URBAN MARGINALITY AND EDUCATIONAL STATUS: A STUDY OF CHILDREN LIVING IN SLUMS OF PATNA

DISSERTATION

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DECLARATION BY THE SCHOLAR

This is to certify that the M.Phil. Dissertation being submitted by me on the topic entitled 'Urban Marginality and Educational Status: A Study of Children Living in Slums of Patna' has been completed under the guidance of Dr. Sunita Chugh. It is declared that present research has not been previously formed the basis of the award of any Degree, Diploma, Associateship or Fellowship to this or any other University.

SHADAB ANIS

CERTIFICATE OF THE SUPERVISIOR

This is to certify that dissertation entitled 'Marginality and Educational Status: A Study of Children Living in Slums of Patna' is the work undertaken by Mr. Shadab Anis under my supervision and guidance as part of his M.Phil. degree in this University. To the best of Knowledge, this is the original work conducted by him and the dissertation may be sent for evaluation.

Dr. Sunita Chugh

ABSTRACT

The various policies of the Government of India including those which are part of international commitments under the Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs) attempts to address the issue of Urban Poor and their Children's Education. The initiatives include lessening the deprivation for these masses through incentives such as rationing provision and education for all. The existing literature on the urban marginality suggests that there is a positive correlation between higher degree of education and reduction in vicious cycle of poverty. But at the same time the pitiable living and housing conditions, low income of the parents and poor school infrastructure adversely effects the education of the children. In such multidimensional marginality the poor children may remain uneducated and the cycle of their marginality will continue from one generation to another. Taking the issue forward, by applying the mixed method approach of data collection and analysis, this study examined the problem of urban marginality and its impacts on education of the children living in slums by using the household survey in five selected slums of Patna.

The study comes to an understanding that both school related and home related factors effects the education of the urban poor children. The majority of slum dwellers still lack the basic living conditions from proper housing to access of toilets, ration cards, electricity, gas cylinders, water and sanitation. Most of them are involved in informal employment which barely fulfills their subsistence. The study reveals that there is a high demand for education access among the urban poor and they are conscious of the long term benefits of education to their children. But their experiences are such that they are losing their faith in the government schooling and moving towards low cost private schools despite their low income and financial constraints for better learning and future of their children. There are many children who are out of school and drop outs. Poverty and the apathy of the teachers are main reasons of drop-out and children who never enrolled. In the poverty ridden urban families the parents believes that the government schools lack basic physical facilities and teachers are not interested in teaching. This enabled them to invest their hard earned money in private schooling and tuitions.

Caste and Religious structures are highly prevalent in terms defining the social composition of the slum dwellers. A large majority of them in the studied localities are from Scheduled Castes and religious minority Muslim communities. These deprivations produce further marginalization as they involve historical prejudice against these communities in all spheres of urban life. Such marginalization of caste and religion limits the education and learning of the children. The study concludes with offering some of the educational policy recommendations based on the finding which will help to address the issue of the children living in slums.

Contents

List of Acronyms

AMRUT	Atal Mission for Rejuvenation and Urban Transformation
BPS	Budget Private School
COVID-19	Corona Virus Disease- 2019
DPEP	District Primary Education Programme
EWS	Economically Weaker Section
FAO	Food and Agricultural Organization
GOI	Government of India
HDI	Human Development Index
ICDS	Integrated Child Development Scheme
ILO	International Labour Organization
JNNURM	Jawaharlal Nehru National Urban Renewal Mission
MPCE	Monthly Per capita Expenditure
NCEUS	National Commission for Enterprises in the Unorganized Sector
NGO	Non- Governmental organization
NFSA	National Food Security Act
NSSO	National Sample Survey Organization
OBC	Other Backward Classes
PDS	Public Distribution System
PMC	Patna Municipal Corporation
RAY	Rajiv Awas Yojana
RTE	Right to Education Act
SSA	Sarva Sikhsha Abhiyan
SC	Scheduled Caste
SMC	School Management Committee
SPUR	Support Programme for Urban Reform
ST	Scheduled Tribe
UNESCO	United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization
WHO	World Health Organization

Chapter- 1
Introduction

In his final address to the Constituent Assembly on 25 November 1949, B.R. Ambedkar issued a warning to the would-be republic:

On the 26th of January 1950, we are going to enter into a life of contradictions. In politics we will have equality and in social and economic life we will have inequality. In politics we will be recognising the principle of one man one vote and one vote one value. In our social and economic life, we shall, by reason of our social and economic structure, continue to deny the principle of one man one value. How long shall we continue to live this life of contradictions? How long shall we continue to deny equality in our social and economic life? If we continue to deny it for long, we will do so only by putting our political democracy in peril. We must remove this contradiction at the earliest possible moment or else those who suffer from inequality will blow up the structure of political democracy which this Assembly has so laboriously built up.[1]

Ambedkar was speaking after three years of rigorous exercise for preparing the Indian constitution to include the interests of the all Indians, keeping in mind the existing inequalities and marginalization of certain community based on caste, region, gender, ethnicity and languages. "In the Assembly Indians were for the first time in a century and a half responsible for their own governance," writes Granville Austin. "They were at last free to shape their own destiny, to pursue their long-proclaimed aims and aspirations, and to create the national institutions that would facilitate the fulfillment of these aims. These tasks the members approached with remarkable idealism and strength of purpose born of the struggle for independence. A constitution, Assembly members realized, could not by itself make a new India, but they intended it to light the way (Austin, 2016, 1996).

"Marginality" is the position of people on the edges, preventing their access to resources and opportunities, freedom of choices, and the development of personal capabilities. Being excluded, not only from growth but also from other dimensions of developmental and societal progress, is an indication of the extremely poor being at

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[1] For details see; Constituent Assembly Debates, Vol. 11. Retrieved from
http://parliamentofindia.nic.in/ls/debates/vol11p11.htm

the margins of society and in many cases marginality is a root cause of poverty (von Braun et al., 2009). Marginalization is not a standalone homogenous occurrence in specific societies alone, rather it stems from a long drawn historical context, which gets solidified over time and is multidimensional in nature. The most commonly observed phenomenon which can classify as proxy to analyse marginalization includes race, colour, gender, caste and religion. These characteristics when observed in the backdrop of socio-economic and political systems, reflects the form of marginalization. For instance, marginalisation of women in Europe is vastly different from marginalisation of women in India or Africa. The assumed forms of marginalization are specific to the location of the overall social system.

This peripheral location individual makes them more susceptible to being repeatedly subjugated. As emphasized previously, it is not a novel phenomenon and has been carried forward since time immemorial. For instance, the certain sections of the society like the Dalits have been bearing the brunt of discrimination even historically. However, the awareness has only heightened recently owing to the massification of education. This is true for all marginalized groups.

Marginalization as such is a systemic process, which has been institutionalized as well. It is marginalization which leads to alienation of people and relegate them to a status of low bargaining power. This is why such groups can rarely come ahead and participate in the political process, social negotiations and in so far as even demand for their economic entitlements. This institutionalization of social order imposes multiple disadvantages, because socio-political-and economic realities are very permeable and a reduced agency in either one of the realms correspondingly diminishes the agency in the other realm. For example- someone from a lower caste (social realm) is more likely to be of a lower class (economic realm) and concomitantly have a lower participation rate in electoral process (political realm).

People migrate from rural areas to urban areas in search of job opportunities, better education and health services. The urban space is not a uniform space unable to provide a better life to all the migrated people and creates its own marginality which forces these migrated population termed as 'urban poor or marginalised' to live in sub human conditions. Living in precarious situation on marginality, where the

livelihood of urban poor itself is everyday struggle, education of the children suffers the most. In this context, disappointed with the unplanned urbanization, the urban marginalised live in squatter settlements known as slums (Davis, 2006).

It can be said that slums as a marginalized space fits into the logic of urbanization process. And Most of the slum dwellers work in the informal sector and their income is generally low and they continue to live in constant fear of job insecurity. The large number of people join the *"reserve army of labour"* to borrow Marx's term. They work as domestic help, driver, peon, gardener, Gatekeeper, security guard, Small vendors etc. And slum dwellers help in sustaining the urban space and its activities by supplying cheap labour; they are compelled to struggle even for basic amenities (Harvey, 2008). Despite tremendous variations across slums, issues common to all slum settings are - lack of adequate living space, insufficient public goods provision, and poor quality of basic amenities, which lead to extremely poor health and low productive human capital. The adverse effects of overcrowding has an impact on the health condition of the inhabitants which is further aggravated by poor access to water and sanitation facilities (Dwivedi, 2012; Banerjee, Pande and Walton, 2012; Bag, Seth and Gupta, 2016).

Slums do not have only poor environmental conditions but also have inadequate schooling facilities which lead to low participation of children in schools. Various studies highlighting the educational scenario in the slum areas (Chugh, 2011), point to the fact that large number of children tend to drop out of schools or not attending schools due to push and pull factors. Some of the significant reasons for low participation of children are – non–availability of schools in the safe zone, difficulty in commuting especially for girls, frequent migration of family to different place in search of jobs thus having discontinuity in attending and changing school, low income, engagement in household work like taking care of younger siblings, indifferent and non-empathetic attitudes of the teachers, lack of interest and the low motivation level of children (Bagjugar 2007; Agarwal and Chugh 2003, Kalyan and Shukla, 2016).

Education plays a catalytic role in the socio-economic development of a nation. It enables the upliftment and transformation of a society by empowering weaker

sections to take hold of their circumstances, overcome limitations, and change their life for the better. Education has acquired a place of importance in the development agenda of India. While there has been a surge in the rate of literacy, it is pertinent to note that opportunities for both education and development have not been distributed evenly across the country and not certainly in slum areas. While education enables the oppressed to get empowered and overcome inequalities in society, the process of education has by itself internalized some of these inequalities, thereby reinforcing and reproducing them (Bourdieu and Passeron, 1977). In light of Bourdieu's insight it seems appropriate to ask if there is deliberately less attention on the education of the children living in slums, so that these children can later on get employed in unorganised sector or can be supplied as cheap labour.

The right to education is often available least to those who need it most. Poverty is the greatest obstacle to the enjoyment of the right to education as well as the right to development. Education is one of the key instruments for putting an end to the intergenerational transmission of poverty. Poverty is also gross violation of social justice and of human dignity. So long poverty remains so widely prevalent, development cannot be sustained. Equality of opportunity is important for reducing many other forms of inequalities. Access to education is an important indicator of equality of opportunity.

Marginalization as a concept: Conceptual Framework

Marginalization is a multidimensional, multi-causal, historical phenomenon (Clark, 1966).In the absence of a general law to better understands the complexity of how marginalization operates, a few important types of Marginalization, with their characteristics features are described as follows:

Social Marginalization- It is the social exclusion of individuals, which forms a social disadvantage. Social exclusion is a process where opportunities of social integration are denied to specific groups of people. Social Exclusion involves lack or denial of resources, rights, goods and services and inability to participate in normal relationships and activities, available to the majority of people in economic, social, cultural, or political spheres of life. This phenomenon affects both the quality of life of individuals and equity and cohesion of society as a whole (Levitas et al., 2007, p.

9). While discussing the concept of social exclusion, Sen (2002) differentiated between active and passive exclusion. "Active exclusion" implied deliberate exclusion of people from opportunities through government policy or other means, whereas "Passive exclusion", works through social processes in which there are no deliberate attempts to exclude, but nevertheless, result in exclusion from a set of available resources or favourable circumstances in general. The concept of social exclusion can be described in terms of social, political and economic deprivation suffered by marginalized individuals. This deprivation can also be read expansively in terms of 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 wellbeing and the right to vote and stand for election.

This leads to the development of a very limited social network, which further renders them weak and vulnerable. It is also imposed on individuals who tend to deviate from a pre-established norm followed by a society. They are deprived of access to resources, such as economic, cultural, educational support system.

Economic Marginalization- Characterized by inequality, the highly unequal structure of the neoliberal economy leads to many forms of exclusion, because of the way how economy is organized - the highly skewed distribution of resources and assets, reinforced by unemployment and poverty. The maintenance of economic marginalization is ingrained in the market principle, driven by profit motive. As such, the welfare of the people takes a backseat and individuals with low productivity, low social standing etc. are delegated to work in exploitative conditions. For instance, the case of the informal sector in India which caters to 93% of the workforce is characterized by low pay, appalling work conditions etc.

Political Marginalization- It is the involuntary position that numerous groups find themselves with when they are excluded from fully participating in the democratic process. This can assume various forms like being denied to take part in the electoral process, restricted access to political agents capable of bringing about change. These groups seldom have a voice in the political process and as such, are left on the fringes. This further leads to a greater disenchantment from the political process altogether,

which is why the marginalized groups have very little interest and trust in the political process.

To fully utilize an individual's potential; a friendly and favourable environment is required for supporting the individual. This 'favourable environment' is dependent on the combination of socio-economic and political strength of the community at large. The difference between mainstream society and the groups on the fringes is the denial of access to this favourable environment which prohibits them to optimize their fullest potential. In any mainstream society, symbiotic relationships are a norm, and an unsaid expectation of 'giving back' always lingers on individuals. However, marginalised people without access to requisite resources for meeting their everyday needs are often handicapped to 'give back' to the society, even when they have the best of intentions.

As such, their perceived 'uselessness' in a society gets consolidated and this in turn also leads to the generation of a vicious cycle where marginalised are reinforced as non-contributing members, and conflated with being parasites of a society. Even in terms of their spatial organization, they live in clusters in the fringes with minimum or no basic facilities such as piped water, electricity availability, proper living conditions etc. Living in squalor, as most of the marginalised do, is the exact opposite of living a dignified life. This in turn further affects their physical health and prevents their full integration within the society as circumstances conspire to ensure that they remain the 'less abled' lot.

Unfortunately, the children of the marginalized suffer the same fate as the lottery of birth decides their life course and for that matter, even the probability of their existence. This is owing to the fact that sanitation facilities and clean drinking water are vital to put a cap on the Infant Mortality Rate and also determine the life expectancy of individuals. Since there is a paucity of both in the urban squalors where migrants generally inhabit, their survival is at a perennial risk. At a time when the world strives to ensure Sustainable development for one and all, marginalised are denied their chances of even development, let alone a sustained one. People of slums continue to live a marginalised life in cities and urban spaces (Sassen, 2001).

Definition of Slums

Under Section-3 of the Slum Area Improvement and Clearance Act, 1956, 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. (Source: Primary Census Abstract for Slum, 2011 Office of the Registrar General & Census Commissioner, India).

As per UN Habitat a slum is characterized by lack of durable housing, insufficient living area, and lack of access to clean water, inadequate sanitation and insecure tenure.

For the first time in Census 2001, slum areas were earmarked across the country, particularly, in cities and towns having population of 50,000 or above in 1991 Census. Subsequently, the slum data was culled out also for towns with 20,000 to 49,999 population in 2001 and statutory towns having population less than 50,000 in 1991 but reported more than 50,000 populations in 2001 and were not considered for carving slum Enumeration Blocks earlier.

Three types of slums have been defined in Census, namely, Notified, Recognized and Identified. Source: Primary Census Abstract for Slum, 2011 Office of the Registrar General & Census Commissioner, India

Definition and types of slums – Census of India, 2011

(i) All notified areas in a town or city notified as 'Slum' by State, Union territories Administration or Local Government under any Act including a 'Slum Act' may be considered as Notified slums

(ii) All areas recognised as 'Slum' by State, Union territories Administration or Local Government, Housing and Slum Boards, which may have not been formally notified as slum under any act may be considered as Recognized slums

(iii) A compact area of at least 300 populations or about 60-70 households of poorly built congested tenements, in unhygienic environment usually with inadequate infrastructure and lacking in proper sanitary and drinking water

facilities. Such areas should be identified personally by the Charge Officer and also inspected by an officer nominated by Directorate of Census Operations. This fact must be duly recorded in the charge register. Such areas may be considered as Identified slums.

While the NSSO 69th round defines only notified and non-notified slums. At all-India level, out of an estimated total of 33,510 slums, 41% were notified and 59% no-notified while 34.3% of slums enjoy the notified status are homes to just 36% household (Census of India, 2011), implying large number of slum dwellers still waiting to live in notified slums, because if any facilities provided by the slums it only reaches to notified slums.

The 2001 Census of India shows that the total number of town reported slums are 1743 while the Census of India 2011, shows that the total Number of Towns reported slums is 2613. It means the number of slums in the urban spaces is increasing. According to the National Sample Survey Organization (NSSO) 69th 2012, round of survey there are an estimated total of 33,510 slums existed in the urban areas of India, of which 13,761 were notified and 19,749 were non-notified slums. According to census of India, 2011 the total number of urban population is 377 million which is 31% of the total population of India and it is estimated that it may grow by 600 million by 2030. There are 13.7 million (17%) household which will be not less than 76 million populations who lives amidst of inadequate basic services, poor health, housing, insecurity, low income consisting of all lead to urban poverty.

In terms of living conditions, the India Urban Poverty Report 2009 notes:

Urban poverty poses problems of housing and shelter, water, sanitation, health, education, social security and livelihoods, along with the special needs of vulnerable groups like women, children and aged people. Poor people live in slums which are overcrowded, often polluted and lack basic civic amenities like clean drinking water, sanitation and health facilities. Most of them are involved in informal sector activities where there is constant threat of eviction, removal, confiscation of goods and almost non-existent social security cover.[2]

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[2] Ministry of Housing and Urban Poverty Alleviation, India Urban Poverty Report 2009, Oxford University Press, New Delhi, 2009, Summary.

With urbanisation number of slums and slum dwellers are increasing as the people who are migrating out of distress cannot afford decent housing and get settled in these congested areas with relatives or friends from their original state and Patna is no exception to this.

Slums in Patna, Bihar

It is irony that no policy on slums existed before 2011 for Bihar. The first draft of the slum policy in Bihar came in 2011. The policy draft does not give accurate statistics about the existing number of slums in Bihar. It basically defines what are slum and the steps that will be taken in future to improve the living conditions of the people living in slums.

A total of 99 slums were listed in PMC which comprises of almost 15163 households if we further bifurcate it on the basis of caste composition, there were approximately 1439 minority, 9645 Scheduled Caste, 3781 Backward Caste and 298 General Category. This means near 64 percent of the slum households belong to Scheduled Castes category.[3] The SPUR survey in December 2010 recorded presence of 108 slums with 16277 households. Slums in Patna have poor infrastructure with hand pumps and public stand posts being the main water supply sources; very few households have toilets and there is a lack of public toilets.[4] The city Development Plan 2010-30, Patna on its page number seven has given space to just four lines. Which talks about numbers of the slums and total slum household? It clearly shows the attitude of the urban planners, the government that to what extent they are serious to improve the living conditions of the slum dwellers. The adverse environmental conditions have more severe impact on the health and education of the children living in slum areas. Since independence emphasis has been on providing educational facilities to all children especially to disadvantaged and marginalised the ensuing section probes the policy statements with a focus on education of marginalised.

Tracing the policies on Education and its stand for the marginalised children

The Education Commission, India (1964-66) in its report stressed on equalization of educational opportunity. One of the most significant objectives of education is to

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[3] For details see; https://terraurban.wordpress.com/2012/04/02/prias-interface-with-slums-of-patna/
[4] City Development Plan, Patna, 2010-30, p-7.

equalize opportunity enabling the marginalised, backwards or the underprivileged classes to use education for improvement of their conditions. National Policy on education 1968, National Policy on education 1986 and Programme of Action 1992, all stressed upon inclusion of disadvantaged and adopting appropriate interventions for improving the educational status of children of the disadvantaged section but they did not specifically mentioned about the children living in slum areas. The National Policy on Education 1986 emphasized on removal of disparities and equalisation of educational opportunities in terms of access and ensuring not merely access to education but also providing quality education to all the children. It required the government to take positive steps to provide education to those who had been deprived of education so far[5].

Subsequent to this in 1990s number of programmes like DPEP, Bihar Education Project, Shiksha Karmi and Lok Jumbish were initiated but all the programmes focused on the children living in rural areas. For the first time in 2001 *Sarva Shiksha Abhiyan* was launched for achievement of Universalisation of Elementary education in a time bound manner included the urban areas as well. The programme made special provision for the urban marginalised and special provision were made like provision of rented building to improve access, multi-story construction of school buildings For improving the physical and academic facilities in the schools SSA interventions included construction of schools and additional classrooms, toilet and drinking water, provisioning for teachers, in service training of teachers and academic resource support, free textbooks and uniforms and support for improving learning achievement levels. Education was under Article 45 in the Directive principles of the Constitution and it was not a fundamental right. For further improvement of educational status of children of disadvantage groups, the government of India passed the Right to Education Act 2009 which makes it mandatory for the State to provide educational facilities and ensure the completion of elementary education of all children of 6-14 years of age. The act ensures free and compulsory education to all children irrespective of caste, religion and gender.

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[5]National Policy on Education 1986/1992, paras 3.6 & 4.1

For improving the living conditions in urban areas other programmes like The "Jawaharlal Nehru National Urban Renewal Mission" was launched by GoI in 2005 (continued till 2015), with a basic purpose of improving living condition of urban people especially the urban poor. It aimed to provide basic services to urban poor and urban sector reform especially the urban Municipal governance in accordance with the 74th constitutional amendment. This implied decentralization of power to the urban local bodies for better management of urban places. The Rajiv Awas Yojana (RAY) was also launched by the central government. It was basically housing scheme for the urban slum dwellers. The objective of the RAY envisaged a "Slum Free India" with inclusive and equitable cities in which every citizen had access to basic civic infrastructure and social amenities and decent shelter. In 2015 the government started the new project for urban development called "Housing for all", reinforcing the need for homes for urban poor. With the better infrastructural facilities the probability of children participation in school will improve. The question is who are these slum dwellers? Do they belong to a particular social group and how education can be an instrument for their horizontal and vertical mobility?

Caste, Education and Social Mobility

Education is a tool which ensures social mobility. Education helps an individual to break social barriers and hierarchy. In India due to caste based discrimination, certain sections of people were involved in hereditary occupations (Ambedkar, 1936). Slum dwellers mainly belong to lower castes and also include poor people from other communities. Education does help people from lower strata of society to exhibit upward social mobility and choose occupations other than their traditional work. The slum dwellers are mainly involved in informal work because they do not possess the requisite qualification to enter into the formal sector and highly skilled occupation. The more the educated individual is, better are chances of getting good employment in the labour market (Madeshwar and Attewell, 2007). Education has an intrinsic value for individual and can be useful in building their knowledge and confidence. That is why education of children from the marginalised section is essentially important and elementary education is the basis for further secondary and higher education. The purpose of education does not mean to produce an organic intellectual for market but also to produce organic intellectual for the society (Patnaik, 2007). It implies that we need sensitive and well informed citizen for socio-economic

development of society. It will help to achieve egalitarian and equitable society. Exclusion and discrimination based on caste, region, race, language, ethnicity, gender and colour can be reduced if we actually focus to produce well educated and informed citizens for the country. Therefore education of the children living in slum areas needs more concerted efforts and specific interventions considering their peculiar socio-economic and environmental conditions.

Conceptual Framework of the Study

The Sustainable Development Goals as ratified by nations and presented by United Nations in 2015 spell 17 goals. Out of these 17 goals, Goal 4 urges to "ensure inclusive and equitable quality education and promote lifelong learning opportunities for all"; Goal 6 talks about Clean Water and Sanitation, Goal 8 about Decent Work and Economic Growth and Goal 11 is about Sustainable Cities and Communities – "making cities and human settlements inclusive, safe, resilient and sustainable". Further, according to the UN "*India is urbanizing rapidly. Between 2001 and 2011, the country's urban population had increased by 91 million. India is projected to add 416 million urban dwellers between 2018 and 2050. By 2030, India is expected to be home to seven mega-cities with populations above 10 million. 68% of the country's total population lives in rural areas, while 17% of the country's urban population lives in slums. The Government of India's Smart Cities Mission, the Jawaharlal Nehru National Urban Renewal Mission, and the Atal Mission for Rejuvenation and Urban Transformation (AMRUT) are working to address the challenge of improving urban spaces. The prime minister's Pradhan Mantri Awas Yojana aims to achieve housing for all by 2022.*" (Source:https://in.one.un.org/page/sustainable-development-goals/sdg-11/c accessed on 15th April 2020).

On one hand, the Government of India has initiated programmes for sustainable urban planning and on the other hand, recent initiatives in the field of education, such as *Samagra Shiksha*, call for ensuring equitable and quality education in schooling. The Right to Education Act, 2009, a departure from welfarist to rights based approach made education free and compulsory for children between 6 to 14 years of age. Thus, both global and national trends in education and urban planning have exhibited convergent goals.

In light of these international and national policies, this research focuses on the concept of urban marginalization, the educational status of children living in slums and educational factors that lead to urban marginalization.

The ***conceptual framework*** of this study is situated in the context of urban marginalization, a process by which unequal access to resources lead to lowering of educational and social-economic chances available to urban poor (refer to the category of slum dwellers in this research). This process creates further stratification where the urban poor are relegated to the periphery of urban living. This study attempts to understand this concept in detail by exploring themes such as exclusion and poverty which in turn affect the educational prospects of children living in slums. Further, this research investigates the educational status of children living in slums by studying issues related to access and participation in schools and household determinants affecting the same. The research design of this study is exploratory in nature taking mixed-methods as the methodological approach for analysis of data and presentation of findings. Towards the end, this study would attempt to provide policy recommendations with regard to interventions required for improving educational status of children living in slums. The field chosen for the study is the slums of Patna, a city of Bihar.

Advanced Marginality

The theory of Advance Marginality of Loic J. D. Wacquant influences this research in many ways. The theory has been developed by the author over the years to understand the inequality and marginality of certain communities in the metropolitan cities of western World and America after post Fordism capitalist economy[6]. Under the new regime, the extreme poverty, destitution and marginalization is the new form of exclusionary social order. He suggests dualization of the city at the centre of the urban theory. The used term '*Dualization*' means the urban uneven developmental phenomenon such as high society and dark ghetto, luxurious wealth and utter destitution, cosmopolitan bourgeoisie and urban outcasts, flourishing and decaying side by side.

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[6] Fordism is widely used term to describe the system of mass production pioneered by Henry Ford in the post-war mode of economic growth and its associated political and social order in advanced economy. Post-fordist is the departure from the mass scale production to the small scale production.

The author argues that such "new forms of exclusionary social closure and peripheralizations have arisen, or intensified, in the post-fordist metropolis as a result, not of backwardness, but of the uneven, disarticulating, mutations of the most advanced sectors of western societies and economies". Though the theory has been developed in relation to the developed world but its characteristics fits into the developmental discourse of India, especially after liberalization. The author proposes six characteristics of advanced marginality which are as follows:

i)   *the growing internal heterogeneity and dis-socialization of labour*

ii)   *the functional disconnection of the neighbourhood conditions from the macro-economic trends*

iii) *territorial fixation and stigmatization*

iv)   *spatial alienation and dislocation of place*

v)   *the loss of hinterland*

vi)   *the symbolic fragmentation of the marginalized population.*

Wage-labor as part of the problem

The first characteristics of the growing urban marginality as per the author are the changed relation of wage-labor in post fordist capitalist economy. The author argues that wage- labor relation offered solutions to the problem of urban marginality in the fordist phase of capitalism but in post-fordist phase of capitalism it has become a part of the problem. The wage-labor contract has become internally unstable and heterogeneous which is also differentiated and differentiating. This changed nature under the new regime has turned into a source of fragmentation and precariousness for the people of urban marginality who are already at the periphery of the employment sphere. The growth of the concept of part time or flexible jobs in the contemporary market economy which the author calls as "institutionalization of 'permanently temporary' work" leads to the rampant desocialization of wage labor.

