the participation of girls, especially from the poor households, in the formal education system. If the parents could afford to pay for private institutions, generally boys are sent to the private schools, and girls are sent to government schools. To see this closely, information was collected on the types of school attended by girls and boys from the selected households which is presented in Table 40.

Table 40

Types of School Attended by Gender of Children

Types of School	Gender					
	Boys	**%**	**Girls**	**%**	**Total**	**%**
Hyderabad						
Government	332	82.8	296	71.5	628	72.2
Private	124	27.2	118	28.5	242	27.8
Total	**456**	**100**	**414**	**100**	**871**	**100**
Ludhiana						
Government	301	77.6	297	96.4	598	85.9
Private	87	22.4	11	3.6	98	14.1
Total	388	**100**	308	**100**	**696**	**100**

In Ludhiana, the difference between girls and boys in attending private schools was significant as around 22 per cent of boys and only around 4 per cent of girls were found to be in private schools. The gender disparity was stark in terms of access to types of school. This was also confirmed by the fact that 96 per cent of girls and 78 per cent boys attended government schools in Ludhiana. Hence, the parents preferred sending their boys to private schools over government schools. It was encouraging to observe that in Hyderabad, marginal difference was observed and a higher percentage of girls attended private schools in comparison to the boys. In Hyderabad, around 83 per cent boys attended government schools as against about 72 per cent girls which could be attributed to socio-cultural factors and positive attitude of families towards girls' education.

Change of School during Transition

In Indian school system, school exits for various stages, such as, primary only, upper primary only, primary with upper primary, upper primary with secondary levels, and from primary to higher secondary levels. The ratio of upper primary to primary, and upper primary to secondary school has improved considerably over the years, facilitating transition from one stage to another. Despite this, on many occasions, children do not find a place after transiting from one level of education to another. Information regarding this was gathered from the selected households to ascertain if this transition was smooth for children. Most of the residents in Hyderabad informed that they did not find much difficulty during transition because private schools have established good linkages between different levels of schooling, and also smooth transition took place between government primary to secondary level schools. However in Ludhiana, it was not an easy process as the selected slums had a few options available. Since no government school existed in the neighbourhood, a large proportion of children did not continue even if they graduated from the primary level. Information on change of school during transition is provided in the table below:

Table 41

Change of School during Transition

Change of School	Hyderabad		Ludhiana	
	Number of Children	%	Number of Children	%
Yes	212	24.4	85	12.3
No	658	75.6	608	87.7
Total	**870**	**100**	**693**	**100**

Data from the field revealed that 12.3 per cent children in Ludhiana and 24.4 per cent in Hyderabad changed the school during transition (Table 41). This could be attributed to a change from private to government school as some of the private schools were up to primary level only, or from the primary government to upper primary government school. In Hyderabad, no separate upper primary schools existed therefore, the children only shifted to secondary school, at the end of the elementary cycle.

Regularity in Attending School

The attendance rate is important because students are more likely to succeed in academics when they attend school consistently. It is difficult for the teacher to build the skills of students and make them progress if they remain absent for long periods. Regularity of these students becomes all the more important as they do not receive academic support from their families. Information on the regularity of children attending school was gathered from the households. These are rough estimates only, hence, indicative.

Table 42

Regularity in Attending School

Regularity	Hyderabad		Ludhiana	
	Number of Children	%	Number of Children	%
Very much regular (More than 24 days in a month)	618	71	436	62.6
Almost regular (20-24 days a month)	232	26.6	168	24.1
Somewhat irregular (15-19 days a month)	14	1.6	92	13.2
Almost irregular (less than 15 days)	7	0.8	1	0.1
Total	**871**	**100**	**697**	**100**

Data in Table 42 revealed that the attendance rate of children in Hyderabad was much better than in Ludhiana. The attendance rate was poor in Ludhiana; there the parents reported that the teachers never asked if the child did not go to school even for a week. The parents felt that teachers should ensure the attendance of the child and try to get in touch with the households if the child remains absent for more than two or three days.

Detention in the Same Grade

Detention leads to disinterest in studies and is also a predictor of drop-out. To ensure the completion of elementary education by all the children, it has been stipulated in the Right to Education Act (2009) that no child shall be detained in the class. However, no detention policy should be seen in the right perspective by the teachers. The teacher should ensure that all the children learn the basic competency level and if need be, special attention must be given to those who require it.

Table 43

Number of Students Detained in the Same Grade

Detention	Hyderabad		Ludhiana	
	Number of Children	%	Number of Children	%
Yes	61	7	50	7.2
No	810	93	647	92.8
Total	**871**	**100**	**697**	**100**

Table 43 shows that 7 per cent of children in both Hyderabad and Ludhiana were detained in a particular grade. Teachers reported that these children were absent for long duration, and therefore, they were detained. The 'No Detention Policy', under the Right to Education (RTE) Act, is one clause that a majority of the teachers resented. As per the 'No Detention Policy', no child can be held back or expelled from school till he/she completes the elementary level of education. During the field survey, it was common to hear teachers complain that students have developed a lackadaisical attitude - 'why study when there is no fear of failing?' Therefore, most of the school heads were of the opinion that 'No Detention Policy' should be reviewed as many children despite not achieving the required competency level are promoted to next grade. Recently, there have been country-wide scholarly debates on the impact of 'No Detention Policy' on the learning levels of children. Parents, teachers and a few educationists have voiced that this policy has resulted in a decline in learning achievement levels, further confirmed by the Baseline Achievement Surveys conducted by NCERT. In view of this 'No Detention Policy' was critically reviewed and repealed through an Amendment in the Right to Education Act in 2019. During the field visit, it was also observed that students underwent both formative and summative evaluation, under which there were periodic tests, quarterly tests and final examination. However, irrespective of the scores and grades obtained by the children, they were promoted to the next standard.

Repetition in the Same Grade

Repetition involves an element of wastage because children remain in the same class and study at school longer than the normal duration of the cycle, thus increasing cost per graduate, and leading either to more crowded classrooms or a reduction in the intake capacity of the corresponding grades. Repetition is a more common phenomenon for children living in slum areas as many of them go to the native place along with their parents and when they come back after long duration, they join the same class. There were 7.5 per cent of children in Ludhiana and more than 8 per cent in Hyderabad who repeated the same class (Table 44). Most of them repeated as they were irregular in attending the school in the previous year.

Table 44

Repetition in Grade by the Children

Repetition	Hyderabad		Ludhiana	
	Number of children	%	Number of children	%
Yes	73	8.4	52	7.5
No	798	91.6	645	92.5
Total	**871**	**100**	**697**	**100**

Duration of Stay in the Area

It was discussed in the previous chapters that the selected slums have existed for a considerably long time. However, some of the residents have been staying for longer duration whereas some of them have migrated recently. The issue that we tried to probe was whether there existed any relation between the duration of stay in the area and participation of children in school. It is generally presumed that families who have been staying for a longer duration have more stability in terms of employment and income; therefore, the chances of their children in school are more in comparison to those who have settled recently.

Figures in Table 45 show the relation between the duration of stay and school going status of children. The data found no clear relationship between the duration of stay of households and the school going status of children.

In Hyderabad, the data show that with the increase in the duration of stay, the percentage of children attending school also increased. As was discussed previously, the inhabitants of the slums of Hyderabad did not migrate from other states; therefore, this could have given them an advantage in terms of familiarity with the place and language. Around 82 per cent children attended schools whose families stayed in the selected slums for more than 15 years. However in Ludhiana also, majority of the residents stayed for more than 15 years. The never-enrolled children in families staying for more than 15 years

were around 34 per cent, therefore, it was difficult to make any comparison and draw conclusive observations. However, it was surprising that services to slums were grossly ignored by the urban authorities. The residents said that they were promised that they would be getting water, electricity, ration card, health and schooling facility but the promise remained unfulfilled. The residents would quite frequently go back to their native place; and hence, their children's education would get affected. The municipal authorities completely ignored extending basic amenities to these slums.

Table 45

Duration of Stay and School Going Status of Children

Duration of Stay	**Duration of Stay**							
	School Going	%	**Drop Out**	%	**Never Enrolled**	%	**Total**	%
Hyderabad								
Less than 5 years	120	73.2	25	15.2	19	11.6	164	100
5-10 years	122	70.1	35	20.1	17	9.8	174	100
10-15 years	158	74.9	33	15.6	20	9.5	211	100
More than 15 years	412	81.9	53	10.5	38	7.6	503	100
Total	**812**	**77.2**	**146**	**13.9**	**94**	**8.9**	**1052**	**100**
Ludhiana								
Less than 5 years	6	75	1	12.5	1	12.5	8	100
5-10 years	6	21.4	5	17.9	17	60.7	28	100
10-15 years	15	23.1	3	4.6	47	72.3	65	100
More than 15 years	670	51.4	193	14.8	441	33.8	1304	100
Total	**697**	**49.6**	**202**	**14.2**	**506**	**36**	**1405**	**100**

One of the reasons for the indifferent attitude of the authorities in extending civic amenities to slums was that these residents were migrants and their voices remained unheard by the local administration. Therefore, in Ludhiana, continuous absence of basic services and poverty, irrespective of the duration of stay, appeared to be the possible reason behind low enrolment.

Educational Attainment Level of Parents' in the Selected Households

Recent studies have found that parental education has a small but statistically significant causal effect on children's schooling and educational achievement

(Holmlund et al., 2010; Lundborg et al., 2012; Behrman et al., 2011; Walque, 2009). Evidence suggests that mothers' education is a stronger determinant of her children's education than fathers', especially with male children. More the education of mothers, it is argued that they are more likely than fathers with the same level of education to make higher inputs of time to their children's cognitive achievement, both in terms of quantity and quality. Mother's schooling could reflect as an advantage more in early childhood, e.g. time spent on reading with the child, availability of books at home, and in sending the child to pre-schooling or choice of elementary school. The present research attempted to investigate this aspect from the selected households to see if descriptive figures add any meaning to this causal relationship that has been highlighted in the literature. The educational attainment level of father and mother was analysed separately for children of different age groups which is presented in the Tables (46 and 47).

Concomitant to the findings in the previous chapter, the data from sampled households also revealed that the percentage of children having illiterate fathers had low attendance in schools. There was a progressive increase in the attendance of children with fathers having primary and upper primary education levels. However, when the father possessed a secondary or above secondary level certificate, the percentage of never-enrolled children still remained quite high that stood at 24 per cent in Ludhiana and around 6 per cent in Hyderabad (Table 46). Further research and investigation is required to understand the relationship between kind of employment, the family size and the income of these households on the education of children. The field data revealed that in Hyderabad with an increase in educational attainment level of father, the number of school going children increased and the drop-out rate declined. It is a much known fact that educational attainment of fathers can have a positive effect on the participation of children. Therefore, as a policy initiative, it would be useful to focus on adult literacy programmes along with improving the participation of children by increasing incentives and bringing schools closer to where the children reside.

Table 46

Educational Attainment of Father and School Going Status of Children

Fathers' Education	School Going Status of the Children							
	School Going	%	Drop Out	%	Never Enrolled	%	Total	%
Hyderabad								
Illiterate	341	70.9	92	19	48	10	481	100
Primary	92	74.2	22	18	10	8.1	124	100
Upper Primary	109	90.1	8	6.6	4	3.3	121	100
Secondary & above	162	91	6	3.4	10	5.6	178	100
Total	**704**	**77.9**	**128**	**14**	**72**	**8**	**904**	**100**
Ludhiana								
Illiterate	447	42.8	167	16	431	41	1045	100
Primary	117	72.2	14	8.6	31	19	162	100
Upper Primary	56	72.7	6	7.8	15	20	77	100
Secondary & above	50	64.1	9	12	19	24	78	100
Total	**670**	**49.2**	**196**	**14**	**496**	**36**	**1362**	**100**

Figures given in Table 47 show that in Hyderabad, the number of children who attended school was comparatively lower in case of having illiterate mothers in comparison to having literate and educated mothers. Similar situation was found in Ludhiana too. In Hyderabad, around 93 per cent children, and in Ludhiana, about 67 per cent attended school when the mother had education up to secondary level and above. The drop-out and never-enrolled children proportion decreased with the increase in level of education of mothers in the selected households of both the cities. In Ludhiana, around 53 per cent children did not attend school (38 per cent never enrolled and 15 per cent dropped out) and these children had illiterate mothers.

Table 47

Educational Level of Mother and School Going Status of Children

Mothers' Education	School Going Status of Children							
	School Going	%	Drop Out	%	Never Enrolled	%	Total	%
Hyderabad								
Illiterate	422	72	106	18.1	58	9.9	586	100
Primary	84	80	18	17.1	3	2.9	105	100
Upper Primary	84	85.7	5	5.1	9	9.2	98	100
Secondary & above	145	92.9	5	3.2	6	3.8	156	100
Total	**735**	**77.8**	**134**	**14.2**	**76**	**8**	**945**	**100**
Ludhiana								
Illiterate	576	46.6	186	15	474	38.3	1236	100
Primary	81	74.3	7	6.4	21	19.3	109	100
Upper Primary	21	75	3	10.7	4	14.3	28	100
Secondary & above	6	66.7	1	11.1	2	22.2	9	100
Total	**684**	**49.5**	**197**	**14.3**	**501**	**36.3**	**1382**	**100**

Occupation of the Father and School Going Status of Children

As analysed in the previous chapter, the analysis of the sample children with regard to linkage between the occupation of father and education of children was computed. The details are presented in Table 48.

Table 48

Fathers' Occupation and School Going Status of Children

Fathers' Occupation	School Going Status of the Children							
	School Going	%	**Drop Out**	%	**Never Enrolled**	%	**Total**	%
Hyderabad								
Labour	356	72.7	90	18.4	44	9	490	100
*Regular**	234	79.9	32	10.9	27	9.2	293	100
Self-employed	131	81.4	17	10.6	13	8	161	100
Any other	149	83.2	18	10.1	12	6.7	179	100
Total	**870**	**77.5**	**157**	**14**	**96**	**8.5**	**1123**	**100**
Ludhiana								
*Labour**	243	51.6	67	14.2	161	34.2	471	100
*Regular***	191	59.8	56	17.6	72	22.6	319	100
*Self-employed****	151	42.3	49	13.7	157	44	357	100
*Any other*****	112	42.9	30	11.5	119	45.6	261	100
Total	**697**	**49.5**	**202**	**14.3**	**509**	**16.2**	**1408**	**100**

* Labourer (Construction worker, mason)
** Peon, sweeper, govt. service, factory worker, auto/taxi driver
*** Vendor, hawker, domestic help, rag picker, barber, rickshaw/cart puller, kabaddi wala Tea /panbidi/grocery shop, electrician, carpenter, helper in the shop, embroidery worker
**** helping parents/ household members and involve in income generating activities without being paid, housewife assisting husband/household members

The main occupation of majority of fathers' was regular jobs followed by wage labour in both the cities. In Hyderabad, out of 490 children whose fathers were employed as labourers, around 73 per cent children attended school. There was not much difference found in school going status of those children whose fathers were employed in regular job or as self-employed. In Ludhiana too, more than one-third of fathers were employed as labourers. Out of 319 children whose fathers' had regular employment, around 60 per cent children attended school in Ludhiana. It appears that irrespective of occupation, low participation could be attributed to low and irregular wages.

Income and School Going Status of Children

Income and wealth can affect children's education in several ways; parents with higher income and more assets can invest more in the quantity and quality of education, whereas, poorer parents may push their children into

child labour to supplement family income. Even children from economically disadvantaged families may choose to work while studying in order to finance their consumption (Bratti et al., 2007). On the other, parents with higher income are able to support their children with additional academic support by way of private tuitions. This phenomenon is quite prevalent in cities.

Using a source of exogenous increase in household income, several studies have found positive and statistically significant effects of parental income on the educational outcomes of children (Akee et al., 2008, 2010; Bratti, 2007; Hoynes et al., 2012; Behrman et al., 2011). These large income effects are consistent across developed and developing countries, and are stronger for children in poorer households. Income has direct impact on affordability and accessibility of education services which charge fees and if transport and other costs are added to it. Though as a policy, elementary education in India is free, the parents reported that they pay for uniform, stationery items, etc. Few parents also reported that their children required private tuition which they found it difficult to afford. The problem gets compounded at the secondary level which is not free and, in such cases, low income families find it all the more difficult to bear the expenditure. To explore some of these issues, information was collected on monthly income of the sampled households, and analysis was done to ascertain the effect of income on school going status of children. Table 49 below presents the details on income of the households and the school going status of children.

Table 49

Income and School Going Status of Sample Children*
Income year- wise (in Rs.)

Income year-wise (in Rs.)	School Going Status of Children							
	School Going	%	**Drop Out**	%	**Never Enrolled**	%	**Total**	%
Hyderabad								
36000 & below	294	71.8	86	20.8	34	8.2	414	100
36001-60000	333	81	44	10.7	34	8.3	411	100
60001 & above	244	81.6	27	9	28	9.4	299	100
Total	**871**	**77.5**	**157**	**14**	**96**	**8.5**	**1124**	**100**
Ludhiana								
36000 & below	296	42.6	70	10.1	329	47.3	695	100
36001-60000	197	51.2	75	19.5	113	29.4	385	100
60001 & above	204	62.4	57	17.4	66	20.2	327	100
Total	**697**	**49.5**	**202**	**14.4**	**508**	**36.1**	**1407**	**100**

* *The total population given in each may not be equal to the total sample size of the population because some questions like caste, religion, income, educational attainment, class studying is not replied by all the respondents. Thus the analysis is based on the responses received. However, 'no response' is not significant (in the range of < 1-5%) which could have serious repercussions on the findings.*

The household income of the sampled households was lower in Ludhiana in comparison to Hyderabad. It was also observed that the percentage of the non-enrolled and drop-out children was much higher in Ludhiana. With the increase in income, the probability of children attending school also increased. In Ludhiana, 62.4 per cent children attended school whose families had income more than Rs.5000 per month (Rs.60,000 per annum) and corresponding to this, the figures in Hyderabad stood at 81.6 per cent. Only 42.6 per cent children in Ludhiana attended school whose household income was Rs 3000 or less than Rs. 3000 per month.

