Child Wellbeing, Schooling and Living Standards

AN OVERVIEW OF 14 VILLAGES ACROSS SIX STATES OF INDIA

CHILD WELL BEING, SCHOOLING AND LIVING STANDARDS: AN OVERVIEW OF 14 VILLAGES ACROSS SIX STATES OF INDIA

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This overview is based on 14 village reports and six State reports prepared as part of the FAS-UNICEF collaborative project on Child Well Being, Schooling and Living Standards.[1] This fourteen–village data base is drawn from the Project on Agrarian Relations in India (PARI) of the Foundation or Agrarian Studies (www.fas.org.in/pages.asp?menuid=16). The villages, listed in Table 1, belong to the states of Andhra Pradesh, Uttar Pradesh, Maharashtra, Rajasthan, Madhya Pradesh and Karnataka. Detailed surveys were conducted in each village, between 2006 and 2010. Separate reports for each State are available.[2]

In these Reports, we have provided cross-sectional and micro-level data on the status of children in villages from a variety of agro-ecological settings. The unique FAS-PARI data base of village data, from 14 villages across six States was used to examine and discuss various types of deprivation among children, and the factors associated with such deprivations. Specifically, an attempt was made to link deprivations among children in respect of schooling and access to basic amenities, to social and economic characteristics of households and to the particularity of the agro-ecological and socio-economic structure of each village.

In 2005-06, census and sample surveys were undertaken in three villages of Andhra Pradesh: Ananathavaram in Guntur district of coastal Andhra Pradesh, Bukkacherla in Anantapur district of Rayalaseema and Kothapalle in Karminagar district of Telangana.[3] In 2006, census surveys of Harevli village in Bijnor district and Mahatwar village in Ballia district of Uttar Pradesh were also completed. In 2007, two villages of Maharashtra, Warwat Khanderao in Buldhana district of Vidarbha and Nimshirgaon in Kolhapur district of western Maharashtra were surveyed. In the state of Rajasthan, three villages were surveyed: the first, Dungariya village in Udaipur district, surveyed in 2007, is an entirely tribal village. The same year, 25F Gulabewala in Ganganagar

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[1] We are immensely grateful to the entire FAS team, and for this Overview, we have drawn upon not only the Reports but the various workshops and presentations made over the last two years by the FAS team.

[2] The State reports listed at the end are available with UNICEF and also on the FAS website, www.fas.org.in.

[3] For a detailed analysis of the agrarian economy of the three Andhra villages, see Ramachandran et. al. (2010).

district was surveyed and in 2010, Rewasi village in Sikar district was surveyed. In 2010, two more villages were surveyed: 25F Gulabewala in Ganganagar district and Rewasi in Sikar district. In Madhya Pradesh, as part of PARI, a census survey of two villages was undertaken in 2008. The villages are Gharsondi in Gwalior district and the tribal village of Badhar in Anuppur district. Lastly, two villages from Karnataka, Siresandra in Kolar district and Zhapur in Gulbarga district were surveyed in 2009.[4]

These 14 villages belong to a variety of agro-ecological zones and present a diversity of social and economic conditions. In our State Reports, we have examined the nature of child deprivation and well being for each village in detail. In this brief overview, we provide some important insights into the variations in the nature and extent of deprivation that children, women, persons belonging to the Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes and the working people in general experience. These villages are spread across the country in as many as six states. The villages belong to several different agro-climatic zones, and there are considerable variations in cropping pattern. The villages are also at different stages of development. The roles of the non-agricultural sector, the proximity of the villages to towns, the development of infrastructure and so on also vary across these villages. So, the evidence from these villages is of considerable value for policy, even if the results are not statistically representative.

Each report covers the following features of the survey villages:

- Demographic features including age, sex and caste composition of households, sex ratio and family size;
- The pattern of schooling and educational attainment among children of different social and economic groups;
- Literacy and educational achievements of the adult population in households with children;
- The incidence of child labour and household level variations in the same;
- Deprivations suffered by children on account of lack of basic civic amenities within a household, including access to safe water, electricity, toilets and quality housing; and
- Women's work participation rates, and features of female-headed households.