The elements of security such as labor market security, income security and employment security that were granted during fordist expansion or organised capitalism has been undermined or is under frontal attack under the post-fordist capitalist economy.

Functional disconnection from macro-economic trends

The author states that urban marginality remains disconnected from the macro economic trends and even the employment and consumption during the expansionary phase of economy have less effect on the urban marginality. This argument is substantiated by the fact that the social conditions of neighborhoods of America and Europe did not change much during the boom years of 1980s and early 1990s but worsened drastically during recessionary phases. It follows from this that even the growth in economy does not necessarily have a sound trickledown effect on the urban marginality.

Territorial Fixation and Stigmatization

Certain sections of communities tend to concentrate in the well identified periphery in advanced marginality and they are seen as purgatories. Certain stigmas are attached with the existing stigma of poverty. They live in the continuous guilt and shame. The criminalization of the urban marginalized become the new normal of thought process of the so called rich. This characteristic of advance marginality can be traced in Indian cities as well in which the urban poor consists of large section from the lower caste and Muslim minority. Certain values are associated with them and they are seen as illegal, uncivilized, encroachers who cause public nuisance.

Territorial alienation or the dissolution of 'place'

As per the author, the dissolution of place means the "dissolution of a locale that marginalized urban populations identify with and feel secure in". The current reconfiguring of capitalism involves a change of perception of the organisation and the experience of space itself. There is a change of perception and connotation of urban marginality from 'place' to 'space'. The author uses Smith's understanding of the distinction of place and space to designate urban marginality: "places are full and fixed, stable arenas whereas spaces are potential voids, possible threats areas that have to be feared, secured of fled.

The loss of hinterland

The author argues that before the rise of advance marginality when crisis used to emerge in the urban labour market on which the segment of poor working class rely on, they used to go back to their native places. They used to get some work and the

community was there to support them. But today due to deproletarization the villagers themselves have lost their jobs. Now they have to find out their own ways to survive which will be not be helpful to reduce precariousness because the very nature of current informal sector is not to alleviate their life but to make them more marginal by reinforcing the contemporary patterns of inequality. It is disjoined from the regular wage labour and even the legit occupation has very few entry points. And the people who are engaged in informal sector are more likely to remain marginalised. In case of India, it makes sense in the context of agricultural distress and the loss of rural self - sustaining economy.

The symbolic fragmentation of the marginalized population

The advance marginality is different for earlier one because it decomposes class rather than forming it and leads to deproletarization rather than proletarization. It departs from the shared thought to find common solution to the problem of advanced marginality. There is clash of interest between the existing working class which includes lower level clerks and the newly working class population who has migrated from other places in search of better life and livelihood. The old working class faces competition in the labour market. This fragmentation of the working class cannot be addressed by the traditional thoughts of trade unions because they work for the regulation of wage- work largely. And the organization which works on behalf of homeless, jobless and unemployed still struggle to make a space in the larger political sphere to exert their pressure because they are too fragile. It can be well applied in the Indian context in which the migrated poor faces hate from the local poor because they think this new influx of working hands will snatch their jobs.

Policy solutions to address the issue of Advanced Marginality suggested by Loic J. D Wacquant

The author suggests two policy solutions to solve the problem of advanced urban marginality. In the short run, he suggests 'to re-establish or expand state services so as to guarantee equal provisioning of basic public goods' throughout urban areas and immediately alleviate the hardship created by *social disinvestment* caused by the retrenchment, partial or wholesale of public institutions in territories of relegation over past decade'. And in the long run, the author suggests that the obligation of wage labour must be relaxed and social redistribution enlarge so as to (i) reduce the labour

supply (ii) to restructure and stabilize anew the system of strategies of household reproduction and mobility.

Authors favours to increase government spending on public goods. And the debate is almost settled in academia that education is a public good and therefore the government should spend on education. Education is a "public good". Because it is non-excludable, non-rival (Samuelson, 1954) and it has various positive "externalities" or spillovers associated with its consumption. So a person acquiring basic education not only benefits himself but also the society at large. An improvement of access, equity and quality of the government schools is called in the direction of social welfare.

The many characteristics of advanced marginality fit into the larger frame of this research and influenced the study to understand the urban marginality in general and educational status of the children in particular living in selected slums of Patna.

Rationale of the Study

India is also host to a number of million plus cities like rest of the world where glaring disparities exist in terms of children's health, education and opportunities for livelihood. Even though, cities are better equipped with urban infrastructure, health, educational and recreational facilities when compared to rural areas, the disadvantaged and the marginalized populations stand at a periphery, and are unable to access and utilize the resources. The marginalized in the urban set up is a large population who may include people living in slums, resettlement colonies, and informal settlements, on streets etc. that are not only economically but also socially and politically marginalized. In this context, it is important to investigate if children living in slum areas have equal opportunity to receive quality education as their urban counterparts. Whether schools are available in the neighbourhood of slums? Whether children are able to get enrolled and participate in education at the elementary level of education?

Post-independence, the changing landscape of urban city of Patna has not been captured adequately in educational research. A few studies exist, however they do not fully explore the reasons of spread and growth of slums and educational depravity of

children residing in these slums. It is argued that not much attention was given on the spatial structuring of the city space from mid-twentieth century till present, and most importantly one cannot also delineate the period in which maximum number of slum settlements took place in the city of Patna. Bihar is mostly known for out-migration to the other parts of the country. In this case the slums of Patna are the classic case of in-migration and comparatively the people are homogenous. Due to expansion of city infrastructure labour is required in construction and other related services. Each and every city has its own characteristics. In absence of any comprehensive study, it is essential to investigate living standards of urban poor and schooling options available to children living in selected slums in the city of Patna as also the need to understand the pattern of educational participation of these children.

Statement of the Problem

In the context of the conceptual framework and rationale of the present study, the statement of the problem is as follows:

Urban Marginality and Educational Status: A Study of Children living in Slums of Patna

Chapterization of the Dissertation

The dissertation is organized into five chapters. **Chapter 1** is the Introduction which sets the context of the present research, discusses the notion and types of marginalization and presents the conceptual framework of the study. The next chapter, **Chapter 2** is an extensive review of literature on themes of marginality, poverty, exclusion and educational access and participation of children. The review of literature covers a wide range of variables related directly and indirectly with the central question of the study. **Chapter 3** is the methodology which details the sample, tools and techniques of data analysis undertaken in this research. The findings based on the research have been discussed systematically in **Chapter 4** titled as Educational Status of Children in Slums: Case of Urban Marginalized. The findings and their analyses has been organized in to three parts: case observation, qualitative and quantitative data analysis. The last chapter, **Chapter 5** presents the key findings, policy recommendation and conclusion of this research.

Chapter 2
Literature Review

Introduction

This chapter deals with the existing literature which helps to understand urban marginality with a particular focus on educational marginality. Education helps an individual in upward social mobility. With the help of education the vicious cycle of poverty can be broken (Madeshwar and Attewell, 2007). Considering marginality a multidimensional phenomenon, it is required to unearth the existing concepts and theories for its better understanding. Education not only creates an opportunity of progress but it also reproduces the existing hierarchy and exclusion (Freire, 1968). Literature review provides the basic foundation for any study. It helps to familiarize the researcher with the knowledge of the domain in which the researcher works to contribute his/her additional knowledge.

The structure of the chapter is as follows: it starts with review on concepts on education and access of the school for urban poor. The next section focuses on the reproduction of hierarchy through lack of access to education. This relation of education with reinforcement of the existing inequalities focuses on the concept of caste and its relation to exclusion and poverty. The next section outlines caste and its relation to wage gap. The next part discusses the concept of neoliberalism and right to the city in globalised world followed with discussion on social justice, citizenship and rights of the slum dwellers. The next Section talks about informal sector and its linkages with poverty followed by analyses on the concepts of state and labour from Marxist perspective. The last section finally summarizes the main argument and the key concepts.

Education and Access of school for urban poor

Bagjuar and Puri (2007) in a study conducted in 16 slums found that migration of children to their villages was one of the prominent reasons of dropout. The longer the children stayed in their villages, the more difficult was re-entry to schools as their names were struck off the rolls. The other major reason of inaccessibility of schools was the distance of school from their homes. The parents considered such travelling

as time consuming and unsafe for children. In many cases children compulsorily stayed back at home to take care of their younger siblings as both the parents engage in economic activities outside the household. Child labour was yet another reason of drop-out found in the study. The extra earnings of the children helped families to pay back their debt and also meet the day to day expenses. These short term benefits outweigh the long term benefits of education as parents do not realise the potential of education. Even when majority of children were found to be willing to study their inability to pass the exam declined motivation often resulted in drop-out.

Kalyan and Kumar (2016) studied educational outcomes and its relation to household workload of children in slums of Delhi. A large number of children were attending government schools while children of educated parents were enrolled in private schools. It was found that a large number of children could not regularly attend school because they had to attend to domestic work which affected their educational outcomes. The children have high learning aspirations and they were enrolled in schools but due to their engagement in economic activities outside schools their learning outcomes was severely impacted.

Mousumi and Kusakabe (2017) studied the dilemmas of choice of low cost private school in two Muslim dominated slums of Badarpur and Okhla in Delhi. Based on in-depth interviews the study found that the government schools were not accessible to these slums because of distance. Busy roads, overcrowded schools and the inability to bear the cost of transportation led them to choose low cost private schools. The parents believed that the quality of teaching in private schools is not good and the teachers lack training and the infrastructure does not meet the basic standard in private schools. Both private and government schooling need to be supplemented with private coaching for better learning outcomes. The parent's value the public education but physical, sexual abuse and drug addiction were major issues in the government schools. Parents shared after primary schooling they might shift their children to government schools because the children might be mentally equipped to cope with more challenging peer environment in public schools. Some parents also desired modern education in Islamic environment. They were also dissatisfied with the reduced emphasis on religious subjects in government schools.

Banerji Rukmini (2000) conducted a research in poor pockets of Mumbai and Delhi to understand the relation between poverty and primary schooling. A substantial proportion of children did not attend school, even if they were still enrolled. Enrolment in standard 1 was found to be high but it declines when it reaches to standard 1V, which indicates that many children do not even finish primary schooling after enrolment. In both the cities teachers attributed drop out and non-attendance due to financial constraints while child labour was identified as another important reason of drop out. The vast majority of children are not engaged in full time income generating activity but help their parents and families in running family enterprises. Full time involvement in earnings is at the time of emergency and crisis such as parental illness and death. Parent's apathy is another reason of children being out of school but evidence shows that even illiterate parents understand the advantages of education. Despite fee waiver and free textbooks other private expenditure such as uniform, bags causes additional burden on families. To counter these expenditure parents of Ambedkar Nagar Slum in Delhi had very different solutions. They sent their daughter to government schools and boys to private schools. Parents could send their children to government schools and invest additional amount on private tuition. Another unique feature found was dual enrolment of children where they attended government schools in the morning for meal and free textbook and private schools in afternoon. In Mumbai accessibility of schools is the problem, roads are quite busy and the parents do not want to take risk by sending their children to schools. Schools are overcrowded and it discourages parents and children to attend schools. In big cities, even young children are independent and move about freely on their own will. Sometimes they collect and sell to go for movies. Without parental supervision, they have no incentive to sit in crowded schools and listen to classes they comprehend little. Their study concludes that the onus of out of school children lies more on the schooling system and related factors rather on family poverty.

UNICEF (2017) conducted a study on climate change and its impacts on the life of vulnerable children especially the urban poor. The study focuses on the climate change and other environmental factors which directly or indirectly effects the education of the children living in slums of Bhopal. Climate change impacts school attendance, attainment and drop-out. School can't function in case of natural disaster and the children also catch diseases which lead to low attendance and higher drop-

outs. Extreme weather conditions such as harsh winter also discourage children to attend schools due to lack of warm clothing. Extreme summer stroke causes the same. Health related issues like water and vector borne diseases are another cause of drop-out. In absence of proper seating arrangement and even ceiling fans it is hard to sit in the classroom which causes low attendance and subsequent drop out. In monsoon, extreme rain there is a probability of school building collapsing out of poor maintenance leading to seepage and water-logging in low lying areas which interrupt school functioning and access. Due to climate change water crisis is also emerging as huge problem especially in large cities. The people of urban slums and informal settlements face more difficulties as they do not have piped drinking water facility. Children many a times are involved in collection of water from supply water tanks. The timings of the tanker are fixed and both the parents have to work so the responsibilities lie with the children to collect water.

Case and Deaton (1999) argues that school environment directly affects the children opportunities. With the low level of infrastructure the children do not realize their potential. There is positive correlation between learning and achievement and school infrastructure such as seating arrangements, walls and roofs (Glewwe et al., 2011) and drinking water and toilet (Behrman et al., 1997).

Exclusion or deprivation from accessing schooling is not only because of poverty and fiscal constraint but other social factors such as caste, gender, ethnicity, region and religion also play roles (Kington 2007; Govinda, 2011). The existence of hundreds years of caste exploitation the SC/ST has forced them majorly to remain out of ambit of education. Though the government has initiated to bring them in the formal education system but their economic constraint pushes them out of education. Where the wealth, land distribution and caste composition is strong in that case marginalization of the SC/ ST are less (Boroah and Iyer, 2005).

Chugh (2011) in her study on drop out of the children of the slums at secondary schooling provides wider picture of the drop out. She argues socio-economic, education of parents and school related factors contribute to the drop out. Apart from poverty the teacher's behaviour is also responsible for the drop out of children living in slums. The author argues that the school infrastructure needs to be enhanced so that

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it can compensate the disadvantages at home. The study suggests some of the preventive and restorative measure to tackle the drop out problem. Some incentive like free uniform, stationary, textbook and scholarship will be helpful to reduce the drop out from policy perspective.

Banarjee (2014) states that the children of the slum faces diverse education related problems such as struggle to access school, poor quality of schools and negative attitude of the teachers, overcrowded and congested living spaces and less family support.

Gaikwad et al., (2005) conducted a study on drop-out of children living in slums of Parbhani town of Maharashtra. The study took two different sample groups. The low income social group and middle income social group. 88 percent in both the income social group stated that poor financial conditions as the main reason for drop-out. Some other reasons identified were attending of domestic duties by children and also to take care of younger siblings. The other important factors are necessity to take jobs, disinterest in studies, improper clothes, no uniforms, not having textbooks and stationary. All of the children from low income and 88 percent from middle income group discontinued their studies because they did not get any aid from government. The poor teaching, harassment by teachers and non-accessibility of schools are the other major factors of discontinuation from schools.

Mohanty (2014) initiated a study on non-enrolment and drop-out of children from families of scavengers in Lucknow and Kanpur. The drop-out rate is 59 percent and non-enrolment rate is 41 percent. Drop-out is found to be higher among girls than boys. Parents do not want to send their girl child to school because they believe that girls are meant to do the household chores. 35 percent of the children drop-out or non-enrolment is caused by poverty while school related factors are around 35 percent. Other factors are home related, individual related factors and cultural factors of drop-out and non-enrolment. Poverty related factors are lack of money to fulfill basic physical needs, engagement in domestic work and child care. School related factors are inadequate physical facilities, punishment, irregular school functioning and no study at schools demotivates children from the marginalised community to attend schools. Home related factors include the disinterest of parents in the education of the

children and there are traditional taboos associated with them due to their low caste based occupations which also results in low participation in schools. Despite progressive programmes and government schemes to improve the quality of schools to encourage participation of children from the lower strata of the society, many children from marginalised communities still drop out due to poverty.

Tsujita (2009) in her study "Deprivation of education in urban areas: A basic profile of slum Children of Delhi", shows the educational status of slum children between the age 5-14. The attendance ratio of slum children is much lower than those from the city of Delhi. Parental perception of education and financing education are identified as major constraints. The majorities of children who attend schools are over aged and have low educational attainments. Children in slums are more likely to go to government schools rather than private schools charging low fee.

Siddiqui Tarannum (2017) carried a comparative study on the drop-out of students in slum of Mumbai and Lucknow. The study is based on the survey of Dharavi and Madiyaon slum in the respected cities. Firstly, the study explores the existence of basic facilities in slums and finds that 72 percent of the Dharavi slum dwellers live below poverty line while it is 60 percent for Madiyaon. Half of the slum dwellers live in kaccha and semi-pucca houses in both the cities. Half of the slum dwellers in Madiyaon use kerosene and firewood for cooking while it is 35 percent for Dharavi. In Madiyaon, 68 percent houses have water connection in their houses, whereas 24 and 8 percent collects from government pump and open well respectively. In Dharavi 76 percent houses have water connection in their houses and 24 percent people collect from water supplied by government. The availability and accessibility of schools are sufficient to cover the children but few pockets lack schools within 1 km of their proximity. Drop-out among girls is found to be high. 12 out of 35 and 16 out of 42 drop-out from schools in Lucknow and Dharavi respectively which was interviewed. 42 percent girls and 40 percent boys dropped-out in class 5th standard in Lucknow while around 43 percent in Dharavi dropped out in class 7th. Around fifty percent of the children in Madiyon and 44 percent in Dharavi work to earn and support their families. 25 percent children in Lucknow and 43percent in Dharavi those who dropped-out want to continue their study. 75 percent in Lucknow and 56 percent children in Dharavi are not interested to study and want to work for their pocket

money and also want to support their family. The other reasons of drop-out are child sickness, distance of the schools, assistance in their parents business, religious issues, teasing by classmates, mental and other health ailments. All the children who dropped-out got midday meal, free textbooks and common scholarships while enrolled in schools. But no student in both the cities received any attendance scholarship, merit based scholarship, SC/ST/OBC scholarship, handicap scholarship and other financial benefits. Average monthly incomes of slums of both the cities lies in the range 6000-8000 the majority of which is spent in day to day expenditure. Due to income constraints, the children of these slums involve in some of the economic activities to support their families even when continuing their education.

Living condition is Slums

Kumar and Agarwal (2003) conducted a study on the consumption and its relation to poverty in slums of Delhi. The study found that work participation of women is lower in comparison to men due to their disadvantaged position with low educational level. Most of the slum dwellers are engaged in informal work such as factory works, auto-rickshaw and rickshaw driver, daily wage workers etc. Low income of these slum dwellers directly impacts their food choices. Mostly they depend on cereals and pulses for their calorie intakes and spend less on milk and milk products, fish, meat and eggs. The study found low level of child engagement in child work despite high poverty. The absence of child work may be because of under reporting, because if the slum dwellers reveal the working status of their children it may be noticed and this will lead to legal action against parents.

Bagh, Seth and Gupta (2016) conducted a comparative study on living conditions in slums of three different cities of Mumbai, Kolkata and Delhi. Mumbai and Kolkata had initially witnessed rural urban migration in colonial period linked to industrialization. Delhi's demography is impacted by historical transformation process linked to the change of rulers and their approach to city formation and community management from time to time. However Delhi and Mumbai witnessed large scale migration after independence and Kolkata has history even before independence which led to the formation of slums. In all the three cities Hindus and Muslims are the two major religious groups residing in slums. Half of the slum dwellers in Delhi are SCs while in other two cities it comprises of 20-24 percent. OBC comprises of 20-24

percent in slums of Delhi and Mumbai. All the slum dwellers live in constant fear of eviction. In Delhi 80 percent of slum dwellers stay on government lands while in Kolkata and Mumbai there are tenancy laws on land and they also pay rent. In JJ cluster of Delhi 83 percent of houses are either kaccha or semi-pucca. 25 percent of houses are semi-pucca in old slums of Kolkata and half of the slums houses in Mumbai are pucca. In all the three cities the slums are overcrowded and less than 30 percent of the slum dwellers have toilets inside their houses. They are mostly dependent on public water supply. In Mumbai the water supply is better compared to Kolkata. Waiting and walking time is another issue at public water supply sites. In Mumbai 37 percent use kerosene while in Kolkata it is 94 percent for cooking. The use of kerosene is negligible in Delhi. In Mumbai and Delhi most of the slum dwellers cook inside the house without chimney. In Kolkata 44.6 percent of the slum dwellers cook in the sleeping room without exhaust and chimney. The per capita income and expenditure is higher in Mumbai followed by Delhi and Kolkata. The educational level of adult slum dwellers is more that 70 percent in all the three cities. However the gender inequality in literacy rate is common in all three cities. Enrolment rate of age 'between' 6-21 is 83 percent in Mumbai and RR colony of Delhi while it is 75-76 percent for Kolkata and JJ cluster. Initially enrolment is high and drastically falls between 19-21 age groups.

A study conducted on prevailing condition of sanitation at Tuglaqabad slum in Delhi by Dwivedi in 2012. The study found that improper sewage and blocked drainage system are the common problem in the slum. 96 percent of slum dwellers are exposed to tapeworm, cholera, diarrhea and intestinal worms because of poor drainage system. It increased the cost on health as 92 percent of slum dwellers are forced to spend more money on health than planned. The travelling cost to hospitals and medicine are the major problem for them and it reduces their expenditure on nutrition and compromises the education of their children. The children do not attend classes when they fall sick. In the long run under nutrition invites more medical expenses. Though most of the slum dwellers use the pit latrines and 72 percent wash hands and majority use soap but the worrying factor is still many use sand, soil for washing hand and it has not good for health.

Yadav (2015) conducted a study on the income of the slum dwellers in Delhi. The study found that majority of the slum dwellers were engaged in studying or self-employed in agriculture or unemployed before migrating to Delhi for better job and livelihood. They work in informal sector and do the unskilled work followed by private sector job informally. Half of the slum dwellers earn Rs.6000-9000 per month while 41 percent earn Rs.3000-6000. Another 1.2 percent able to get upto 3000 and only 6 percent crosses above 9000.

UN-Habitat (2006) conducted a study in poor pockets of Bhopal. Low access to piped water and toilets were extremely high approximately 70 percent and 42 percent respectively. Poor road and street lights were common. 83 percent of the poor depend on public water supply to meet their daily requirements while 22 percent poor pockets did not have water supply at all. It was also found that 40 percent of the poor pockets had no schools and wherever the school existed the lower enrolment, poor retention and irregular attendance was found. As far as toilet facility is concerned it was found that 49 percent slum dwellers had no access to individual toilet while 43 percent still defecated in open. And those who used community toilets; water supply and cleanness were the issues. Even the schools did not have adequate facilities as around 50 percent of the schools had no separate toilets for girls and 21 percent schools had no drinking water facility. Around 26 percent of schools had no toilet at all. The study also revealed that 88 percent of people are exposed to sewer water which had adverse effects on health.

Education Reproduce's Hierarchy
Pierre Bourdieu (1984) gives more importance to the culture and argues that the capitalist class does not only possess economic capital but also cultural and social capital. Certain kind of education system produces and reproduces different types of capitals which lead to creating hierarchy in society. Cultural capital consists of educational qualifications, certain kind of knowledge and understanding of art, music, and cinema. He does not believe in any kind of superior or high culture. But he believes that higher culture is socially constructed. On the basis of cultural capital the capitalist class differentiates themselves from another and maintains their domination. There is a social relation among the higher classes and social capital is based on the solidarity of cultural capital. The cultural capital cannot be transferred directly to the

next generation like economic capital so it needs different kinds of education system. And it will not be easy to gain economic capital without cultural and social capital. He further introduces the concept of 'habitus'. Habitus is a 'structured and structuring structure' it is the structure of certain perception and appreciation (taste). In other way the habitus can be understood as a subjective way in which different classes understand and perceive the world. For instance, the working class does not care and invest their hard earned money in buying anything just for the sake of aesthetic value. Because they barely manage to buy that is essential for their survival. In the higher habitus, the dominant classes buy things which can give aesthetic touch to their home. So the habitus has a structure and it structures the everyday life of individuals.

Bowels and Gintis (1976) write that the main focus of the education system is to reproduce the labour force for the capitalist system. The way the education system functions it is to provide with a workforce who has attitudes, values and personality according to the needs of the system. Both believe that in the capitalist mode of production, the work is exploitative and alienating. If the capitalist system has to function properly, it needs docile, hardworking and highly motivated but too divided and fragmented workforce. So they cannot question the authority. The purpose of the capitalist system is served through hidden curriculum in education system. The hidden curriculum consists of the learning of the students through experience in school rather than stated objective of the educational institutions.

Paulo Freire (1968) coined the term 'banking concept of education' in his seminal work 'Pedagogy of Oppressed'. He believed that in the current system of education the students are conceived as passive receptors which make them prone to reality, it also makes them to fit into the existing oppressive reality. He believed that this kind of education system is like one way of monologue devoid of any interaction between the students and teachers. He sees students not as mere receptors but also as creators of knowledge. The one way to replace a monologue is through dialogue and communication. This will help in production and reproduction of new knowledge which can break the domination of the oppressed. He further talks about the consciousness of the oppressor and the oppressed. The current banking system reproduces the consciousness of the oppressor and oppressed. The oppressed starts to accept their current subordination as their fate which is give and cannot be changed.

The dialogue and communication within the education system will pave the ground for critical thinking and it will charge the consciousness of the oppressed. Education ensures upward social mobility is only one dimension of such an understanding. There is also another dimension from the Marxist perspective which views it as reproducing existing hierarchies. Through certain kind of education labour is produced and it also ensures low level of education for certain section of children so that their labour power can be easily and cheaply exploited by the market.

Caste, Exclusion and Poverty

It should be emphasised here that it is important to understand the concept of caste for the purpose of our research because slums as representative of urban marginality are mostly populated by people from the lowest caste including other communities. It is also important to understand that the exclusion and poverty which is symptomatic of caste structures get reinforced by urban marginality which in turn affects the educational prospects of children living in slums.

The history of the caste system in India can be traced to its 2000 years of its social existence. 'Caste' in India is a Brahmanical child of the Indo-Aryan culture cradled in the land of the Ganga and Yamuna and hence transferred to other parts of the country (Ghurye, 1972). The caste system traces its origin from the ancient varna system. The literal meaning of varna is colour to specify the hierarchy in society. Later the term jati specialized to denote caste (Ghurye, 1950). Varna system stratified the society into four categories. The Brahamans originated from the mouth of Brahama, the Khastriya from arms, the vaishya from Stomach and the shudras from the feet. These varnas have to choose their occupation based on their heredity. The Brahamins are supposed to indulge in religious rituals, the khastriyas have to be the worrier to protect the society and community, the Vaishyas were assigned the duty to do the trade, and economic affairs and at the lowest rung of the varna the shudras which is still considered untouchables have to do the menial works like sanitation work, scavenging, and serve the upper three castes in any form.

That is why in this particular context Ambedkar said "caste is not only the division of labour but also the division of labourers" (Ambedkar, 1936). Caste system is the integral part of Indian social system which divides the Hindu society into subgroups

and makes it more complex in nature (Beteille, 1992). Caste is an institution which is based on the rigid concept of purity and Pollution (Srinivas, 1971). The concept of purity and pollution is maintained through the practice of endogamy and exogamy by the institution of marriage.

There is a contradiction between the two culture one is the productive culture of Dalit-Bahujan and the second it the unproductive culture of the Upper caste. The former is responsible for the production of material wealth through their labour power while the later accumulates it through their historical and cultural domination and exploitation of the dalit bahujan by the ideology of religion (Illaia, 1996). Through the long historical exploitation and occupational segregation the current Indian societies is still unequal and the social identity play roles in the economic sphere strongly.

As it has been enumerated above, Varna system or as it later on started to be called as caste system, traditionally did not permit people from lower castes to pursue education. Not only were they deprived of having knowledge but were also forced to serve the people of higher castes by often involving themselves into menial job. In such a rigid structure, it would have been unimaginable to have any kind of social mobility because the caste structure which prescribed professions based on heredity could not be so easily broken. Even after independence, despite the abolition of untouchability, caste discrimination persisted in some form or the other. In neoliberal times, caste discrimination has taken new forms which even the modern form of work reinforces.