Monthly Per Capita Income and School Going Status of Sample Children

Apart from annual income of households, it was important to know the variation in school attainment with the monthly per capita income of households because it determines the economic condition of a household that influences the chance of a child to attend the school; details for which are presented in Table 50.

Table 50

Monthly Per Capita Income and School Going Status of Sample Children

Monthly Per Capita Income	School Going Status of the Children							
	School Going	%	Drop Out	%	Never Enrolled	%	Total	%
Hyderabad								
< 250	24	64.9	11	29.7	2	5.4	37	100
251 to 500	119	69.6	39	22.8	13	7.6	171	100
501 to 750	178	73	43	17.6	23	9.4	244	100
751 to 1000	239	79.7	33	11	28	9.3	300	100
1001 to 1500	200	84	20	8.4	18	7.6	238	100
>1500	111	82.8	11	8.2	12	9	134	100
Total	**871**	**77.5**	**157**	**14**	**96**	**8.5**	**1124**	**100**
Ludhiana								
< 250	55	34.4	11	6.9	94	58.8	160	100
251 to 500	201	42.1	44	9.2	232	48.6	477	100
501 to 750	132	46	55	19.2	100	34.8	287	100
751 to 1000	183	65.4	44	15.7	53	18.9	280	100
1001 to 1500	110	60.1	43	23.5	30	16.4	183	100
>1500	16	76.2	5	23.8	0	0	21	100
Total	**697**	**49.5**	**202**	**14.3**	**509**	**36.2**	**1408**	**100**

With an increase in the per capita income, the probability of child's attending school increased. In Hyderabad, around 80 per cent children were found to be attending school whose families' per capita income was in the range of Rs. 751 to Rs. 1000 per month. Similarly, in Ludhiana, around 65 per cent children went to school where the per capita income of the family was in the same range. In low per capita income families that had per capita income less than Rs 250 per month only, around 34 per cent children attended school. The corresponding figure for Hyderabad was around 65 per cent of school going children.

Annual Expenditure on Education of Children from the Selected Households

Although education is free and compulsory up to elementary level of education in India, still households from disadvantaged socio-economic background need to spend on education of their children. Important items of expenditure include stationery items, bag, shoes, etc. Substantial difference existed in household expenditure between expenditure on children attending government schools, government aided schools and private schools. The determinants of household educational expenditure included household income, educational level of the head of the household, the size of the household, caste, etc. Data from the field also revealed that expenditure incurred by the households on education of their children shaped the choice of the type of school the child went to. In private school, the household expenditure was higher.

Table 51

Annual Expenditure on Education of Children*

Expenditure on Education	Hyderabad		Ludhiana	
	Number of Households	%	Number of Households	%
Below 500	69	8.5	53	14.4
501 - 1000	97	12	132	36
1001 - 2000	132	16.3	91	24.8
2001 - 5000	255	31.4	73	19.9
5001 - 10000	219	27	17	4.6
Above 10000	39	4.8	1	0.3
Total	**811**	**100**	**367**	**100**

* '*No response' category is not given here*

Figures in Table 51 show that in Ludhiana, around 50 per cent of the families spent less than Rs.1000 on the education of their children. Around one-fourth of the families spent in the range of Rs. 1000-2000 and only 20 per cent of

the families spent in range of Rs. 2001-5000 (around Rs. 450 per month) on the education of their children. In contrast to this, in Hyderabad, around 21 per cent of the families spent less than Rs.1000, and 27 per cent of the families spent on education in the range of Rs. 5000-10000 from their total expenditure. Disaggregated information on total expenditure by the types of school is presented below.

Annual Expenditure on Education of Children by Types of School

A recent NSSO report (71st Round 2014-15) had estimated that about 11 or 12 per cent of the total expenditure incurred by families goes for private coaching or tuitions. The report found that even the poorer sections were willing to spend on tuition as much as richer families. The main reason in favour of private tuitions as cited by the families was 'augmenting basic education'. In urban areas where the coaching rates are generally higher than rural areas, some 30 per cent of the students from the poorest fifth of the population sent their children for private coaching, while this share was more than 38 per cent among the students from the richest sections of the population.

With an increase in awareness on significance of education, households have started to spend more money on education. If we look at the statistics, the household budget share of education increased from 2 per cent to 7 per cent between 1993-94 and 2011-12. In 2004-05, 40.5 per cent of rural and 57 per cent of urban families said to be spending on education which increased to 63 per cent for rural and 73 per cent for urban families (NSSO Survey 2009-10). An average household in urban India spent Rs 1,035 per month on education, while in rural India, the amount spent was Rs. 293 per month in 2011-12 (Shukla and Bordoloi, 2013). In a revealing study, it was found that a major chunk of money in urban Indian families was spent on food (around 45), followed by transportation (11 per cent) and education (8.7 per cent) (Shukla, 2010).
Annual expenditure on education of children by types of school was also explored during the field survey, the details for which are given in Table 52.

Table 52

Total Annual Expenditure on Education by Types of School

Expenditure on Education	Hyderabad				Ludhiana			
	Govt	%	Private	%	Govt	%	Private	%
Below 500	69	11.4	3	1.5	53	16.4	0	0
501 - 1000	97	16	10	4.9	114	35.3	18	40.9
1001 - 2000	122	20.2	28	13.6	77	23.8	14	31.8
2001 - 5000	185	30.6	78	37.9	64	19.8	9	20.5
5001 - 10000	113	18.7	72	35	14	4.3	3	6.8
Above 10000	19	3.1	15	7.3	1	0.3	0	0
Total	**605**	**100**	**206**	**100**	**323**	**100**	**44**	**100**

Figures in Table 52 reveal that around 35 per cent families reported to be spending in the range of Rs. 501-1000 in government school in Ludhiana, whereas in Hyderabad, 16 per cent spent in this range. In Hyderabad, 35 per cent parents spent annually in the range of Rs 5000-10,000 in private school, and around 7 per cent spent more than Rs.10,000 in private school. As more number of children attended private school, therefore, the educational expenditure was higher in Hyderabad in comparison to Ludhiana. As far as average expenditure on education per child per year was concerned, it was estimated to be Rs 1686 in Ludhiana and Rs 4004 in Hyderabad which indicated that higher the income level, more amount could be spent by the families on education of the child. The maximum amount spent by household was estimated to be Rs 11,500 in Ludhiana but only a few families (19 out of 605) could spend close to that amount. In contrast to this, in Hyderabad, the maximum amount spent by a family was around four times (Rs 42,000) than that of Ludhiana. In both the cities, higher amount was spent by those households whose children attended private schools and also who had more than one child attending the school.

Drop-out of Children from Schools

Drop-out is characteristic of the education system in India, spread over all levels of education, in all parts of the country and across all the socio-economic groups of population. A few patterns - such as, the dropout rates remain high for educationally backward states and districts, girls tend to have higher dropout rates than boys and children belonging to the socially disadvantaged groups like scheduled castes and scheduled tribes have higher dropout rates in comparison to general population - are generally seen in the Indian scenario. There are also regional and location-wise differences where the children living in remote areas/urban slum areas are more likely to drop out of school than their counterparts. Failure to complete elementary or high school not only produces negative outcome for the individuals but also widens the existing social and economic inequalities.

Empirical research on drop-outs has identified a number of factors within students' families, schools and communities (and peers) that predict dropping out. The final decision of the child to drop out of a school may come from a variety of sources; prime being the socio-economic status that is the most commonly measured by parental education and income. This is a powerful predictor of school achievement and drop-out behaviour (Bryk and Thum, 1989; Ekstrom et al., 1986; McNeal, 1999; Rumberger, 1995; Rumberger and Larson, 1998; Pong and Ju, 2000). Household income allows parents to provide more resources to support their children's education, including access to better quality schools, private tuitions and more support for learning within home. In both the cities, higher amount was spent by those households whose children attended private schools. In addition, parents also spent on the private tuitions of their children in Hyderabad.

It is also seen that drop-out is a complex phenomena with a number of factors working towards the discontinuance of a child from school. There is a large

body of research that exists on drop-out, studying it from various lenses. As observed in the present analysis, income of the household is found to be a significant predictor for drop-out (Panchmukhi, 1990; Tilak, 1996; and Chugh, 2002). Another study reasoned out the socio-economic determinants which influenced the drop-out of students at primary level. It found that family type, income, occupation and education of parents had direct influence over drop-out rates of primary school going children in South-East Delhi. The rate of drop -out was higher among girls which were a major cause of concern (Haroon Sajjad, et al., 2012). The expenses of schooling were one of the major obstacles in the retention and completion of schooling for children living in slums (Tsujita, 2009).

The direct measures of family relationships have confirmed that strong relationship between students and parents reduce the odds of dropping out of school (McNeal, 1999; Techman et al., 1996). The students whose parents monitor and regulate their activities, provide emotional support, encourage independent decision-making, are generally more involved in their schooling. In such a case, children are less likely to drop out of school (Astone and McLanahan, 1991; Rumberger et al., 1990; Rumberger, 1995).

A growing body of research undertaken in various countries suggested that both residential mobility (changing residences) and school mobility (changing schools) increase the risk of dropping out of school (Astone and McLanahan, Haveman et al., 1991; Rumberger, 1995; Rumberger and Larson, 1998; Swanson and Schneider, 1999; Techman et al., 1996). Poor academic achievement is also a strong predictor of dropping out (Ekstrom et al., 1986; Goldschmidt and Wang, 1999; Rumberger, 1995; Rumberger and Larson, 1998; Swanson and Scheider, 1999; Wehlage and Rutter, 1986). Absenteeism from school and student discipline problems, especially at the secondary level, are both associated with dropping out (Bachman et al., 1971; Carbonaro, 1998; Ekstrom et al., 1986; Goldschmidt and Wang, 1999; Rumberger, 1995; Rumberger and Larson, 1998; Swanson and Schneider, 1999; Wehlage and Rutter, 1986).

The most serious crisis in primary education is that the children do not become literate even after attending the school for four years. The educational background of the parents, foremost of the mother, plays a key role for more successful educational biographies of children. Although the economic situation of the household has considerable influence, prevailing socio-cultural conditions play a major role for the child's schooling opportunities too. The social construct of gender, leads to severe discrimination towards the girl child (Bhat and Bhat, 2010).

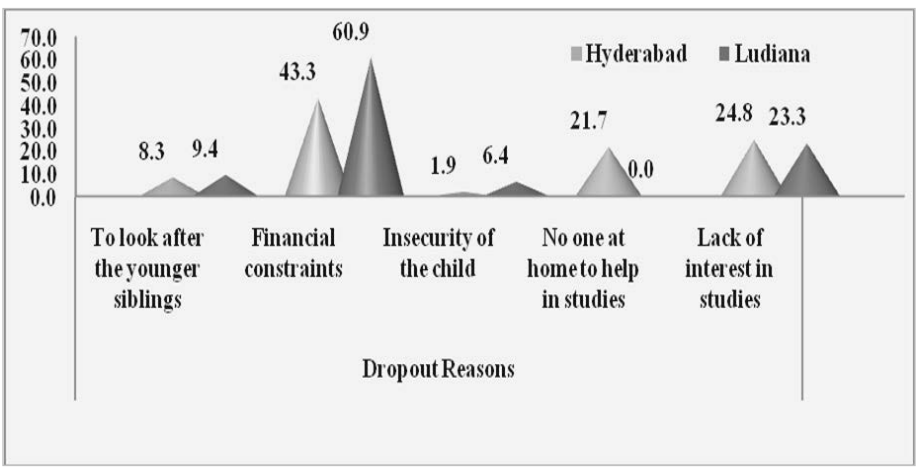
The nature and quality of schools is another determining factor rather than the economic constrains of the families (Banerji, 2000). A study revealed sharp inequalities between slum and non-slum municipal schools and highlighted that the primary school children of the lowest socio-economic strata experienced highly discriminatory treatment in matters of essential educational inputs like the school building and equipment, therefore, they

either dropped out or did not get enrolled (Patel, 1983).

The study conducted in Allahabad revealed that a multitude of factors influence a child's risk of dropping out of schools. It was indicated that teachers' uncaring behaviour acted as a major push-out factor for many of them. The neglect by teachers, poor teaching, discrimination, cruelty or punishment meted out by teachers, their irregularity and frequent absence were among the teacher-centric reasons for dropping out of school (Govindaraju and Venkatesan, 2010). Responding to the issue of multi-linguistic characteristics of urban slum dwellers, Miller (2005) discussed the dynamics and complexities of language instruction in diverse urban context and proposed that if children were to be retained, the schools must provide primary education in their home language, and later move to the standard language. Hence, the research proposed that in urban areas the deployment of teachers needed to be made on the basis of the vernacular language of the children studying in the schools.

Figure 21

Reasons of Drop-out



The major reason behind the drop-out was cited as financial constraints. For 43 per cent of the children from Hyderabad and 61 percent from Ludhiana, inability to afford educational expenses emerged as the main reason. Around 9 per cent children in Ludhiana and around 8 per cent in Hyderabad dropped out from the system to look after their younger siblings. Another significant reason behind drop-out was the lack of academic support at home. Since most of the parents were either illiterate or less educated, they could not help their children in studies. In school, they could not understand as to what was taught, and at home, neither support from the parents nor any interest shown by them led to disinterest in attending school which finally led to dropping out. Around 23 per cent children in Ludhiana and around 25 percent in Hyderabad reported that they lacked interest in studies. This was one of the reasons of drop-out in slums of Delhi both at elementary and secondary levels of education as found by Chugh and Aggarwal (2003) and Chugh (2011).

The children generally found mathematics as a difficult subject, which could be related to the attitude of the teacher or an extra emphasis on rote learning and the monotonous teaching methodology.

In order to reduce wastage and improve the efficiency of education system, educational planners need to understand and identify social groups that are more susceptible to drop- out and identify the reasons for their dropping out. Fig. 21 depicts the reasons behind drop- out of children as indicated by the sample households in Hyderabad and Ludhiana.

Comprehensive Analysis of Chances of Children Going to School by Background Factors

The foregoing analysis was an attempt to describe the status of school going (the dataset also included drop-out and never-enrolled) children of sample households, based on a number of variables. It was found that these variables had a relationship with the school going, drop-out and never-enrolled status of children. In order to gather a comprehensive picture of the key variables that statistically impact the school going status of children, logistic regression was computed. The independent variables taken for this analysis were per capita income of households, father's level of education, mother's level of education, caste, sex and age group. The net effect of different background factors on participation of children in government schools in Hyderabad and Ludhiana are shown in Table 53. The analysis inferred a positive relationship between per capita income of the household and proportion of children going to school. This independent variable became a significant predictor of children going to school. With increase in the per capita income of the households, the chances of children going to schools increased (significant at 0.001 level) with the odds ratio of 4.166 to 7.908 from lower level of per capita income to higher level of per capita income in Hyderabad. In Ludhiana, only two independent variables emerged significant at 0.001 levels with the odds ratio of 1.792 and 3.893. Children of the households which had better per capita income were more likely to go to school than those from low income families. The household per capita income was a significant predictor on children going to school in Hyderabad while Ludhiana did not show such expected result compared to Hyderabad as only two categories had significant effect on child's schooling.

Table 53

Logistic Regression Result Showing the Chances of Children Going to School by Background Factors in the Selected Slums of Hyderabad and Ludhiana

Background Factors	Hyderabad		Ludhiana	
Per Capita Income of Households	**Standard Error**	**Odds Ratio (Exp B)**	**Standard Error**	**Odds Ratio (Exp B)**
Below 250®				
251-500	0.516	4.166***	0.209	1.132
501-750	0.502	4.203***	0.231	1.078
751-1000	0.501	5.748***	0.249	1.792**
1001-1500	0.519	7.188***	0.269	1.445
Above 1500	0.561	7.908***	0.57	3.893**
Father's Education				
Illiterate®				
Primary	0.276	0.795	0.203	2.842***
Middle	0.362	2.274**	0.288	2.510***
Secondary and above	0.328	1.992**	0.285	1.715*
Mother's Education				
Illiterate®				
Primary	0.347	0.986	0.273	2.277***
Middle	0.38	1.802	0.498	2.15
Secondary and above	0.386	2.531**	0.777	1.234
Caste				
SC and ST®				
OBC and others	0.198	1.498**	0.142	0.550***
Sex				
Male®				
Female	0.185	1.223	0.119	0.876
Age				
6 to 14 years ®				
15 to 17 years	0.201	0.229***	0.183	0.312***

*Note: Total number of children 1568, Hyderabad=871 & Ludhiana=697; ® reference category; Significant at: *p<0.01, **p<0.05; ***p<0.001.*

Another finding showed that increasing level of father's education had positive association with the proportion of children attending school. Father's education up to middle school and secondary or above level had significant effect on child's schooling (OR=2.274 and 1.992) at p<0.05 level of confidence interval in Hyderabad. In Ludhiana, on the other hand, both primary and middle school education of fathers had significant effect on educational status of their children. Similarly, level of mother's education had positive effect on the chances of children going to school. In Hyderabad, those children whose mother's educational level was secondary and higher secondary, had positive relationship with children attending school. In Ludhiana, the children whose mother's educational level was primary were more likely to go to school than those of illiterate mothers.

After keeping other factors constant, caste played a significant role in participation of children in school. But, in Ludhiana, caste had little impact; however, children belonging to OBC and general category were 45 per cent less likely to attend school than those belonging to SC/ST categories. Gender did not appear to have significant role in the school going status of children. Age group had a significant role in child's schooling where children at higher secondary level were found to be less likely to attend school than those attending primary level of education in the selected slums of both Hyderabad and Ludhiana. The logistic regression shows that background factors do impact, and that too significantly, the school going chance of children located in slums. These sets of findings are important when taking into account some recommendations on how to shape the educational provision to slums. In this context, the state would have to increase the demand-side financing strategies for children of the slums so that their participation in the system increases.