[4] For descriptions of each village, see www.fas.org.in/

In what follows, we shall bring together some of the important findings from the surveys. Some supporting Tables are provided in the Annexure.

Demography

- The average household size varies from a low of 3.6 in Ananthavaram in coastal Andhra Pradesh to a high of 7.2 in Mahatwar in eastern Uttar Pradesh. In the three villages from Andhra Pradesh, household size is clustered closely around 4. In Mahatwar in Uttar Pradesh and Gharsondi in Madhya Pradesh, the household size averaged around 7. For all the other villages, the average household size was clustered around 6. The villages are clearly in different stages of a demographic transition.
- Both the overall and the juvenile sex ratios are highly masculine in most villages. It is only in Ananthavaram and Kothapalle in Andhra Pradesh, Rewasi in Rajasthan, Siresandra in Karnataka and Badhar in Madhya Pradesh that the number of females exceeds that of males. Of these, Badhar is a tribal village in Madhya Pradesh. Rewasi in Sikar district of Rajasthan is characterised by significant emigration of males for reasons of employment.
- The majority of children in our study villages lived with both or at least one parent, and almost no one lived with a person other than a relative. In village India, the problem of abandoned or homeless children is rare.

Working Children

- The proportion of persons below 18 years of age engaged in work exceeds 10 per cent in all the villages. The two tribal villages of Dungariya and Badhar have the highest proportions of working children: over 40 per cent of boys and girls in Dungariya were reported to be workers.
- In six villages, the proportion of girls at work is higher than that of boys. In Rewasi (Rajasthan) and Gharsondi (Madhya Pradesh), with substantial peasant agriculture, the proportion of boys engaged in work exceeds that of girls by a substantial margin. One must, however, keep in mind that the work done by girls in household chores and care functions is not captured by these statistics.
- The proportion of working children among the Scheduled Castes is generally, but not always, higher than that for the population as a whole. The highest proportions of working children usually occur among the Scheduled Tribes. In Ananthavaram, for example, among boys in the age group 6 to 14 years, the proportion of workers was 4.5 per cent in aggregate but 6.2

per cent among Dalit boys and 10.5 per cent among Adivasi boys. Among girls too, the incidence of child labour was 8.7 per cent in aggregate but nearly double at 15.7 per cent among Dalit girls.

School Attendance

- In no village did we find all children below the age of 18 attending an educational institution. Universal school attendance in the age group 6 to 14 years occurred in only *one* village, Siresandra in Kolar district of Karnataka (2009).
- The highest proportion of children not attending school was in the tribal village of Dungariya in Rajasthan, followed by the landlord-dominated canal-irrigated village of Ananthavaram in Guntur district. The proportion of girls out of school exceeds that of boys by a good margin in all the villages except the tribal village of Badhar in Madhya Pradesh.
- The proportion of Scheduled Caste children out of school generally exceeds that of all children, though this is not always the case.
- The proportion of girls attending school dropped sharply at age 15 and above. To illustrate, in Rewasi village of Sikar district, in 2010, over 85 per cent of girls aged 6-14 attended school, but the proportion dropped to 64 per cent at ages 15-16, and further to 54 per cent at ages 17-18.
- Children with major disabilities, physical or mental, are invariably out of school. Often their siblings are also unable to attend because of additional household duties.
- Although we have not documented school infrastructure in detail, it is clear that poor infrastructure and absence of teachers also leads to non-attendance. In Gharsondi village of Madhya Pradesh, for example, the primary school in the Adivasi settlement had only one teacher. He was often drunk and as a result the school building was locked on most days.
- Although an Anganwadi centre was present in almost all the villages we surveyed, for a variety of reasons, not many children are found to be enrolled in them. The highest number of children attending an Anganwadi was found in Zhapur village in Gulbarga district. But even here, most of the children were aged 3 to 6 and the younger children did not attend. Further, in Zhapur, as many children attended a private "nursery" as did attend the Anganwadi. In Gulabewala village, only Scheduled Caste children attended the anganwadi.