Caste and wage Gap

Caste discrimination as an institutional factors reinforces marginalisation such as access to education, industrial training. There is also evidence of wage gap and unequal pay for equal work in the urban labour market based on caste discrimination (Bhattacharya, 1985). In the urban formal labour market there is low wage for the scheduled caste categories than the non-scheduled caste with the same level of education. It is also evident from the NSS data of (1983, 1993-1994, 1999-2000) that there is lower rate of return for SCs and STs than the OBCs (Madheswaran and Attewell, 2007).

Another study in which the fake resume has been sent to the private sectors

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companies with the same identical skills except the caste and religious profiles, the responses from the companies were analysed and it was found that the social identity matters even when there is no significant difference in the qualifications of the applicants (Thorat and Attewell, 2007).

Another study conducted on the students of the three Delhi based elite universities; these students received the same level of education, trainings and equally qualified. They have been interviewed before their job and then followed up for next two years. The outcomes suggest the positive role played by caste or religion in shaping the outcomes in labour market. It is interesting to note that in private sector, it is not required to provide declaration of social identity due to absence of the affirmative action because it is supposed to be meritocratic (Deshpande and Newman 2007). Another research shows that in private labour market the employers solely rely on the merit of the applicants. They also believe that skills and merit is distributed on the lines of caste, religion and gender. To reaffirm their faith in such believes, the employers enquire subtly about the family background of potential employees (Jodhka and Newman 2007).

Neoliberalism and right to the city in globalized world

In his seminal work *"The right to the city*" (1968), French Marxist Henri Lefebre describe the commodification of urban space due to expansion of capitalism. In this space, social relations are uprooted and spatial inequalities increase. He argues that it is important to transform the urban space to its earlier form which used to enhance collective life. In his later works he talks about the '*Production of space'* (1991) and its appropriate use. He argues that every society and mode of production produces its own space. Hence it is important to produce the social space which is inclusive to challenge the capitalist mode of production which is not inclusive. Lefebre further calls for a movement like '*consume the city'* through the process of mobilization by competitive political bargaining of power and through improved institutional mechanism and policies.

David Harvey (2008) argues that we live, after all in a world in which the rights of the private property and profit rate trump all other notions of rights. He borrowed the term 'right to the city' from Henri Lefebre, in which even the people of the marginalised

section has right to a dignified life with basic facilities. Neoliberalism has created new system of governance that integrates state and corporate interests. The nexus of state and market ensures that the disbursement of surplus through the state apparatus favours corporate capital and the upper classes in shaping the urban process. He further argues that the development of urban space has been developed to generate surplus value for the capitalists. It is the reason for the development of a consumerist culture in the urban spaces. This phenomenon provides all the basic facilities to the gated community and the poor people are forced to live in the margins.

Saskia Sasen in his work (2001) "*The Global City*" talks about the flow of capital and information. In the globalised world the boundaries of the nation state has become minimal and the financial institutions, media, law firms, accounting firms becomes global in nature. The international giant capitalist firms are moving towards third world countries due to cheap land and cheap labour through subcontracting. The urban space is governed and run by the few rich; the gated communities enjoy the life while large sections of the marginalised are forced to live in subhuman condition. Rather concerning the high end of equal and egalitarian growth of whole population, the global city promotes amassing of surpluses into the hands of few global elites.

Mike Davis (2006) argues that urban space is the repositories of informal sector, most of the people are engaged in insecure, unstable and un-unionized job. He estimates that there are 200,000 such slums worldwide and argues that slums are becoming the blueprint of the cities of the future. The author draws out connections between rapid urbanisation, global capitalist development and neoliberal policies. The reduction in the agricultural subsidies, crisis in agriculture leads to the surplus labour in the country side.

The surplus labour migrates to the city for their survival. Additionally, the conditions of debt restructuring imposed by the International Monetary Fund (IMF), such as the privatization of public-sector jobs and education, diminished employment opportunities and increased number of poor and marginalised. Housing markets, moreover, have also been targeted by privatization efforts, thereby reducing poor people's access to state-subsidized housing. The result has been an explosion of slums around the globe.

The author describes a comprehensive study of the present urban conjuncture and shows that *favelas, inquilinatos, callejones, and barriadas* have become the essential feature of the global crisis of urban overpopulation and underemployment. It discusses the many anti-urban and anti-migrant policies of both colonial and postcolonial governments that have contributed to their growth. It emphasizes how poverty is created or exacerbated by government "slum" eviction programmes, and how these are often justified by "criminalizing" their inhabitants.

Rahul Jambulkar (2017) who conducted a study on slums of Patna argues that economists' view urbanization as a propellent of development (Lewis, 1954). The economists regard urbanization as a sign of progress of an economy which is experiencing structural transformation by moving away from rural agriculture. But such a belief in urbanization as sign of progress, forgets to include in its ambit the large unrecognised population who live in urban informal settlements and slums. The author termed them as the '*fringe elements*' of the society. Marginalized groups migrate from distress and depressed rural spaces to the urban settlements to enhance their socio-economic condition. But, they get imprisoned in the perilous urban gaze, informal economy which is discriminating and exploitative to extents that it fails to guarantee even basic needs of these marginalised people. Their lives get positioned around illegality and are often termed as encroachers, nuisance and uncivilized which makes them doubly marginalized; rather "improper citizens".

Social justice, Citizenship and rights of slum Dwellers
Justice could be understood in terms of qualities of fairness, equity and impartiality in the distribution of primary goods and services in some of the early theories. According to Plato, justice is a social consciousness that makes a society internally harmonious. From Rawls's (1971) transcendental institutionalism to Sen's (1999) realization focused comparison, the conceptualisation of justice has significantly evolved. In Rawls's notion of transcendental justice there is a single set of just principles which would facilitate emergence of just institutions for governing the society. Sen's (2009) criticism of the transcendental notion of justice points to the problems of 'feasibility' and 'redundancy' of this approach which does not work to identify and reduce injustices. He instead defines the idea of justice in a "realization-focused comparative approach" which would evaluate the desirability of particular

'social realizations', rather than search for a set of perfectly just first principles. Sen's notion of Justice arises not from an overarching institutional blueprint, but through open public reasoning which takes into consideration all potential policies, institutions or strategies that are possible.

Rawls (1971) argues that the distribution of the primary goods should be arranged in such way that it benefitted the least advanced to the greater extent. It puts forward two principles in this light - i) every person can claim equal political rights and liberties, and ii) if there has to be an inequality in the distribution of social and economic goods in a society, the distribution of such goods should be arranged in such a manner that the least advantaged sections of that society receive the greatest share of benefits. Rawls in his '*Idea of Justice*' proposes the 'transcendental approach' to achieve the justice in the society which focused on the creation of 'just institution'. His concept of '*veil of ignorance*' in which people unaware about their status, social positions and hierarchy chooses initial distribution of goods in the society which is called the 'original position' by the author.

Sen (1985, 1989) enhances the discourse on poverty and links it to capability. Through focus on notions of human 'capabilities' and 'valued functionings' (1999), in place of Rawls notion of needs as primary goods his 'Idea of Justice' (2009), argues that it is the capability to achieve 'valued functioning's' and not the distribution of primary goods, which lies at the heart of social justice. He discusses poverty as one such position wherein absence of choices to an individual restricts them of essential valued functioning's.

For our purpose, the notion of justice through Sen's notion becomes important as poverty is a major constraining factor for urban slum dwellers. The purpose of development is to improve human lives by expanding the range of things that a person can be and do, such as to be healthy and well nourished, to be knowledgeable, and to participate in community life. Development is about removing the obstacles in lives of people; obstacles such as illiteracy, ill health, lack of access to resources, or lack of civil and political freedoms. Nussbaum (2011) further develops capability approach for evaluating social status in terms of human well-being. It emphasizes functional capabilities, which are constructed in terms of the substantive freedoms people have reason to value, instead of utility or access to resources. Someone could be deprived

of such capabilities in many ways, like by ignorance, government oppression, lack of financial resources, or false consciousness.

Citizenship as a concept implies to the members of political community and all of those who have the status of citizens are bearers of equal, political and social rights (T.H. Marshal, 1950). A political community is quite different from the traditional community. Traditional communities are built on the ties of caste, kinship, religion. In modern democracy the political communities are the outcome of mutually agreed and recognised rules which gives sovereign power to rule to the governments which is subject to periodic renewal mostly through universal adult suffrage. The citizens have legal and formal statues of being a member of nation state and the individuals have rights protected by the constitution, and responsibilities abide by it (Roy, 2016).

There are large numbers of excluded citizens to who he calls 'subject', 'insurgent', 'gendered' citizens and the other side there are 'super citizens' and negotiating citizens. The super citizens enjoy impunity and they have power to represent the law. The subject citizens are the impoverished and the marginalised ones on whom the law is applied relentlessly and they are often criminalised (Baxi, 2002).

The concept of 'political society' and 'civil society' is much relevant to comprehend the existing inequality in urban context. The former is the voting poor and the latter is the tax paying rich. Christophe Jaffrelot (2008), an expert on Indian politics argues that the poor participate more actively in voting during the elections than the middle and upper class. The poor of the political society have to negotiate for their basic needs and access to state and its resources while it is considered the right for member of civil society. Being member of the political society they need to demand their right while right is as favoured to the civil society by state.

Informal Sector and Poverty-
As per NCEUS definition*, "Informal workers consist of those working in the informal sector or households, excluding regular workers with social security benefits provided by the employers and the workers in the formal sector without any employment and social security benefits provided by the employers*

44

Informal employment is a broad term which not only capture people working in the informal economy but also those employed in the formal sector who work without written agreements and hence lack social security. The workers engaged in such forms of employment are generally perceived to be poor. The statement might be true for majority of the people, however, certain exceptions prevail. Not all informal workers are poor and not all working poor are engaged in the informal economy. Some informal operators – especially among those who hire others – are not poor and some formal wage workers are poor. But there is a significant overlap between working in the informal economy and being poor (WIEGO, 2004).For understanding the basic link between informality and poverty one needs to first distinguish between different categories of employment in this sector: employer of owners of informal enterprises and owner operators of informal enterprises. While employment falls under two broad categories. Firstly, self-employed consists of own-account workers, heads of family businesses and unpaid family workers. Secondly, wage workers comprises of employees of informal enterprises ,casual workers without a fixed employer, home workers (also called industrial outworkers), domestic workers, temporary and part-time workers and   unregistered workers (Carr and Chen, 2001-02).

For measuring the incidence of poverty in formal and informal employment a comparison of average earnings in the respective employment gives a complete picture. A study in India on the incidence of poverty for those in informal employment (Sastry, 2004) reveals that households that depend on "regular" (as opposed to casual) informal wage employment have lower poverty rates relative to households that rely on self-employment, and households that depend on casual labour as their primary source of income are the most likely to be poor. Because there is evidence that wage inequalities between skilled and unskilled workers (Awasthi, Kashyap and Yagnik, 2009).

Though it is tempting to draw optimistic conclusions regarding earnings in informal employment from the above findings, it might not be a step in the right direction for assessing poverty because

    i. The legal minimum wage is mostly not indexed to the cost of living and fails to cover even basic necessities.

ii. Earnings in informal sector cannot directly be compared to those in the formal sector because formal employees also have certain social security benefits not available to their informal counterparts.

Furthermore, the vulnerability of employment of informal workers means that they are disempowered, though in different ways for self-employed people, for informal wage workers, and for unpaid family members. But does it suffice to talk about vulnerabilities informal earners face in terms of average earnings alone?

Labour markets are frequently segmented along multiple dimensions: the formal/informal divide, gender, employment status, region, and religion. This can be visibly seen as a certain caste and gender are over represented in specific forms of employment. Thus focusing on income poverty alone can give a very misleading representation of actual deprivations faced by individuals. The prime concern with the material dimensions of poverty alone has expanded to encompass a more holistic template of the components of well-being, including various non-material, psychosocial and environmental dimensions. An attempt to capture such "capability deprivations" made by Amartya Sen goes beyond material wants and includes skill and physical abilities and self- respect in society.

Measuring poverty in non- money metric terms provides a grimmer picture. Women are over represented in informal work. 72 percent women workers in urban area and 81 percent of women workers in rural areas work without written wage contract. Women continue to face many barriers to enter labor market and to access decent work and disproportionately face a range of multiple challenges relating to access to employment, choice of work, working conditions, employment security, wage parity, discrimination, and balancing the competing burdens of work and family responsibilities (Mehrotra and Parida, 2017). In addition, women are heavily represented in the informal economy where their exposure to risk of exploitation is usually greatest and they have the least formal protection.

There is a symmetric relationship between working informally and being capability deprived. 49 percent of Indian workforce is illiterate or has less than primary education whereas 75 percent has less than secondary level of education (Mehrotra, 2019). Lack of formal job opportunities compel them to take up informal jobs. Poor

work conditions, drinking water, toilets in workplace result in poor health outcomes. An opportunity for skill development is low. The absence of government mandated social protection and inability to purchase private insurance necessitates insurance by having greater number of children. Are they not poor? Given a chance would not they prefer formal employment? The challenges they face in terms of greater family size manifests in low nutritional status of the entire family. Their political participation is also low. All these are various forms of non-income poverty. The examples are endless and so are their sufferings.

The informal sector employing 93 percent of the workforce contributes to just over 55 percent of India's GDP. The business firms operating informally are unable to access public services and formal sources of credit. The solution is neither to neither encourage nor suppress informal economic activity but rather to facilitate the transition of informal businesses to the formal sector and reduce barriers for all business (formal and informal). Opening routes to formality creates new opportunities for the poor to realize their potential and raise national competitiveness. Acquiring formal status allows entrepreneurs to access formal markets, invest with security, obtain new sources of credit, and defend their rights.

The informal sector is no longer considered to be a transitory phenomenon in the process of structural transformation of an economy. It is a pervasive, universal phenomenon which is here to stay. It has been widely acknowledged that the growth process which accelerated from 1980's has increased the share of informal activities in vast majority of South Asian and African economies.

The seminal work of Arthur Lewis in 1954 introduces a classically based theoretical model of economic development premised on the twin assumptions that there is an unlimited supply of labor in the traditional agricultural sector of the less developed countries and that, as the modern industrial urban sector in these countries grew, this vast pool of surplus labor would be absorbed. This was actually what happened with most of the North American and European economies throughout 1950's and 1960's.

By the mid-1960s, however, the optimism about the prospects for economic growth in developing countries began to give way to concerns about persistent widespread unemployment. This led development economist Hans Singer to argue in 1970 that he

saw no sign of the "Lewis Turning Point" (Lewis 1954) in developing countries. In sharp contrast with the historical experience in developed countries, unemployment and under-employment of various kinds were on the rise in developing countries, even those that were growing economically. What emerged during the process was the new form of employment, termed as "informal employment" (Keith Hart 1973).

Informal sector in the contemporary world

The structuralist school sees the informal economy as subordinated economic units and workers that serve to reduce input and labor costs of large capitalist firms and, thereby, increase their competitiveness (Castells and Portes 1989). The view seems quite relevant in the post 1990 world where the following processes can aptly capture the rise in informal activities.

Globalization- The cut throat competition that companies face in the globalization era induces them to reduce their labour costs by employing casual workers who do not receive any social security. Global trade and investment pattern tend to privilege capital, especially companies that can move quickly and easily across borders. Companies also set up production units in third world countries to take advantage of the low labour cost and the process exacerbates informality of the economy.

Pattern of Economic Growth- The capital intensive growth pattern of some economies also called 'jobless growth' has failed to generate formal jobs for a vast majority of those seeking employment. Such people are forced to take up jobs in the informal economy either as wage workers or self-employed.

Economic Crisis- An economic crisis tends to expand informal sector because retrenched workers move into the informal economy when formal enterprises are closed or the formal sector is downsized. This is also because households need to supplement formal sector incomes with informal earnings in response to inflation or cutbacks in public services (Carr and Chen, 2002).

State Reproduces Hierarchy and Inequality (Marxist Perspective)

Marx seems to believe that power is concentrated in the hands of bourgeoisie or those who has economic control in society. State does nothing but facilitates the powerful in maintaining, accumulating wealth and capital in the society. The working class'

(Proletariats') labour power is constantly exploited to maintain the domination of the bourgeoisie. The labour power of the working class is exploited and accumulated in the form of surplus and profit in the capitalist mode of economy. Marx also declares that all history is the history of class struggle. The ruling class owns the means of production which becomes the sole reason of dominance (Marx, 1974, 1978, first published in 1909 and 1867). The study propounds that history of human civilization can be understood through historical materialism in which the material or the mode of production is base and other factors such as state, religion, family, society is the superstructure. Any change in the mode of production leads to change in superstructure, and the relationship of domination and subordination in the base is reproduced in the superstructure. The dominant class uses the superstructure to legitimate this domination and creates false consciousness among working class. Marx distinguishes between class in-itself (false consciousness) and class for itself. In false consciousness proletariats are ignorant of their exploitation while class for itself is the in which the working class are aware about their exploitation.

Taking forward the theory of Marx, Antonio Gramsci claims that the ruling class maintains its control and power not through use of force or power but through continuous persuasion to accept the political and moral values of the ruling class through hegemony (Gramsci, 2011). Gramsci writes " the entire complex of the practical and theoretical activities with which the ruling class not only justifies and maintain its dominance, but manages to maintain the active consent of the those over whom it rules" (Gramsci, 2011).

Louis Althusser talks about three kinds of apparatuses which are used by the capitalist to maintain their dominance and smooth making of profit in capitalist modern state. The Ideological state Apparatus- which is school, religion, culture. The repressive state apparatus- the police, the army and the legal state apparatus- the judicial system (Althusser, 1971).

Nicolas Poluntazas (1969) states "the capitalist state best serves the interest of the capitalist class only when members of this class do not participate directly in the state apparatus that is to say when the ruling class is not the politically governing class (Poluntazas, 1969).

The study advocates that if the state has relative autonomy then only the capitalist state can serve the purpose of the ruling class. The state is to be free from the direct influence of the capitalist class. It should be independent from the direct control of the ruling class. Why does the state need this relative autonomy? The answer lies in the concept that the state has to provide the basic needs to the working class so that the unrest does not occur in the society. Since the bourgeoisie is not free from the internal division and the clash of the interest may take place so the state needs freedom to act on the class as a whole. To counter and diffuse the radical thought of the working class the state needs to give some concession to them to work within the capitalist economy. The relative autonomy further gives the message that it serves the interest of the society as a whole in public and national interest.

Review of literature helps to understand the urban marginality from different perspectives. Caste association play important role in social and economic relation. The formal economy especially the private sector seems less favourable to certain castes. The level of education decides the nature of work whether it will be formal and informal and it has direct relation to income. In the neoliberal regime the informalization of works especially in the urban areas leads to the deplorable condition to this large working population who has migrated from rural areas in search of better employment opportunities. The current economy mode failed to provide a dignified life to the large section of society.

Research studies also highlight the role of state from the Marxist perspective and argue that it facilitates the existing hierarchy with certain types of education system which produces and reproduces labour for the market. The basic purpose of the state in capitalist society is to push large number of   people to join the pool of reserve army of labour so their labour can be exploited by the market. Education In these socio and economic reality the children living in slum get education which may not be of equitable quality. Due to continuous poverty and in absence of basic facilities, it is hard for the children to survive in the primary education system. Taking forward the review of literature, this study tries to look at the urban marginality and how this lead to the educational marginalization of the children by using both qualitative and quantitative approaches

Chapter 3
Methodology

Introduction

The chapter discusses in details the research methodology employed for the study. The mix-method research design has been used for the study. The methodology includes sampling technique, data collection procedures, research instruments, and data analysis. A detailed literature review of the academic journals, articles and books has been done as secondary sources to support the study. The primary data collection has been done by conducting survey of the households of slum dwellers based on the detailed questionnaire. Open ended questions have been included in the questionnaire in order to investigate the proposed research question in depth and also get an understanding on the undercurrent of the environmental situation and educational status of children living in slum areas. The central argument of this research is to investigate how marginalization operates in lives of people and children living in slum areas, thereby affecting the educational status of children.

Research Questions

Based on the central argument of this research, the following research questions have been formulated:

1. How is the concept of marginalisation understood in urban context?

2. What is the relationship between educational access, participation and marginalization for children living in slums of Patna?

3. What types of schooling provisions are available to marginalized children living in slums?

4. What are the factors contributing to participation/non-participation of children living in slums?

Objectives

1. To study the concept of marginalisation in the urban context
2. To explore available provisions for schooling of children living in slums of Patna
3. To identify educational factors leading to urban marginalisation of children living in slum areas

The Rationale of the Methodology and Research Design

A mixed methods research design is a procedure for collecting, analysing, and "mixing" both quantitative and qualitative methods in a single study or a series of studies to understand a research problem (Creswell & Plano Clark, 2011). The mix method design is not just collecting the qualitative and quantitative data. It basically means to mix, integrate, and link the two. The mix method is used for better understanding of the research problem. The quantitative part reflects the magnitude of the trends. The qualitative data is based on open ended questions which produce in-depth ground level understanding of the complex social reality. When one combines quantitative and qualitative data, "we have a very powerful mix" (Miles & Huberman, 1994, p. 42). For example, by assessing both outcomes of a study (i.e., quantitative) as well as the process (i.e., qualitative), we can develop "a complex" picture of social phenomenon (Greene & Caracelli, 1997, p.7).

Explanatory Sequential Design

An explanatory sequential mixed methods design (also called a two-phase model; Creswell & Plano Clark, 2011) consists of first collecting quantitative data and then collecting qualitative data to help explain or elaborate on the quantitative results. The rationale to choose this design is that the quantitative data presents general information about the problem and the qualitative data is required to explain, extend the general picture.
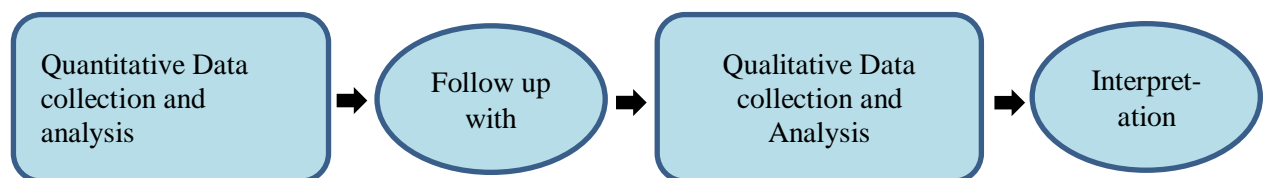
Adapted from Creswell, 2002, p-541

Source of Data

The study has been conducted in selected slums of Patna. Patna is the largest town and headquarters of Patna district, Patna division and Bihar state. Patna is also the capital of the state of Bihar located on the south bank of the river Ganga. It is well connected by both railway and roadways. It is mainly an administrative and educational Centre of Bihar. It is also home to a few ancient places having religious

significance, which also attracts tourists from around the country. The ancient city of Patliputra (predecessor of modern Patna) was the capital of Mauryan, Shunga and Gupta Empire. There were two great universities in Bihar, named Nalanda and Vikramshila.

However, there are some other facts about the city that are not so promising. Bihar is the third most populouss state in India with the lowest per capita income (43000) and a massive of 41.4 percent of its population below the poverty line. It ranks among the lowest on Human Development indices, with poor condition in many low income urban settlements being worse than the poorest rural districts (Bihar state Slum Policy, 2010, p-17).

However intra-urban disparity in terms of economic, health and educational scenario is not available for cities including Patna. Related review of literature as discussed above has provided information on the environmental and physical conditions in slums across the cities. Few micro level studies have also highlighted educational deprivation of children living in slum areas. As each city has peculiar socio-economic and cultural characteristics, it becomes pertinent to study the physical and educational facilities available to urban marginalized primarily living in slum areas. Patna too has a different milieu. Therefore, the need was felt to understand distinct characteristics of population living in slum areas of this city and the educational issues and constraints faced by children especially of 6-14 years of age group. The study gains significance as the State has an obligation to provide free and compulsory education to all the children irrespective of caste, religion and spatial location. Bihar is one of the states in the country which has the highest out-migration to other states therefore it becomes an important locale to explore as to who are these migrants settling in the slums of Patna? What are the 'pull' factors that make people settle down in these areas? After settling down in these areas are the children are being provided with adequate educational facilities? Do all children of 6-14 years of age attend school and if not what are the factors that prohibit them to be in school? It is against this background, the need was felt to explore the educational status of children living in slums of Patna.

Table 1: The demographic features of the city of Patna are presented below:

Patna	
Population-city _outgrowth	**1,684,297**
Population city	**1,684,222**
Sex Ratio (No. of Females per 1000 Males)	897
Hindu Population	86.39%
Muslim Population	12.27%
Proportion of the SC (%)	9 %
Proportion of the ST (%)	0.3%
Literacy Rate	82.73%
Male Literacy Rate	86.95%
Female Literacy rate	77.96%

Source- https://patna.nic.in/about-district/

The state has the highest population growth rate in India, but the growing labour force is absorbed largely in the urban areas outside the state (IHD, 2013).

Map of Patna City
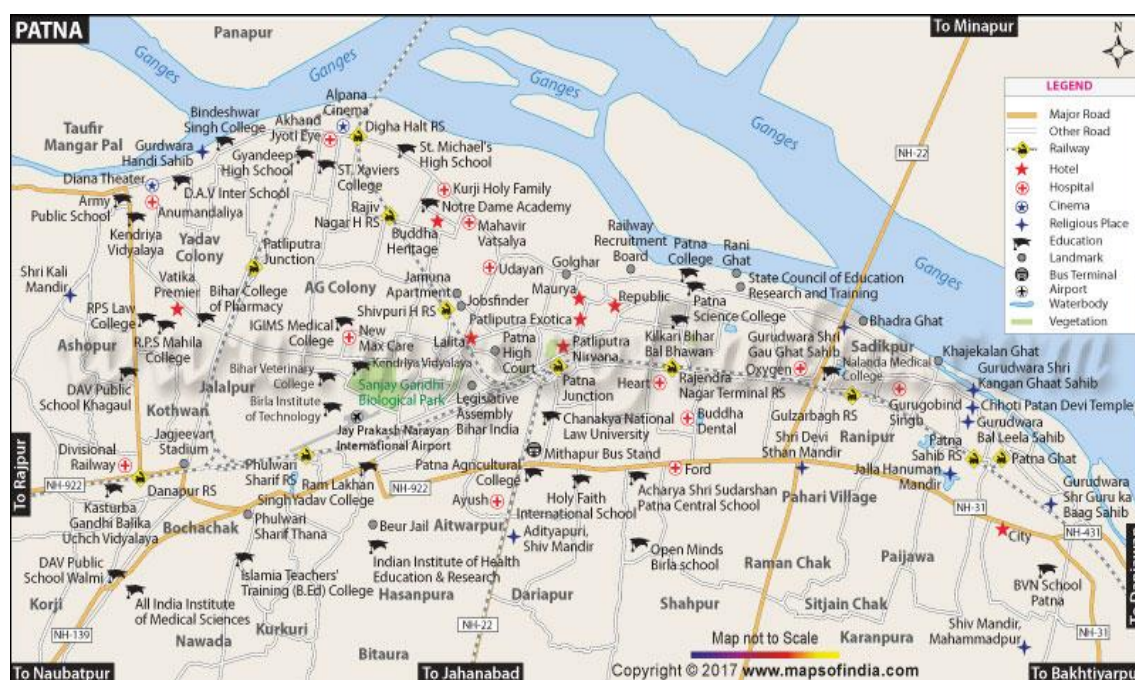
Slum Population in Patna

Patna, had slum population their total population as per 2011 census only 3.8%, It is widely believed that these figures are a gross underestimation of the existing realities. For example, the City Development Plan prepared under the auspices of the State Government estimates the slum population to be around 63% in Patna.A total of 99 slums were listed in Patna Municipal Corporation, which comprises of almost 15163 households[7] (PRIA, 2012).The SPUR (for Bihar Government) survey in December 2010 recorded presence of 108 slums with 16277 households. Slums have poor infrastructure with hand pumps and public stand posts being the main water supply sources; very few households have toilets and there is a lack of public toilets.[8]

Sampling

The universe of the research study was a total of 99 slums of the Patna city at first level. At the second stage, various slums from the given sample frames were identified based on the basis of administrative and location differences so that intra slum differences could be derived from the study. Thus the following slums were identified:

- ❖ Ambedkar Nagar colony, Near Khajurbanna
- ❖ Shivpuri Nahar, Chitkohra
- ❖ Bankipore Club, Gandhi Maidan (Pavement Dwellers lives in tents)
- ❖ Jalalpur Nahar
- ❖ Kumrar Mushari

Systematic random sampling technique was chosen for the purpose of both qualitative and quantitative data collection. A sample of 69 household was then randomly selected from the five slums. First, the researcher visited the slums and then visited the selected slums to get an understanding on physical facility like streets, drainage system, public toilet, common water facility. The researcher started the data collection by picking every third house of the same lane.