Comprehensive Analysis of Chances of Children Dropping- out from School by Background Factors

The net effect of different background factors on children's school drop-out in Hyderabad and Ludhiana was computed and the results are in Table 54. All the predictor variables had significant impact on child's drop-out except gender of the child. The variable gender of children did not show any significant impact on school drop-out as there was no such significant difference found in gender, especially in Hyderabad. But age group was found to be a significant variable; when children's age increased, the drop-out rate also increased. The findings revealed that children at secondary level were three times more likely to drop out in Hyderabad and two times more likely to drop out in Ludhiana from schools than children at elementary level. Age, therefore, emerged as a significant predictor with the odds ratio 3.925 and 2.295 (CI=p<0.001) for both Hyderabad and Ludhiana.

A positive relationship existed between per capita income of the household and proportion of children dropping out of school. With increasing per capita income of the households, the chances of children dropping out of school decreased in Hyderabad. Children from higher income families were less likely to drop out of school than those from low income groups (OR=0.308 to 0.086

and CI=p<0.01 to p<0.001). In Ludhiana, it was noticeable that the increase in the per capita income did not affect the drop-out of children. It is possible that though the income increases, it does not reach the threshold level for children to still continue in the school.

Table 54

Logistic Regression Result Showing the Chances of Children Dropped-out from School by Background Factors in the Selected Slums of Hyderabad and Ludhiana

Background Factors	Hyderabad		Ludhiana	
Per Capita Income of Households	**Standard Error**	**Odds Ratio (Exp B)**	**Standard Error**	**Odds Ratio (Exp B)**
Below 250®				
251-500	0.523	0.308 *	0.366	1.156
501-750	0.521	0.169 ***	0.366	3.007 ***
751-1000	0.526	0.117 ***	0.39	2.506 **
1001-1500	0.556	0.097 ***	0.401	4.031 ***
Above 1500	0.63	0.086 ***	0.633	4.156 **
Father's Education				
Illiterate®				
Primary	0.325	1.084	0.324	0.431 ***
Middle	0.453	0.394 **	0.456	0.499
Secondary and above	0.485	0.316 **	0.411	0.57
Mother's Education				
Illiterate®				
Primary	0.383	1.958 *	0.447	0.442 *
Middle	0.747	0.230 **	0.673	0.442
Secondary and above	0.522	0.443	1.141	0.582
Caste				
SC and ST®				
OBC and others	0.233	0.570 **	0.213	0.673 *
Religion				
Hindu®				
Muslim	0.316	2.042 **	1.048	0.264
Others	0.843	0.334	0.61	0.271 **
Sex				
Male®				
Female	0.22	0.949	0.163	1.027
Age				
6 to 14 years ®				
15 to 17 years	0.231	3.925 ***	0.197	2.295 ***

*Note: Total number of children 1568, Hyderabad=871 & Ludhiana 697; ® reference category; Significant at: *p<0.01 probability, **p<0.05; ***p<0.001.*

Increasing level of father's education had positive effect on school drop-out. As the educational level of fathers' increased, the school drop-out of children decreased and they were less likely to discontinue schooling. Mother's education played an important role in school drop-out as it had positive effect on school drop-out in both Hyderabad and Ludhiana. Caste was also an important predictor for children school drop-out. The children belonging to OBC and general category were less likely to discontinue school than those belonging to SC/ST categories in both Hyderabad (OR=0.570 at $p<0.05$) and Ludhiana (OR=0.673 in $p<0.01$ CI) slums. Similarly, children belonging to Muslim households were two times more likely to drop-out from school than those belonging to Hindu households in Hyderabad. It was observed from the above result that, other than gender, all the predictors had, more or less, significant effect on children school drop-out and school discontinuation.

Comprehensive Analysis of Chances of Children Never Enrolling in School by Background Factors

To understand the net effect of different background factors and predictors on those children who have never enrolled in schools, logistic regression was computed and the results are shown in the Table 55. It was found that a positive relationship existed between per capita income of the household and proportion of children who never enrolled in school after controlling all other factors in Ludhiana. Higher the per capita income of the households, lower the chances of children never getting enrolled in school. In Hyderabad, no significant effect was found. Similarly fathers' education showed no significant effect on children who had never enrolled in schools in Hyderabad. In Ludhiana, children belonging to literate parents had lower chances of never being enrolled in schools compared to those belonging to illiterate parents. Proportion of children belonging to other backward class (OBC) and general (others) categories were more at risk of never getting enrolled compared to children belonging to scheduled caste and scheduled tribe in Ludhiana. In Hyderabad, no such relationship existed between variables. The children belonging to Muslim households had more chance of being never enrolled than those belonging to Hindu households. When the age group was examined as a significant predictor, the chances of children being out of school increased more than twice in Hyderabad (OR=2.689). In Ludhiana also, children were more likely to be out of school at higher age group (OR=1.840) at $p<0.001$ level of significance.

This section attempted to find relation between background factors and the school going, drop-out and never-enrolled status of children in the selected slums of Hyderabad and Ludhiana. The background factors have been taken to indicate socio-economic coordinates of households, measured through caste, per capita income, father's and mother's education and the like. But, the background factors also include a number of processes at home, including parental support, involvement in their children's studies and their aspirations for their children. These combined processes when powerful, can help children beat all odds and move upwards in the education system. Though largely, the absence of parental support becomes a detrimental factor in access

and participation of children to schooling. In view of this, the next section attempts to capture some of these processes at home that influence the participation of children in schools.

Table 55

Logistic Regression Result Showing the Chances of Children Never-Enrolled in the School by Background Factors in the Selected Slums of Hyderabad and Ludhiana

Background Factors	Hyderabad		Ludhiana	
	Standard Error	Odds Ratio (Exp B)	Standard Error	Odds Ratio (Exp B)
Per Capita Income of Household				
Below 250®				
251-500	0.966	0.262	0.2	0.88
501-750	0.808	1.381	0.223	0.567 **
751-1000	0.804	1.204	0.255	0.348 ***
1001-1500	0.828	1.06	0.291	0.284 ***
Above 1500	0.869	0.946	0.846	0
Father's Education				
Illiterate®				
Primary	0.402	1.499	0.227	0.450 ***
Middle	0.562	0.538	0.324	0.478 **
Secondary and above	0.424	0.866	0.313	0.763
Mother's Education				
Illiterate®				
Primary	1.047	0.119 **	0.306	0.572 *
Middle	0.435	0.932	0.588	0.721
Secondary and above	0.529	0.446	0.947	1.088
Caste				
SC and ST®				
OBC and Others	0.294	1.031	0.141	2.164 ***
Religion				
Hindu®				
Muslim	0.502	0.557	0.463	1.505
Others	1.057	0.386	0.428	0.203 ***
Sex				
Male®				
Female	0.272	0.71	0.124	1.14
Age				
6 to 14 years ®				
15 to 17 years	0.281	2.689 ***	0.171	1.840 ***

*Note: Total number of children 1568, Hyderabad=871 & Ludhiana 697; ® reference category; Significant at: *p<0.01 probability, **p<0.05; ***p<0.001.*

Section - IV

Parental Choice and Involvement

This section tries to capture responses from parents on a number of issues concerning the choice of school, their involvement with children at home and in school. Parents especially, mothers, are the first educator of child till the child enters the school. They also remain a major influence on their child's learning throughout school and even beyond that. However, children with poor socio-economic background do not have a strong support system at home as compared to children of middle and upper strata. Many a time, schools do not create comfortable spaces for parents to interact with them while parents, due to their domestic compulsions, do not get time to engage with the school. In view of this, parents prefer to send their children to privately-run educational institutions, as they believe that these schools will take care of the academic needs of their children, better than government institutions. Regardless of whatever level of education one considers; primary, secondary or tertiary, this belief seems to have taken ground, and to meet this demand for education, a number of private institutions have come up, even for the poor and disadvantaged. There is a persistent and wide-spread loss of confidence in public educational institutions. Despite this, government still remains the main provider of education to children from disadvantaged areas. If the children are being sent to government schools even today, it is because they are easily accessible in economic and social terms. Table 56 gives information on the preference of parents for selecting a particular kind of school and the reasons for the same.

Table 56

Reasons for Selection of Government School

Reasons	Hyderabad		Ludhiana	
	No. of Parents	%	No. of Parents	%
Due to infrastructure	118	18.8	97	17.3
Due to easy access	193	30.7	159	28.4
Due to responsiveness of the teachers	-	-	40	7.1
Due to medium of instruction	39	6.2	19	3.3
Due to examination result	-	-	5	0.9
Due to status and reputation of the school	53	8.4	30	5.4
Due to low cost	225	35.8	210	37.6
Total	**628**	**100**	**599**	**100**

In Ludhiana and Hyderabad, around 29 and 31 per cent parents' respectively preferred government school due to its close vicinity. The most significant reason for sending their children to government schools was the low cost and expenditure on the part of the household and provision of incentives like free books, uniform and mid-day meal. Around 19 per cent parents in Hyderabad and 17 per cent parents in Ludhiana preferred government schools because infrastructure in these schools was better in comparison to the low cost small private schools. One of the significant responses from parents was that they did not have any choice but to send their child to a government school, primarily, because for them, private education was unaffordable. If given a choice, they would have sent their children to a better school which they perceived it to be a private school.

Table 57 elucidates reasons for sending their children to private schools. In Ludhiana, 85.7 per cent parents referred to responsiveness of teachers as the most significant reason for the choice of private school. In Hyderabad, medium of instruction as well as responsiveness of teachers were accorded almost equal weightage for selection of private school.

Table 57

Reasons for Selection of Private School

Reasons	Hyderabad		Ludhiana	
	No. of Parents	%	No. of Parents	%
Due to infrastructures	-	-	-	-
Due to easy access	-	-	-	-
Due to responsiveness of the teachers	109	44.8	84	85.7
Due to medium of instruction	111	45.7	11	11.3
Due to examination result	-	-	-	-
Due to status and reputation of the school	23	9.5	1	3
Total	**243**	**100**	**98**	**100**

Parental Aspirations

Parents do have significant aspirations about the well being of their children and towards their educational attainment. In a survey, about 51 per cent parents of children who attended government schools desired their wards to study up to the university level. Another 49 per cent parents whose children were studying in private school expressed the desire to see their children study beyond the university level. The average year of schooling for children as expected by their parents was 12.9 years. There were 78 per cent parents, whose children attended private schools, wanted their wards to finish their

university education. These parents wished their children at least 14.3 average years of education (Galab et al., 2013).

During the field survey in the select households, parents were asked a question regarding the educational aspirations for their children. They were asked till which grade they would like to educate their child; whether up to primary, middle, secondary or other higher levels of education. Table 58 shows that in Ludhiana, majority of parents wanted their children to study up to secondary level. One of the parents was quoted as saying "we will be happy if they can finish their school education… that is sufficient". In Hyderabad, most of the parents expressed the wish that they would like their children to study up to college or university level. This difference in parental aspirations was also a manifestation of the situation the parents found themselves in. In Hyderabad, the people living in slums were found to be better off as compared to those residing in Ludhiana.

Table 58

Parental Aspirations for their Children

Aspirations	Hyderabad		Ludhiana	
	Number of Parents	%	Number of Parents	%
Primary	27	3.1	-	-
Upper Primary	32	3.7	73	10.5
Secondary	122	14	345	49.5
Higher. Secondary	91	10.4	191	27.4
College and University	516	59.2	47	6.7
*Any Other**	83	9.5	41	5.9
Total	**871**	**100**	**697**	**100**

** Professional courses in carpentry, electrician, plumber, driver, etc.*

Academic Support by Parents at Home

Being provided academic support at home can help students develop reading skills even after school hours. It helps them to understand that learning takes place anywhere, not just in the classroom, fostering positive traits, such as, independence and responsibility among children. When parents and children were asked this question, parents, especially in Ludhiana, could not answer as most of them reported that they did not have the time or ability to supervise the children. Instead, the parents started defending their children and began to complain on the indifferent attitude of the authorities to provide them with minimum physical facilities. They said that how can their children study when the area did not have any water, electricity or toilet facility. Children could not study after it got dark and lot of time was spent by some children in bringing water from a common tap or tanker. Only few of the parents reported that children do study at home and complete the home work given by the teachers. Few children who attended private schools would study at home and finish the home work as they reported that the teacher would scold them.

In contrast to this, most of the parents in Hyderabad said that they would regularly ask the children if they have been given any assignment and they would make the children sit and do the assignment. One of the methods adopted to verify what the parents said, was that the children were told to show their notebooks and it was found that, in Hyderabad, most of the children had done home work and class work but, in Ludhiana, only few number of students had done so. Teachers in Ludhiana generally complained that the children did not study at home and came to school without doing the assignment given to them.

Students, especially those belonging to lower socio-economic sections, have to sometimes face undue punishment like scolding, cleaning the room, standing outside the classroom which has adverse psychological impact on them and creates disinterest in studies. This is also followed by corporal punishment, which leads to adverse physical, psychological and educational outcomes – including increased aggressive and destructive behaviour in the classroom, vandalism, poor school achievement, poor attention span, increased drop-out rate, school avoidance and school phobia, low self-esteem, anxiety, somatic complaints, depression, suicide and retaliation against teachers – that emotionally scar the children's life. Very few parents could reflect on the issue of their children being given any punishment. When children were asked, they said that they were scolded for reaching late or for not being attentive in the classroom. A number of students said that teacher did not pay attention and, for being late, they were scolded. However, some of the students reported that teachers had their favourite children who were appointed as monitors. These monitors would bully and trouble them.

Involvement of Parents with School

Students whose parents were involved in their academic matters tend to have fewer behavioural problems and better academic performance. Such children are also more likely to complete secondary school than students without parental influence on their studies. Parental involvement allows the parents to monitor school environment and classroom activities, and coordinate their efforts with teachers. Teachers tend to give greater attention at all levels to those students whose parents have good contact with the school. Parental involvement in school has been measured by the attendance at general meetings, a meeting with a teacher, or a school event, and by volunteering or serving on a committee. To encourage the involvement of parents in school, the Right to Education Act (2009) makes it mandatory to constitute a School Management Committee in every school in which three- fourth (75 per cent) of the members must be from the parents'/ guardians' community. Even the Rashtriya Madhyamik Shiksha Abhiyan (RMSA) Framework provides that every secondary school will constitute a School Management and Development Committee (SMDC) at the school level. The SMDCs should comprise of representatives of local authorities, academicians, subject experts, official representatives of disadvantaged groups, women and parents/guardian of students. The ultimate aim is to ensure wider participation of all stakeholders in the management of schools.

The information that follows was gathered to ascertain the extent of involvement of parents in school through few indicators like visit of parents to school in a year and getting updated about academic progress of the child. Though this data does not provide active and qualitative engagement of parents, it does indicate familiarity of parents with teachers and school activities. Table 59 gives detail about the visit of parents to schools of their ward.

Table 59

Visit of Parents to School

Visit	Hyderabad		Ludhiana	
	No. of Parents	**%**	**No. of Parents**	**%**
Yes	668	67.7	94	13.5
No	181	32.3	598	85.8
No response	22	2.5	5	0.7
Total	**871**	**100**	**697**	**100**

In Ludhiana, only 14 per cent of parents said that they visited the school and were found to be attending parent-teacher meeting. Around 86 per cent of the parents confessed that they could not visit school as they did not get time, and also, that the teacher had never called them. During the interaction with parents, it was clearly visible that they did not take any interest in the education of their children and even the school did not show any inclination in engaging with the parents. In Hyderabad, around 68 per cent parents reported that they visited the school once in two to three months and would discuss about the progress of their child. Around 32 per cent parents, especially whose children were in secondary school, reported that they never visited the school.

Information on Academic Progress of Children Received by Parents

As discussed, parental involvement in children's learning is a key factor in improving children's academic attainment and achievements as well as their overall behaviour and attendance in school. This involvement in itself is not enough unless it is based on the teacher's feedback on the child's progress. Progress reports provide some feedback about how a child is doing, but parents should also make an effort to keep in touch with school teachers on a regular basis. For some parents, developing this confidence can be difficult - especially if they belong to the disadvantaged sections. Information on this aspect was collected from the parents to understand the linkages of school and family. The respondents were asked if they would receive any information from the school about the progress of their child and their responses are presented in Table 60.

Table 60

Information received by Parents about the Academic Progress of Child

Received Academic Progress	Hyderabad		Ludhiana	
	No. of Parents	%	No. of Parents	%
Yes	734	84.3	209	30
No	118	13.5	479	68.7
No response	19	2.2	9	1.3
Total	**871**	**100**	**697**	**100**

In Hyderabad, around 84 per cent parents reported to be well informed of the progress of their child. They mentioned that the progress report card was sent to them, and sometimes the teachers especially called them to discuss the same. In Ludhiana, 30 per cent of parents reported to have information and around 69 per cent did not have this information. The teachers in schools in Ludhiana reported that parents did not respond in spite of sending them the details of the academic progress and other activities related to the child. Perhaps, the teachers needed to find alternative ways like organising annual day, visit to the households of children to establish better linkages with the families, etc. It is apparent that in both the cities, to a large extent, the linkages between school and home were weak. There also existed a social distance between teachers and parents that needed to be bridged if we want all our children to learn. Perhaps, a way forward could be that teachers could be oriented to build on the knowledge and experience of the children which they bring along with them from home or community.

The earlier sections have utilised the data on schools, their location and distance from households to study the access of children to schooling facilities. Children from the selected slums attended both government and private schools in Hyderabad and Ludhiana. Although, the participation of children was found to be high in government schools (both elementary and secondary) for both Hyderabad and Ludhiana, there were at least one-third children who attended private schools in Hyderabad, compared to a low share of children in private schools in Ludhiana. Whereas, government schools in a particular state are homogenous in nature, there are some variations found in private schools, particularly at the level of management, infrastructural provisions and quality of teaching-learning process. Some private schools are rooted in religious traditions, a few are run by trusts, and some are a product of corporate social responsibility. Within this variation, comes a highly graded fee structure, ranging from exorbitant to very low rates. As regard the educational experiences provided by these private schools, some provide intensive innovative academic experiences; others reflect a particular pedagogy, and some cater to specific denominations. Private schools serving the rich and elite class have excellent infrastructure and those serving the poor have inadequate facilities. These variations were captured during the field survey. A detailed profile of these schools is provided in Annexure V.