Literacy Rates

- Literacy rates are generally low in all the villages. The surveys used a four-level question to identify the literate. The four categories were: cannot read and write, can only sign, can read but not write, and can read and write, and only those in the latter category were termed literate. It is not surprising that the estimates of literacy in our village studies were lower than the corresponding Census figures.
- Further, the gender differential is very large in all the villages. For instance, in the population aged 7 years and above, the female literacy rate is lower than the male rate by more than 20 percentage points in seven of the fourteen villages. *The difference exceeds ten percentage points in all the villages.*
- Female literacy among the adult (18+) population is deplorable. In eight of the 14 villages, female literacy was 30 per cent or less. In the two tribal villages of Dungariya and Badhar, female literacy was less than 10 per cent. Male literacy rates too were not high except in the two villages of Maharashtra.
- In general, across the villages, persons from the Scheduled Tribes record the lowest literacy rates, followed by the Scheduled Castes. This is true for both females and males.

Years of Schooling

- The extent of educational deprivation in the rural population surveyed by the FAS is most dramatically brought out by the evidence on median and mean years of schooling in the population aged 16 years and above.
- In ten out of the fourteen villages, half or more of the female population aged 16 years or older had not completed even one year of formal school. *This is the case for tribal females in all the seven villages where they are present in the population. This is also the case for Scheduled Caste females in all villages except Nimshirgaon (in western Maharashtra).* In Nimshirgaon, the median years of schooling among Scheduled Caste women was two years.
- In the case of Scheduled Tribes, half or more of the males had not completed one year of formal school in all but two villages, of which one was Rewasi in Rajasthan where the Scheduled Tribes (Meenas) are generally better off than Scheduled Tribes elsewhere and also better off than some other social groups in the village. Males among Scheduled Castes also fare poorly in most

villages, with the median value of years of schooling being zero in four villages and exceeding five years in just four villages.

- The overall value for the median years of schooling is also unimpressive in most of the villages. It is zero in five villages and does not exceed 7 in any of the fourteen villages. Even among males, it reaches 9 in two villages and 8 in three others. The median number of years of schooling for women did not exceed five in any of the 14 villages.
- The mean years of schooling does not exceed 7 in any village. Even among males, it does not exceed 8 anywhere. It is of course much lower among Scheduled Tribes and Scheduled Castes, and it is lower among females as compared to males in all the villages.

Literate home environment

As we have household level data, we have been able to separate households with children and then identify the presence of a literate adult male or female in such households. By this indicator, we are able to learn more about the home environment.

- In eight out of 14 villages, half or more of the households with children did not have a literate adult female. In the two tribal villages of Dungariya and Badhar, more than 90 per cent of households with children did not have a literate adult female and 70 per cent did not have a literate adult male.
- Across villages, Scheduled Tribe households report the highest degree of deprivation in this regard, followed by Scheduled Caste households. In all villages and across all social groups, among households with children, the proportion without a literate adult female is higher than that without a literate adult male.
- We also identified levels of educational attainment among adults by social group and asset quintile. Deprivation levels were high in general but varied along gender, caste and asset lines. For example, in Gulabewala village of Rajasthan, among women above the age of 25, there was no Dalit woman with 10 years of education. There was no woman (and only four men) from the three lowest quintiles with 10 years of education.

Amenities

We examine the availability of basic amenities specifically among households with children.