Tools for the Study

The study is based on both primary and secondary data analysis. The secondary

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[7] For details see; https://terraurban.wordpress.com/2012/04/02/prias-interface-with-slums-of-patna/
[8] City Development Plan, Patna, 2010-30,p-7

sources include information obtained from the literature like books, journals, articles. Information was also collected from the registers and meeting with local heads of the selected slums. Primary source includes the data collected through household based survey.

Questionnaire

A detailed questionnaire was developed to address the research questions mentioned for the purpose of this study. The questionnaire is divided into two sections. The first part of the questionnaire deals with the socio-economic characteristics of the families which include family size, income of the family, and educational attainment level of the parents. Since participation, attendance and regularity of children were related to the basic facilities available like drinking water facility, electricity availability, information was collected on these indicators. The second part of questionnaire pertained to sampled children related information specifically on educational status of the children. These two aspects provided basic quantitative information as each household has a distinct profile. To support the quantitative study, few open ended questions were included to deepen the understanding on challenges faced by these children.

Quasi- Participant Observation

In research, the method of participant observation means- observing the phenomenon through interaction with group members, by way of understanding their way of life. In this, the researcher becomes a member of the group while in non-participant observation, the researcher acquires information from outside without being a part of the group. For this study, the researcher used quasi participation technique for collecting information from households. The researcher interacted closely with members of families but certain activities were observed from distance.

Data Analysis

As stated above information on the socio-economic characteristics was obtained through questionnaire and the data was analysed by using basic descriptive statistics. With this analysis the researcher describes the kind of facilities available to the households of area. For understanding the live experiences of respondents, the researcher used qualitative data analysis. Interaction with the heads of household

provided a deep insight on the challenges faced by them in educating their children. It also brought on the forefront the aspirations of parents for their children and expectations from the system. Few cases have been highlighted which reflect the realistic situation. Combination of both methods was found useful to gauge the predicaments of the focused group and provided deeper understanding as to how marginalization operates in the urban context at the ground level.

Limitation of the study

Due to limited time and resources several constraints were unavoidable. The primary data set is small. Second, it only includes the households surveyed and all the information as well as analysis was based from only one set of stakeholders' i.e. parents. It does not include information from school administration and the other administrative bodies. The perspective of the teachers and school administration has also not been incorporated. The study focuses on the children living in slums and does not includes the homeless children, children who are in orphanage, juvenile centers and children who are living on streets and railway platform.

Having discussed the methodology used in the study, the next chapter describes the findings of the data collected from the households.

Chapter 4

Educational Status of Children in Slums: The Case of Urban Marginalized

Introduction

The central purpose of this research is to investigate how marginalization operates in the lives of people and children living in slum areas, thereby affecting the educational status of children. The study explores issues related to access and participation of children living in slums with three major objectives of the research being: i) to study the concept of marginalisation in the urban context, ii) to explore available provisions for schooling of children living in slums of Patna and iii) to identify educational factors leading to urban marginalisation of children living in slum areas. The study was carried out in selected slums of Patna, Bihar. This chapter presents the findings of the research which have been analyzed in three parts: the first part highlights the cases of children living in slums this is analyzed through the lens of gender, child labour and school going status of children living in slums. The second part presents the thematic analysis of qualitative data that covers themes such as preference of government versus private schools, teachers' behaviour in schools affecting student retention, quality of infrastructure in schools, education of girls, and upward social mobility of people living in slums. The themes are analyzed within the framework of marginalization. The last part of the chapter presents the analysis of quantitative data collected on various parameters such as school going status of children in government and private managed schools, internal quality such as completion of homework, the presence of school management committees and availability of physical infrastructure in schools. This section also presents data on socio-economic profile of households, educational qualification of respondents, monthly household income, availability of basic physical conditions in slums such as sanitation, cooking medium and electricity.

Quasi-Participant Observation

At the time of data collection, the researcher observed some of the acts, behaviour of people living in slums, the findings of which are summarized below:

1. **Gendered Role**

- At one of the slums (Pavement Dwellers) consisting of 30-40 houses of tent near Bankipore Club which is near Gandhi Maidan the heart of Patna, the researcher observed while engaged in household survey that a nine year old girl was cooking on the gas and her mother was instructing her how to cook. The girl who was cooking goes to the government school and was enrolled in second standard.

- At the same field site, it was observed by the researcher that a 10-12 year old girl was carrying a basket full of washed utensils on her head. The people have to cover tiring distance to get the water for drinking and other purposes from the public water supply.

- In another slum named Kumrar Mushari, it was observed by the researcher that there was an open space surrounded by kaccha houses. There were five to six different women removing the feather from the skin of the chicken in hot water. It is interesting to note that this skin of the chicken is a good source of protein and it is easily available at the chicken shop at very low prices. Generally, the skin is removed by the chicken seller before they sell it. And each and every woman was accompanied by the small girl children. Most of the girls were of age 'between' 6-14 and all were schools going.

Slums are normally studied from class perspective but within the marginalised class also the marginalization of gender exists. In the households of slums, girl children are also trained in gendered roles since the childhood. It is also important to see this phenomenon in the context that education of the girl child is less preferred and drop out is high among girls in the poor families (Siddiqui, 2017; Mohanty, 2014). NSSO (2014) 71st round of data shows that in the bottom quintile class of UMPCE, this proportion of never enrolled female was around 50% higher than their male counterparts (p-116). These observations can be well understood through literature dealing with marginalisation of women and girls. The theoretical underpinnings of the marginalization of the female and girls in the society are discussed below:

Sex- Gender Binary

The sex- gender binary comes first and foremost in the understanding of the difference between male and female. Sex refers to the biological differences which is natural from birth. With the increase in age, the biological development takes place and certain physical changes occur in both male and female, for instance, the development of reproductive organs. On the other hand, the notion of gender and its assigned roles are totally socially constructed.

Simone de Beauvoir states that "*one is not born a woman but becomes one*" (Beauvoir, 1949). The society determines roles for both the sexes which are often biased in nature and dominated by the institution of patriarchy (*as observed by the researcher that girl children were engaged in performing the gendered roles).* Patriarchy as an ideology believes that women are physically and mentally inferior and lack intellectual capacity to reason and decision making. Based on these primitive and irrational beliefs, the construction of gender roles takes place. In other words, it is the male of the society who controls the life of the female right from childhood to the entire life of women. But the question is how are these particular roles demarcated for both male and female, created by the society?

Socialization and childhood

Socialization is a process through which a biological new-born child becomes a social one. Socialization as an institution plays an important role to transmit norms, values, of any particular culture from one generation to other generation. Functionalists like (Parsons, 1951) believe that socialization is a process by which the value consensus is produced in a society. Through this process an individual internalizes values of a society. This is called "*functional prerequisite*". Parsons sees school as a secondary unit of socialization. He stresses on schools because he believes that school is the "*focal socializing agency*" because it bridges the gap between home and society. The functionalist school talks about the different gender roles and tries to justify the public-private domain which will be discussed later in the study.

Emile Durkhiem argues that education provides the platform of social solidarity among the communities and individuals which is essential for the smooth and better functioning of the society. The construction, production and reproduction of different

gender roles start from family, which is the primary unit of socialization (*as explicated in theory, it was also observed by the researcher that the girl children of the slums were engagement in cooking, cleaning and helping their mother in household work*).

Right from the birth, a boy child and girl child are meted out with different treatment. The girls are given dolls and cooking utensils to play with while boys are given toys such as planes, guns which are considered to be the embodiment of masculinity. This very distinction affects the self-conception of a child which is only enhanced as he/she grows up. To take an example, mothers pay more attention to the hair dressing, the good-looking appearance and feminine clothes (Oakley, 1974). The masculine and feminine values are socially determined. For instance, softness is associated with girls while toughness, rudeness and aggression are associated with men. This masculine perception is further strongly influenced by peer groups. The social behaviour is not only defined by biology but by social and cultural settings. This gendered role division of men and women is also called sexual division of labour.

Public- Private Dichotomy

The division of labour, which is also proposed by Durkhiem (1947) and Parsons (1951) for different gender roles talks about the roles which are decided by men. It is expected from the girl and women to stay behind the walls and do the household work like cooking (*the nine year girl was cooking, another girl was carrying washed utensil on her head at Pavement dwellers near Bankipore club, and the small girls were helping their mother in preparing the food in Kumrar Mushari slum*), cleaning, washing and caring of old and children. These duties expected from the girls fall under the private domain (Mohanty, 2014).

The family as a primary institution engages in reinforcing the gendered ideals, where women are understood as the nurturer and caregiver of the family and under the garb of these notions, women's labour is undervalued and underpaid. The male is expected to participate in economic and political affairs and are considered to be as breadwinners. The whole notion of paid and unpaid labour is evolving in the academia and intellectual world as a discourse. It is the women who produce and reproduce the future generation who in turn takes part in labour market. The women work hard in household so that the male member can take part in labour market to

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earn money. In fact gender roles are mediated through patterns of capitalist accumulation that continues to view women's bodies through the lens of private property. The primacy of accumulation is denoted by laws of inheritance and as such, women's subjugation in the private sphere becomes a necessary condition to ensure that lineages are preserved and marriage, pregnancy and homemaking are projected as the prime concerns of womanhood, as a method to not only subsidize the labour power of the male but to ensure the hegemony over half of the population by prevalence of the weaker sex syndrome.

The whole notion of labour has been reduced to the market and money. Because of this, the work and labour done by women at houses are considered to be as unproductive because of the simple reason that it does not bring money. But the question is "are these household jobs really unproductive"? The idea has been constructed that the work done by girl and women is their duty and these are not recognized as work (Secomb, 1971). These ideas are perpetuated through a complex set of structures in society and legitimized through institutional norms. The market also exploits the emotional labour of the women which is called the commodification of the human feeling (Hochschild, 1983). Women and young girls are in high demand and get preference in hospitality and service sectors, like airhostess, nurses, receptionists, doctors because a notion of care is attached to such work.

Child separating rag and wood

- At Ambedkar Nagar colony which is a slum of around 200 houses, it was observed that three to four girls and boys were separating the plastics, bottles and other used products. Their age ranged between 6-12 years. It was observed that they were also separating the woods. It can be said probably that the small parts of woods were for cooking the food at home because wood is the principal source of cooking for many of the poor households in slums.

It is not easy to comprehend or make any proper assumption out of this observation. Sometimes children are not engaged in fulltime child work but they do such kind of things for movies (Banerji, 2000) and for pocket money (Tarannum, 2017). But, it can be said that the way children were engaged in this activity is the matter of concern. These children are not supposed to be indulging in such kind of activity. And it is

their marginalization which forces them to compromise their childhood. This raises a question mark on the idea of universalization of primary schooling?

Relevance of this observation with the survey data

It was found by the researcher during the analysis of the data that there are fifteen (15) households in which nineteen (19) children comprising of both the gender between 6-16 years of age are never attended schooling and sixteen (16) children dropped out from school. The reason of the out of school varied from case to case. But surprisingly, in the same households other children are attending either public or private schools. It is only proper to study some of cases one by one. As is often the case, due to poverty the children are compelled to work in order to support their family (Bagjuar and Puri, 2007; Kalyan and Kumar, 2016; Banerji, 2000; Gaikwad et al., 2005; Mohanty, 2014; Tarannum, 2017). Poverty is one of the major causes of drop out and out of school children. The other important factor which affects the schooling of the poor children is the ignorance and negative attitude of the teacher towards these poor children (Chugh, 2011; Gaikwad et al., 2005).

NSSO (2014), 71st round states that financial constraint is the major ground for dropping out or discontinuation before completing the desired level of education (p-117). Financial constraint was the most common reason of dropout for 34% of males engaged in economic activities and for 23% females engaged in domestic activities in urban areas from 5-29 years of age (ibid), while 33% of males and 30% of females never enrolled due to financial constraint (ibid, p-118). The discontinuation percentage in the age group of 5-29 years is 38% (ibid).

Box 1: Some of the Cases of dropout and never enrolled children

CASE 1-Jalalpur Nahar slum- A 16 year girl belonging to Manjhi community (SC) works as a wage labourer in construction with her elder brother to support her family. Because her mother has died and father has poor health conditions. She said (*agar hum school chale jajayengen toh ghar kaise chalega*) if I go to school how we will manage daily expenses. She never went to school due to poverty. Her younger sister who is ten years old goes to a government school and is enrolled in class second.

CASE 2- In the same slum, a differently abled boy, now 16 years of age who belonged to Ravidas community (SC), dropped out from both the private and government schools. Earlier he used to study in a government school but could not survive; later his parents shifted him to a low cost boarding school. But again he was facing difficulty and finally he left the school. His brother attends private school. Her mother is a domestic worker and father works as wage labourer. They spend Rs 1000/- per visit to the private doctor.

CASE 3- In the same slum three children of Manjhi Community (SC) from the same household dropped out because they didn't want to study. Her mother narrated that she tried hard to send them to school but they were not willing to go to school and study.

CASE 4- At Bankipore Club Pavements dwellers, a 12 year old children belonging to sahni caste works as a rag picker and also pulls the wooden cart (Thela) along with his 16 year old brother. Both never attended schools. But their younger brother and sister attend schools. Her mother said (*Baap mar gaya to bachpan se hi kamane laga*) their father died so they started earning from childhood.

CASE 5- At the same Pavement dwellers, a 14 year old child of Paswan caste (SC) works as labourer with his 18 year old brother. Both of them never went to any school. While their 10 year brother is in class 4 at a government school.

CASE 6- In Ambedkar Nagar Slum, a Muslim girl child belonging to Bakho community dropped out from school because of the cold response of the teachers to a quarrel she had with other children. Disappointed with the teachers, she stopped going to the school finally. Her nine year old brother goes to a school. Her mother said (*jahan bacche rahengen wahan to noj-jhok hota rahta hai, ye to masterji ka kaam hai ke unko roke*) that small children were likely to have quarrels but it was the teachers' responsibility to try to retain them in the school.

CASE 7 - In the same slum, four Muslim boy children from the same household dropped out from school due to rude behaviour of the teachers. Now, they attend Madarsa. Their other siblings still attend school.

CASE 8- In Kumrar Mushari, four children from three different households belonging

to Manjhi community (SC) dropped out due to poverty. They neither go to school nor do anything. Their younger brother and sister attend school.

CASE 9- In the same slum, two girl child of Manji Community (SC) dropped out due to poverty and now they attend a coaching which is run by the charitable trust free of cost, while her younger sister attends a school. Her mother said (*Pehle Jati thi, ab nahi jati hai*) Earlier they used to go to school but now they don't.

Note- the names of children have not been disclosed because consent was not taken and therefore involves ethical reasons.

It is also evident from studies that there are many children who neither attend schools nor work. They just roam here and there (Banerjee, 2000). There are number of children who help their families in running families enterprises but they work full time in case of emergency such as death or illness of their parents. And there are many children who even go to school and work as well to support the family (ibid). There are children who work to support their families (Tarannum, 2017) because the earning of the children reduces financial burden and the parents see the short benefits and do not realize the long term benefits of education (Bagjuar et al., 2007). According to the census of India 2011, Patna (Bihar) has about 30,120 main workers aged between 5-14 years and out of these 55.1% is literate. A literate is defined as the one who can write, read and comprehend in any of the language. It means that still 45% of the children are illiterate. And 10 million children are engaged in child work in India (ibid). Slow and jobless growth, a shift to informal modes of production and an increase in temporary workers are all trends that have made it increasingly difficult for working age members of households to generate subsistence, in turn leading to increased reliance on child labour in many contexts (ILO, 2015).

Act against child Labour

The Government of India passed a number of constitutional acts and provisions for protection of children including the Child Labour (Prohibition and Regulation) Act of 1986. Under the law, the child below 14 years of age is prohibited to work in hazardous work including rag picking and scavenging. The act was amended on 22 July 2016 and now the children below age of 14 cannot be employed in any form of work and children between the ages of 14-18 cannot be employed in hazardous work

and occupation. The other law which is Right to free and Compulsory Education Act, 2009 along with the child labour Prohibition act are the two important legal measures which affected the legal status of the children and defined their rights as children. Despite the existence of the laws and acts the children are forced to work in hazardous and non-hazardous conditions due to several reasons. When child labour becomes a social evil and exploitation of these children continue, it leads to their marginalization.

Qualitative Data Analysis

This part of the analysis is based on the responses of the respondents that were collected through open ended questions by applying survey method. It is important to do the qualitative study considering the complexity of the problem. It helps to understand the problem from an in-depth perspective. This part helps to understand the views of the respondent on five major issues which lead to the educational marginality of the children. This section answers the two objectives if the study:

    i)What is the concept of marginalization in urban context?

    ii)What are the educational factors leading to the urban marginalization of the children living in slums of Patna?

Methodology- the analysis of the qualitative data has been done by applying the six process of thematic analysis. Here it is important to mention that all qualitative analysis is based on open- ended survey method. For example take one question for better understanding

Researcher- (*kya apko lagta hai ladkiyon ka padhna jaruri hai*) Do you think the education of the girl child is important?

    Respondent- (35 year old mother of the girl child belongs to Manjhi community (SC) at Jalalpur Nahar informal settlement)–*(Hann Bahut Jaruri hai, kyuki sab barabar hai)* yes, it is, because all are equal.

Researcher- *(Kyun, Jaruri hai)* why do you think so?

Respondent- *(agar ladki padhi likhi hogi to kam dahej dena hoga)* Because, if the girl is educated then we have to give the less dowry. There is no marriage without dowry these days.

So, Familiarization and coding is easy compare to the in-depth interviews. After this we develop the themes. Themes are broader and the researcher has combined many codes into one themes. For example;

a. Researcher-(*Ladkiyon ka padha kyun jaruri hai*) why do you think the education of the girl child is important?

> Respondent-(is a 38 year old Muslim women belongs to OBC caste in Shivpuri slum, *Wo kaam kar sakti hai aur accha paisa kama sakti hai)* Because, she can work and earn a good amount of money.

b. Researcher-*(Ladkiyon ka Padhna Kyun jaruri hai)* why do you think the education of the girl child is important?

> Respondent (25 year women belongs to SC caste in Ambedkar Nagar slum)-*(wo atma nirvar rahegi)* she will be self- dependent financially.
>
> So, here the codes (Good amount of money and self –dependent financially) can be combined in one theme. Once the theme has been developed, the researcher reviewed the themes, after which the themes were named.

Reasons to choose Private school

According to a study by the Centre of Civil Society (2016) there are 3 Lakh Budget Private Schools (BPS) in India. The BPS can be defined as small, often unrecognized schools promoted by entrepreneurs to meet the demand of the low income households who can are disillusioned by government schools, defined by crumbling infrastructure, multi-grade classrooms, chronic teacher absenteeism, and corporal punishment, English language aversion and abysmal learning outcomes. It is estimated in the article that around 60 million children are enrolled in (BPS). Though there is direction by the ministry to close the BPS which is not in accordance with the section 19 of the RTE 2009. The section also talks about maintaining certain mandatory standards of the infrastructure and pupil-child ratio. It is also found that

thousands of schools (2,983) have been shut down and there are 5,097 schools which have got closer notices. The BPS actually provides an alternative to the lower income household to dysfunctional government schools. It is argued by the policy planners that this section does not apply to the government sector and the government should focus on improving the conditions of the government schools rather than closing down the BPS'. The other angle against the low cost private schools is that at par with acceptable standards of school infrastructure, teacher's qualifications (Goyal and Pandey, 2012). So the low cost private school does not provide better education to the children of slums and these schools are quite different from the elite private schools. Before going to the reason let see the empirical evidence which led the people living in schools to choose private over government schools.

Table 2: NSSO (2014) 71th round of data: On reason for preferring private institution

Level of attendance	Primary
Govt. institution is not available near by	**7.2**
Better environment of learning	**52.2**
English is the medium of instruction	**18.5**
Quality of education in govt. inst. Is not satisfactory	**18.6**
Tried for govt. inst. But could not get admission	**1.0**
Can't say	**2.5**
Total	**100.0**

Source: NSSO, p-71

Theme 1: Responsiveness of the teacher

It is found during the study that the responsiveness of the teachers towards parents and children are not good resulting in parents choosing to send their kids to private schools. They believe that the teachers of the private schools are responsible and accountable towards their duty. In private schools there is the concept of the parent-teacher meetings in every month. Though this concept was first used in the registered high cost private schools where the children of the rich get education but later on, the low cost unregistered schools also adopted this process to get the confidence of the parents that their children are getting proper care, guidance and education. Parent-

teacher meetings provide poor parents with an opportunity to discuss the progress of the children with the teachers. The parents shared that the children are involved in chatting, fighting and not in learning because the teachers in government schools are themselves engaged in chatting in general (knitting the woolen clothes, a popular notion especially about the female teachers in government schools). One of the parents shared that his child did not want to go to school because the teachers didn't intervene when he fought with his classmates. The point she wanted to make that it is very much likely to have some arguments and small fights among children but it was the teachers who should have responded and intervened.

Theme 2: Medium of Instruction

When India opened its market for the world in 90s, the economic model of privatizations, globalization and liberalization actually changed the whole socio, economic and political aspect of individuals. The aspiration of the middle class emerged that ensures social mobility. The market employs those who are familiar with the English language. After this trend large numbers of low cost private schools were opened in urban to rural areas. The middle class, petty agrarian class and the people from the lower strata of the society had hope that after getting English education the future of their children will be more secured. This was the time especially in northern part of India when parents decided to choose the low cost private schools. It is still one of the important reasons that push parents towards private schools.

Theme 3: Better quality of Education and Infrastructure

The researcher found during analysis that the reasons of choosing private schools by the parents were better infrastructure like seating arrangements, toilet facility and good education. Better infrastructure provided an ambience and motivation to be regular at school. In many government schools, according to the findings of the study, the children have to sit on floor and there is no separate toilet for girls.

The parents responded that the children do not get proper homework which affects the learning of the children. If the children do not get the homework there is no motivation for the children to study at home. The parents opined that the teachers in the government schools lack professional skills. The skills in question include the attitude towards the needs of the children, teaching ability, and professional ethics.

Theme 4: No faith in Government primary schools

The respondents shared their view that the overall quality of the government primary school is not satisfactorily. They believe that primary schooling cannot be compromised as it is the base or rather foundation of education. Once the children complete the primary education with a good foundation then they can think of shifting their children to the government schools so that they can sustain in the education system. This belief of the parents unambiguously demonstrates that they have no faith in the primary education system. Even though the poor and slum dwellers' household monthly income is low barely enough even to manage basic needs of food, proper shelter, clothes and better health, but still they spend a good amount of money to educate their children in low cost private schools. It is important to note that even the poor have no faith and trust in the primary education system.

Theme 5: Peculiar case of caste within caste and reason to choose private school.

The institution of caste system is based on the concept of graded structural inequality. The idea of purity and pollution are being used to preserve the rigidity of this system. The stratification is such that there exist lowest sections to even the lower caste groups. The various sub-castes amongst the schedule caste groups too are based on the within-caste hierarchy practice. The upper stratum SCs practice discrimination against the communities stand lower to them in the hierarchy. No caste group admit to the fact that they are the victims of such a system. Instead many perpetuate similar practices aslong as they have other lower sections catering to their needs. (Gupta, 2000; Appadurai, 1974). The practice of endogamy is very rigid among all these caste groups. Marrying outside the caste accounts to shame and dispossession of caste pride. Equating one caste with another is not welcomed by any of the castes (ibid). The lower caste groups in an attempt to escape from the caste based stigma and descrimination indulges in the practices of sanskritization by imitating the lifestyle practises of upper castes (Srinivas, 1952). But this does not mean that they loose their caste identity (Gupta, 2001). The lower castes groups are not homogenous and among the dalits themselves there are oppressed and oppressors (Paramjit, 2003). Caste based discrimination especially is practiced by upper castes which deprives children from the lower caste to access of education.

Box 2: Caste within Caste

In one slum which is in outskirt of the city there are two different communities both belonging to Schedule caste. On one side of the slum people from Ravidas Community resides and on the other side people from Manhji community resides. The family members of Ravidas community said that apart from good teaching, they chose private schools for their children because the behaviour of the children of Manjhi community is not good, and they all attend government school. They maintain less cleanness and their language is also not appropriate. We cannot take risk and we want a good environment for our children.

Note- *it is decided by the researcher not to disclose the name of the slum considering the complex nature of caste and its inter-personal relations among the community.*

Reasons to choose government schools

a. **Lure of free uniform and free textbooks because of Midday meal-** The free education along with the midday meal, free text books, and free uniform encourages the parents to send their children to schools. If the cost of getting education is high, no poor parent will be able to afford this. The choice of government schools by poor people lured by midday meal indicate the economic marginalization of the children living in slums. The midday meal ensures one proper balanced diet to the children. The age of the children in primary schools is crucial for the physical and cognitive development of the children. The balanced diet helps the child to grow according to their age. But the improper implementation of midday meal raises some serious questions.

b. **The non-affordability of private schools-** Some of the respondents argued that they sent their children to the government schools because they could not afford the private education. There were some households which sent their children to the private as well Government schools. The reason behind this complex phenomenon is the affordability of education. A family with two children could not afford private education for all so the elder child was sent to government schools and the younger one to private schools and vice versa. In rural context the access of government schools is easy because each and every village almost has one and there is also lack of private schools. In such a case,

the parents had no option or choice but to send their children in the government schools. But in urban context the situation is quite different because the availability of the low cost private schools is frequent. Even the poor parents have option. But due to paucity of the resources the urban poor or slum dwellers are forced to send their children to government schools.