Section - V

Comprehensive Profile of Schools

In this section, a comprehensive profile of schools, with regard to their affiliation, the existence of primary or secondary classes, number of children enrolled by social group and gender and the availability of teachers has been presented and discussed. This profiling is followed by analysis of learning assessment of children. Since the primary aim of the institution is to ensure that all the children acquire the desired skills and competencies (Aggarwal, 2000), the quality of school can be estimated by the extent to which students have acquired knowledge and skills corresponding to their grade. Keeping in view the significance of attainment of required competencies by all children, their learning assessment in Class III, Class VII and Class IX was conducted. An effort is made in this section to examine the inter-school and intra-school variations in mean per cent achievement scores. The sample of children included in this survey on learning assessment covered those also who were not part of the selected households. However, all children belonged to poor socio-economic background and were essentially settled in slums. Children from other slums besides the sample slums were also attending these schools. This section primarily addresses questions, such as, how do learning outcomes vary amongst schools under different managements, all located in the same environment. Do the children living in slums perform differently in different schools? During the field survey, it was found that a number of schools were available in and around the neighbourhood of the selected slums. However, only those schools were selected in which majority of the children from the sample slums were enrolled.

In Hyderabad, primary education comprised of Classes I-V, upper primary Classes VI-VII, and secondary schools with Classes from VIII to X; whereas in Ludhiana, primary schools comprised of Classes I-V, upper primary of Classes VI-VIII and secondary schools with Classes IX and X. In view of this, the test was administered to students of penultimate class for upper primary and secondary (VII and IX). In fourth standard, not many children were found to be enrolled in private schools, therefore, children of third standard were administered the test. The test papers were obtained from the schools which were provided to them by SCERT of the respective states. The assessment of children of private schools was also conducted on the basis of the same test papers but, in private schools, test was conducted for English as a language. In Hyderabad, English and Telugu were the languages selected for assessing the learning levels of children depending upon the section children were found to be present (Telugu or English medium). To ensure the reliability of the results, test paper of the schools was not checked by the teachers of same school but was given to teachers of another school. The test was administered on the same day at the same time in different schools.

Brief Profile of Schools in Hyderabad

There were 9 schools identified in Hyderabad, around the selected slum area. The children belonging to the sample households as well those outside the purview of sample households attended these schools. Out of nine, there were two schools that imparted only primary education. Both of these were government schools, catering to 1270 children. Two composite government schools having I-X standard were also having primary sections with a total students of 675 (total 1945). The pupil: teacher ratio in the private primary school was about 62:1 and in one of the schools was as high as 71:1, highest in this category. The government school, with almost 800 enrolled children, had a decent pupil: teacher ratio of 40:1. Beyond primary school, there were two government high schools with Classes from VI to X, and two composite schools with VI to X standard also with a combined enrolment of 1911. In private primary schools, a total number of 960 children were enrolled and, in secondary level, 849 children were enrolled. This sample is, thus, a micro reflection of the status of school going children in the sample households in slums of Hyderabad (refer Table 34), which showed that majority of children attended government schools. As far as participation is concerned, there was not much difference between the number of girls and boys in the total enrolment figures. The enrolment data when segregated by social groups revealed that in these selected schools, highest share was of children belonging to general/others category, followed by other backward classes, scheduled castes and scheduled tribes.

Table 61

Profile of Selected Schools in Hyderabad

Sl. No.	Sample Schools*	Type	Classes	SC	SC	ST	ST	OBC	OBC	Others	Others	Total	Total	Total	Number of Teachers
				B	G	B	G	B	G	B	G	B	G	Total	
1	***H. Government Primary School 1***	Govt.	I-V	67	59	6	4	116	153	18	12	207	228	435	7
2	***H. Government Primary School 2***	Govt.	I-V	63	50	18	11	22	8	323	340	426	409	835	22
3	***H. Government High School 3 Red Cross***	Govt.	I-X	0	82	0	6	0	180	0	139	0	407	407	19
4	***H. Government High School 4***	Govt.	VI-X	78	82	6	6	7	0	116	142	207	230	437	12
5	***H. Government High School 5***	Govt.	VI-X	5	3	48	48	282	298	31	18	366	367	733	20
6	***H. Government High School 6***	Govt.	I-X	239	206	24	26	185	172	35	22	483	426	909	30
7	***H. Private High School 1***	Pvt.	I-X	49	29	5	4	15	10	381	327	450	370	820	NA
8	***H. Private High School 2***	Pvt.	I-X	3	4	0	2	39	22	84	85	126	113	239	10
9	***H. Private High School 3***	Pvt.	I-X	31	35	0	0	30	31	312	326	373	392	765	13
Total Enrolment				**535**	**550**	**107**	**107**	**696**	**874**	**1300**	**1411**	**2638**	**2942**	**5580**	**133**

* *The prefix H. for schools represents Hyderabad. The names of the schools have not been mentioned, instead have been denoted by their affiliation (government or private) and category of school (primary and high school). B-Boys, G- Girls*

Brief Profile of Schools in Ludhiana

This study was undertaken in 10 selected schools of Ludhiana. In all, there were four primary schools; three government schools and one private school with a combined enrolment of 1817. In the sample, there was only one school which had Classes from I to VI as such cannot be included in the category of primary schools. This small school had an enrolment of mere 46 children. Among primary schools, the only private school had the highest pupil teacher ratio of 69:1, with only 4 teachers. The best pupil: teacher ratio was found in government primary school at *Sarbha Nagar* which was about 37:1. Beyond primary school, there were three government high schools, with Classes from VI to X catering to 991 children. There were two private high schools with Classes from I to X, with a combined enrolment of 438 children. The data on participation of children revealed that in total enrolment, the participation of girls was lower than that of boys. Looking at the participation of social groups, children belonging to general/others category was most in the total enrolment, followed by scheduled castes and other backward classes. There were no children from scheduled tribes in the selected schools in Ludhiana. Also, when compared with Hyderabad, a higher share of participation was found for children of other backward classes than the scheduled castes, in Ludhiana, the share of children belonging to scheduled castes was more than the other backward classes.

Table 62

Profile of Selected Schools in Ludhiana

Sl. No.	Sample Schools*	Type	Classes	SC	SC	ST	ST	OBC	OBC	Others	Others	Total	Total	Total	Total Number of Teachers
				B	G	B	G	B	G	B	G	B	G	TOTAL	
1	*L. Government Primary School 1*	Govt.	I-V	147	95	0	0	46	48	25	7	218	150	368	10
2	*L. Government Primary School 2*	Govt.	I-V	131	136	0	0	10	14	174	153	315	303	618	15
3	*L. Government Primary School 3*	Govt.	I-V	196	155	0	0	50	84	44	26	290	265	555	11
4	*L. Private Primary School 1*	Pvt.	I-V	0	0	0	0	0	0	111	165	111	165	276	4
5	*L. Private Primary School 2*	Pvt.	I-VI	0	0	0	0	0	0	20	26	20	26	46	NA
6	*L. Government High School 4*	Govt.	VI-X	74	53	0	0	0	0	74	18	148	71	219	14
7	*L. Government High School 5*	Govt.	VI-X	80	99	0	0	30	11	54	60	164	170	334	17
8	*L. Government High School 6*	Govt.	VI-X	136	126	0	0	15	14	69	78	220	218	438	22
9	*L. Private High School 4*	Pvt.	I-X	0	0	0	0	0	0	83	71	83	71	154	9
10	*L. Private High School 5*	Pvt.	I-X	0	0	0	0	0	0	143	141	143	141	284	NA
Total Enrolment				**764**	**664**	**0**	**0**	**151**	**171**	**797**	**745**	**1712**	**1580**	**3292**	**102**

* ** The prefix L. for schools, represents Ludhiana. The names of the schools have not been mentioned, instead have been denoted by their affiliation (government or private) and category of school (primary and high school). B-Boys, G-Girls*

The observations made in visits to selected schools in Hyderabad and Ludhiana indicated that the government schools had reasonably well-maintained buildings with decent infrastructure. But the basic facilities, such as, toilets and drinking water were not found to be functional in many schools - government and private both. Though schools had teachers in position, but their number was not sufficient as compared to the enrolment figures. In private schools, a few schools had good infrastructure, but there were schools which were housed in just two-room buildings and had facilities below optimal. Many teachers were also not found to be trained in private schools. Despite this, the parents preferred sending their children to private school, if they could afford it.

In Ludhiana, it was reported that schools had to bear the electricity cost as they did not receive any fund from the education department. Even for cleaning the school premises, there was no provision of *safai karmchari* and the schools had to make necessary arrangements without any support from the education department. In Hyderabad, during the visit, it was observed that the architecture of some of the schools was very poor. The contract teachers of two schools complained that their emoluments were very low and did not receive the payment on time. Sometimes, there was a delay of three to four months in receipt of their salary.

Access to schooling also includes access to 'quality' schooling. The quality of schools can be seen both through the availability of physical infrastructure as also the presence of qualified and experienced teachers. The above description indicates that most of the selected schools scored low on the above two criteria. This might have implications on the learning levels of children studying in these schools, which was not explored in the present context of research. The analysis discussed below is categorically based on the status of learning assessment of children in mathematics and language in the selected schools.

Learning and Assessment

It is essential for all students to learn and get evaluated. This evaluation is done through the process of assessment which can take form of formative assessment or/and summative assessment. Assessment and its feedback help the students to know what they can do and what they cannot, and further, how to strengthen their abilities to learn. The assessment is a useful data for the entire education system. It can be useful for families to know if their children are learning. Through this, teachers come to know the learning ability of each child and get an understanding of different learning styles of children. Schools can gather enough evidence from assessment of children, on the teaching-learning process. At a macro-level, the education system can assess if students' learning is consistent with curriculum standards, or whether schooling is efficient or if students are well prepared as per the prescribed national and international standards.

It is not sufficient to either provide schooling facility to all or to ensure

children's enrolment. The important issue is to see if children are able to achieve the desired competency level. Various educationists have defined achievement in different ways. Achievement is used to describe *"the status or level of person's learning and his/her ability to apply what he/she has learnt"* (Pressy, Robinson and Harrack, 1967). Good (1981) refers to academic achievement as the knowledge attained in academic work or as formally acquired knowledge in the school subjects usually designated by test scores or marks assigned by teacher. Achievement can also be seen as the end product of learning. According to Megagree (2000), achievement describes how well students have mastered the subject matter in a course of instruction. In order to arrive at the achievement of students, assessment of their learning is done and tests are designed to measure knowledge, understanding and skills in a specific subject that has been taught or learnt. The purpose of achievement in education is to measure how much has been learnt in a subject and what specific abilities or skills have been developed in the child. So, the term denotes the performance of students, which is determined at the end of a course.

In Indian schools, students had been assessed on the basis of examinations. To remove the fear of examination, the policy decision was taken and it was mandated that no student would be declared fail or detained in the class up to elementary level. Instead, continuous and comprehensive evaluation was introduced which has two components - formative assessment and summative assessment. This kind of evaluation is presumed to be useful in identifying the strength and shortcomings of each child which can be rectified at an early stage. Since the students were also being tested on the subject matter taught during the academic year. In this context, an attempt was made to ascertain the competency level of children corresponding to their grade. In India, data obtained from the exam results of Central Board of Secondary Education shows that the maximum number of drop-outs and failures are in two subjects i.e. Maths and English (Kapur, 2008). In view of this, all children of Classes III, VII and IX were administered the test in Mathematics and Language. The students were administered the test based on prescribed curriculum of their particular standard. As the study focused on the selected slums, those schools were selected which were attended by children living in these slums. As mentioned above, in addition to these children, other children from the neighbourhood slums were also enrolled in these schools. The test was, therefore, administered on all the children of the above-mentioned classes, which had children from sample households as well as from other households in the selected or nearby slums. All those students who were present on the day of test were included.

Learning Assessment of Students in Mathematics and Language

Mathematics as a subject involves thinking in a logical fashion, formulating and testing conjectures, making sense of things, and forming and justifying judgments, inferences, and conclusions. We demonstrate mathematical behaviour when we recognise and describe patterns, construct physical and conceptual models of phenomenon, create symbols to help us represent,

manipulate, and reflect on ideas, and invent procedures to solve problems (Battista, 1999). Few studies have highlighted that parental education has more powerful and direct effect than teachers on children towards mathematics (Ecceles and Jacobs, 1986; Ferguson, 1991). Relationship between parental education and the academic achievement of students found that higher percentage of rank holders belonged to homes with higher parental education whereas higher percentage of low scorers belonged to those whose parents had low education levels (Dave and Dave 1971). Parental education positively contributed to students' mathematics achievement of Class X students. Discounting the home factors, Stephens (1960) argued that *"not the other aspects of educational objectives are to be ignored but the fact remains that academic achievement is the unique responsibility of all educational institutions established by the society to promote a wholesome scholastic development of the pupils"*.

Language is the foundation for expression and communication. It is an important instrument of 'thinking' as we think through the language. Our country is rightly described as a polyglot country – a country of many languages. Although, Hindi with approximately 420 million speakers is the official language of the country, the Constitution recognises 22 languages. These languages are written in 13 different scripts, with over 720 dialects. In addition, several states in India have their own official languages, which are usually only spoken in particular areas like Bengali, Telugu, Marathi or Punjabi. Dealing with such linguistic diversity is a major challenge for educational planners, administrators and especially the teachers. Each state prepares the textbooks in its own language but the language becomes a major issue in urban areas as disadvantaged section of children living in slums as they are migrants from different states and have settled in a different city. Considering the significance of these subjects, the students were assessed on their knowledge and skills covering mathematics and language (Telugu and English in case of Hyderabad, and Punjabi in case of government schools and English in private schools in Ludhaiana). The achievement data in mathematics and language has been presented in the format of score range for students.

Achievement Scores in Mathematics: Schools in Hyderabad

Mathematics is often perceived as a dreadful and difficult subject and, generally, students find it difficult to comprehend. Data from the field also seems to indicate this fear. Table 63 depicts the score range for assessment in mathematics of children in schools of Hyderabad. While looking at the low range of scores, the data showed that around 54 per cent children in Class III, about 68 percent in Class VII and around 74 per cent in Class IX scored less than 40 per cent. This range of scores placed more than 50 per cent of children below the passing mark category in all classes. The number of children falling below 40 per cent marks progressively increased with higher classes. Only 10 per cent of children in Class III, 8 per cent in Class VII and around 9 per cent in Class IX scored more than 60 per cent which presented a grave situation in terms of learning levels of children.

Table 63

Distribution of Students by Scores in Mathematics

Score Range	Class						Total	
	III		VII		IX			
	No	%	No	%	No	%	No	%
<30	96	35.6	122	55.7	146	56.8	364	48.8
30-40	51	18.9	27	12.3	45	17.5	123	16.5
40-50	53	19.6	33	15.1	34	13.2	120	16.1
50-60	43	15.9	19	8.7	12	4.7	74	9.9
60-70	22	8.1	8	3.7	7	2.7	37	5
70-80	4	1.5	5	2.3	7	2.7	16	2.1
80-90	-	-	3	1.4	4	1.6	7	0.9
>90	1	0.4	2	0.9	2	0.8	5	0.7
Total	**270**	**100**	**219**	**100**	**257**	**100**	**746**	**100**

Achievement Scores in Mathematics: Gender-wise in Hyderabad

In mathematics in the schools at Hyderabad, girls performed little better than boys in Class III (Table 64). Around 58 per cent boys scored less than 40 per cent, 31.8 per cent scored in the range of 40-60 per cent, and about 9 per cent scored in the range of 60-80 per cent in Class III. Increased number of girls scored more than boys in higher score ranges in Class III. In Class VII, around 68 per cent boys scored less than 40 per cent and about 69 percent girls scored less than 40 per cent. Around 24 per cent boys scored in the range of 40-60 per cent and about 23 per cent girls scored in this range. The scores of girls seemed to decrease with a higher class, as was seen in Class VII. Here, in the range of 60-80 per cent, only 6 per cent girls were placed as against 7 per cent of boys. However, there were two girls who scored more than 90 per cent in mathematics in Class VII.

Table 64

Distribution of Students by Scores in Mathematics: Gender-wise (Hyderabad)

Score Range	Grade and Gender of Children											
	III				VII				IX			
	Boys	%	Girls	%	Boys	%	Girls	%	Boys	%	Girls	%
<30	58	38.4	38	31.9	71	57.7	51	53.1	74	58	72	55.4
30-40	30	19.9	21	17.6	12	9.8	15	15.6	20	16	25	19.2
40-50	26	17.2	27	22.7	20	16.3	13	13.5	19	15	15	11.5
50-60	22	14.6	21	17.6	10	8.1	9	9.4	1	0.8	11	8.5
60-70	12	7.9	10	8.4	5	4.1	3	3.1	5	3.9	2	1.5
70-80	2	1.3	2	1.7	4	3.3	3	3.1	4	3.1	3	2.3
80-90	-	-	-	-	2	1.6	1	1	3	2.4	1	0.8
>90	1	0.7	-	-	-	-	2	2.1	1	0.8	1	0.8
Total	**151**	**100**	**119**	**100**	**123**	**101**	**96**	**101**	**127**	**100**	**130**	**100**

In Class IX, around three-fourth of boys and girls scored less than 40 per cent. About 16 per cent boys scored in the range of 40-60 per cent while around 20 per cent girls scored in this range. In the range of 60-80 per cent, 7 per cent boys got placed as compared to 4 per cent girls. There were very few boys and girls who scored in the range of 80-100 per cent.

Achievement Scores in Language: Schools in Hyderabad

With regard to language competency, around 32 per cent children in Class III, 51per cent in Class VII and 71 per cent in Class IX scored less than 40 per cent (Table 65). On the contrary, around 45 per cent children of Class III scored more than 60 per cent, 12 per cent of children of Class VII scored more than 60 per cent and 11 per cent of children of Class IX scored more than 60 per cent. This data also points towards a progressive decrease in learning levels in language among children studying in these three classes.