- The condition of housing was highly unsatisfactory in most villages. We used the Census definition of pucca shelter as one having both roof and walls made of pucca or permanent materials.[5] Among families with children, the proportion living in non-pucca houses was more than 30 per cent in nine villages. The only two villages with better housing were Zhapur in Gulbarga district of Karnataka, where stone from local quarries is used, and Rewasi in Sikar district of Rajasthan.
- In ten out of 14 villages, the proportion of households living in non-pucca structures was higher for Scheduled Castes than for the village as a whole. Of the remaining four villages, there were no Scheduled Castes in one village and very few in the other three villages. Thus, for all practical purposes, even special housing programmes for Scheduled Castes as exist have not been able to improve their housing conditions and bring them on par with the overall population in the villages surveyed by FAS. This was documented in detail for the Dalit-majority village of Mahatwar in eastern Uttar Pradesh.

- Crowding is another serious problem that is important for all members of a family, but particularly for children. We calculated the proportion of households with children living in single-room houses and found that the proportion exceeded one-third in four of the 14 villages, one-fifth in another four, one-tenth in four others and fell barely below one-tenth in only two villages. In the seven villages where Scheduled Tribes are present, the proportion of families living in single-room houses is higher for the Scheduled Tribes than others in six villages. The exception was the tribal village of Badhar in Madhya Pradesh. The same is the case for Scheduled Castes in the thirteen villages where they are present, except for Mahatwar in Uttar Pradesh and Gharsondi in Madhya Pradesh. Mahatwar it may be noted is a Dalit-majority village. Despite being selected twice for the Ambedkar Gram Vikas Yojana by the Government of Uttar Pradesh, three-fifths of households with children had no lavatory.

- The proportion of households with children without access to a source of water within the homestead is very high in all the villages, being less than 35 per cent in only one village. The proportion is generally the highest among Scheduled Tribes, followed by the Scheduled Castes. The absence of water within the homestead is particularly acute in the dry villages of Warwat Khanderao (Vidarbha) and Bukkacherla (Rayalaseema).

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[5] This definition, of course, completely ignores the condition of floors. So, a house could have a mud floor but still be called a "pucca" structure.

- The situation with respect to the absence of access to a toilet is abysmal. With the exception of the richest households in each village, the majority of households in the villages surveyed resorted to open defecation. In the two tribal villages of Badhar (Madhya Pradesh) and Dungariya (Rajasthan) as well as in Zhapur village of Gulbarga, there were no toilets in any of the Scheduled Caste and Scheduled Tribe households.

Status of Women

In addition to the educational deprivation of females, both in absolute terms and in relation to the position of males, there are some other aspects of the status of women on which the FAS surveys throw light.

- In the four villages relatively advanced in terms of demographic transition – Ananthavaram, Bukkacherla, Kothapalle (all from Andhra Pradesh) and Nimshirgaon (Maharashtra) – the proportion of widows among adult women is around one-fifth, higher than elsewhere, reflecting greater female longevity. It is the lowest in the tribal village of Dungariya, of Udaipur district, Rajasthan.
- As is usually the case, the workforce participation rate (WPR) of adult males is substantially higher than that for adult females in all the villages. The female WPR (FWPR) is the highest among Scheduled Tribes. In the two tribal villages of Dungariya and Badhar, the FWPR is 97 per cent and 87 per cent respectively. The important point is that such high levels of FWPR in themselves do not imply female well being or 'empowerment'. In fact, in all aspects of well being, the tribal women of Dungariya and Badhar are much worse off than their counterparts in other villages with lower levels of workforce participation.
- In general, the FWPR in the FAS villages is high, with the proportion falling below two-fifths only in Harevli, being around half in five villages and around three-fifths or more in the other villages. One reason for this may be that work participation is captured more accurately by our village surveys as compared to official surveys. Also, female work participation is lower in the agriculturally advanced villages such as Ananthavaram, Harevli, 25 F Gulabewala than in the less agriculturally advanced villages.
- The most frequently reported activities of females in the workforce are cultivation and wage labour in agriculture. The involvement of females in work outside of agriculture remains quite modest. It is only in the tribal villages of Dungariya and Badhar that females are engaged

'outside agriculture' to a considerable extent, but that was as wage labourers engaged mostly in collection of minor forest produce.