Themes 6: Education of Girls

In the study the researcher collected the data from seventy households and it is quite interesting to note that all respondent believed that the education of the girl child is equally important like boy child. All the girls from the respondent household from 6-14 years of age are enrolled in the school. Though, there are evidence that the family prefers spending resources on boys child than girls in India, Asia and Africa (Sen, 2009, p-257). Education is one of the key aspect in which the boy gets more preference than girls.

a. **All are Equal-** The respondents believed that both boys and girls are equal. They all believed unequivocally that there should not be discrimination based on gender in getting education. We do not discriminate between boys and girls, told the respondents. To the utmost surprise, some of the respondents believed that girls are more important that boys.

b. **Education ensures career, better jobs and progress-** The respondents believed that education ensured better career options for their children and that it also ensured upward social mobility. The education ensured a better livelihood which comprises of better housing, shelter, better health and clothes, believed other respondents.

c. **Education ensures self-dependency-** The respondent shared that education ensures self -dependency. The self-dependency meaning that in public life it is generally believed that the male will be breadwinner of the family and women will take care of household work which is called unpaid labour by the feminist and Marxist scholars. This phenomenon degrades the position of women in the family and society. If the girl child is educated, she can be economically independent. Their chances of getting jobs in the labour market will be high. The respondent also shared that even after marriage, if there is low

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family income the girl can work and add income in the family. In any extra ordinary circumstances the educated girl can handle the situation better. The education helps the girl to tackle the crisis situation in a proper way. Though there is evidence that in low income families or slum dwellers both the parents work but it does not ensure better salary because of their low level of education. So the argument is coming from their lived experience of having been engaged in informal economy.

d. **Educated women manages family well-** An African proverb says, "If we educate a boy, we educate one person. If we educate a girl, we educate a family – and a whole nation." it is argued that the education of the girl child is equally important because the girl has to play different roles, like mother and wife apart from labour in the labour market. An educated woman manages the family better. Education also ensures better health for women and their children. It is evident of high maternal and infant mortality rates in India due to poverty and illiteracy. With the increase in the education level of mother and family members the infant and maternal mortality rates decreases.

e. **Reduces Dowry-** Few parents also believes that if the girl is educated the demand of the dowry will be less from the groom's side. Dowry is a social evil in Indian society; hundreds of young women are the victim of dowry death and face torture, physical abuse and discrimination at their in-laws house. De jure it is prohibited by the law but de facto it is still the social phenomenon.

Theme 7: Upward and Economic Social Mobility

The literature on distributive justice pointed that proper education as basic human functioning provides an opportunity for better employment and economic opportunities in the labour market for the lower strata of the society (Sen, 1999).

The respondents of the study were slum dwellers. So the respondent shared that they did not want their children to live the life the way they had been living. At every corner of life we struggle even for basic needs of the day to day life. One of the female respondent said at Bankipore Club Slum (*Hamara kya hai, hum to jee hi lengen kaise bhi kar ke aur jee hi rahe hain)* what about us, we will survive and live somehow. But we will make sure and do everything in our own capacity to ensure that our children do not end here. She further added (*Hamare bacche bhi padh likh kar*

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aap ki trah ban jayengen) our children will also become like you after getting education. The respondent believed quite strongly that if children are educated, they can get government jobs. It is evident from the different studies that due to education the large numbers of first generation learners emerged along with the support of affirmative action of the state polices for weaker and marginalised section of the society, they secure the higher salaried jobs. There is aspiration of the poor people to climb to the higher ladder. Here, the respondent believed that the education ensures better future which means a better job with a better salary and stable life.

Theme 8: Fear of eviction from Slums

The respondent of the slums of Jalalpur Nahar shared with great sadness that in forty years they had faced eviction three to four times. This particular slum is a stretch between railway track and a small canal. When there was the expansion of the railway track they were removed and resettled opposite to the railway track. After the expansion of the track they shifted in between of track and canal. Then the government came with the plan of constructing the flyover over the canal. Again they had to move opposite to the railway track. At present the slums exist in between of track and canal. The respondent said that they lived in constant fear of eviction. There is a chance that they may be moved again as the rumors has it that government is planning something around.

The slum near Bankipore Club in the Centre of the city has 35-40 houses of tent and it is totally a temporary settlement. The people are staying here for more than forty years. Some are migrants from different districts of Bihar. The respondent shared that in every three -four months they face eviction. We pack our stuff, keep it here and sleep in the night at the same place. And after three four days we once again settle here. The houses are on both the sides of the small road and can be called pavements dwellers. Displacement from time to time negatively impacts the education of the children, how can any children be regular or normal with their study without shelter, though the tent is just the so called shelter and does not fall under the category of home.

The slum dwellers of Ambedkar Nagar colony, Khajurbanna which consists of more than hundred fifty houses and Kumrar Mushari, consists of around 100 houses are staying on the land for more than forty years on the government land. The respondent

said that these lands were granted by the Lalu Prasad Government in 80s and they were also given low cost houses. Due to family expansion and eviction of the slums of other parts of city, the size of the slums expanded. But there is no ownership of the land and the slum dwellers live in constant fear of eviction (Seth et al., 2016). They shared that many times we listen the rumours that we have to evict the place soon.

Discourse on Eviction of Slums

The current slum eviction and demolition is taking place because of the reinterpretation of the right to life and livelihood guaranteed under article 21 of the constitution of India by the judiciary (Ramanathan, 2006; Bhushan, 2006). Earlier whenever the RWAs filed case stating that the slum dwellers are the sole reason of public nuisance- " *a nuisance is legally defined as "any act, omission, injury, damage, annoyance or offence to the sense of sight, smell, hearing or which is or may be dangerous to life or injurious to health or property*" (Jain, 2005). The court used to favour the slum dwellers, stating that it is the failure of the local bodies and Municipal Corporation. But gradually the discourse shifted. The judiciary started defining the slum dwellers are the cause of public nuisance. Foucault's challenge is to identify how discourses acquire the status of truth, thus giving us insight into how an existing "regime of truth" is formed and the fragility of the grounds on which it rests - the goal being to disturb that truth regime to allow alternative possibilities to emerge (Foucault, 2006). The change in the discourse led to the large demolition of the slums. In 2015 the Delhi high court said that the forced eviction and unannounced eviction of slums without consultation or resettlement plan is illegal. Despite these ruling, the slum eviction takes place in all parts of Indian cities. The women and the children are worst affected by eviction and it also effects the schooling of the children.

Quantitative Data Analysis

This section of this analysis is based on the close ended question and the analysis has been done thorough the graphical represent using the percentages to show the empirical evidence. The first two sections serve the purpose of the research question, what are the concepts of marginality in urban context? The last section answers the research questions. How is the schooling facility available to the children living in slums? And what are the educational factors leading to the urban marginalization of the children living in slums areas?

Socio-Economic Profile of the Household

The study from the colonial period also highlights the occupational and habitation (spatial) segregation. The higher castes live in centre while the lower castes are confined to the periphery (Raju et al., 2006). Though it is believed that caste based segregations are traditional rural phenomenon and modern cities provide social occupational mobility and social proximity which is absence in rural India (Nandy, 2001). It is also believed that Indian cities provide opportunity to the lower castes to flourish but the caste based segregations are salient. Fuller (1996) argues that in the cities it is difficult to identify caste identity and class plays an important role. Betteille (1996) argues that caste is the salient feature of the urban India, which denies the equal access to basic services of the public in nature to the disadvantages community. Those who are studying the spatial distribution of caste communities found that it is highly evident that the lower castes' habitations are located in the lower part of the cities (Dupont, 2004). Opposed to Fuller argument, other studies show that there is strict segregation of habitation based on caste. More than 25% slum dwellers are SC/STs in Delhi, Nasik, Bangalore, Bhopal, Pune, Chennai, Jaipur (Neekhra, 2008). Gidwani (2006) reports that this figure is as high as 60% in Delhi. The SCs and STs clubbed with OBCs and minority reaches to 90% in Ahmedabad (UN- HABITAT, 2003).

Figure: 1 Distribution of the Household by Social Group
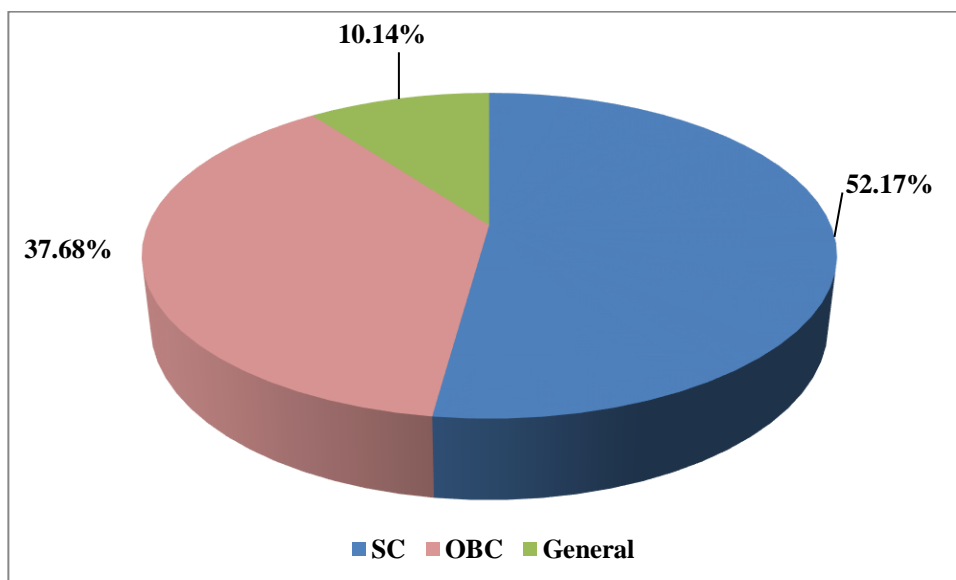
Source: *Researcher's Calculation from field Survey*

The social status of respondents shows that large majority of the slum dwellers are from lower caste. In the study it is found that 52.17% of the respondent is from schedule caste community. Other Backward classes comprises of 37.68%. The general are just 10.14%. It is interesting to note that all the general community belongs to minority Muslim Community. The PRIA, 2012 study shows that there are very few number of Upper Caste Hindus found in the slums in Patna but the number of SCs is even higher at around 64% than the present study. That is why it is important to analyze the caste in Indian context. The SCs are recognized historically as oppressed and socio-economically disadvantaged community along with schedule Tribes and OBCs. The government has taken measures to enhance the educational and economic status of these deprived communities (Thorat, 2007).

Figure: 2 Size of the family
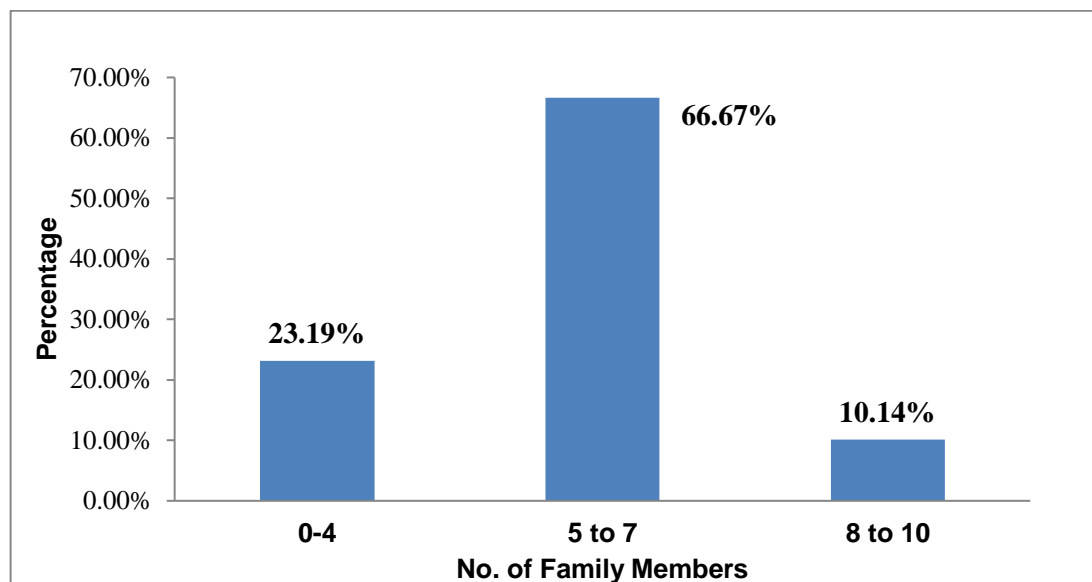
Source: *Researcher's Calculation from field Survey*

This figure shows the size of the family. It is found in the study that there are 23.19% of household which has 1-4 four members, 66.67% of household have 5-7 members and 10.14% household have 8-10 members. There is direct relation between the size of the family and the chances of getting education of the children. The more the family members are, the more the mouth to feed and the expenses on the education will be higher. So it is less likely that the large families will send their children to schools and the drop out chances will be high. Children will have the pressure to

work to meet the basic needs of the families (Chugh, 2011). A study found that 6 plus siblings in a household tends to 36% increase of children dropping out in Primary schools in comparison to small family size (Enyegue, 2000).

Figure: 3 Percentages of Children by Age (6-14 Years of Age)
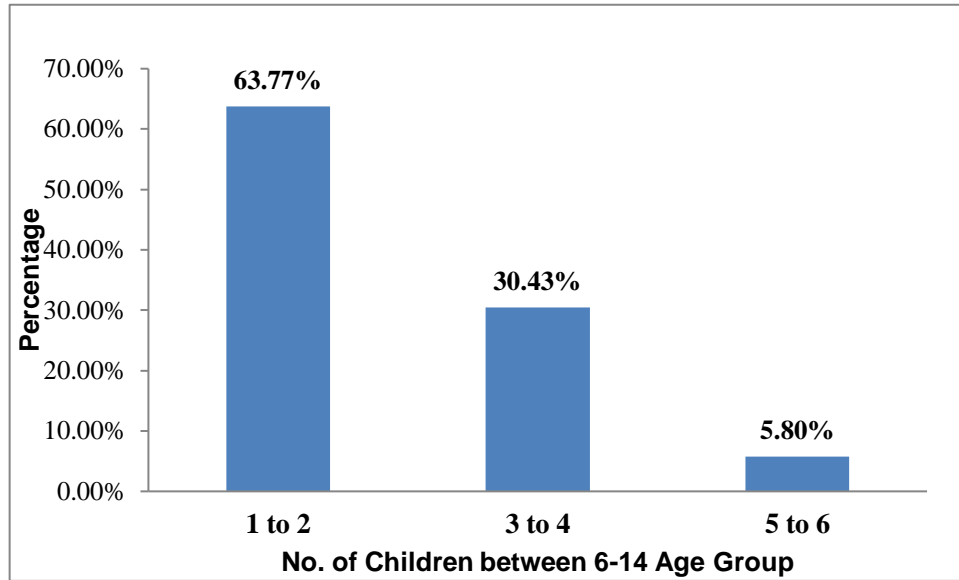
Source: *Researcher's Calculation from field Survey*

The figure shows the number of children between 6-14 years of age. 63.77% household has 1-2 children, 30.43% has 3-4 children and 5.80% has 5-6 children in household. A large number of households has 1-2 number of children and it is highly correlated with the higher number of enrolment found in the study.

Educational attainment level of Mother

The education of the parents and other adults make a difference in the progress of the education of the child. Particularly the educational status of the mother has a cascading effect on the child.

Figure: 4 and 5 Educational Attainment level of the Mother and Father

Figure 4 and 5 shows the educational qualification of the parents children living in slums. And it is really interesting to note that around 78- 82% of the parents are illiterate. The higher, professional and technical qualification is below 2%. The remaining is barely literate to senior secondary level. The education level of the parents along with income affects the education of the children (Chugh, 2011). Education of the parents is one of the most important aspects which determine the education of the children (Ersado. 2005). The access of education, lower drop- out

rates and high attendance rates are positively linked with the educational level of parents (Al Samarai & Peasgood, 1998; Ainsworth et al, 2005; Grant and Hallman 2006 in Chugh, 2011).
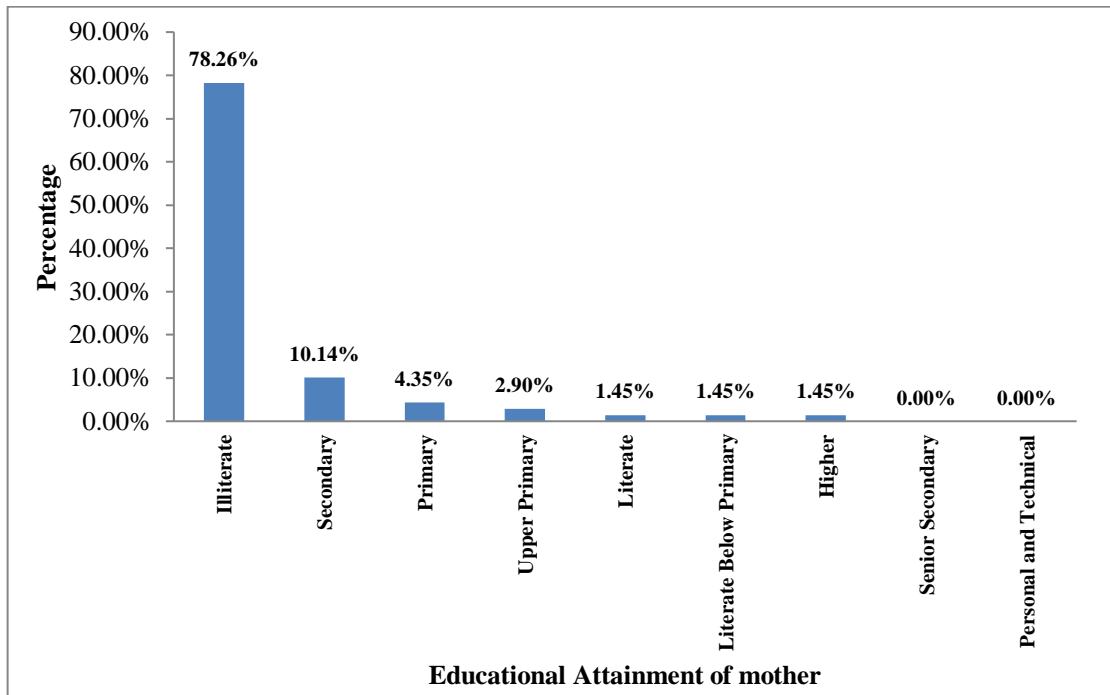
Source: *Researcher's Calculation from field Survey*
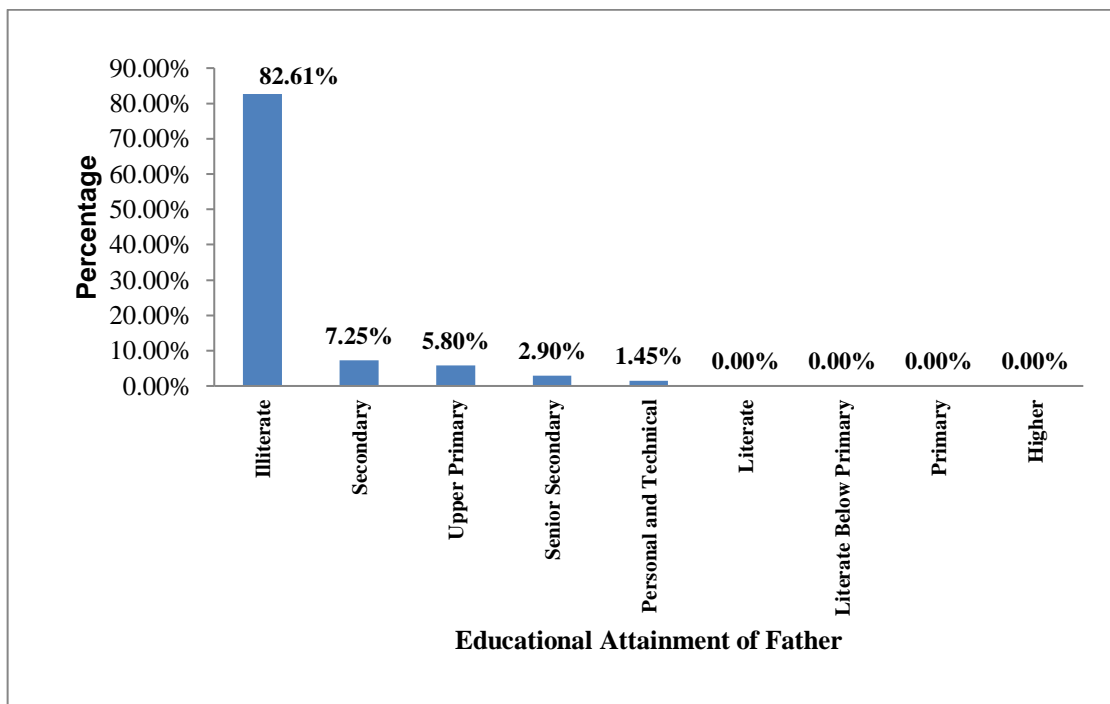
Source: *Researcher's Calculation from field Survey*

Figure: 6 Monthly Family Incomes

This figure shows the monthly income of the household. 35% of the household has income between 3000-6000 per month while other 36% of the household has income between 6000-7000 thousand. If we merge both, 71% of the household has monthly income around 7000 (Yadav, 2015). Only 19% of the household has income between 7000-9000. And 10% of the household has income ranges from 9000-13000. It is important to mention here that those who has more than 9000 of income works on contractual basis and salaries range from 9000 to 12000. This monthly income fluctuates and often depends on the availability of the work in case of daily wage labourers. In case of any natural calamity, macro-economic decisions and health crisis, social unrest the income of the household gets hit badly. It is often the case that in one month they get the work for all 30 days but the next month they have to remain workless due to demand constraint.
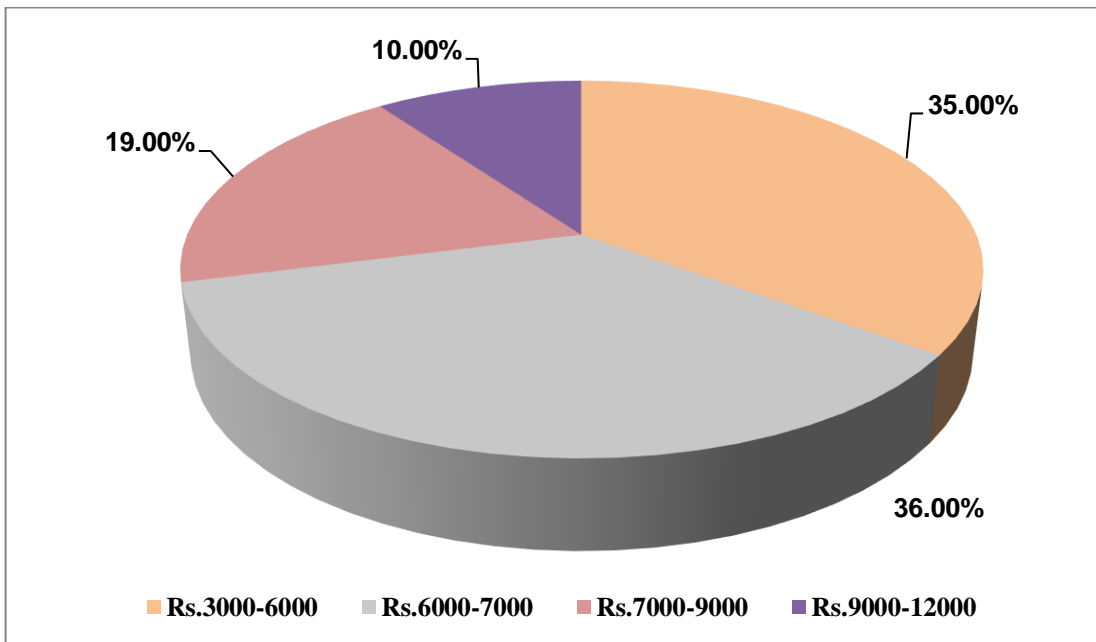
Source: *Researcher's Calculation from field Survey*

Figure: 7 Occupations of Parents

There is a direct correlation between the educational qualification and the nature of work. The nature of work determines the income of the household. It is found in the study that

100% workforce is involved in the informal sector. There is a wide gap between skilled and unskilled jobs in the urban India and hence it is important to harness job opportunity skills and education needs to be enhanced (Awasthi, Kashyap and Yagnik, 2009). There is congruence between the informal sector and poverty which is further related to other disadvantages like caste, level of education which are critical for the job opportunity. The large concentration and disproportionate share of STs, SCs and Muslims is found in informal sector (NCUES, 2007: 22). The nature of work may be put in formal sector but the work remains informal which is what is meant by the informalization of the formal sector (NCEUS, 2007). For instance 15.94% of the respondent household involved in contractual work and engaged in sanitation works of Municipal Corporation of Patna and Government Hospitals, in private companies like field executives. They get around 8000-9000 of monthly salary without any social security. The respondent who works in PMC hospital shared that they are fighting legal battle for regularization of the jobs. The percentage of salaried employed is zero. 43. 48% of the household workforce is engaged in daily wage labour mainly in construction works. The percentage of the self- employed workforce is 37. 68% comprising of rag picking, rickshaw pulling, thella (wood cart) pulling, vegetables sellers, Hawker, mason, tailoring. 2.90% workforce is engaged in domestic work which is done by women (Kumar and Agarwal, 2013). The urban informal workers are considered to be the free riders of the facilities provided by the government but it is also important to recognize their contribution in making these cities and day to day functioning's of the city depends on these people.

It is also important to keep in mind that the individual who works in informal sector does not get regular work and the monthly income may fluctuate. Several reasons such as macro- economic Policies (Demonetization in India)[9], Recession, Natural calamity (Earthquake, Tsunami etc.) and Zoonotic diseases like (Covid-19, Ebola etc.) decide the fate of the informal sector. There is disjuncture between the economic growth and job creation at present which was evident in the earlier phase of Post-Liberalization Period also. At present there is jobless growth (Himanshu, 2011).

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[9] Demonetization is the act of pulling the currency from circulation, often to be replaced by new notes, coins.

And the most important aspect is the relation between poverty, low income and education of the children living in slums. It is evident from the other studies that education of the parents and their income level directly affects the educational status of the children (Bryk and Thum, 1989; Ekstrom et al., 1986; McNeal, 1999; Rumberger and Larson, 1998; Pong and Ju, 2000). Higher parental income encourages them to spend high on the education of the children. Due to economic constraint and poverty the chances of drop out is high.
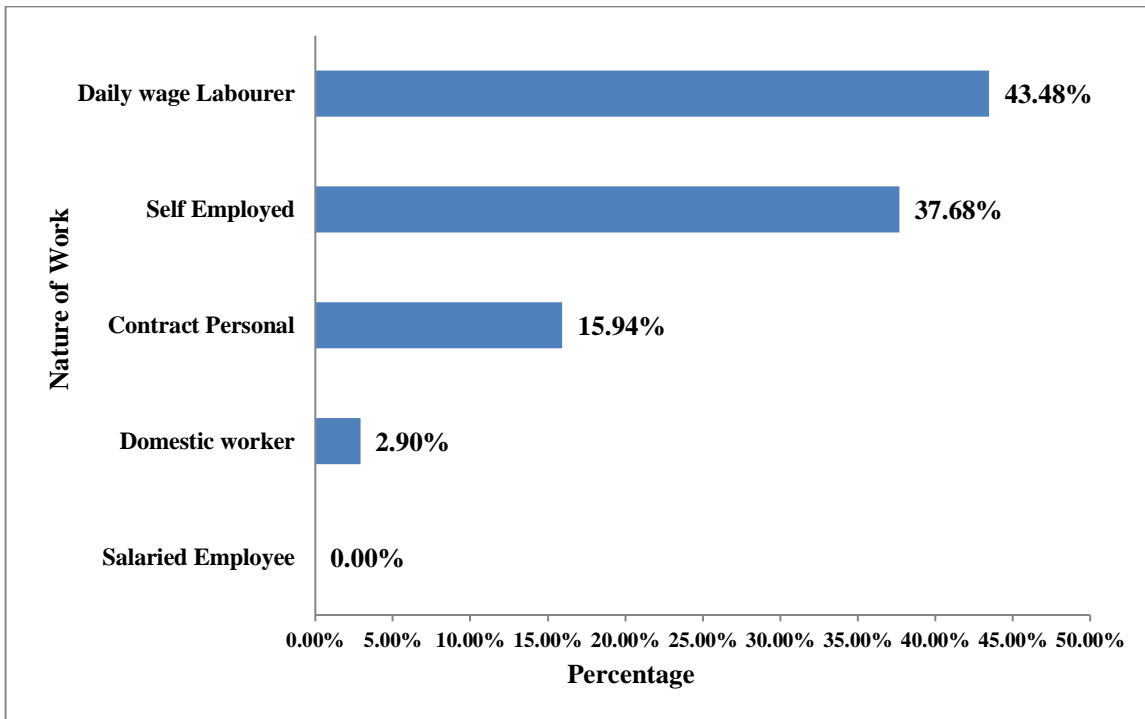
Source: *Researcher's Calculation from field Survey*

Availability of Basic Facilities in Urban Slum Dwellers

This section deals with the basic facilities which are essential to live a dignified life. Before presenting the empirical evidence based on surveyed analysis. It will be appropriate to look at some of the commitments in the form of big polices for urban poor by the central government in the last fifteen years. Let us start with the project of JNNURM (Jawaharlal Nehru National Urban Renewal Mission and RAY (Rajiv Awas Yojana). JNNURM started in 2005, committed to provide and enhance the life of urban poor at two levels: first providing basic services to the urban poor under Ministry of Housing and Urban Poverty Alleviation and second, the urban infrastructure and by the

Ministry of Urban Development. Rajiv Awas Yojana was dedicated to provide houses to urban poor. In 2015 the new government replaced both the programmes and launched Pradhan Mantri Awas Yojana for (urban) [10] apart from housing to the poor, the programme also includes schemes of toilet, Ujjawala Yojana for gas connection, Saubhagya Yojana Electricity connection. Apart from commitment of the government of India it has been also committed to provide these basic facilities under international initiative "Sustainable Development Goals". Despite these big promises and commitments the empirical evidences show quite a different picture and shows amid these big promises and commitment the life of the slum dwellers are deplorable.