Table 65

Distribution of Students by Scores in Language

Score Range	Grade						Total	
	III		VII		IX			
	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%
<30	63	23.3	85	38.8	174	67.7	322	43.2
30-40	24	8.9	26	11.9	8	3.1	58	7.8
40-50	29	10.7	39	17.8	24	9.3	92	12.3
50-60	33	12.2	41	18.7	24	9.3	98	13.1
60-70	32	11.9	18	8.2	18	7	68	9.1
70-80	40	14.8	8	3.7	6	2.3	54	7.2
80-90	36	13.3	2	0.9	3	1.2	41	5.5
>90	13	4.8	-	-	-	-	13	1.7
Total	270	**100**	219	**100**	257	**100**	746	**100**

Achievement Scores in Language: Gender-wise in Hyderabad

Gender differentials also reflect in the assessment data in language for all the three classes. In Class III, around 36 per cent boys scored less than 40 per cent, about 23 per cent scored in the range of 40-60 per cent and approximately 15 per cent scored in the range of 80-90 per cent (Table 66). In comparison to this, around 28 per cent girls scored less than 40 per cent, about 24 per cent girls scored in the range of 40-60 per cent and approximately 29 per cent girls scored in the range of 60-80 per cent. Hence in language in Class III, girls performed better than boys in all score ranges. This was further established when the data revealed that around 19 per cent girls scored in the range of 80-100 per cent as compared to 17 per cent boys.

Table 66

Distribution of Students by Scores in Language: Gender-wise

Score Range	Grade and Gender											
	III				VII				IX			
	Boys	%	Girls	%	Boys	%	Girls	%	Boys	%	Girls	%
<30	39	25.8	24	20.2	52	42.3	33	34.4	87	69	87	66.9
30-40	15	9.9	9	7.6	12	9.8	14	14.6	3	2.4	5	3.8
40-50	18	11.9	11	9.2	23	18.7	16	16.7	11	8.7	13	10
50-60	16	10.6	17	14.3	23	18.7	18	18.8	10	7.9	14	10.8
60-70	14	9.3	18	15.1	12	9.8	6	6.3	11	8.7	7	5.4
70-80	23	15.2	17	14.3	1	0.8	7	7.3	4	3.1	2	1.5
80-90	23	15.2	13	10.9	-	-	2	2.1	1	0.8	2	1.5
>90	3	2	10	8.4	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Total	**151**	**100**	**119**	**100**	**123**	**100**	**96**	**100**	**127**	**100**	**130**	**100**

In Class VII, around 52 per cent boys and 49 per cent girls scored less than 40 per cent, 37 per cent boys and 36 per cent girls scored in the range of 40-60 per cent and about 11 per cent boys and 14 per cent girls scored in the range of 60-80 per cent. There were 2 per cent girls who scored in the range of 80-90 per cent. In Class VII, thus, girls scored better than boys in language.

In Class IX, around 71 per cent boys and girls both scored as low as 40 per cent. About 17 per cent boys and 21 per cent girls scored in the range of 40-60 per cent, around 5 per cent girls scored in the range of 60-70 per cent and 3 per cent girls scored in the range of 70-90 per cent.

The analysis of learning assessment points towards a low achievement of students in Class IX in both mathematics and language. In mathematics, the scores of students when taken as a total or disaggregated through gender show a gradual decline as we go higher up in the classes. A similar trend is seen in language scores; however, when disaggregated through gender, girls performed better than boys in Class III and Class VII.

Achievement Scores by Management (Government and Private): Schools in Hyderabad

I Class III

The following analysis of data was done as a comparison between learning assessment in government and private schools. Table 67 showed that the scores of children appeared to be better in private schools in Class III. In government schools, with respect to mathematics, the data revealed that around 64 per cent children scored less than 40 per cent, 29 per cent scored in the range of 40-60 per cent and about 7 per cent scored in the range of 60-80 per cent. In private schools, around 35 per cent children scored less than 40 percent, about 49 per cent scored in the range of 40-60 per cent and around 16 per cent scored in the range of 60-80 per cent.

Table 67

Distribution of Students by Scores in Mathematics & Language: Management-wise for Class III

Score Range	Mathematics				Language			
	Govt.		Private		Govt.		Private	
	Number of Students	%	Number of Students	%	Number of Students	%	Number of Students	%
<30	83	46.1	13	14.4	58	32.2	5	5.6
30-40	33	18.3	18	20	21	11.7	3	3.3
40-50	34	18.9	19	21.1	23	12.8	6	6.7
50-60	18	10	25	27.8	25	13.9	8	8.9
60-70	9	5	13	14.4	19	10.6	13	14.4
70-80	3	1.7	1	1.1	21	11.7	19	21.1
80-90	-	-	-	-	11	6.1	25	27.8
>90	-	-	1	1.1	2	1.1	11	12.2
Total	**180**	**100**	**90**	**100**	**180**	**100**	**90**	**100**

With respect to the language, Table 67 revealed that around 44 per cent children scored less than 40 per cent in government schools, whereas in private schools, only about 9 per cent children scored less than 40 per cent. Around 27 per cent children in government schools scored in the range of 40-60 percent and 23 per cent scored in the range of 60-80 per cent. The figures for private schools stood at around 16 per cent in the range of 40-60 per cent, about 35 per cent in the range of 60-80 per cent and around 28 per cent in the range of 80-90 per cent. In private schools, around 12 per cent children scored more than 90 per cent.

II. Class VII

In mathematics in Class VII in government schools, around 84 per cent children scored less than 40 per cent, whereas in private schools, about 59 per cent scored less than 40 per cent (Table 68). This showed a stark contrast between government and private schools based on passing percentage. Only 5 per cent children in government schools could score more than 50 percent whereas around 23 per cent in private schools scored in this range. We cannot say that situation was better even in private schools but it was far better than the scenario in government schools.

With respect to the language assessment of Class VII, the data revealed that in government schools, around 75 per cent children scored less than 40 per cent while in private schools, the corresponding figure was around 37 per cent. Similarly, around 20 per cent children in government schools could score in the range of 40-60 per cent whereas about 46 per cent scored in this range in private schools. But in the higher score range, there were 2.6 per cent children who scored more than 70 per cent in government schools, whereas the corresponding figure for children of private schools was 5.6 per cent.

Table 68

Distribution of Students by Scores in Mathematics & Language: Management-wise for Class VII

Score Range	Mathematics				Language			
	Govt.		Private		Govt.		Private	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
<30	60	77.9	62	43.7	48	62.3	37	26.1
30-40	5	6.5	22	15.5	10	13	16	11.3
40-50	8	10.4	25	17.6	10	13	29	20.4
50-60	4	5.2	15	10.6	5	6.5	36	25.4
60-70	-	-	8	5.6	2	2.6	16	11.3
70-80	-	-	5	3.5	2	2.6	6	4.2
80-90	-	-	3	2.1	-	-	2	1.4
>90	-	-	2	1.4	-	-	-	-
Total	**77**	**100**	**142**	**100**	**77**	**100**	**142**	**100**

III. Class IX

With a higher class, the performance of students became poorer both in government and private schools. In Class IX, around 87 per cent children scored less than 40 per cent in mathematics in government schools and about 57 per cent scored less than 40 per cent in private schools. Around 13 per cent children in government schools scored in the range of 40-60 per cent whereas about 24 per cent in private schools scored in this range. The scores did tilt in favour of private schools, but they were not impressive based on the required levels of competency.

Table 69

Distribution of Students by Scores in Mathematics & Language: Management-wise for Class IX

Score Range	Mathematics				Language			
	Govt.		Private		Govt.		Private	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
<30	107	71.8	39	36.1	143	96	31	28.7
30-40	22	14.8	23	21.3	2	1.3	6	5.6
40-50	13	8.7	21	19.4	3	2	21	19.4
50-60	7	4.7	5	4.6	1	0.7	23	21.3
60-70	-	-	7	6.5	-	-	18	16.7
70-80	-	-	7	6.5	-	-	6	5.6
80-90	-	-	4	3.7	-	-	3	2.8
>90	-	-	2	1.9	-	-	-	-
Total	**149**	**100**	**108**	**100**	**149**	**100**	**108**	**100**

In language, around 96 per cent children in Class IX scored less than 30 per cent in government schools and about 4 per cent scored less than 60 per cent. In private schools, the score was significantly better, with 26 per cent children scoring more than 60 per cent and around 29 per cent scoring less than 30 per cent. The learning assessment in language created a difference in the achievement pattern between government and private schools, and the latter were perhaps better in teaching-learning of language.

Achievement Scores in Mathematics: Schools in Ludhiana

The section on the school going status, drop-out and never-enrolled children, earlier in this chapter, indicated that the per cent share of drop-out and never-enrolled children was high in Ludhiana. In addition, more number of children was enrolled in government schools as compared to Hyderabad.

Given this background, it remained to be seen how the children already in the system fared in learning levels. It was startling to note that in Class III, around 93 per cent children scored less than 40 per cent in mathematics, about 2 per cent scored in the range of 40-60 per cent and just 4.2 per cent scored in the range of 60- 80 per cent (Table 70). To present a true picture, the score range of Class VII was dismal. In Class VII, all the children scored less than 40 per cent.

Table 70

Distribution of Students by Scores in Mathematics

Score Range	Class						Total	
	III		VII		IX			
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
<30	128	35.8	191	86.8	35	31.5	354	51.4
30-40	206	57.5	29	13.2	28	25.2	263	38.2
40-50	4	1.1	-	-	20	18	24	3.5
50-60	3	0.8	-	-	15	13.5	18	2.6
60-70	8	2.2	-	-	6	5.4	14	2
70-80	7	2	-	-	3	2.7	10	1.5
80-90	2	0.6	-	-	4	3.6	6	0.9
Total	**358**	**100**	**220**	**100**	**111**	**100**	**689**	**100**

In Class IX, around 57 per cent children scored less than 40 per cent, about 32 per cent scored in the range of 40-60 per cent and around 8 per cent scored in the range of 60-80 per cent. There were about 3.6 per cent children who scored in the range of 80-90 per cent. The situation in Class IX appeared to be better, perhaps because those who survived till Class IX were able to learn. Also, the cohort of children who appeared for the test in Class IX might have included children from other feeder elementary schools, who did not study till elementary in the selected school sample.

Achievement Scores in Mathematics: Gender-wise in Ludhiana

Learning assessment in mathematics was analysed separately for girls and boys. The data revealed that not much difference was found in mathematics scores between boys and girls. In Class III, around 36 per cent boys and about 35 per cent girls scored less than 30 per cent (Table 71). The per cent share of girls and boys scoring within the range of 30-40 per cent stood at 58 per cent. There were about 5 per cent boys and 9 per cent girls who scored more than 60 percent.

Table 71

Distribution of Students by Scores in Mathematics: Gender-wise

Score Range	Class and Gender											
	III				VII				IX			
	Boys	%	Girls	%	Boys	%	Girls	%	Boys	%	Girls	%
<30	58	36.3	70	35.4	75	82.4	116	89.9	20	31	15	31.9
30-40	92	57.5	114	57.6	16	17.6	13	10.1	16	25	12	25.5
40-50	1	0.6	3	1.5	-	-	-	-	12	19	8	17
50-60	1	0.6	2	1	-	-	-	-	9	14	6	12.8
60-70	4	2.5	4	2	-	-	-	-	3	4.7	3	6.4
70-80	4	2.5	3	1.5	-	-	-	-	1	1.6	2	4.3
80-90	-	-	2	1	-	-	-	-	3	4.7	1	2.1
Total	**160**	**100**	**198**	**100**	**91**	**100**	**129**	**100**	**64**	**100**	**47**	**100**

In Class VII, there was a significant dip in the scores of mathematics, with 82 per cent boys and 90 per cent girls scoring less than 30 per cent. Around 18 per cent boys and 10 per cent girls scored in the range of 30-40 per cent. None of the children could score higher than this mark. In Class IX, however, the scores came out to be better. There were about 33 per cent boys and 30 per cent girls who scored in the range of 40-60 per cent; while around 11 per cent boys and about 13 per cent girls scored more than 60 per cent points (Table 71).

Achievement Scores in Language: Schools in Ludhiana

With regard to the language assessment, the data revealed that around 94 per cent children of Class III scored less than 40 per cent; almost the same figure as the number of scorers in this category in mathematics (Table 71). This could have been because of the medium of instruction that is Punjabi in these schools. As discussed earlier, Ludhiana was home to migrants from states, such as, Uttar Pradesh, Bihar and Rajasthan, hence, they could have faced a severe language barrier. In Class VII, none of the children scored more than 40 per cent. In Class IX, around 68 per cent children scored less than 40 per cent and 32 per cent scored in the range of 40-50 per cent. Quite probable, the children picked up the language as they grew older and hence did fairly better in their learning assessment in Class IX.

Achievement Scores in Language: Gender-wise in Ludhiana

The achievement scores when disaggregated by gender revealed that around 94 per cent boys as well as girls scored less than 40 per cent in language in Class III. In Class VII, all girls and all boys scored less than the 40 per cent in language (Table 73). The data bluntly points to the fact that up till Class VII, children struggled with language in Ludhiana.

Table 72

Distribution of Students by Scores in Language

Score Range	Class						Total	
	III		VII		IX			
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
<30	159	44.4	151	68.6	29	26.1	339	49.2
30-40	176	49.2	69	31.4	46	41.4	291	42.2
40-50	5	1.4	-	-	36	32.4	41	6
50-60	11	3.1	-	-	-	-	11	1.6
60-70	7	2	-	-	-	-	7	1
Total	**358**	**100**	**220**	**100**	**111**	**100**	**689**	**100**

Table 73

Distribution of Students by Scores in Language: Gender-wise

Score Range	Class and Gender											
	III				VII				IX			
	Boys	%	Girls	%	Boys	%	Girls	%	Boys	%	Girls	%
<30	56	35	103	52	49	53.8	102	79.1	14	22	15	31.9
30-40	93	58.1	83	41.9	42	46.2	27	20.9	23	36	23	48.9
40-50	2	1.3	3	1.5	-	-	-	-	27	42	9	19.1
50-60	5	3.1	6	3	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
60-70	4	2.5	3	1.5	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Total	**160**	**100**	**198**	**100**	**91**	**100**	**129**	**100**	**64**	**100**	**47**	**100**

In Class IX, the scores were a little staggered in range. While still a substantial share, about 58 per cent of boys and around 81 per cent of girls scored less than 40 per cent in language. Forty two percent boys and about 19 per cent

girls scored in the range of 40-50 per cent. It shows that girls were far behind boys in understanding the language of medium of instruction. This could have had far reaching impact on children's learning in various other subjects, thus making the schooling experience almost inaccessible (Table 73).

Achievement Scores by Management (Government and Private): Schools in Ludhiana

Since most of the children in Ludhiana attended private schools in Class III, therefore, the analysis was not done for Class VII and Class IX by management-wise.

I. Class III

The score range among children going to government and private schools was analysed to understand the differentials in mathematics and language scores by management of schools. In Class III, around 43 per cent children of government schools and about 11 per cent of private schools scored less than 30 per cent in mathematics. Around 57 per cent children of government and private schools scored in the range of 30-40 per cent and there were about 23 per cent of children of private schools who scored more than 60 per cent, whereas, there was none who scored more than 60 per cent in government schools. The learning levels of children in mathematics in private schools appeared better than government schools in Ludhiana.

Table 74

Distribution of Students by Scores in Mathematics & Language: Management-wise for Grade III in Ludhiana

Score Range	Mathematics				Language			
	Govt.		Private		Govt.		Private	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
<30	120	42.6	8	10.5	149	52.8	10	13.2
30-40	162	57.4	44	57.9	133	47.2	43	56.6
40-50	-	-	4	5.3	-	-	5	6.6
50-60	-	-	3	3.9	-	-	11	14.5
60-70	-	-	8	10.5	-	-	7	9.2
70-80	-	-	7	9.2	-	-	-	-
80-90	-	-	2	2.6	-	-	-	-
Total	**282**	**100**	**76**	**100**	**282**	**100**	**76**	**100**

As high as 53 per cent children in government schools scored less than 30 per cent in language, whereas, around 13 per cent of private schools scored in this range. There were 47 per cent children of government schools and around 56 per cent of private schools who scored in the range of

30-40 per cent. Then once again, about 9 per cent children scored in the range of 60-70 per cent. None of the children from government school scored more than 40 per cent. In Ludhiana, based on the above findings, it could be concluded that private schools provided better learning opportunities in mathematics and language as compared to government schools. However, when taken as a whole, language teaching and learning was found to be at great disadvantage for children in Ludhiana.

Inter School Variations

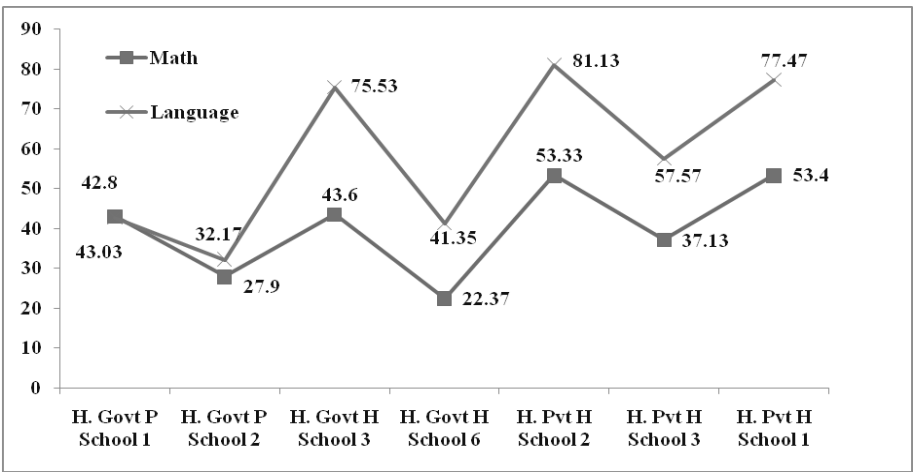
The analysis on learning assessment of students was conducted on two basic subjects, that is, mathematics and language. It is believed that all children must possess basic competency in these two subjects in order to progress in higher classes. Language is a powerful tool to help students construct and develop knowledge and learning, give meaning to their experiences as well as building the bases for development of the ability to reason and opening the doors of access to knowledge and critical thinking. Mathematics, on the other hand, aids in organising the bases for logical reasoning, develops the capacity to solve problems, and lends rigour to the analysis of data. A Meta analysis of 103 effectiveness studies by Christine & Baker (1996) found that almost 18 per cent of variance in achievement was between schools. International Studies on Mathematics Achievement (Mcknoght et al., 1987) and the TIMSS curriculum study (Schmidt et al., 1996) have stressed the importance of schools in providing opportunities to learn, and shaping the curriculum and teacher instruction for enhancing the learning levels of students. Keeping in view the significance of a school on the achievement level of children, inter school variations were analysed for Class III and Class VII data. For Ludhiana, inter school variation was analysed only for Class III, as in Class VII, most of the children attended government schools. In Hyderabad also, the inter school variation was interpreted for Class III and Class VII only, as in Class IX, most of the children scored less across all schools irrespective of schools of different management, and this would not have yielded any decisive conclusion. The results of the data analysis are presented below.

I. Hyderabad: Class III

The mean scores in mathematics ranged between 22.37 and 53.40 across 7 of the 9 selected schools as in two schools the primary sections were not there (Fig. 22). The lowest mean score in mathematics was found among children studying in H. Government High School 6 and highest among children in H. Private High School 1. The latter school belonged to the private sector. In case of assessment in language, the mean score varied between 32.17 and 81.13. The mean score variation in language was found to be large across schools, as compared to mathematics. H. Government Primary School 2 demonstrated the least scores, however, highest were found in H. Private High School 2, again a private school. Overall, the data revealed that children of private schools performed better than government schools in both the subjects. Further, it was evident that children scored better in language as compared to mathematics across all schools taken in Hyderabad.

Figure 22

Differentials in Mean Achievement Score by Subjects for Class III in Hyderabad



Further, standard deviation was calculated to see the spread between scores from the mean. A low standard deviation indicates that data points tend to be closer to the mean, whereas, high standard deviation shows that the data points are spread out over a large range of values away from the mean. The standard deviation was lowest among students of H. Private High School 3 in mathematics and among students of H. Private School 1 in language. Both these schools belonged to the private sector (Table 75).

Table 75

Mean Test Score Differentiation and Standard Deviation by Subjects for Class III in Hyderabad

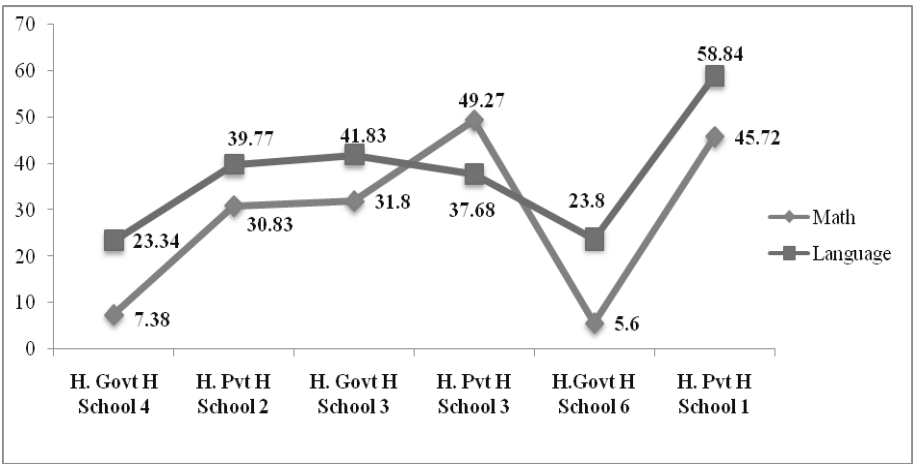
Names of Schools	No. of Students	Mathematics		Language	
		Mean	Standard Deviation	Mean	Standard Deviation
H. Government Primary School 1	60	43.03	16.25	42.8	17.7
H. Government Primary School 2	30	27.9	11.42	**32.17**	14.9
H. Government High School 3	30	43.6	13.48	75.53	12.6
H. Government High School 6	60	**22.37**	13.04	41.35	25.8
H. Private High School 2	30	53.33	13.54	**81.13**	19
H. Private High School 3	30	37.13	10.14	57.57	19.5
H. Private High School 1	30	**53.4**	13.08	77.47	10.3
Total	**270**	**38.46**	**17.49**	**54.69**	**25.7**

II. ***Hyderabad: Class VII***

Mean differentials were computed for scores in mathematics and language for children studying in Class VII in Hyderabad (Fig. 23). The data showed that the mean score ranged from lowest 5.60 to highest 49.27 for mathematics subject. The children from H. Private High School 6 scored the lowest mean score compared to children of other schools. On the other end, were children from H. Private High School 3 who performed better in the range and got the highest mean score. Its mean score was significantly high among children from other schools as well. In case of language, the mean score of the sample varied between 23.34 and 58.84. The H. Government High School 4 with the least mean score, and H. Private High School 1 with the highest mean score, showed the two ends of variation in mean score achievement among children studying in different kinds of school. Overall, the data revealed that private schools performed better than government schools in both the subjects.

Figure 23

Differentials in Mean Achievement Score by Subjects for Class VII in Hyderabad



When computing the extent of deviation from the mean score, it was found that the scores of children in H. Private High School 1 had the lowest standard deviation (Table 76). This meant that the scores of all the children in Class III had scores closer to the mean score. On the contrary, the scores of children in H. Government High School 3 had the highest standard deviation, showing a scatter of scores away from mean. This also meant that the scores of children were widely placed, failing to give any impression on the quality of teaching.

Table 76

Differentials in Mean Achievement Score and Standard Deviation by Subjects for Class VII in Hyderabad

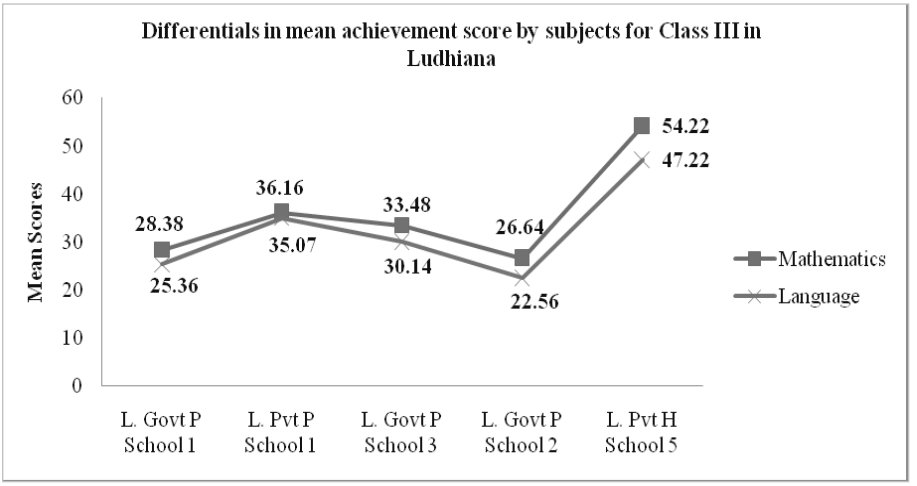
Names of Schools	No. of Students	Mathematics		Language	
		Mean	Standard Deviation	Mean	Standard Deviation
H. Government Primary School 1	60	43.03	16.25	42.8	17.7
H. Government Primary School 2	30	27.9	11.42	**32.17**	14.9
H. Government High School 3	30	43.6	13.48	75.53	12.6
H. Government High School 6	60	**22.37**	13.04	41.35	25.8
H. Private High School 2	30	53.33	13.54	**81.13**	19
H. Private High School 3	30	37.13	10.14	57.57	19.5
H. Private High School 1	30	**53.4**	13.08	77.47	10.3
Total	**270**	**38.46**	**17.49**	**54.69**	**25.7**

III. Ludhiana: Class III

The mean scores in mathematics for Class III children in Ludhiana ranged between 26.64 and 54.22 (Fig. 24). The lowest mean score in the test of mathematics was found among the children of L. Government Primary School 2 while the highest mean score was found among children of L. Private High School 5. The children of L. Private High School 5 scored better in mathematics as well as in language as compared to other school children. In case of language, the mean score varied between 22.56 and 47.22 in which again L. Government Primary School 2 children scored considerably low. L. Private High School 5 show better performance in the test score with the highest mean score (54.22). In both the subjects, children from private schools performed better than government schools.

Figure 24

Differentials in Mean Achievement Score by Subjects for Class III in Ludhiana



The standard deviation of scores indicated interesting set of findings. While it was lowest for children of L. Private Primary School 1, it was highest for children belonging to L. Private High School 5, the same school which had the highest mean scores in both the subjects. A high standard deviation in mathematics and language for children of L. Private High School 5 showed that, except for a few students who scored very high, there were quite a few whose scores were scattered widely from the mean score.

Table 77

Differentials in Mean Achievement Score and Standard deviation by Subjects for Class III in Ludhiana

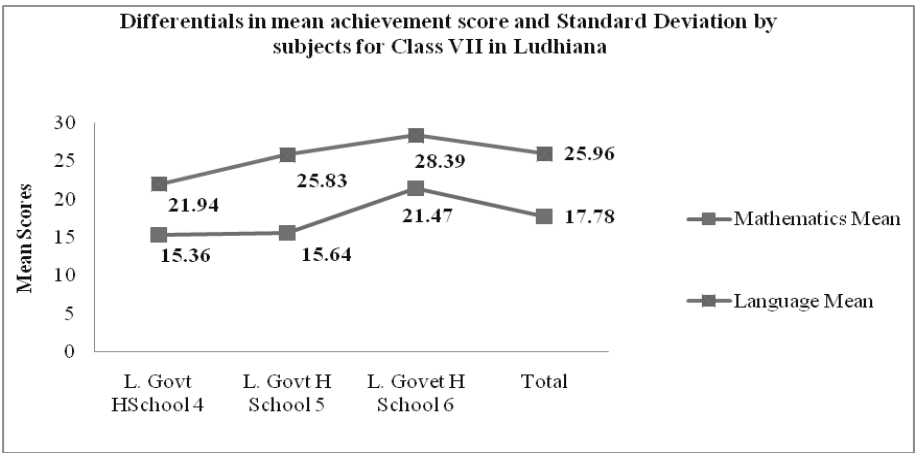
Names of Schools	No. of Students	Mathematics		Language	
		Mean	Standard Deviation	Mean	Standard Deviation
L. Govt Primary School 1	50	28.38	9.57	25.36	11.7
L. Private Primary School 1	44	36.16	**4.18**	35.07	**7.15**
L. Govt Primary School 3	118	33.48	7.8	30.14	9.38
L. Govt Primary School 2	114	26.64	8.18	22.56	11.2
L. Private High School 5	32	54.22	**22.69**	47.22	**16.9**
Total	**358**	**32.77**	**12.57**	**29.19**	**13**

IV. Ludhiana: Class VII

The differentials in mean score by subjects across schools did not find much variation in mean for mathematics subject as well as for language (Fig.25). The school-wise scores also do not show significant difference among schools in performance of achievement tests in both the subjects. In mathematics, the mean score ranged between 15.36 and 21.47, and in language, the score varied between 21.94 and 28.39. In both the subjects, L. Government High School 4 scored the least mean score, and L. Government High School 6 scored the highest mean score.

Figure 25

Differentials in Mean Achievement Score and Standard Deviation by Subjects for Class VII in Ludhiana



The standard deviation of scores in Class VII revealed that it was, more or less, same in all the schools in both mathematics and language (Table 78). It was marginally low for L. Government High School 4 in mathematics, for which, the mean score was also less. In language, L. Government High School 6 had the lowest standard deviation.

Table 78

Differentials in Mean Achievement Score and Standard Deviation by Subjects for Class VII in Ludhiana

Names of Schools	No. of Students	Mathematics		Language	
		Mean	Standard Deviation	Mean	Standard Deviation
L. Government High School 4	47	**15.36**	7.88	**21.94**	6.5
L. Government High School 5	90	15.64	8.7	25.83	6.7
L. Government High School 6	83	**21.47**	8.95	**28.39**	**5.76**
Total	**220**	**17.78**	**9.06**	**25.96**	**6.72**

There was no comparison attempted for Class IX as there were very few children from slums who attended private schools.

Key Insights

The analyses presented in this chapter form the core of this book, examining in detail the status of educational access and participation in selected households of slums (Hyderabad 706 and Ludhiana 622). Slums are settlements located in urban areas; however, because of low socio-economic status of the inhabitants and their migratory status, these settlements are termed as peripheral. These settlements have also been termed as marginalised in the literature, as discussed in Chapter I. Hence, it is important to look at the findings within the larger framework of 'marginalised' status of slum dwellers and their children. For instance, it was found that physical access to schools was poorer for slums in Ludhiana as compared to Hyderabad, which means that within the already designated status of slum dwellers as 'marginalised', there existed further marginalisation of children who could not access schools because of non-availability, especially in the case of Ludhiana. Other than the availability of schools and the distance of these from the households, the medium of instruction in schools in Ludhiana posed a serious challenge for students whose mother tongue was Hindi and, hence, limited the access of children to learning opportunities. These children found hard to comprehend the teaching-learning process. Hence, it can be said that another important factor of access, that is medium of instruction based on children's first language (in case of schools in Ludhiana, the absence of it) also led to linguistic marginalisation of children within slums, furthering the process of social exclusion.

A significant finding that emerged from the participation of children in schools in both the selected areas (Hyderabad and Ludhiana) was that majority attended government schools, with about 72 per cent in Hyderabad and around 78 per cent in Ludhiana. The remaining percentage of children went to private schools. When analysing the participation rates of girls and boys in government and private schools, it was found that parents preferred sending their boys to private schools as opposed to girls. Even though both trends are discernible across India and across rural-urban areas, these are significant within slum settlements. The overall socio-economic status of slum dwellers is lower as compared to the urban population. In addition to socio-economic and educational inequalities existing between larger urban population and slum population, there are layers of educational and economic inequalities emerging within slum settlements. Differentiation of participation on the basis of economic capacity of households and preference of private education for boys based on its perceived quality further strengthens the case of marginalisation of children who belong to low economic strata and of girls when compared to other children living in slums. Lack of parental education also led to marginalisation of children with in slums, as father's and mother's educational attainment levels was found to have a positive relationship with school going status of children in the selected households of both slums.

These findings were also evident in the analyses emerging from logistic regression computed between background factors and status of school going children, drop-outs and never-enrolled children. In this analysis, most of the predictor variables, such as, per capita income of the households, father's education, mother's education, caste, sex and age group, were found to be significant. While studying the reasons behind drop-out of children from the education system in both the sets of sample households, financial constraints was cited as the most important reason. This was reflected in the logistic regression analysis as well, where an increasing per capita income of the households decreased the chances of children dropping out of school, especially in Hyderabad. The survey included responses from parents on their choice of school and involvement with their child's academic progress. Most of the parents in both Hyderabad and Ludhiana chose government schools because of their existence in close vicinity, and better infrastructure.

The analysis on learning assessment (10 schools were selected from Ludhiana and 9 from Hyderabad) comprised of a written test for children. The learning assessment of children in slums was found to be much below the expected level in both the subjects in all the three Classes across government and private schools. While comparing the scores of children in mathematics and language in Classes III, VII and IX between government and private schools, it was found that the learning assessment was better in private schools in both Hyderabad and Ludhiana. This implied that differentiation among children attending schools in slums also existed based on the type of provision of education. Even though learning achievement levels were overall low, a further layer of marginalisation existed for those children who attended government schools, leading to their social exclusion.

Chapter 5

Building a Case for Education of Children in Slums: Implications for Policy and Planning

The policy discourses on education have ever since eulogised the fundamentals of equality and equal opportunity essentially to provide a level playing field to the disadvantaged. In the Indian scenario also, the policies have brought this to the fore but the real challenge has been in the implementation of these principles. The vastness of the country with diverse population and different caste-class coordinates, are some of the factors that have perhaps gone against the effective implementation of policies that are too often operationalised in uniformity. The Right to Education Act (2009) can be taken as a case in point. While it has made mandatory for the state to provide compulsory free education to all children in the age group of 6-14 years, it faces an uphill task as the education system still lags behind in addressing demands of increased spaces in schools, the needs for infrastructure, availability of teachers and a conducive environment for making the school processes inclusive. A particular challenge for the RTE as well as for universalisation of secondary education lies in reaching out to the disadvantaged in both the urban and rural areas. When studying the disadvantaged in urban cities, mostly located in slums, we find that they face peculiar circumstances of existence, wrought between the inadequacies of city life and their own aspirations. The children who form part of this 'fringe' life are prone to various hazards and strive hard to move out of their binding conditions. Often, education becomes a powerful tool for these children for upward social mobility, but do such opportunities exist for them in scatter and slum settlements of the cities? Are they able to offset opportunity costs and continue their schooling through all stages? What are their learning levels in the schools? These are some of the questions that need to be probed if right to education at the elementary level and equal opportunity at the secondary level has to be extended to even the most disadvantaged child. Hence, this book undertook an in-depth survey of slums and their children in order to ascertain their educational status and recommend a few policy options.