Figure: 8 Status of Ration card
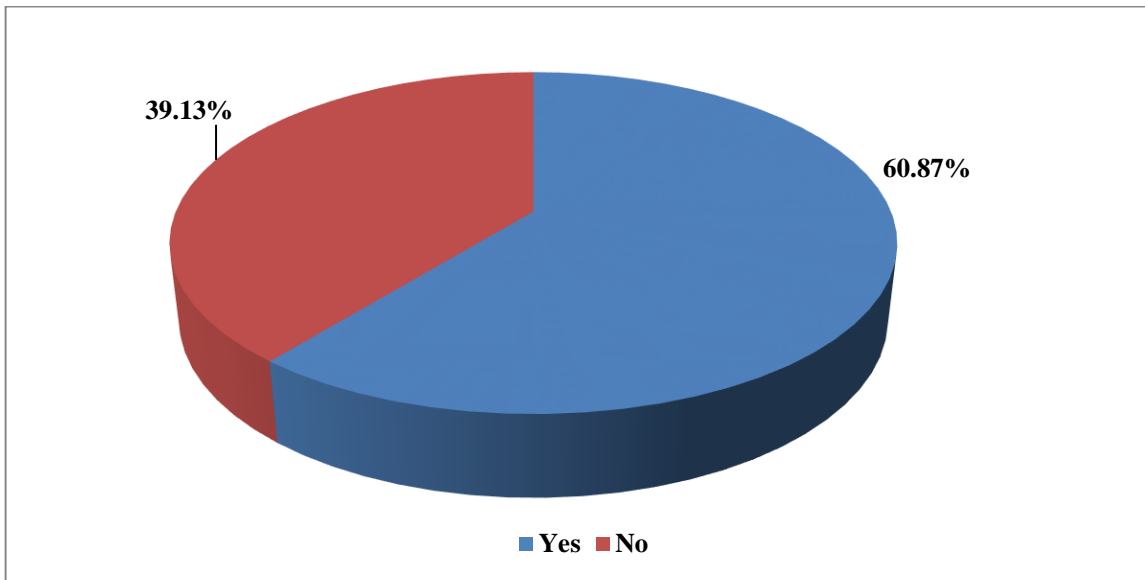
Source: Researcher's Calculation from field Survey

This figure shows the availability of the ration card household wise. 60.87 % respondent said they have a ration card. Many respondents complained that their card is not active and they fail to get their ration on subsidized rates. There were many who said that they get less than the entitled amount of ration. 39.13% of the respondent said that they do not have ration card.

This raises a serious question about the nature of our development since independence

[10]For details see; https://vikaspedia.in/social-welfare/urban-poverty-alleviation-1/schemes-urban-poverty-alleviation/pradhan-mantri-awas-yojana-housing-for-all-urban

where people are deprived of such basic needs for survival. The absence of ration card further burdens them to buy the ration which includes rice, flour, and sugar, salt and oil overall from the market at a market price. The absence of the Public Distribution System (PDS) has a direct impact on the health of the household especially women and children. In 2019 India ranked 102 out of 117 qualifying countries in Global Hunger index. The index is prepared based on the proportion of underweight children and rate of mortality under five and proportion of people who do not get sufficient calories (Von Grebmer et al., 2013). There are 97 million children out of 472 million children are anemic and undernourished (Census, 2011). According to Food and Agriculture Organization FAO) of United Nations' report "The State of Food Security and Nutrition in the worlds, 2019". 4 million people are under nourished in India. 51.4% of women in reproductive age between 15 to 49 years are anemic.

There is high economic cost of undernourishment and it leads to lower levels of learning outcome, productivity and drop-out in worse case. These situations are the mockery of the goal no 2 of the sustainable Development Goals which talks to eliminate Global hunger and ensure food security by 2030 at global level. The National Food Security Act, 2013 is all about providing food to each and every citizen exclusively poor. Under Antayodaya Anna Yojana it is a provision to provide ration to the poorest of the poor at higher subsidized rate. PDS system and Integrated Child Development Schemes are the two pillars of NFSA, 2013 through which the nutrition goals will be fulfilled. PDS system has been highly criticized for lack of identifying the beneficiaries and widespread leakages (Dreze and Khera, 2010). Its functioning is less effective in poorly governed state than more efficient states in terms of low cost take rates and Bihar is one of the poor and less efficient sates in India. Though from 2005 to 2011 the number of card users has grown sharply with decrease in targeting errors (Himanshu and Sen, 2013). It is shown by different researchers that PDS and other programmes are highly impacted by the errors of exclusion and inclusion (Dreze and Khera, 2010; Sahu and Mahamallik, 2011). And hence expansion of the beneficiaries will ensure the inclusion of the excluded poor. The importance of PDS in reducing Poverty by effectively increasing consumption expenditure is huge (Dreze and Khere 2013; Himanshu and Sen, 2013). Whether the PDS is able to cater to the nutrition needs of poor is the matter of further research.

But it is basic to understand that dairy products like milk and fruits are also equally important for the physical and cognitive development of the individual especially children and pregnant women. It is important to regulate the prices of products in market. It demands monumental changes in the global food system to feed the 10 billion population expected by 2050 (Willett et al., 2019).

Urban Marginalised and COVID-19

This study found that a significant half of the slum dwellers do not have ration cards. It has adverse effects on the nutritional needs of the urban poor. With the emergence of global pandemic COVID-19[11], the urban poor who are mostly engaged in informal work lost their job due to the biggest lockdown in the history of nations. Jean Dreze writes PDS is the most important asset at the time of such crisis. Government must double the ration of all the PDS card holders for three or even six months (20 March, 2020, The Hindu). In the absence of such an initiative things could lead to hunger and starvation of this stratum. They clearly have other basic needs to be looked upon as well. The initiatives which include direct cash benefits would help to reduce the gravity of this situation. According to Grewal and Deol (2020), Abhijit Sen, Amartya Sen (Both of whom are Nobel Laureates and Developmental Economists) and former RBI Governor Raghuram Rajan emphasized on providing ration to all those people who wants to queue up with making ration card criteria as non-mandatory[12]. As per them a significant chunk of deprived and dispossessed are missing from the PDS list and they are in dire need of food to eat. They have also argued that the government should issue temporary cards for at least six months period by expanding the access to PDS system, public canteen facilities should be available for migrant workers who are on an exodus of reverse migration, measures to be taken for the provision of dry ration to the children and government can take help of the local NGOs to reach out the marginalized. With the severity of crisis

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[11]Covid-19 is the coined termed for Novel Corona Virus from the family of SARS virus lately it turned into a global pandemic which basically originated from the Wuhan of city of China.

[12] For details seehttps://theprint.in/thought-shot/give-out-food-stocks-expand-pds-dont-skimp-amartya-sen-raghuram-rajan-abhijit-banerjee/402834/

employment and income are the concern of poor and marginalised than anyone else (IGSS, 2020).

The other alarming aspect is to maintain physical distancing in Slums (ibid), as directed by the health experts, WHO and the governments across the globe. The slums are overcrowded and congested (Banerjee, 2014) and they are more prone and vulnerable to this contagious disease. In the wake of exponential increase in the number cases in Mubai's Dharavi, preventive measures needs to be taken in all the slums across the subcontinent. As the experience from this study provides many slum dwellers use the community toilets which can be a hotspot for the spread of the virus. Maintaining the physical distancing practices seems to be quite difficult for the slum dwellers. Considering the high infectious nature of COVID-19 it is really a matter of worry. Further, this is the high time to revisit the whole urban planning and to produce urban social space borrowing Lefebre's (1991) term which is inclusive and collective.

Figure: 9 Types of Houses

The figure shows the condition of the household. It is evident from the graph that 71.01% of houses are kaccha. According to the census of India, the definition of the Kuccha houses are-the roof, walls are made of bamboos, mud, grass, thatch, loosely packed stones etc. are called Kaccha Houses. While 5.80% of the houses are in the categories of tent, these are basically the peddler dwellers. The 17.39% of the houses are semi pucca and 5.80% of houses falls under the category of pucca Houses. The question is tent cannot be considered as house because it hardly protects from cold, rain and sunlight in the summer. The Pucca houses are made of burn bricks, stones, cement and basically concrete in nature while the semi Kuccha Houses' walls are like Pucca houses, but the roof is not made of concrete. It is tough to manage in the kuccha houses as well. It just provides a space in which an individual can survive and it is much lesser than the imagination of a house.
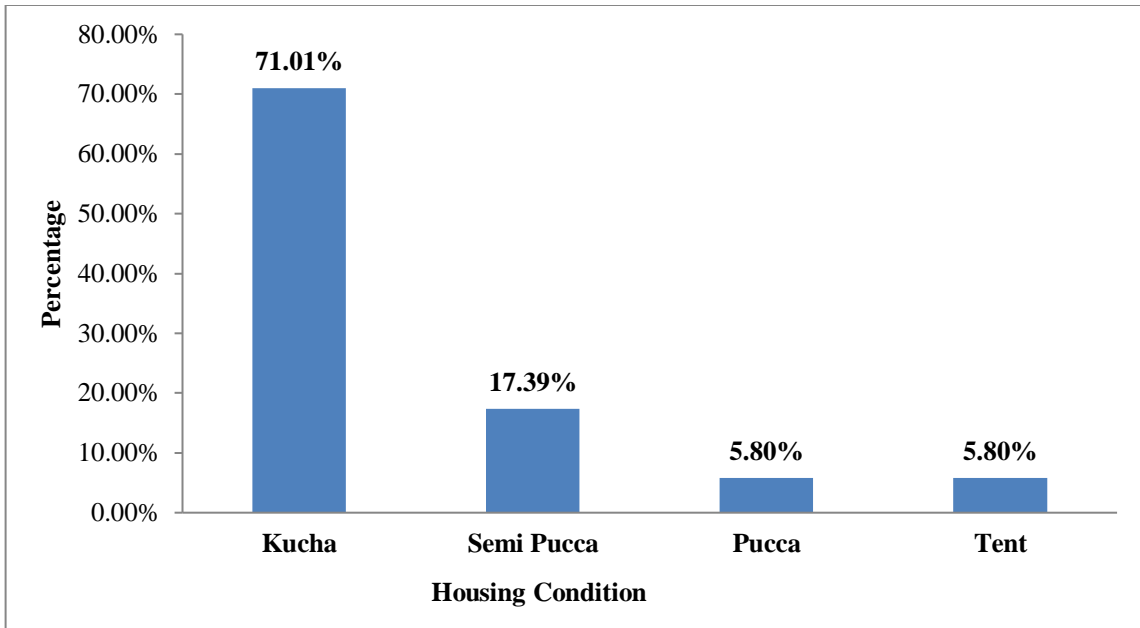
Figure: 10 Ownership status of Land
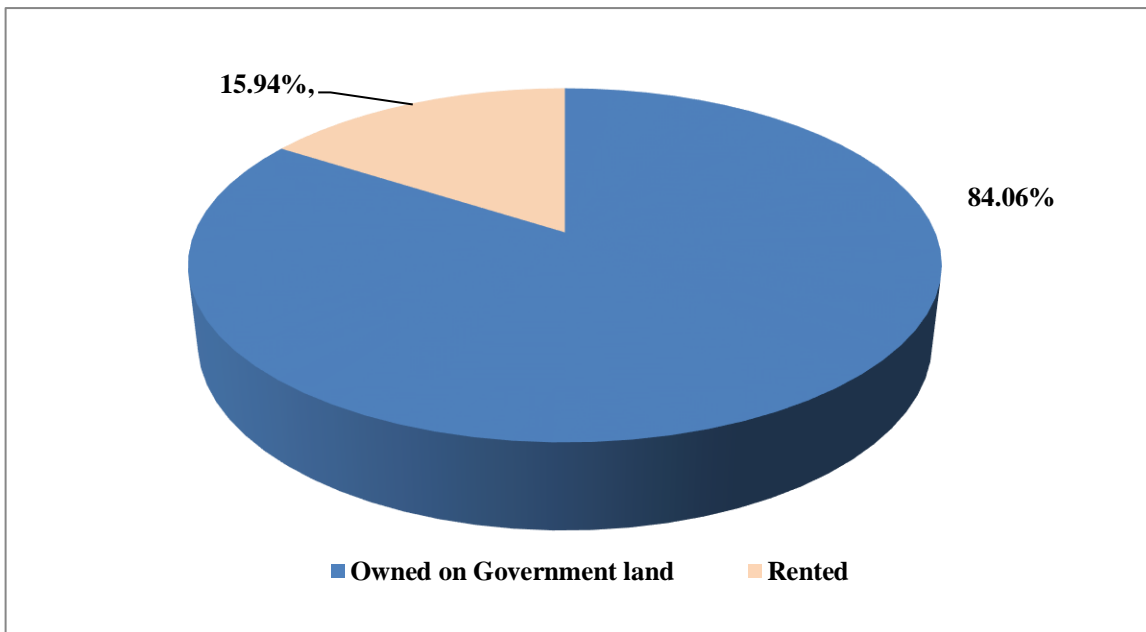
The figure shows the ownership of the land on which the houses are built. 84.94 per cent houses are built on the government land and the people continuously fear the eviction (Seth et al., 2016). Due to expansion of the families the area of the slum has been increased. It is observed that at two slums the government has provided the land to the

urban poor. Few householders have paper but the nature of the paper requires further investigation so as to ensure whether the paper provides land tenure to the slum dwellers or not. 15. 94% of the houses are on rent. In the particular slum of Shivpuri which is a long stretch and one side of the slum, all the slum dwellers belong to Muslim community and pay 400 per month rent. It means that this particular slum is on Private land. In other two slums there were two and three story building made by the government and given to the slum dwellers. Each family member has one room though the condition of the building was not in proper shape and condition. The ownership of the land tenure also plays important role in the willingness to pay for the improvement of the basic facility. The cost is borne by the slum dwellers but if there is fear of eviction, the people will not invest their hard earn money (Duflo et al., 2012)

Figure: 11 Rooms in the families
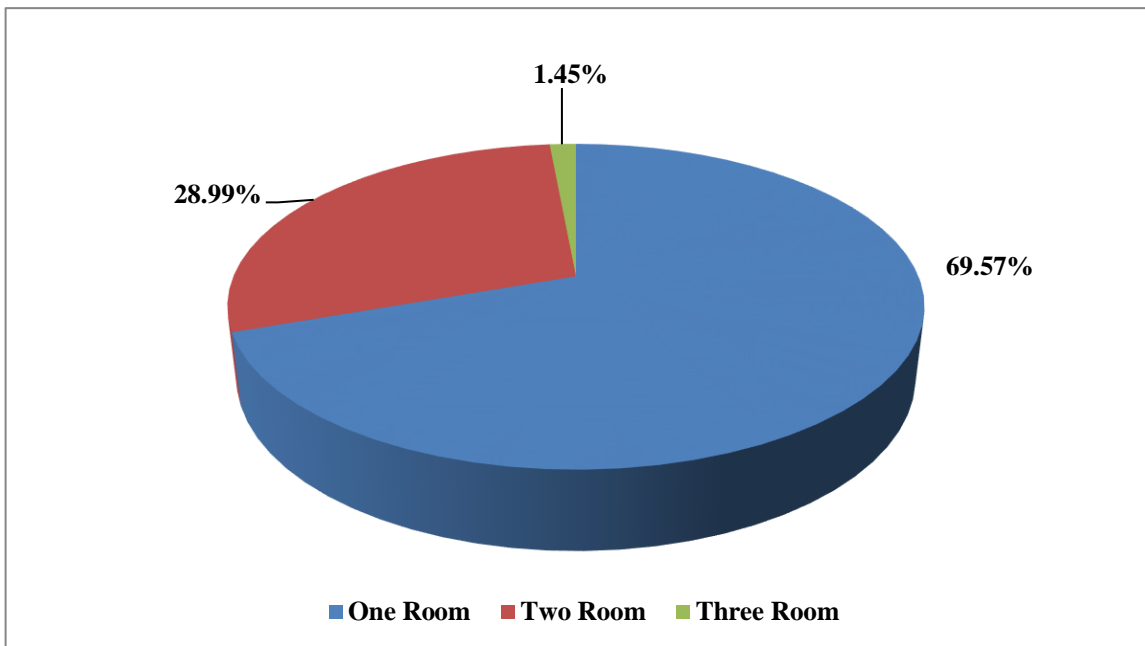
Source: *Researcher's Calculation from field Survey*

The figure shows the number of room. It is found in the study that around 70% of the slum dwellers have one room. While 28% have double room and remaining have three rooms which are minuscule in number. The rooms in Kaccha and tent do not fall in the categories of proper rooms. There is no ventilation and the so called rooms are dark. No one can stand in the room except the five year kid, because the height of the rooms is not proper. At the entrance an individual has to bend and enter and have to sit because there

is no option. One can imagine the living conditions of the people who stay in it.

Figure: 12 Means of Cooking in the families

Even after the independence of 70 years and wide spread of electricity and natural gas large section of Indian urban and rural poor are using residential solid fuels for cooking like wood and coal. According to this study, it was revealed that 53% household is using the wood and other materials as principal means of cooking. 43.48% of household uses gas for the same while 1.45% household uses Kerosene and coal. It is important to mention here that large numbers of household using wood has negative impact on environment, health of the women and children and education. It consumes many hours in collecting the wood and cartoon and it involves children and women of the house in general and girl's children in particular. It is observed during the fieldwork that children are involved in collecting these. The utensil which is used for cooking takes more time and water to clean because it gets very dirty. The household which is using gas is of two kinds. The first users got the gas by the scheme of the central government and the second which bought from the market. It is a small cylinder which costs 500 in the market and the capacity of the cylinder is 4kg of Gas. The local market cost of gas is 90-110 rupees per Kg. The subsidized rate of the full cylinder ranges from 700-900 which is around 14Kg. So the household has to pay extra 500-700 if they don't have the government gas cylinder which may be almost three day wages of many slum dwellers household.

Source: *Researcher's Calculation from field Survey*

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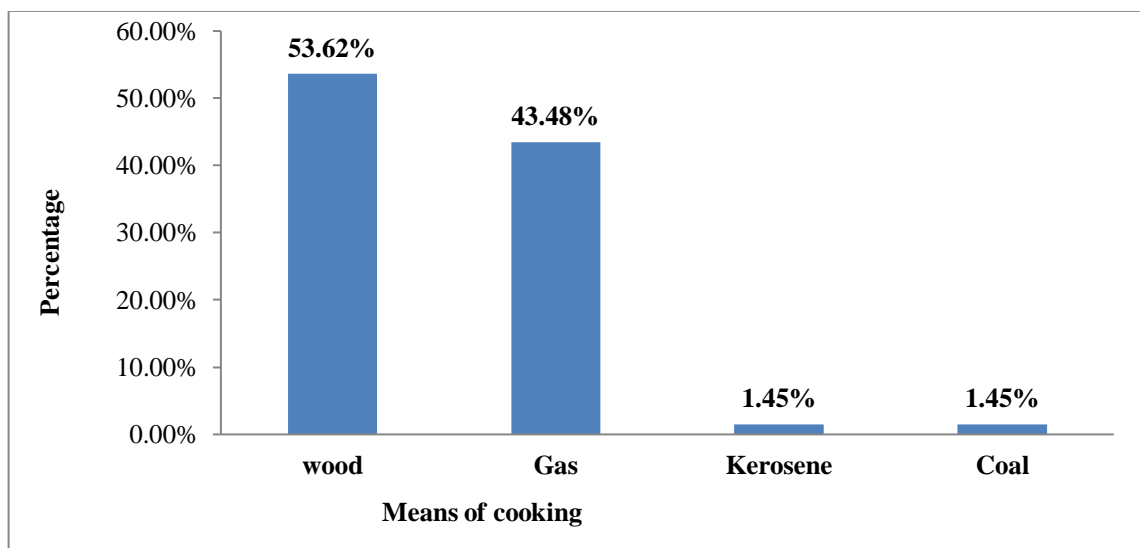
Use of kerosene and coal are also not easy. It takes time and efforts to light the stove and the chula which is made up of mud. It is time consuming as well. In case of urban slums it gets more difficult to use coal and wood because of the lack of open space and poor ventilation and hence results in indoor air pollution. The urban slums' density is high and the large population is exposed to mainly respiratory and cardiovascular diseases. The outdoor air pollution also increases public health burdens both in terms of healthy lifestyle loss and premature death (WHO, 2016)[13].

Figure: 13 Drinking Water in Families
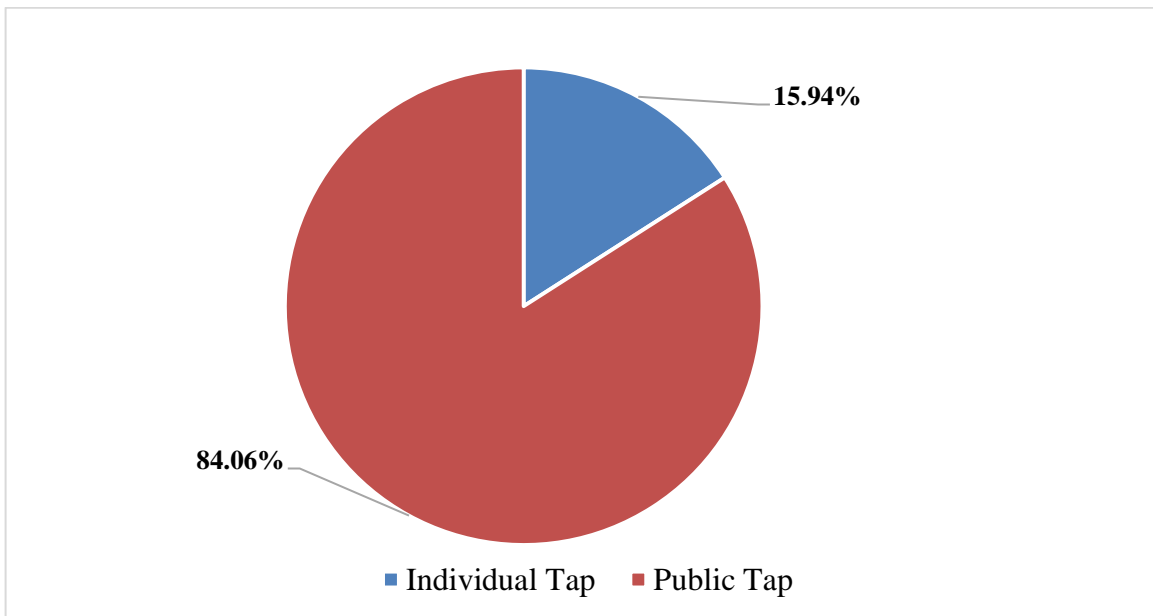
Source: *Researcher's Calculation from field Survey*

The study found that 84.06% of the household does not have water connection of their own and they collect water from public tap while 15% household has their own water connection in their houses. It is observed that there are two types of connection. The first is the water supply by the pipeline and the second one is the hand pump. When the question comes of Public tap, it does not fall into the category of public because of the simple reason that many slum dwellers themselves invested their resources to stretch the pipeline near to their houses. They said earlier they used to walk 500 meter to get the water.

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[13] For details see; https://www.who.int/en/news-room/fact-sheets/detail/ambient-(outdoor)-air-quality-and-health.

In Bankipore Club slum which consists of pedestrian peddlers, they get water from the public hand pump. In another slum of Jalalpur there are both public hand pump and private hand pump. In Jalalpur Nahar, one 16 year girl informed that earlier there was only one hand pump in the primary School. And it was very hard to get the water because of the objection of the school staff. They used to close the campus of the school after the school timing so we needed to store the water for night and morning.

In Indian urban spaces the timing of water is in terms of few hours per day, meaning the limited supply, the quantity and quality of water is considerable (World Bank, 2006; Zerah, 2000).

But in case of slum dwellers they use it for all purpose including drinking. The quality of water whether it is drinkable or not depends upon the mineral content in the water. There is much water borne disease due to lack of clean drinking water. Children are more exposed to it. The health impacts of unsafe drinking water will be discussed with the sanitation problems in later part. The uncontaminated and chlorinated water to the household will lead to reduce the diarrheal disease by 95% (Fewtrell and Colford 2004). Apart from this due to lack of drainage system in the slums the water floats around the houses and it gets more worse in the rainy days when the water comes near or to the houses.

Figure: 14 Members Responsible for Fetching Water.
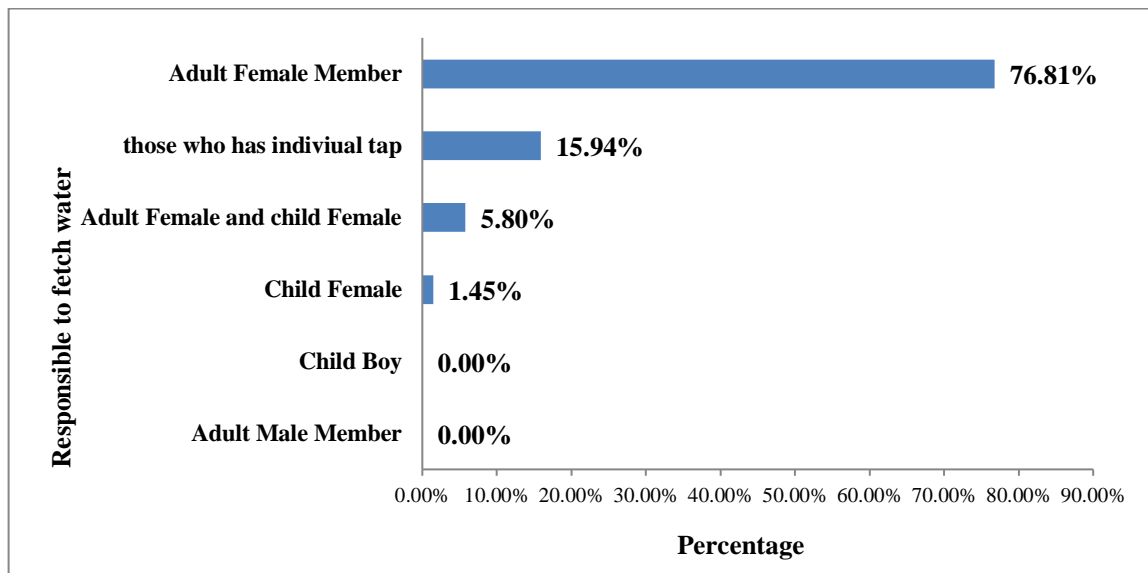
Source: *Researcher's Calculation from field Survey*

The figure shows that those who do not have individual water supply in their houses, in that case women of the household fetch the water from the public or community tap, hand pump or tank. In many cases adult women are helped by the girl child and when the pubic tap is very close the girl child fetches the water. The male member of the family does not fetch the water because he has to work. The boy child does not fetch the water either; it may be because of the small sample size. But in general due to patriarchy the division of labour based on gender can be seen as a reason mainly because of which the women and the girl children fetch water. It has negative impact. It is difficult for pregnant women to fetch water because heavy weight is not allowed during this period. Apart from that the women and children spent many hours to fetch the water and store it causes low attendance of children in schools (UNICEF, 2017). It reduces the care giving of the mother towards children including guidance in education homework.