If we look at the emergence of life in fringes of the urban city, we find that it is a process that has spanned many decades. Though towns and cities have been into existence ever since, it is only until recently, that they have become a vortex of rapid industrialisation, urbanisation and migration. Many industries

and services are concentrated in cities, because inputs and markets for products are widely available. The cities are also centers of better education and employment opportunities, all required for social mobility (World Bank, 2000:126-128). This has attracted population from rural and peripheral areas into the urban areas, putting undue pressures on the city's infrastructure and services. Despite their existence within the city's limits, their status as illegal occupants have characterised them as the fringe population, so much so that their living conditions are under grave threat from poverty and environmental degradation. Such large populations have no access to basic shelter and infrastructural services, except what they produce on their own. In addition, the negative effects of increasing pollution of water, land and air in cities are felt disproportionately by the urban poor, whereas richer inhabitants simply move away from affected areas (Harody et al., 2000).

In the context of contemporary India, economic disparities and disadvantages among rich and poor are more pronounced in case of urban settlements than rural communities. This is precisely because in the same urban locality one can witness the opulence of multistoried shopping malls and the savagery of slums along the sewerage lines. Although cities and towns generally offer better options for schooling, medical care and recreation, those already disadvantaged – including children living in slums and informal settlements, migrant children, or children living or working on the streets – are unlikely to enjoy these benefits. The state is making efforts to extend basic amenities to the urban disadvantaged children, including education facilities as education continues to be an important indicator of development and an instrument of social change. However, in practice, background factors such as parental wealth, parental education, caste, income have a strong influence on whether children would be able to avail the educational opportunity or not. Yet, despite the concerted efforts of the governments, a large proportion of children are out of school which includes children of socially disadvantaged groups such as those living in orphanage, in slums on streets, etc. India's tryst with urbanisation has been quite uneven and fragmented with differentiated structures of urban conglomerates inhabited by rich and poor. Out of 377 million (31.16 per cent) strong urban population, roughly 93.06 million reside in slum areas, thus creating an urban divide that not only defines a geographical division but also reflects poverty, malnutrition, crime, health hazards, a host of socio-economic disparities and deprivations.

Slums in the cities have emerged in an unplanned and haphazard manner, posing a challenge for urban planners. The urban education planning is further hampered by continuous in and out migration across cities and continuous redrawing of boundaries of cities. The victims of this process of continuous migration are children and their education. The problem of frequent adjustment within and outside the boundary of schools and constant demand to meet the challenges of educational attainment, faced by the children, are rarely factored into planning. Access to quality schooling facilities in a 'safe zone' for urban disadvantaged is a serious concern which has never received sufficient attention in educational planning. The pressures of food security, unavailability of 'safe zone' and parental apathy pulls students out of

the school. Adding to these, are learning inadequacy and poor learning achievements which also push students out of the school. In this context, the findings generated from this study with respect to the socio-economic background of slum dwellers and access, retention and learning achievement of children in slum areas, would be a useful contribution to educational policy and planning, specifically towards fulfilling the mandate of right to education of each child and providing equal opportunity to the secondary education.

In the above context, the present study chose to investigate the educational status of children in slums in two major cities, each with one million plus population. The cities were that of Hyderabad, from the state of Andhra Pradesh in the southern region and Ludhiana from the state of Punjab from the northern region of India. While Hyderabad became a million plus city by 1951, Ludhiana reached the million figures in 1991. Hyderabad is one of the most developed cities in India and has an emerging information technology and biotechnology industry in India. The infrastructural facilities for basic research in Hyderabad are some of the best in the country, and the city boasts of leading educational institutions.

In Hyderabad, slum settlements have multiplied over decades. Though the living conditions of the poor have improved over the years, the disparity between slum dwellers and the other people in the city is still wide. Slums are scattered across the city and surrounding municipalities with high population densities. It is estimated that more than half of these slums are on private land, and the rest of land belongs to various public entities. This urban agglomeration houses 1,631 slums and around 2 million people spread unevenly all over the city. Telugu and Urdu are the official languages of Hyderabad while English is commonly used. Ludhiana city, on the other hand, is commonly known as the "hub of Indian Hosiery Industries" and is also the industrial capital of small scale industries in the country. One out of every six urban dwellers (16.92 per cent) living in the state of Punjab resides in Ludhiana. There are in all 209 slums in the city with a population of about 2 lakh. Around 22 per cent of the city's population lives in slums. Most of the slum dwellers in Ludhiana are migrants from the states of Bihar, Madhya Pradesh, Rajasthan and Uttar Pradesh. They basically work as casual workers in hosiery and other industries.

From both the cities, slums were selected randomly for the survey. The study was carried out in slums of Guddi Malkapur in Golconda Zone in Hyderabad. The names of the slums were Hera Nagar, ASR Nagar & Sai Nagar, Kanka Durga Nagar and Tulja Bhawani Nagar. In Ludhiana, Dr. Ambedkar Colony Pakhowal Road, Bihari Colony Tajpur Road and Shaheed Bhagat Singh NR Balmlki Colony were selected. The data was collected first at the macro level from all the households of selected slums in both the cities, with a view to examining the relationship between background factors and the school going status of the children. At the next level of analysis, we further selected the number of households from the population of slums, which became the focus of a detailed investigation into the household characteristics, access to schooling, participation and non-participation of children in schools, the extent of

parental involvement and learning achievement of children. Together findings of all these dimensions yield the educational status of the children in slums.

The educational profile of both the cities revealed that in both Hyderabad and Ludhiana, government schools outnumbered the number of private schools. There were more government schools in comparison to private schools in both rural and urban areas of Ludhiana. Another characteristic feature of the education system in both the cities was the existence of single-teacher schools in Hyderabad and a substantial number of small size schools with an enrolment of less than 50 students in Ludhiana (DISE, 2011-12). These characteristics broadly shaped the school going status of children when analysed through the data from the slums. The survey and its analysis was conducted in two phases; in the first phase, the demographic data of all the households of the selected slums was correlated with the educational status of the children; and in the second phase, the demographic data of selected households were associated with the school going status of children. The second phase delved deeper into assessing the issues related to access, participation and learning levels of children from these selected households. In both the phases, the target groups of the survey were children of the age group of 6-17 years.

An explanation into the investigation of variables becomes necessary here. While probing into the educational status of children living in slums, the demographic and socio-economic characteristics of the population was looked into, the variables being, age composition (caste, religion, language and gender, state of origin), family size, occupation of the parents, monthly household income and per capita income of the selected population. For the target group of children belonging to 6-17 years of age group, the variables studied were age, sex, whether going to school, distance of the school, time taken to reach school, drop-out, never-enrolled and type of school attended amongst others.

A few facts and figures emerged from the data collected from all the households of selected slums. It showed that in Hyderabad, children in the age group of 6-14 years constituted around 23.1 per cent whereas children in the age group of 15-17 years comprised 6.1 per cent of the total population. In Ludhiana, children in the age group of 6-14 years constituted around 31.3 per cent and children in the age group of 15-17 years comprised 7.0 per cent of the total population. The overall sex ratio in the slums in Hyderabad stood at 987, which was comparatively high in the age group of 0 to 5 years (1053) and lowest (654) among the senior citizens. The overall sex ratio in the selected slums of Ludhiana was as low as 869 females per thousand males, once again, high in the 0 to 5 years age group (998) and low (809) among the senior citizens.

We see that in both cities, the selected slums had lowest share of people belonging to general category, with only 9.6 per cent in Hyderabad and 18.3 per cent in Ludhiana. Majority of the population residing in these slum areas belonged to the other backward classes (60.5 per cent in Hyderabad and

27.7 per cent in Ludhiana), and scheduled caste category (26.2 per cent in Hyderabad and 52.6 per cent in Ludhiana). The data from the field revealed that in Hyderabad, majority of the population residing in slums belonged to Andhra Pradesh, perhaps, due to intra-state/city migration whereas in Ludhiana, majority of the migrants came from Uttar Pradesh followed by Bihar and Rajasthan. The occupations of slum dwellers were classified into four broad groups for the survey - labour, regular employed, self-employed and any other. Majority of the slum dwellers in both the cities, worked as labour in construction and industrial sites. Second to labour, the most prominent occupation was through self-employment such as running small grocery or stationery shops, vegetable vending, holding tea stalls, sweet shops, meat shops, dhabas and eateries, betel shops, rickshaw pulling, etc. The people from slums in both Hyderabad and Ludhiana were also involved in a host of informal services and contractual works like plumbing, electric works, painting, laundry and barbing, sweeping, etc. The occupational pattern of households clearly showed that the earners were mostly low skilled people. Being daily wage earners and contractual workers, more often than not, the slum dwellers faced a high risk of employment insecurity.

The distribution of households across different income groups revealed that more than two- third of the total households in slums of Ludhiana and more than one-fourth of the total households in slums of Hyderabad earned in the range of Rs. 1000 to Rs. 3000 per month, which was considerably low in view of the living expenses of the city. Only a small portion of families (2.5 per cent) in Ludhiana and (14.6 per cent) in Hyderabad had household income above Rs.7000. The above description, specifically with reference to occupational status and income of households, provides a more disadvantaged context to the urban poor residing in slums in Ludhiana as compared to slums in Hyderabad city.

The schooling options available to slums in Hyderabad and Ludhiana were few and of varying quality. There were about 64 per cent of children in Hyderabad who attended government schools and rest went to private schools. The figures for Ludhiana were different, a significant 80 per cent attended government schools in Ludhiana. As earlier mentioned, this pattern was, perhaps, because of availability of more number of private schools in Hyderabad and government schools in Ludhiana.

In Hyderabad, 80.9 per cent of children belonging to 6-17 years of age group went to school, whereas nearly 12 per cent of the total children never enrolled in any school and around 7 per cent children dropped out from the school without completing the education cycle. In Ludhiana, less than half, that is, 48 per cent children went to school as against around 46 per cent children who never enrolled. The reason behind a sharp divide in Ludhiana, between children who went to school and who never enrolled, could, perhaps be attributed to low income of households in the slums. However, at around 6 per cent, the drop-out percentage of children in slums of Ludhiana was not found to be more than the drop-out figures for slums in Hyderabad. The gender differential in school going status of children was apparent as

around 83 per cent of boys in Hyderabad and a little more than 50 per cent boys in Ludhiana were found to be school going as against about 79 percent girls in Hyderabad and only 44 per cent girls in slums of Ludhiana. In addition, the never-enrolled percentage among girls was higher than that of boys in slums of both cities, clearly placing girls at a disadvantaged position in terms of access to schooling.

The higher age group of children, 15-17 years, in Hyderabad showed a wider gap in participation of boys and girls in schools, where about 67 per cent of boys was enrolled as compared to around 49 per cent of girls. The gap in participation of boys and girls at secondary level was thus of 18 per cent points as compared to a gap of just 4 per cent points at the elementary level in slums of Hyderabad. In Ludhiana, while there was a gap of 7.3 per cent points in the participation of boys and girls at elementary level, there was an almost similar gap at secondary level, with 7 per cent points. While analysing the participation of social groups, it was found that there was not much difference with regard to participation of children from the backward groups in comparison to the general category children. It indicated that social status was not a significant determinant of educational status of children living in slum areas; rather it was the economic conditions that affected the education of the children. This pattern could also be existing because children belonging to high income families, irrespective of their affiliation to a social group, moved out from the government education system and attended private schools.

The income of the households is a major determinant of the school going status of children, and more so in slums. This relationship was explored to find out that in Ludhiana, 71 per cent of those children whose families had per capita income of more than Rs.1500 per month had attended school. The figure for school going children was as low as 30 per cent among families who had per capita income less than Rs. 250 per month. With such low income, it became difficult for parents to support the education of their children and, therefore, low enrolment was evident in these households, especially in the slums of Ludhiana. In comparison to Ludhiana, around 50 per cent of children out of the total sample in Hyderabad had household with a per capita income ranging from Rs 750 to Rs. 1500. These households also had the highest percentage of school attending children. However, the data also revealed that in the low quartile (per capita income level of less than Rs 250 in Hyderabad), only 52 per cent children attended school and, in the high quartile, around 83 per cent children were enrolled in school. In both sets of selected slums, a positive relationship was found between parental education specifically, mother's education and child's probability of going to school.

At the next level of analyses, the study took into account a survey of the sample households in the selected slums of Hyderabad (706) and Ludhiana (622). These sample households were profiled to find out the issues related with access and participation of children belonging to 6-17 years of age group. The analysis of physical access to schools suggested that it was quite low for slums in Ludhiana as compared to Hyderabad. The slums in Hyderabad had a quick reach to both government and private schools, in terms of distance of

the school from the households as well as time taken to reach schools. In fact, in Hyderabad, there were about 26 per cent of schools which were private existing within a range of 0.5-2.5 km. Other than the availability of schools and the distance of these from the households, the medium of instruction, as an access variable, acted as a hindrance for children's participation in schools, particularly in Ludhiana. All the schools in Ludhiana were run in Punjabi medium, but the children they catered to, were migrants from Hindi speaking states, creating a severe language barrier. The differential pattern of access to schooling thus influenced the participation of children.

As against 77 per cent of children going to schools in Hyderabad, only about 50 per cent went to schools in Ludhiana. The per cent age of children never enrolled in the education system was as high as 36 per cent in Ludhiana as compared to about 10 per cent in Hyderabad. There were almost 14 per cent drop-outs in both Hyderabad and Ludhiana. However, the most significant finding that emerged from the participation of children in schools in both the selected areas, was that majority attended government schools, with about 72 per cent in Hyderabad and about 78 per cent in Ludhiana. The remaining percentage of children went to private schools. In comparison to survey of all households (refer Chapter 3), in which around 36 per cent children attended private schools, around 28 per cent children from the sample households were attending private schools of different kinds. Despite the existence of government schools, the proportion of children attending private schools was found to be sizeable. In another study, it was found that from 10 per cent enrolment of children in the 6-14 years age group in private unaided schools in 1996, the proportion enrolled increased to as much as 28 per cent in 2005 (Desai et al,.2010).

However, the fact that the majority of children in both sets of households in Hyderabad and Ludhiana, attended government schools positions this research in contrast to the findings held by Tooley and Dixon (2005). The scholars observed that, in slums of three zones of Hyderabad's old city, a total of 65 per cent of school going children attended private unaided schools.

When analysing the participation rates of girls and boys in government and private schools, it was found that in Ludhiana the gender disparity was wide with around 22 per cent of boys and only around 4 per cent of girls attending private schools, and 78 per cent boys and 96 per cent of girls attending government schools. This also pointed to the fact that parents preferred sending their boys to private schools as opposed to girls. Other variables such as father's and mother's educational attainment levels also had a positive relationship with the school going status of children in both the selected households.

In order to get a comprehensive understanding of the impact of background factors, logistic regression was computed separately for school going children, drop-outs and never-enrolled children. The predictor variables undertaken for this analysis were per capita income of the households, father's education, mother's education, caste, sex and age group. The per capita income of

households was a significant predictor for school going children in both Hyderabad and Ludhiana. In Hyderabad, father's education, when up till middle or secondary level and above, and mother's education, when up till secondary and higher secondary level became a significant predictor for school going children. Compared to this in Ludhiana, both father's and mother's education when just up till primary level, was significantly associated with the school going status of children.

While studying the reasons behind drop-out of children from the education system in both sets of sample households, financial constraints was cited as the most important reason. This was reflected in the logistic regression analysis as well, where an increasing per capita income of the households decreased the chances of children dropping out of school, especially in Hyderabad. In Ludhiana, however, an increase in per capita income did not affect the drop-out of children. It was possible that though the income increased, it did not reach the threshold level for children to still continue in the school. All predictor variables for drop-out were significant in case of either or both the sample datasets (Hyderabad and Ludhiana), except for gender. In Ludhiana, per capita income of the households had a positive association with never- enrolled children, as the per capita income increased there were fewer never-enrolled children.

The survey also attempted to elicit responses from parents on their choice of school and involvement with their child's academic progress. Most of the parents in both Hyderabad and Ludhiana chose government schools because of their existence in close vicinity, and better infrastructure. Other reasons such as free education at the elementary level and low cost at secondary level were also behind parents sending their children to government schools. The ones, who chose private schools, did so because of their perception that teachers in private schools were more responsive towards their children. In Ludhiana, two factors contributed to parents sending their children to government schools. One was high cost of private schooling and two, was the non-availability of private schools in the neighbourhood. Thus, the children were sent by compulsion to the government schools though the quality of education remained a concern for a number of parents. In Hyderabad, parents were found to be more aware of their role in involvement with their child's studies as compared to Ludhiana.

The learning levels of children in any context are a matter of concern for policymakers. Both school-related factors and socio-economic background shape the learning levels of children. However, carrying out effective teaching-learning processes is the prominent role of a school and the achievement scores reflect the quality of the same. In order to assess this, the survey was conducted in 19 schools, out of which, 10 schools were selected from Ludhiana and 9 from Hyderabad. A written test was conducted for children who were studying in Classes III, VII and IX in selected schools of both Hyderabad and Ludhiana. The subjects covered were mathematics and language (Telugu and English for Hyderabad, and Punjabi for Ludhiana). The test was administered on all the children of the above-mentioned classes, which had children from

the sample households as well as from other households in the selected or nearby slums.

In Hyderabad sample, the range of scores achieved in mathematics, placed more than 50 per cent of children below the passing mark category in Classes III, VII and IX. This indicated a poor quality of teaching-learning in schools located in slums of Hyderabad. Further, the number of children falling below 40 per cent marks progressively increased with higher classes, implying that the quality of teaching-learning deteriorated as one moved higher up in classes. With regard to language competency, the findings pointed towards a progressive decrease in learning levels in language among children studying in Classes III, VII and IX. Additionally, in mathematics, the scores of students when taken as a total or disaggregated through gender, showed a gradual decline as we went higher up in the classes but when language scores were disaggregated through gender, girls appeared to perform better than boys in Classes III and VII. While comparing the scores of children in mathematics and language in Classes III, VII and IX between government and private schools, it was found that the learning assessment was better in private schools. This divide was more prominent in language, in which case, it can be said that private schools were better in teaching-learning of language in the selected slums in Hyderabad.

In the sample taken from schools in Ludhiana, the score ranges revealed that almost 93 per cent children scored less than 40 per cent in mathematics in Class III. In Class VII, all the children scored less than 40 per cent, and in Class IX, around 57 per cent children scored less than 40 per cent. The mathematics teaching-learning was appalling at the primary level in the selected schools in Ludhiana. With regard to the language assessment, the data revealed that around 94 per cent children of Class III scored less than 40 per cent; almost the same figure as the number of scorers in this category in mathematics. This could have been because of the medium of instruction that is Punjabi in these schools. In Class VII, none of the children scored more than 40 per cent, and in Class IX, around 68 per cent children scored less than 40 per cent in language. Quite probable, the children picked up the language as they grew older and, hence, did fairly better in their learning assessment in Class IX.

In Ludhiana, comparison of score ranges between government and private schools showed that private schools provided better learning opportunities in both the subjects as compared to government schools. However, when taken as a whole, language teaching and learning was found to be at a great disadvantage for children in Ludhiana. The learning assessment of children in slums was found to be much below the expected level in both the subjects and in all the three Classes.

Examining the wealth of findings emerging from the analyses of educational status of children in household population and the select households in slums of Hyderabad and Ludhiana, it can be said that Ludhiana lacked behind Hyderabad in terms of school going status and learning achievement of children. In consonance with the conceptual framework of the research study,

the analyses detailed factors of and for educational access of children living in slums, exploring both supply-side and demand-side determinants of participation of children in schools. The findings reveal that slums in Ludhiana were at a clear disadvantage when measured up in terms of factors of and for educational access because of lack of schooling facilities, absence of similar medium of instruction between school teachers and children's first language, poor teaching quality, higher incidence of never-enrolled children, gender disparity in participation, low educational and economic status of parents impacting the school going status of children and lower levels of achievement, especially in language when compared to slums in Hyderabad. This implied that even though children living in slums in both Hyderabad and Ludhiana had less than optimum levels of educational access, perhaps if compared with the larger and well to do urban population, there existed further layers of marginalisation within both slums in terms of gender disparity, differentiation of participation based on government and private schools and learning achievement levels. With-in slum marginalisation of children was more evident in case of slums of Ludhiana, based on poorer educational access opportunities both from supply side as well as from demand side, in terms of poor levels of household income and parental education adversely impacting participation of children in slums. In both the slums, poor educational access led to marginalisation and social exclusion of children, away from better educational chances; however, this was more apparent in case of children living in slums of Ludhiana. Hence, the findings of this research affirmatively confirm the central argument of the book that educational access contributes to social exclusion of children living in slums. Further, findings of the research enrich this argument by bringing out different layers of socio-economic and gender-based processes of marginalisation occurring within slums. Social exclusion in already 'marginalised' slums, as a result of poor educational access, is thus a complex and layered phenomena, where children belonging to low socio-economic households and with low levels of parental education are further marginalised. Amongst children, gender participation in educational process is imbalanced towards girls, leading to their social exclusion. In the context of learning achievement levels of children residing in slums, it was found that in both the city slums, the levels were low; however, lower in slums of Ludhiana, reflecting that poor educational access (in terms of teaching quality and medium of instruction) led to 'marginalisation' within learning levels also, when compared with slums of Hyderabad.

Way Forward

The book has profiled the educational status of children in slums in two cities of the country. These are the children who have faced the first level of discrimination just by their location, surviving in the fringes of the city life. As a product of migrant population, they have poor access to not just education but also to basic services needed for human existence. The reason for which their parents have migrated to cities are largely economic and in search of livelihood, with less importance being accorded to education of their children. In such circumstances, the state needs to come forward and provide education as a basic right to them, at least by creating opportunities for education.

One cannot also deny the fact that migrants contribute to a city's economy by sustaining the informal sector and we are talking about their children. The harsh realities which the children in slums endure need to be factored in educational policy so that we are able to achieve the objectives enshrined in Millennium Development Goals and in our constitutional commitment. Thus, while recreating a vision which is more inclusive in the context of our educational policy, there must be space for addressing challenges emerging out of being an urban disadvantaged population.

First of all, the state needs to take cognizance of the intra-urban disparities, by basing its policies on disaggregated data for different groups. These could be informal sector workers, migrants from nearby and far off states, destitute and others, all of those who do not find mention in the official statistics. Once their challenges are assessed, appropriate plans and strategies can be developed for them so that they can be included in the ambit of education. Only when these groups are accorded official space, it would be easier for other departments, such as the Ministry for Urban Planning to factor for the migrant population, while planning basic amenities for them. This would also require detailed understanding of migration trends, increase in settlements and the population living in these settlements.

It is well established that education, and planning for it, cannot be done in isolation. Poverty alleviation, health and environmental improvement programmes must be interlinked with educational schemes so that all departments work in sync for development of this migrant community. Thus, inter sectoral collaboration can be emphasised as one of the strategies to improve the educational status of children living in slum areas. As far as improving the educational access, participation and learning levels of children are concerned, it is required that the national and state governments chart out a policy outline to cater to the needs of the urban disadvantaged children keeping in mind the need of a 'safe zone' and at demand point. Often in congested urban areas, the school may be available at a near distance but due to high density of population and unplanned overlapping service points such as railway track, nullah, busy road, shops act as hindrances for children walking on foot or even through other conveyances. These obstructions are not safe for children to travel. On the other hand, a number of public schools exist in those areas where they are not needed such as those areas where children from high income groups are already attending private schools. This was evident in case of Ludhiana. Hence, educational planning has to keep in view that the schools are made available to urban disadvantaged children at safe points and where they are utmost needed.

Regarding the decision for opening a new school, the education department can take help of school mapping using the GIS technology to identify a space. The collaboration with the private sector for this would be a viable and desirable option, where private sector offers its building and infrastructure for schooling purposes. If it is not possible to locate the school in the slum areas due to scarcity of space, appropriate travel arrangement with the facility of guarding children to school can be made. Schools need to be encouraged to

allow the admission of children from slums who have changed their school due to migration of their parents. This is important for enhancing access of these children to schools.

Along with improving physical access to schools, it is also important to bridge social distance between school functionaries and children. Teachers and school heads need to be oriented to tackle issues faced by children belonging to urban disadvantaged strata. The perspective of educational functionaries in schools has to be broadened and their mindsets need to shift so that their practices become more inclusive. This would certainly help in improving the participation and retention of these children. To boost the confidence and morale of children from slums, active engagement with the community can be explored as an important strategy.

The findings of this research have revealed that the challenge is not only improving access and participation but also poor learning levels of children in slums. Therefore, not just education but quality of education as well needs to be equally prioritised so that the learning gap between the academically better placed and academically disadvantaged children are bridged, and children with poor learning outcomes are given special care and protection so that they can improve upon their performance. To improve the learning levels of children, teachers need to be given special training to deal with challenges emerging from diversity. Schools in collaboration with community and non-governmental organisations can arrange special classes for those children whose home language is different from the medium of instruction followed in school. To facilitate this, a block resource centre or a district education department can take the lead in designing a six-month to one-year course aimed at making children competent in language that is the medium of instruction.

After years of educational reforms, still the learning levels in key subjects such as mathematics and language are far behind the expected. For this, teachers need to be oriented towards diversity in learning needs and styles of children, especially in such locations and sites. To ensure that the developmental and educational needs of each child are fulfilled, the ideal teacher pupil ratio for effective teaching-learning practice must be implemented as 1:25. If not, state governments can explore the possibility of alternative ways of classroom management and peer learning so that substantial number of children can be accommodated in teaching-learning processes. Children, who are academically disadvantaged, can also be provided supplementary material in mathematics and other subjects prepared by the teachers. Most importantly, additional and special packages like nutritional support scheme, scholarships and book bank facilities need to be extended to these designated areas. All these aspects must be included in a comprehensive national educational policy that will supplement all the recent efforts like SSA, RMSA, RTE, etc. and give a fillip to create a world of educational equality among the children of all sections of society, thus enabling us to develop human capital besides providing opportunities to hitherto marginalised and excluded slum children in flowering their potential.

The present scenario of Indian policy discourse presents a positive framework for a more comprehensive approach of systemic educational reforms. In alignment with the Goal 4 of the Sustainable Development Goals, the national agenda focuses on providing an inclusive and equitable quality education for all, across geographical regions and social groups. Within this framework, this book positions the educational status of children living in slums and recommends planning and policy interventions for extending the Right to Education to each child located in urban slums. The recent National Education Policy (2020) has charted a roadmap for school education by including critical focus on improving quality in addition to providing equitable access. The key argument is on 'learning how to learn' highlighting schooling process factors such as providing meaningful learning experiences to children and ensuring expected learning achievement levels. This book, based on empirical evidence drawn from slums of Hyderabad and Ludhiana, argues for providing an inclusive and rights based education to children living in slums both in terms of universal access and enhanced learning outcomes for all.

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ANNEXURES

Annexure-I

Trends in Urbanisation in India 1901-2011

Census Year	Total Population (in million)	Urban Population (in million)	No. of Towns/ UAs	% of Urban Population to Total Population.	Decadal Urban Growth Rate	Annual Expo-nential Growth Rate	Annual Gain in % of Urban Populationl	Annual Rate of Gain in Percentage of Urban Population
1901	238.4	25.8	1,827	10.85	NA	NA	NA	NA
1911	252.09	25.9	1,815	10.29	0.36	0.04	-0.06	-0.51
1921	251.32	28.1	1,949	11.18	8.26	0.8	0.09	0.86
1931	278.98	33.5	2,072	11.99	19.12	1.77	0.08	0.73
1941	318.66	44.2	2,250	13.86	31.98	2.81	0.19	1.55
1951	361.09	62.4	2,843	17.29	41.4	3.52	0.34	2.48
1961	439.24	78.9	2,365	17.97	26.41	2.37	0.07	0.39
1971	548.16	109.1	2,590	19.91	38.23	3.29	0.19	1.08
1981	683.33	159.5	3,301	23.34	46.14	3.87	0.34	1.72
1991	844.32	217.1	3,697	25.71	36.47	3.16	0.24	1.02
2001	1027.02	285.3	5161	27.8	31.8	2.7		
2011	1210.19	377	7935	31.2	31.8			

***Source**: Census of India, for various years, General population tables Part II-A(i), Office of the Registrar General and Census Commissioner, Government of India, New Delhi*

Annexure-II

Total Urban Population of Cities/Towns Reporting Slums and Slum Population in Slum Areas - India, States, Union Territories-2001

Sl. No.	State/Union Territory*	Number of Cities/ Towns Reporting Slums	Total Urban Population of States/ UTs	Population of Cities/ Towns Reporting Slums	Total Slum Population	Percentage of Slum Population to Total	
						Urban Population of States/ UTs	Population of Cities/ Towns Reporting Slums
1	*2*	*3*	*4*	*5*	*6*	*7*	*8*
	INDIA	640	283741818	184352421	42578150	15	23.1
1.	Jammu & Kashmir	5	2516638	1446148	268513	10.7	18.6
2.	Punjab	27	8262511	5660268	1159561	14	20.5
3.	Chandigarh	1	808515	808515	107125	13.2	13.2
4.	Uttaranchal	6	2179074	1010188	195470	9	19.3
5.	Haryana	22	6115304	4296670	1420407	23.2	33.1
6.	Delhi*	16	12905780	11277586	2029755	15.7	18
7.	Rajasthan	26	13214375	7668508	1294106	9.8	16.9
8.	Uttar Pradesh	69	34539582	21256870	4395276	12.7	20.7
9.	Bihar	23	8681800	4814512	531481	6.1	11
10.	Tripura	1	545750	189998	29949	5.5	15.8
11.	Meghalaya	1	454111	132867	86304	19	65
12.	Assam	7	3439240	1371881	82289	2.4	6
13.	West Bengal	59	22427251	15184596	4115980	18.4	27.1
14.	Jharkhand	11	5993741	2422943	301569	5	12.4
15.	Orissa	15	5517238	2838014	629999	11.4	22.2
16.	Chhattisgarh	12	4185747	260933	817908	19.5	31.4
17.	Madhya Pradesh	43	15967145	9599007	2417091	15.1	25.2
18.	Gujarat	41	18930250	12697360	1866797	9.9	14.7
19.	Maharashtra	61	41100980	33635219	11202762	27.3	33.3

20.	Andhra Pradesh	77	20808940	16090585	5187493	24.9	32.2
21.	Karnataka	35	17961529	11023376	1402971	7.8	12.7
22.	Goa	2	670577	175536	14482	2.2	8.3
23.	Kerala	13	8266925	3196622	64556	0.8	2
24.	Tamil Nadu	63	27483998	14337225	2866893	10.4	20
25.	Pondicherry*	3	648619	513010	73169	11.3	14.3
26.	A & N Islands*	1	116198	99984	16244	14	16.2

Source: Census of India,1991, 2001,General population tables Part II-A(i), Office of the Registrar General and Census Commissioner, Government of India,, New Delhi

Note: Himachal Pradesh, Sikkim, Arunachal Pradesh, Nagaland, Manipur, Mizoram, Daman, & Diu, Dadra & Nagar Haveli and Lakshdweep have not reported any slums in 2001.

Annexure-III

Population of Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes Living in Slum Areas and their Proportion to the Total Slum Population - India/State/Union Territory Reporting Slum: 2001

Sl. No.	State/Union Territory*	Population in Slum Areas		Percentage of Population in Slum Areas		Percentage of Population in Urban Areas	
		Scheduled Castes Population	Scheduled Tribes Population	Scheduled Castes	Scheduled Tribes	Scheduled Castes	Scheduled Tribes
1	*2*	*3*	*4*	*5*	*6*	*7*	*8*
	INDIA	7402373	1017408	17.4	2.4	11.8	2.2
1.	Jammu & Kashmir	17147	1091	6.4	0.4	5.3	2
2.	Punjab	331320	NST	28.6	0	20.7	0
3.	Chandigarh*	41869	NST	39.1	0	17.7	0
4.	Uttaranchal	44865	362	23	0.2	12	0.7
5.	Haryana	267975	NST	18.9	0	14.4	0
6.	Delhi*	552784	NST	27.2	0	16.7	0
7.	Rajasthan	349473	52763	27	4.1	14.8	2.9
8.	Uttar Pradesh	898790	2495	20.4	0.1	12.5	0
9.	Bihar	94523	7724	17.8	1.5	10	0.5

10.	Tripura	7136	619	23.8	2.1	18.3	4.7
11.	Meghalaya	720	43843	0.8	50.8	0.9	68.3
12.	Assam	12355	211	15	0.3	7.9	4.5
13.	West Bengal	567522	50810	13.8	1.2	13.1	1.2
14.	Jharkhand	26105	50425	8.7	16.7	10	9.8
15.	Orissa	108961	72763	17.3	11.5	12.7	8.1
16.	Chhattisgarh	143533	64945	17.5	7.9	12.4	8.4
17.	Madhya Pradesh	510034	91399	21.1	3.8	14	4.9
18.	Gujarat	259986	83741	13.9	4.5	7.5	3.2
19.	Maharashtra	1292808	284010	11.5	2.5	9.2	2.7
20.	Andhra Pradesh	767272	130997	14.8	2.5	10.2	1.8
21.	Karnataka	339218	64863	24.2	4.6	12	2.9
22.	Goa	294	7	2	0	1.9	0.1
23.	Kerala	4870	120	7.5	0.2	6.9	0.2
24.	Tamil Nadu	744558	14196	26	0.5	12.9	0.4
25.	Pondicherry*	18255	NST	24.9	0	10.7	0
26.	A & N Islands*	NSC	24	0	0.1	0	0.9

Annexure-IV

Basic Infrastructure and Academic Facilities in the Schools in Ludhiana

Names of Schools	School Building	Drinking Facility		Toilet Facility		Separate Toilets for Girls		Classroom Condition			Teacher - Pupil Ratio
		Available	Functional	Available	Functional	Available	Functional	Good	Minor	Major	
GPS Sarbha Nagar	Govt	Tap Water	Yes	3	3	2	2	6	0	0	39
GPS Indirapuri	Govt	Tap Water	Yes	4	4	2	2	8	0	0	46
GPS Sunet	Govt	Tap Water	Yes	5	5	2	2	10	0	0	48
Ekta Public School	Rented	Others**	Yes	14	14	10	10	8	0	0	37
Ashu Bal Vidyalaya Primary	Rented	Tap Water	Yes	2	2	1	1	5	0	0	5
GHS, Sarabha Nagar	Rented	Tap Water	Yes	7	7	4	4	2	0	0	16
GHS Indirapuri	Govt	Tap Water	Yes	4	4	2	2	4	0	0	26
GHS Sunet	Govt	Others**	Yes	6	6	3	3	2	0	2	23
Dhani Public High School	Private	Tap Water	Yes	2	2	1	1	6	0	0	14
Rukmani Devi Bal Vidyalaya High School	Rented	Others**	Yes	4	4	2	2	12	0	0	19
				51	51	29	29	63	0	2	273

*Others** : Data not available in DISE*

Annexure-V

Basic Infrastructure and Academic Facilities in the Schools in Hyderabad

Name of Schools	School Building	Drinking Facility		Toilet Facility		Separate Toilets for Girls		Classroom Condition			Teacher - Pupil Ratio
		Available	Functional	Available	Functional	Available	Functional	Good	Minor	Major	
Govt PS Deval Jam Singh	Govt	Tap Water	Yes	2	0	2	0	7	0	0	57
GPS Kulsumpura	Govt	Tap Water	No	16	16	8	8	18	0	0	56
GPS Redcross	Govt	Tap Water	Yes	2	0	1	0	6	0	0	21
GHS Deval Jam Singh	Govt	Tap Water	Yes	3	3	2	2	2	1	2	26
GHS Kulsumpura	Govt	Tap Water	No	2	2	1	1	0**	0**	0**	33
GHS Vijayanagar Colony	Govt	Tap Water	Yes	9	4	5	2	5	5	0	41
Vivekananda High School	Rented	Tap Water	No	2	0	2	0	13	0	0	66
St. Marys High School	Pvt	Tap Water	No	8	8	5	5	10	2	0	24
Tiny Angels High School	Pvt Rented	Tap Water	No	10	10	5	5	32	2	0	59
				54	43	31	23	93	10	2	383

*0** Data not available*

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