Figure: 15 Sanitation Facilities in families
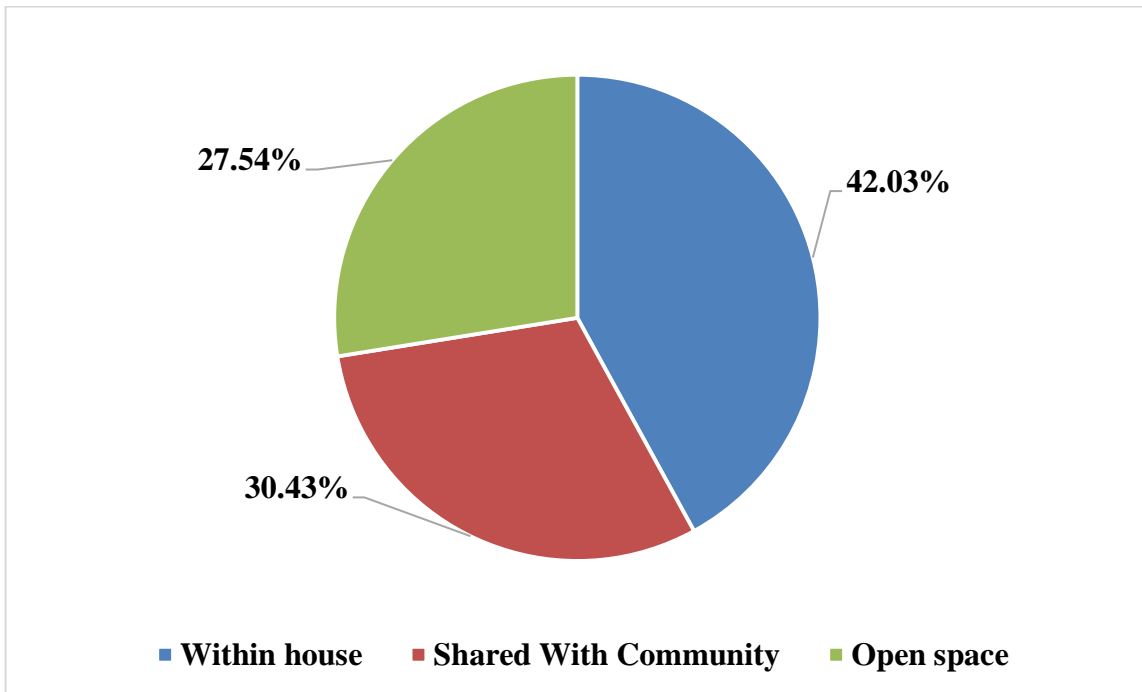
Source: *Researcher's Calculation from field Survey*

The figure shows that 42.03% of the household which has been surveyed has sanitation inside the houses. Though there are many who said that it is not in good condition, it is just manageable. 30.43% of the household shares toilet with the community and 27.54% use open space and defecate in open (UN-Habitat, 2006).

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In Kumrar Mushari slum it is found that earlier there was common toilet. The community toiled was demolished by the government officials six month back and it was said that there will be new construction. So far no construction has been initiated and people are force to open defecation. Due to this inconvenience the slum dwellers are very angry. When the researcher was collecting the data, an old woman started scolding and shouting mistaking the researcher, as government officer.

The violence against women and children are increasing globally, but in developing countries due to rapid urbanization, poverty and inequality along with crime and drug use rates (Chant and Mllwaine, 2016). The first and foremost important aspect of open defecation, and shared toilet along with those who collect water from public space is the sexual abuse, harassment, public gaze, lure comments, embarrassment, humiliation and in worst cases lead to rape. The women and children have no choice due to lack of safe access of sanitation in slums and informal settlement (Phadke, 2012). These harm, suffering or vulnerabilities that girls and women of slums encounter in day to day life when they make choices are one of the most significant gendered inequalities experience in urban spaces. O'Reilly (2016, p-21 in CPR, 2017) termed it *'toilet insecurities'* The women and girl face physical and emotional violence and trauma which can produce lifelong sufferings and multiple harms due to physical exclusion from sanitation. Apart from this, women face additional problems during the menstrual period due to lack of access to sanitation (UNESCO, 2019).

On the other hand male and boys also face the problem and social harms because they have to stand in queue at overcrowded toilets for longer hours in smell and dirt. They also face public gaze during open defecation.

The people of Bankipore Slum pay Rs 10 to use cooperative owned toilet. The people who use open space for sanitation prefer early morning for defecation. One old woman at Jalapur Nahar slum said that *(agar kabhi balace garbar ho gaya pet ka to din me khule me jana padta hai aur bahut bura lagta hai)*, in case of emergency of natural calls if we have to go for toilet in daylight I feel bad. And it is the problem which is prevalent in the urban and rural settings.

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The other important implication of unhygienic sanitation and lack of safe drinking water is that it causes huge health problems and many fatal diseases especially for children below 5 years of age. The community toilet which is shared by hundreds of people maintains low hygiene and daily cleaning is absent. The absence of clean drinking water along with exposure to pathogens due to poor solid waste and open defecation causes diarrhea and lead to 2.5 million deaths which is estimated to be 21% of death of children under 5 years of age (Kosek et al., 2003). Approximately 88% of all diarrhea infections are caused by unsafe drinking water, absence basic sanitation infrastructure and lack of safe hygiene practices worldwide (Evans, 2005). High densely populated areas are more prone to diffusion of pathogens and the urban poor are more vulnerable to it. The poor of the urban has high mortality rate under five years of age and low birth expectancy rate at birth compared to both the rural poor and the urban non-poor (Bradley et al., 1992). The open defecation and poor management of solid waste contaminates the ground and surface water (Hogrewe et al., 1993). The education of poor children is effected by vector borne disease. They fall sick and which leads to low attendance and in worse case drop out. The extra cost on health reduces the expending on education (Dwivedi, 2012).

Figure: 16 Electricity Connections

The figure shows the electricity connection and it is shocking to know that 18.81% of household does not have the electricity connection. It has direct impact on the education of the children. It means they have to rely on kerosene for the light. And whether the children get the light or not to complete the study and homework is a matter of concern. There were many houses having the electricity without meter. 36.23% of people do not have the meter box but have electricity. It may be because of two simple reasons. The first may be because of the free connection that is provided by the government and the second may be the chances of illegal connection. The household which has electricity meter are worried because they have to pay very high electricity bill ranging from 600-1000 per month. It is to note that the poor slum dwellers do not use high electric appliances like, air condition, refrigerator or water motor which consumes more electricity. The privatization of the electricity leads to the high unchecked bills.
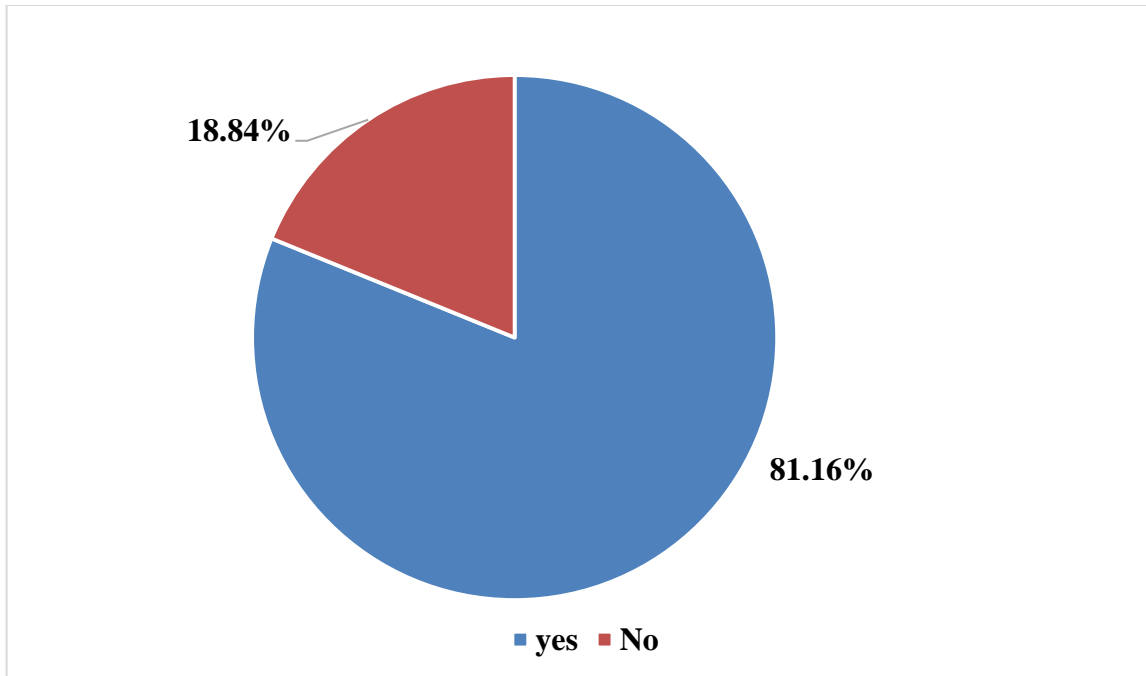
Source: *Researcher's Calculation from field Survey*

Educational Status of children living in slums

The universal education of all children will be achieved if the policy makers, the government take the socio-economic condition of the children of slum areas along with school factors into consideration. Banarjee (2014) argues that the children of the slum faces diverse adversities with regards to education such as access to school, poor quality of schooling practices, inadequate infrastructure, negative attitude of the teachers, overcrowded / congested living spaces and less family support. Apart from the aforementioned problems the children living in slums as enumerated by Banerjee, there seems to be other difficulties that are financial in nature. The perception of the parents towards education and financing their children's education are the bigger restraints in urban areas, there is both demand and supply side cause which demotivates children of the slum from joining schools (Tsujita, 2009 in PwC, 2015). Around 27.4% of the children between age group of 7 to 18 years are residing in the urban areas and 17% of schools are located in urban areas, the reason may be because the focus of the DPEP, operation blackboard were more on rural education. Only 14% of the schools out of 1.52 million schools are in urban areas. The rate of growth of the urban schools is 17% while the rural has 29%, even though the growth in the rural population is just 12% while urban

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population grew by 31% according to the Census of India, 2011. Because of low number of schools compared to its rising number of children, the urban schools are overcrowded.

Apparently the number of rural schools are 12, 29,001 and urban areas have 2, 01,767 schools (UDISE, 2011-12). As a result of this the mean enrolment is 118 students per school in rural schools in comparison to this the mean enrolment ratio is more than 229 students per school in urban areas. But the educational facilities such as number of schools, trained teachers and other facilities have not increased to its proration to the increased number of children; this is the supply side constraint. The study shows that the teachers has negative and rude attitude towards the deprived children (PwC- p-126). The teachers expect less academic performance from the students of certain segment. The teachers have prerequisite qualifications but lacks sensitivity, competence and commitment (ibid). Apathy of the teachers towards these deprived children forces them to disengage from the academic and school activities culminating into dropout (Chugh, 2011).

But the demand of the education from poor families may fall in case of natural calamity (UNESCO 2005; 2007), social unrest and other pandemic diseases such as Covid-19. On the face of such extraordinary circumstances, large working population, daily wages labourers may remain workless for months. Even after the end of lockdown they may have to remain unemployed because crisis will prevail in the economy at macro level. It may decrease the demand side of education from the household of the poor. The temporary reduction in the household income negatively impacts the education of the children in poor household (Jacoby and Skoufias, 1997). The children who are engaged in working, slowly stops working if there is an increase in the education of the parents and wealth of the poor household (PwC, 2015 p-124). This is the reason why a large number of children do not go to school. So the nature of the problem of the children living in slums is multidimensional and it needs to be addressed at all levels. Another study by Chugh (2011) states that both socio-economic status of the household and school related issues lead to the drop out of the children living in slums of Delhi at secondary level.

The Right to Education Act, 2009 mandates the proper infrastructure in both the rural and the urban elementary schools, which consists of playground, separate toilet for boys and girls, proper seating arrangements, clean drinking water, library and proper walls and roof. Despite these commitments it is evident from the empirical data that there is difference between the commitment on paper and in reality. Vimla Ramachandran (2012) writes that there are poor and crumbling infrastructure facilities. If there is toilet, there is no water, if both the facilities are available, cleanliness and hygiene is the problem. Apart from basic infrastructure, the quality of construction remains poor and the result is that the schools are neither safe nor attractive. In light of the ambitious policies and act (SSA, RTE Act, 2009), let's see the empirical evidence based household on surveyed analysis.

Figure : 17 Educational Status of the Children (Household wise)
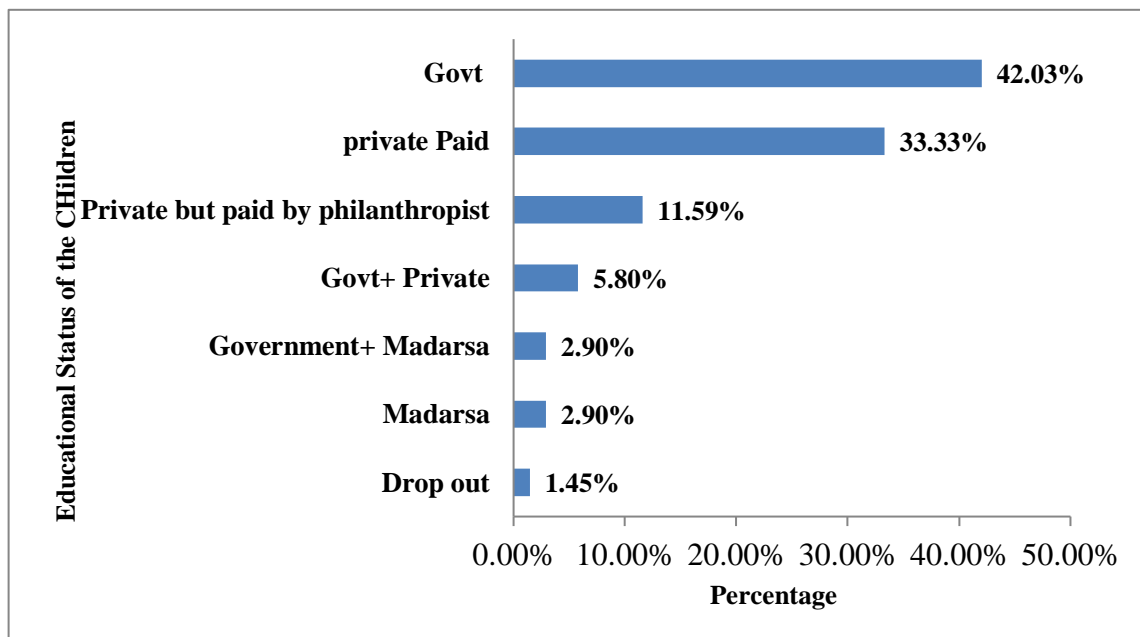
Source*: Researcher's Calculation from field Survey*

  Researcher- (Apka baccha school jata hai), Does your child go to school?

  Respondent (a 35 year old belongs to schedule caste and works on contract under PMC, haan jata hai), Yes, they go to school.

  Researcher- (private school me jata hai ke sarkari scoohol me) Government or private

  Respondent said- (sarkari me padhai kahan hota hai, koi dhayane nahi deta hai,

isiliye private me bhejte hain), No one cares in government schools that is why I send my children to private school. It is interesting to note that most of respondent feel pride to share that they send their children to private school.

Figure 17 shows the percentage of children (household wise) studying in different types of schools and drop-out. 43% attend government schools while 32% attend private schools paid by their parents. It is interesting to note that there are families who send their one or two child to government schools while the remaining goes to private schools. The reason is that they believe that private schools provide better education but due to unaffordability they cannot send all children to the private schools. 12% of the children attend private school but the fee is paid by a rich philanthropist belonging to Muslim community. While 1% students drop out of school, 2 % of the children go to Madarsa, which is preferred by the Muslim household. The reason to choose Madarsa is quite interesting to note. Besides the religious inclination of the family, the Madarsa provides free food along with lodging. It solves the problem of overcrowding in the physical space. There are also children who are attending the Madarsa due to drop out from the school. One of the main reasons of drop out is that the children do not want to go to school due to unresponsiveness of the teachers. 2% of the respondent said that some of their children go to Madarsa and some other attends government schools. The Madarsa here is not funded by the government. It is totally managed by the community funding which mainly focuses on Urdu and Arabic learning.

It is also important to note that the numbers of children who are attending private schools are high because in one slum the all expenditure including monthly fee, other expenditure like notebook, uniform is taken care by a philanthropic person. An EdCIL (2014) study reveals that half of the students who attended private schools dropped out (PwC-2015, p-124). In other words it can be said that to retain the children in the private schools for the poor urban household is not easy, which leads to drop out (Agarwal and Chugh, 2003). Tsujita (2009 in PwC-2015) claims that children of the slum are likely to go to government schools than low cost private schools. Annual status of Education Report (2011) reveals that 70% of the children between age group of 6-14 go to government schools while 26% goes to private school. As the economic ladder goes up the percentage

of private school going children increases and the percentage of children attending government school comes down (Ramachandran, 2012; Dreze and Sen, 2013). And it is also evident from the 71th round (2014 p-69) of NSSO data which tells that 69% of the urban students at primary level attend private aided and non-aided schools level in 2014 is raising from 59% in 2007-2008. It means only 31% of the children at primary level attends government schools.

Table 3: Distribution of total number of children by management

Educational Status	Number of Children
Government schools	69
Private schools (Paid by Parents)	42
Drop-Out	19
Never Attended School	16
Madarsa	5
Private (Paid by Philanthropist)	8

Source: *Researcher's Calculation from field Survey*

Table 4: Number of respondents who wants to send their children to Private schools

Want to send children to private schools	Parental Response
Yes	38
No	1
Already in private school	30

Source: *Researcher's Calculation from field Survey*

The families who send their children to the government school do not do so because of their belief in the government schooling system but because of lack of choice. The parents shared that if they get any chance to send their children to private school, they will send them without any second thought. There is one outlier in the response, one female member of a family at pavement dwellers near to Bankipore club shared that she believes in government school. The quality of the government schools is appreciable, and there is no reason to choose private schools over government schools (*aisa maine suna hai ke bade bade afsar sarkari school me hi padh kar bante hai*) she said that 'people

become high rank officers after getting education in the government schooling'. In the previous figure where the number of children who is attending the government schools may change if the families' income may increase. So there is high correlation between the income and the reason to choose private or public schools.

Table 5: Helps for completion of homework

Helps for completion of homework	Parental Responses
Private Paid Tuition	20
NGO (free of cost)	22
Drop out (complete)	1
Madarsa	8
Parents and siblings	6
Self	12

Source: *Researcher's Calculation from field Survey*

Out of 69 respondents, twenty parents send their children to the private tuition; another twenty two families send their children for tuition which is run by different Non-governmental organizations. The non- governmental organizations take initiative to fill the gap and provide basic education the children of slums, child labourers and other urban poor children (Shanti, 2001; Chakarbarty, 2002; Nambissan, 2003). Children of eight household take tuition in Madarsa. In six families parents or siblings helps in study and in twelve families there is no one to assist and they themselves study. In one of the families all three children have dropped out from school. It clearly shows that the parents of these children are not capable enough to assist them in their study and that's why they have to depend on other sources. Those who are taking private tuitions obviously their parents have bare the economic cost, keeping in mind that their household income is not that much.

The children who attend the tuition run by NGO have to face problems like many times the teachers are not regular. So the study of the children is going to suffer. So it is again a matter of concern and it is obvious that the learning outcomes will be compromised because these are small children who need some kind of guidance and motivation to study. If the children do not complete their homework, there may be chances that he or

she gets punished and it will discourage the children to attend the schools. Because these children are attending the schools by defying all odds and many a times the homely environment is not favourable to them. Punishment here can be in many forms like taunts, making fun of the child in front of whole class and in worst case it can also take form of corporal punishment. So the responsiveness of the teachers is very essential and extreme sensitivity is required from the teachers.

Figure: 18 Expenditure on Education by families

This figure shows the monthly expenditure of the household on education which includes tuition fee, school fee and other expenditure on notebooks; pencils among others. 14.49 per cent household does not spend anything because it is taken cared by the philanthropic person. 43.48% household spends "between" 100-500 and it is basically on tuition fees because they attend the government schools. 27.54% household spends between 600-1000 rupees. 14.49% household spends "between" 1100-2000. Though the absolute number is not very high, the proportion of expenditure out of total monthly income is very high. The school free ranges "between" 300-500. The tuition fee ranges between 100-400 and monthly expenditure on notebooks and other items is minimum 100. Even the education is free in public schools along with uniforms and textbooks, the additional coasts like, stationary, exercise book, and meals borne by the household (Tilak, 1996; Mehrotra, 2006).
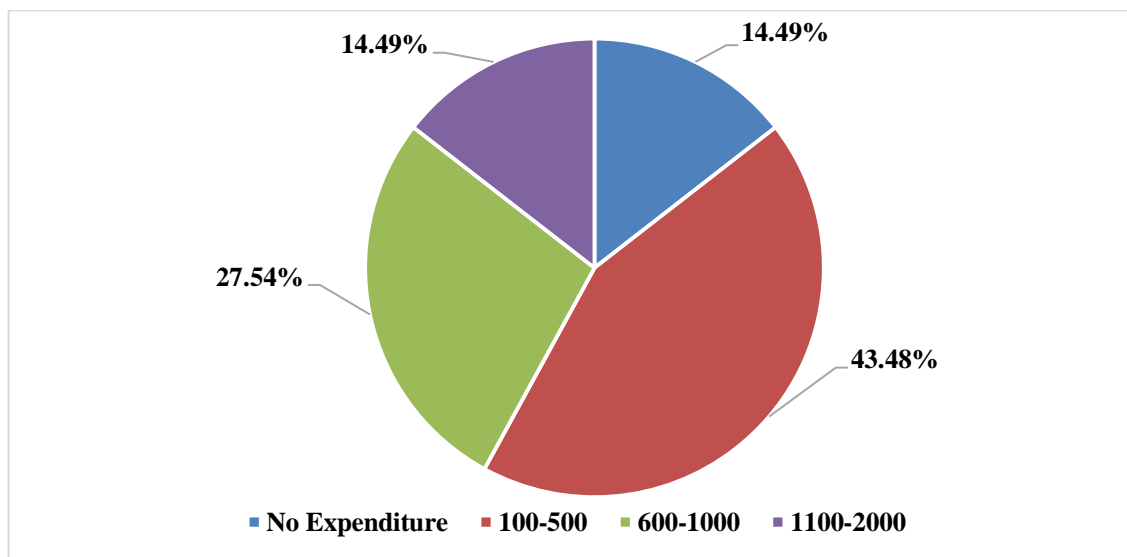
Source: *Researcher's Calculation from field Survey*

Do you know about RTE Act, 2009?

This particular figure shows the percentage of households having knowledge about the Right to Education Act, 2009. It is quite interesting to know that except one household remaining 68 household does not have any idea about this act. Even the single surveyed household which has knowledge about the act does so because of their child studying in class 10th who knows about the act. It can be seen as a total failure of the government side because the focus and the purpose of this act are to achieve universalization of primary education. Making the parents aware about this act, about its purpose and importance of basic education is the responsibility of the government. And keeping in mind the needs of the marginalized section, the poor whose children are out of school, whose children are dropping out this act was shifted from directive principle to fundamental right for the proper implementation of this act. Parents are the main stakeholders in the fulfillment of this act. If the parents who are mostly illiterate are unaware about this act then it is a serious matter of concern. It cannot be said that these parents are not interested in the education of their children because many parents are spending their hard money even after tight economic constraint on school and tuition fee. The theoretical underpinning of this argument can be found in the notions of justice. The framing of legislation can be understood through the Rawlsian notion of justice which argues that the establishment of just institution or legislation will lead to a just society. But it is the first step towards achieving something and it does not ensure the implementation of its destined purpose, it is equally important to make enough effort in educating the citizenry of the country. Contrarily, to Sen (2009) the idea of justice is not universal rather it can be realized in specific contexts with specified approaches. Here, the justice needs to be looked through the context of the realm of education of children in slums.

Neither the children are availing the 25% seats which are mandated to be reserved for the poor section of the society according to this act under section 12 (1) (c) nor are the parents are aware about it. The discourse on whether this particular provision is helping the children of the poor section or not is still going among the academia but here it is the least concern and needs further investigation.

What about the School Management committee?

The respondent was asked about the functioning and implementation of the SMC. The entire respondent said that they do not have any information about this provision. The RTE Act, 2009 mandates under section 21 and 22, the establishment of the SMC. It specifies the decentralization of power for the better and smooth functioning of the school management and administration. This provision empowers the local community, NGOs, the parents of the children, local governing bodies along with the school staff to take initiative according to their needs and requirement. It is a 17 member committee in which the representation of women and other marginalized sections like SCs and STs have been ensured. The needs of the children who are living in slums, informal settlements are quite different and it requires different approach to fulfill the needs of the children. And that is why the involvement of the parents is important. But the parents, especially the mothers of the children were quite dissatisfied about the behaviour of the teachers. SMC can be one of the important tools in ensuring the community participation which will lead to specific solution to the existing problems of the children and parents. But it is evident that these provisions only exist on paper and on ground it is absent. It is only to harm and distemper the whole purpose of this act.

Box 3: Defining Decentralization

Decentralization is a political process in which the administrative authority, public resources and responsibilities are transferred to the local bodies or non-governmental organization, private players to community based organizations from central government (Crook and Manor, 1998).

Paying Visit to School

The parents of the children who are attending the low cost private schools attend the monthly parent-teachers meeting. This parent-teacher meeting is the monthly interaction of the parents and teacher regarding the progress and performance of the children. Earlier it was practiced only in the high class elite private schools. But now the low cost schools have also adopted this particular practice to attract the large section of children. But the figure shows that only 57.97% parents visit school and this number reaches to this

percentage because, more than half of the respondents' children are attending private schools and they actively participate in parents- teachers meeting. But the figure could have been much higher if the SMC could have been functional. The parents shared that they visit even the government school to know about the progress of the children but again the behaviour of the teachers discourages them to visit school. Because of the non-functioning of the SMC the parentage of the parents who does not visit the school is 42.03%.

Accessibility of the school

It seems accessibility is not an issue with the children which is found in the study. 93 % of the children have school within 1 km of their proximity. And other 7 % has school within 2 km of its proximity.

Figure: 19 Basic Facilities in the schools
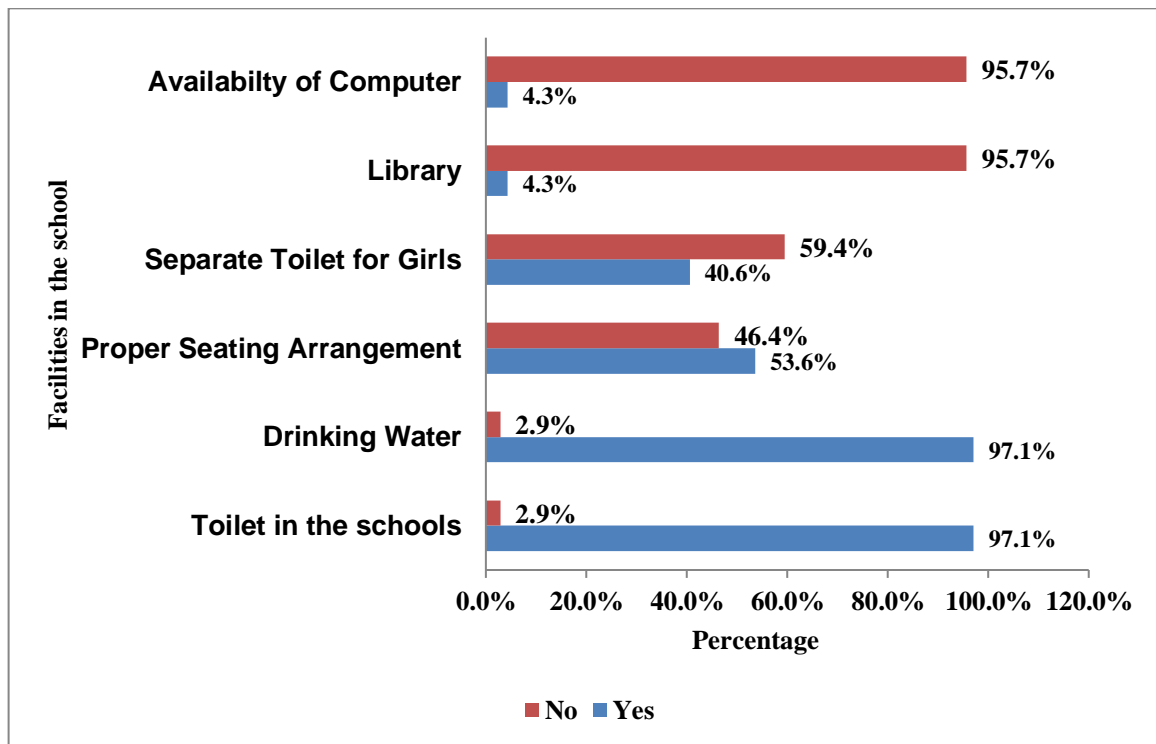
Source: *Researcher's Calculation from field Survey*

The description of the graph goes from top to bottom of this figure. The percentage may vary or reduce in case of infrastructure of the government school because the analysis of

both the private and public schools are combined together due to small number of sample size. So the reading of this figure should do done keeping in mind the figure: 17 which show that around 44 % children go to private schools. For instance, the percentage of the seating arrangement, separate toilet for girls, availability of computer and library will drastically fall in case of government schools.

- *Availability of Computer*

The second indicator is about the availability of computer. None of the government schools have computer including many private schools. That's why the percentage of the existence of computer is around 4.3 per cent.

- *Availability of Library*

None of the Government schools have library and only few private schools have library.

- *Separate toilet for Girls*

The next indicator is showing the existence and functioning of the separate toilets for girls. The figure shows that 59.42% schools do not have the separate toilets. Even the figure may be higher if we subtract the number of private schools. Even many private schools do not have the separate toilet for girls. It is really serious matter where the girls are deprived of from fulfilling their biological needs. It is found in many studies that girls and women adapt their biological needs according to their times, which has negative effect on health such as constipation and gas problem (CPR, 2017 p-31). In response to the unavailability of the toilet and sanitation the women and girls have developed coping mechanism and control in the slums (Truelov, 2011 in CPR, 2017). These studies are not related to school going children but it can be applied where separate toilet for girls is unavailable. It may be because of absence of separate toilets that girls do not drink proper water toehold urge of urination. In the absence of separate toilet, girls face sexual abuse and harassment and in many cases it leads to the dropout of girls from the school. The girls face difficulties and remain in a state of continuous anxiety or takes days off during menstruation in absence of separate toilet.

- *Proper Seating Arrangements*

The next indicator shows the seating arrangements. The proper seating arrangement means the existence of tables and benches. But none of the government schools have proper seating arrangements. The students have to sit on carpet on the floor whereas the private schools have the proper seating arrangements. It is the violation of the right to education act which clearly mentions about the proper infrastructure. The respondent said that the higher classes have benches and tables but there are no such facilities in lower grades.

- *Availability of Drinking Water*

The next indicator shows the availability of the drinking water. It is a relief that 97.10% schools have drinking water facility. Though, many parents also said that they send their kids with water bottle because many times water is not available. And 2.90% schools do not have the drinking water.

- *Availability of Toilet*

The next indicator shows that 97.10 % schools have toilet. But only 40.58% schools have separate toilet for girls. 2.90% of the school still does not have the toilet. However, the parents raised their concern about the cleanness and hygiene of the toilets especially in the government schools. The availability is one aspect and its functioning is another aspect. The functioning of the toilet directly depends upon the availability of the water. And there are many times even the government data displays the availability of toilet but half of it use to remain locked.

The poor infrastructure of the schools directly impacts the fate of the children in the schooling system. It adversely affects in realizing the potential children (Case and Deaton, 1999). There is a positive correlation with the proper adequate infrastructure in schools and learning outcomes of the children (Glewwe et al., 2011). The lack of drinking water and toilet facilities too are biggest contributors towards lower learning outcomes of children (Behrman et al., 1997). In the absence of proper seating arrangements and electricity, the children lean towards drop out and low attendance in extreme winter and summer (UNICEF, 2017). The children lose their attraction and motivation to attend schools and it also discourages the parents to send their children to

schools if the school lacks basic facilities at accepted level.

The study has found that there is a high demand for education among the urban marginalized families of Patna. However, their experiences are as such that they are dissatisfied with the functioning mechanisms of the Government Schools and consequently loosing trust with the state's provision for education due to the low learning outcomes. The urban marginalised populace has high aspirations for their children and despite their economic constraints they are ready to compromise and reduce their other expenditure to invest in private schooling and tuitions for better future of their children. But to what extent these low cost private schools provide better education, learning outcomes and proper infrastructure remains a question which needs further investigation.

The finding of this study contradicts the earlier study on slums and reason to choose private schools. The study of Mausumi and Kusakabe (2017) found that the parents of slums of Delhi chose private school because the government schools are not accessible, but the government schools are accessible to most of the children of selected slums of Patna, while the study of Kalyan and Kumar (2016) argues that if the parents themselves have higher college degree then they prefer private schools. But 78-82 percent of mother and father of the children are illiterate still many parents prefer low cost private schools in selected slums of Patna.

Despite several ambitious schemes and policies of the central, state government and the international conventions ratified by Indian government such as sustainable Development Goals to improve the living conditions of the urban poor, the urban living condition of the large section of urban population remains marginalised. Majority of the slum dwellers belonged to marginalised castes and minority community. They lacked basic needs of housing, sanitation, drainage among others. Most of the slum dwellers were forced to defecate in open or they used community toilets which are often overcrowded and unhygienic. Large number of slum dwellers stay in tent, *kaccha* and semi *kaccha* structures and these kinds of structures does not even fit into the definition of a house. Around 56% of the household still depended on wood, coal and kerosene as principal source of cooking which caused adverse effects on health. Despite the large reach out of

PDS as advocated by government, many slum dwellers were left out from the benefits of PDS compromising the nutritional needs of the people, especially the children. In absence of adequate educational skills which can be capitalised in the market, the slum dwellers were forced to work in informal sector as wage labourers, rickshaw and cart puller, hawker, rag pickers etc. to earn a basic life of subsistence. As a result their income remained very low which in turn affected the health and educational prospects of other family members, especially the children.

Since the incomes of many parents were low, a section of marginalised children were forced to work as child labour to support themselves and their family. Working at such an early age deprived them of their childhood and education. In addition to the financial constraint, the insensitivity and poor behaviour of the teachers towards the children of the slum areas was also the reason for drop out from primary education.

The children of the slums carried the double burden of socio-economic constraint and poor schooling. Even after the implementation of the highly ambitious Sarva Siksha Abhiyan and RTE, Act, 2009, the findings revealed that government schools lacked even minimum basic facilities such as proper seating arrangement, hygienic toilets, and separate toilet for girls, absence of library among others. Due to lack of basic facilities and caring teachers, many slum dwellers send their children to private schools and also a few attended private tuitions despite their economic constraint. The gap which is created by the poor infrastructure and lower level of commitment of teachers of government schools is filled by the NGO, philanthropist and private low budget schools. In brief it can be said that the parents of the children of slums have lost their faith in the government schooling system because of poor teaching- learning process, rude and ignorant behaviour of the teachers and deplorable school infrastructure. Even the parents who send their children to government school seem more interested in private schools which they believed provide better education and better opportunities for their children to do well in life.

Chapter 5
Conclusion and Recommendations

Executive Summary

The concept of urban marginality has been discussed at length in this research. Urban marginalization has occurred as a consequence of unequal distribution of resources within cities, relegating the poor to a further state of deprivation and disadvantage. The objective of this research has been to investigate and understand the educational status of children living in slums of Patna, Bihar. The study looked at the issues related to access and participation in education of children of the urban poor thus also exploring the educational factors leading to their marginalization within urban spaces. This chapter discusses the major findings of this research in light of the objectives. It also provides some relevant policy recommendations based on the findings.

Socio-Economic status of children living in slums of Patna

The study conducted on the slums of Patna shows that half of the population of the slum dwellers belongs to the schedule caste, 37 percent belongs to other backward castes. The entire general category household belongs to the Muslim minority community. It was also found that around 77 percent of the households had more than five members in the family. Households having 3-4 children between 6-14 years of age are around 63 percent. Around 78-82 percent of the head of the household including the married partner are illiterate. All of the working members work in informal sector and 71 percent of them have the monthly income between 3000-7000 and the remaining 19 percent have income between 9000-13000 rupees.

Availability of Basic Amenities at household level

The study revealed that around 40 percent of household did not possess ration card. In some cases the households did not get the quantity of ration according to their entitlement. As far as the structure of houses are concerned, 70 percent, 17 percent and 5 percent were made up of Kaccha, semi Pucca and tent respectively. The houses built on government lands were 84 percent and the remaining 16 percent houses were built on rented land for which the household paid 400 rupees rent per month. 70 Percent of the

household had just one room and 28 percent household had two rooms while only 2 percent had three rooms. The heights of most of the rooms are so low that it is almost impossible to stand inside the rooms. Rooms are often dark, gloomy and lack ventilation facilities. In absence of a separate kitchen food is either cooked in open or inside the house. Out of the total households covered, 53 percent, 1. 45 percent and 1.45 percent of household used wood, coal and kerosene respectively to cook food; while 44 percent of households used gas cylinder. Few cylinders were privately bought from the market, which cost almost double to refill the gas in the market. 84 percent of the houses did not have water connection in their houses and they filled the water for drinking and other purposes from the public hand- pump and supplied water through pipe, the remaining household had connection in their houses. 76 percent of the women fetched water and in 6 percent cases the adult women and girl child brought water together and around 2 percent girls alone fetch the water. Out of the total households, 31 percent of houses shared toilet with community and 28 percent defecates in open. Some of the slum dwellers pay Rs 10 for using the community toilet. 19 percent of the houses do not have the electricity connection while 36 percent houses having electricity does not have meter box but they have electricity.

Responding to the open ended questions, all of the slum dwellers said they lived in constant fear of eviction. Bankipore Club pavement dwellers face eviction in every three to four months. The respondents narrated that they kept all stuff there and stayed somewhere for few days during the day time and slept at night at the same place. After a few days when the things normalise they once again settle things at the same place. At Jalalpur Slum, people have faced eviction three to four times in thirty years due to different constructions of over bridge and the expansion of railway track.

Educational status of the children (Household wise)

Around 40 percent children attended government primary schools, 32 percent of the children went to private school and fee is paid by the parents. Around 5 percent of the households send their children to both private and government schools. It implied that one child went to private while others to the government schools or vice-versa.

Approximately 3 percent of students attended Madarsas. Another 3 percent parents send their children to both government schools and Madarsas. It implied that one child went to school and others to Madarsas or vice-versa. 12 percent students attended private schools but the fee was paid by local philanthropists. A total of 2 percent children dropped out from school household wise.

Private schools
All the parents who send their children to government schools were willing to shift their children to private schools except one household. But due to unaffordability, children remained in government schools.

Support in completion of the homework
20 out of 69 households send their children for private tuitions and children of 22 families received free tuitions by NGOs and trusts. Other 8 households send their children to Madarsas for tuition and in 6 households, parents or siblings taught them and helped them in the homework. Children of 12 households managed their studies on their own as there was no one to assist them in completing the homework.

Households' private Expenditure on Education
Those who send their children to the government school, their expenditure was low compared to private school going children as children going to private schools had to pay for fee, textbook, uniform and many times the private tuition fees. Out of total households, 43 percent spent 100-500 per month, 27 percent 600-1000 per month, 14 percent 1100-2000 per month and 15 percent households had no expenditure because every expenses was taken care by the Muslim local philanthropist.

Awareness on RTE act, 25 percent EWS seats in private schools and SMC
Out of 69 households, in one household at Shivpuri a sixteen year girl student in class 12 knew about this, but she said that no one availed this 25 percent EWS reserved seats. Other households did not have any clue about what these policies and schemes were.

Paying visits to schools

Around 55 percent of the parents of the children visited the school, but this percent is much higher because 40 percent of the children went to private schools and parents visited schools to pay the fees and for parent's teacher meetings. It also meant that parents of the children going to government schools barely visited schools.

Basic Facilities in the school both private and public

Around 60 percent schools did not have separate toilet facilities for girls; this figure was high because 40 percent of children went to private schools. And most of the government schools did not have proper seating arrangements. Though 97 percent of schools had toilet, but cleanness and hygiene was a problem and many times the toilets were not open for use. 97 percent of schools had drinking water facilities. None of the government schools had library and computer and only 7 percent of private schools had library and computer.

Access to schooling facility did not seem a problem and the entire slum had school within 1 km of their proximity.

Choice of private schools over government schools

The respondents believed that private schools provided better environment for teaching learning process. The infrastructure was much better than government schools. Teachers were responsible towards their duty and English language was one of the major attractions towards private schools. Parents did not prefer government schooling due to all of the above mentioned reasons.

Sending children to government schools

Out of 69 respondents, 1 respondent said she had faith in government schools and the reason was that she believed that those who are at higher ranks in the government department attended government schools. Everything is free in government schools. But other parents who send their children to government schools were willing to shift to private but they also shared that they could not afford private education. It is also shared by the households that free education, midday meal, free uniform and textbooks attracted the children of the poor household towards government schools.

Note- all of the number and their percentages is based on responses of the household.

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Findings of Observation

The two observations from the field have been taken into consideration for this study by the researcher classified in two broad categories as follows:

Gendered Role

It was observed in the two slums that girl children were actively engaged in household work, such as cooking, washing utensils and helping their mother in preparing food. The observation can be placed in the larger social context in which girls are socialized from their childhood in gendered role. And later stages many a times girls withdraw from schools as they have to be involved in domestic activities.

Children engaged in work

It was observed by the researcher that three children aged between 6-10 years were picking different kinds of plastics from a plastic sack. It is important to point out here that this did not confirm that they were rag pickers. But the analysis of other data can be correlated with this observation. In 15 household of different slums, 19 students were found who never attendant school and 16 were found drop-out. Few children started working as child labour including one girl child to support their families. They worked as construction labourers, rag pickers, Wood Cart Puller (Thella) and other casual work.

Policy Recommendations

The findings revealed that the educational status of children living in slums of Patna further marginalized them within urban spaces. Even though, the slum did not face the problem of access to schooling facilities, there were differences in participation of children based on gender, monthly income of the households and a higher perception of parents with regard to private schools as compared to government schools. The following recommendations are based on this research:

- Need to ensure awareness about the SMC. The participation of urban marginalised needs to be ensured whenever the SMC committee is formed so that their voices, concerns and needs can be addressed. It needs to function properly because it can play a pivotal role in transforming the whole school system.

- Most of the urban marginalised households have no information about the RTE, 2009. They have right to know about the act, so they can understand its purpose properly.

- 25 percent EWS seats under RTE Act, 2009 needs to be filled with urban poor. To meet the private expenditure of education, scholarship must be provided to these children.

- NGOs play important role in providing education to such children in form of remedial classes, free tuition to drop-out, out of school children and school going children. Their involvement can help in policy planning because they know the needs of the children in better way.

- To reduce the private cost of education, regular supply of free shoes, school textbooks, and two sets of uniform at least, stationary, notebooks, school bags, an extra fellowship for Girls children should be given to motivate them to join the schooling.

- The teachers need to be more sensitive and committed towards children living in slums.

- The teachers training, teachers' education institutions and college syllabus need to be modified in such a way that it enables the teachers to understand the specific needs and have sensitivity towards children of the slums.

- Extra-curricular activities, sports, art and craft, needs to be encouraged and school should provide all the required materials. It is required to involve children in these activities so that their sense of depravity can be diverted. By doing so the tender mind of children can be engaged in creativity and positivity and finally in schooling and education.

- English teachers must be ensured in each and every school. The classes must be conducted on a regular basis.

- To track the drop-out and those who have low attendance, the SMC can play important roles. It should be added in the provision of SMC to track these children. Because SMC members are from local elected bodies, parents, NGOs and schools.

- The government should appoint one clinical psychologist counselor for each school or if there is shortage of such counselors then one for five schools. The counselors can devote one day in one school and the next day in another and the counselor can cover five schools in one week. At the same time the school education department must collaborate with the higher education department to train more counselors which should be well equipped in understanding emotional and psychological needs of the children.

- Clean and hygienic toilets with running water in general and separate toilet for girls must be ensured. It should also be ensured that the toilets are not locked.

- Supply of clean drinking water, good quality midday meals, seating arrangement, proper infrastructure such as roof, walls must be coloured and supply of electricity so the fans can be used in summer. Seating arrangement is important because it is really uncomfortable to sit on clothed mat on floor. In many of the primary schools the children still sit on floor.

- The government aided Madrasas follow the curriculum of the schools along with the religious teachings. The attempt should be made to convince the unaided madrasas to include the school curriculum. The government may provide the aid to them in phased manner because many children of minority community attend aided and unaided Madarsas.

Concluding Remarks

The major objective of this research was to assess the educational status of children living in slums and identify educational factors leading to their urban marginalisation. This research demonstrated that most of the slum dwellers belonged to Scheduled Caste and lived in pitiable condition despite the implementation of various schemes and policies to improve the living conditions. They lacked basic amenities and facilities, such as basic sanitation, wherein most of the slum dwellers including women and girl children were compelled to open defecation. There was no drainage system in most of the slums and slums lacked concrete paths, electricity connections which marginalized large number of poor households. It was found in the study that 57 percent of women used wood, kerosene and coal for cooking. The benefits of the public distribution system had also not

reached many urban poor. Their income was very low as majority of them were engaged in informal work. Despite these existing vulnerabilities most of the urban marginalised people understood the importance of education and spend major parts of their income on education.

The status of education of the children living in the slums cannot be analysed in isolation because various aspects such as the socio-economic condition, living conditions, response of the teachers, and lack of infrastructure in schools determine their fate in education system. These aspects complement and reinforce each other. The question remains valid as to what extent the education system provides the level playing field to these marginalised children. While enrolment of children was ensured, the schools which children from slums attended did not significantly address the issues of drop out, retention, low attendance and school infrastructure.

Urban marginalised children dropped out due to two main reasons. First reason was economic constraint of the households and second reason was related to the school factors. The study found instances of child labour; such children never attended school due to economic reasons and dropped out due to school related factors. The children of the deprived section do not have an equal head start as others due to poverty and less number of educated adults in the family. The environment at home and its surroundings are not favourable and conducive for education due to overlapping categories of social and economic marginalization.

The study also showed that poor households in slums favoured to send their children to private schools as compared to government schools. Despite this preference, large number of children living in slums relied solely on the government schools. In this scenario, if the government schools fail to provide basic minimum infrastructure, motivated, trained and sensitive teachers, which is essential for the children to retain in the schooling system then the education for all and universalization of education which is envisaged in much celebrated schemes like RTE, 2009 and *Samagra Shiksha* will most likely remain unachievable. The children of the deprived section need much more than the token 25 percent reservation in private schools. The effectiveness of the right to

education act and entire education system lies in the fact that the children realise their full potential which can best be summarised as right to be taught and right to learn. In absence of such efforts the RTE may just end up being yet another well intention legislation that remains on paper far from the reality. Right to live in the city, work in the city, move in the city and get education in the city will remain formal unless and until the formal rights are not converted into substantial rights such as affordable, livable conditions in general and the enhancement of school infrastructure, inclusive teaching learning process, to acceptable level in terms of access, equity and quality in particular. India as a nation has achieved a lot in the field of school education but still needs to go a long way.

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Annexure

QUESTIONNAIRE
The Socio- Economic Profile families and
Educational Status of Children Living in Selected Slums of Patna

Disclaimer: This study is undertaken by Mr. Shadab Anis for pursuance of MPhil Programme at National Institute of Educational Planning and Administration, New Delhi.

_____

| Date | | | |

Name of the Slum/ Pavement Dwellers-

Section- I

1. Name of the Respondent:

   _____

1.1 If the respondent different from the Head of the household   YES / NO
    If Yes, Kindly state the nature of relationship with the head?
     …………………………………………………………..

1.2 Gender…………………………………………………...

1.3 **Caste** …………………….. Sub-Caste………………….

   Religion………………..

1.4 Educational Qualification……………………………..

1.5 Total no.of members in the household……………………..

1.6 Total number of children in the age group of (6-14) …

   ………………………………..

   The **Gender Profile** of children in the age group of (6-14)……………………

   …………………………………………………………………………………

   …………………………………………………………………………………

1.7 **Educational Profile** of the members of Parents

   Education of Mother   Age

   Education of Father   Age

Section - II

1.8 Reasons for Migration to current place:

…………………………………………………………...

…………………………………………………………...

…………………………………………………………...

1.9 Year of Migration ……………………………………

1.10   Duration of the stay in the current

location………………………………………..

1.11   Do you have ration card?   YES / NO

1.12   Housing Condition

1 Pucca   4 Tent

2 Semi Pucca   5 Bamboo

3 Kucha   6 Any other

1.13   Status of Ownership

01- Owned   02- Rented

1.14   Total Number of rooms

……………………………………………………...

1.15   Principal means of cooking

1 Kerosene   4 Wood

2 Gas   5 Any other

3 Coal

1.12 The sources of drinking water facility:

1- Individual Tap   4- Govt. Tanker

2- Public tap   5- Private water Tank

3- Tube well/Hand Pump   6- Any other

1.13 If you use community taps/ tanker, who is responsible to fetch the water from the household:

1 Adult male member   2 Adult female member

3 Child (boy)   4 Child (female)

130

1.14 How do you utilise sanitation facilities:

Within the house   shared with community

Outside the house

Open space

1.15 Electricity Connection   YES / NO

1.16 Do you have meter box?   YES / NO

1.17 Total Employed members of the family

……………………………………………….

Number of **Formal Sector Workers** from the Family

…………………………………

Nature of their Work

………………………………………………………………………………………

………………………………………………………………………………………

………………………………………………………………………………………

Details on their **Earnings**

……………………………………………………………………………………….

Number of **Informal Sector Workers** from the Household

……………………………...

Nature of their Work

……………………………………………………………………………………….

……………………………………………………………………………………….

………………………………………………………………………………………

1.18 Monthly Income of the family

……………………………………………………………

1.19 Have you faced Eviction

……………………………………………………………………………………….

……………………………………………………………………………………

……………………………………………………………………………………

Section - III

2   Educational Profile of Children at Elementary Level.

2.1 What is the age of the child?

…………………………………………………………………………………

…………………………………………………………………………………

2.2 What type of school your child goes to?

A) Govt. Aided   B) Private

If the household has more than one child, kindly provide the details on who goes to which school (including the **gender of the child** and **nature of their schooling**)

…………………………………………………………………………………...

…………………………………………………………………………………...

2.3 What is the current status of the children?

A) Drop out

B) Passed

C) Class studying

Other relevant details

………………………………………………………………………………..

…………………………………………………………………………………

…………………………………………………………………………………

Provide the details of children educational expenditure?

2.4 Respondent's views on state policy intervention on education of the children?

2.5 Do you know about the RTE Act?

……………………………………………………….

2.6 What is the opinion about your child education, up to what level of education he/she should study?

…..………………………………………………………………………………………..
……………………………………………………………………………………………
……………………………………………………………………………………………

2.7 Do you think the education of the girl child is important?

……………………………………………………………………………………………
……………………………………………………………………………………………
……………………………………………………………………………………………

2.8 Are you aware about 25% reservation in private schools in your neighbourhood?
Yes/ No

If yes, did your children avail the benefit of 25% reservation? Provide the details
……………………………………………………………………………………………
……………………………………………………………………………………………

2.9 What is the distance of the school from home?

………………………………………………

2.10   Is your child regular at school?

…………………………………………………...

……………………………………………………………………………………………
If not, state the reasons

……………………………………………………………………………………………
……………………………………………………………………………………………

2.11   Who helps the child in doing the homework?

        1. Parents

        2. Elder siblings

        3. Neighbour

        4. Goes to tuition

2.12   Do you pay a visit to the school in which the child is studying?

      1. Yes   2. No

If yes, mention the frequency

      1. Once in a month   3. Once in three month

      2. Once in three month   4. Once in a year

Section - IV

3. Infrastructure related facilities in school

      1. Toilet facility   4. Separate toilet for girls

      2. Drinking water facility   5. Library

      3. Seating arrangement   6. Computer

      7. Distance of School

3.1 Reasons for the choice of govt. / private school

……………………………………………………………………………………………

……………………………………………………………………………………………

……………………………………………………………………………………………

……………………………………………………………………………………………

 4 Any other information which you want to share about your child's education.

……………………………………………………………………………………………

……………………………………………………………………………………………

………………………………………………………………………………………

4.1 If the child is going to the government school, would you like to shift to private school?

……………………………………………………………………………………………

4.2 Do you know about SMC?   Yes / No

If yes, then are you a member of it.   Yes / No

If yes, then how frequently you are called for the meeting ………………………..

Does the SMC talk about the needs of the children from urban marginality?

……………………………………………………………………………………

……………………………………………………………………………………

……………………………………………………………………………………

4.3 Do you think that education of child is important and how?

……………………………………………………………………………………

…………………………………………………………………………………

4.4 Do you think Education ensures social mobility and will help to come out of poverty?

……………………………………………………………………………………

……………………………………………………………………………………

……………………………………………………………………………………

4.5 Do you think that your current economic status effects the education of your children?

……………………………………………………………………………………

……………………………………………………………………………………

…………………………………………………………………………………

4.7 Does the child face any discrimination because of having the background of slums?

……………………………………………………………………………………

……………………………………………………………………………………

……………………………………………………………………………………

Photographs taken by the Researcher during the Field Visit

Ambedkar Nagar Slum in Patna

Children Separating Rags and Wood at Ambedkar Nagar Slum

Area Used For Open Defecation at Kumrar Mushari Slum, Patna

The plight of Community Hall in Kumrar Mushari Slum which is also used by a NGO for Free Tuition of the Children of belonging to the locality

The Image in Kumrar Mushari shows the remains of a demolished toilet. Months after its demolition the slum dwellers are waiting for a new one as was promised by the government

A Woman and child carrying fuel wood are heading to their home at Kumrar

Mushari

Imagery portraying Jalalpur Nahar Slum in Patna

Inside view of a home in Jalalpur Nahar

The wooden stairs at both the sides of a wall in Jalalpur Slum primarily is used for accessing the railway tracks to defecate

Glimpse of a home at Bankipore Slum in Patna

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