- Finally, in relation to the situation of women, the proportion of female-headed households is less than one-tenth in 8 of the 14 villages and around one-tenth in three others. It is around one-seventh in Ananthavaram and Zhapur and one-sixth in Rewasi, a village with significant out-migration of males, both domestic and international.
- The important point about female-headed households is that they do not signify women's empowerment but rather the absence of an adult male to head the household. A good proportion of female headed households are headed by widows. Generally, females heading households are elderly women. Sometimes, they are in single person households. The default option for head of household in the villages surveyed by FAS seems to be the male. It is only when the male spouse is either dead or not a resident of the household that a female is regarded as the head. It does not seem particularly fruitful to use the gender of the head of household as an indicator of exceptional deprivation or, at the other end, of female empowerment.

Asset Inequality

- It is clear from the above that there is widespread deprivation among a majority of the persons in the surveyed villages in terms of access to and achievements in education, the domestic educational environment, child work, access to basic amenities and the status of women. It must also be noted that the degree of deprivation follows expected patterns of gender and caste deprivation. In most instances, deprivation is highest among the Scheduled Tribes, followed by the Scheduled Castes. Muslims and Backward Classes also fare worse than the Other Caste Hindus in most respects and across all the villages, though we have not discussed this explicitly above. Similarly, for most indicators, females are worse off than males.

- However, a point that needs to be highlighted and that emerges from the evidence of the FAS villages surveys is that the asset status of a household is a key factor in determining the degree of deprivation that children and women and men of the household experience. Whether it is the incidence of child work, the rate of literacy, the proportion of children out of school, the mean and median years of schooling, the absence of literate adults in households with children, or access to basic amenities, in all these instances, there is a clear correlation between the asset status of a household and the situation of its members with respect to these variables.

- All the villages except the almost wholly tribal villages of Dungariya and Badhar are characterised by significant asset inequality. For simplicity of analysis, we divided the population of each village into asset quintiles. In almost all the non-tribal villages, the top asset quintile, Q5, was a class apart, suffering relatively little deprivation, though even educational achievements in this category are modest. To illusrate, in Harevli village of western Uttar Pradesh, there was 100 per cent attendance in school only among children of households in the top asset quintile. Among Q5 households, *all* boys and girls in the age group 6-18 were in school. The bottom two quintiles fared poorly on every indicator in all the villages. Again, to take the case of Harevli, in the bottom three quintiles, there was no woman who had completed ten years of school education.

- There is also a fair degree of correspondence between social category (Scheduled Tribe/Scheduled Caste/OBC/Muslim/Other Caste Hindu) and asset status, though this is by no means uniform. Our Report showed how conditions of housing as between a landed Tyagi (Other Caste Hindu) household from Harevli and a Dalit household in the same village were as different as chalk and cheese.

- It is also to be noted that, when it comes to peasant households, even children in the top two asset quintiles were found to be engaged in labour. Engagement of children in work for an employer outside the household, as distinct from employment on the household operational holding, is of course, found mostly among the bottom two or three quintiles, though occasionally one or two children from Q4 or even Q5 may be so engaged. In Gharsondi, Madhya Pradesh, for example, school attendance was 100 per cent among Other Caste Hindu households but a few Jat Sikh boys from the Q5 group did not attend school but worked on their operational holdings.

Policy should not only be focussed on social group categories or gender, but must take into account the implications of asset inequality and low value of household assets on the deprivation that children and women as also the men experience.

Variations across villages

As expected, there are north-south variations in several of our indicators, especially in respect of demographic features. There are also stark differences as between the two tribal villages and the rest. In addition, there are some unexpected variations across villages.

- First, the relatively resource-rich and agriculturally advanced villages such as the canal-irrigated villages of Harevli, Ananthavaram and 25F Gulabewala showed much higher degree of income inequality than the other villages (Swaminathan and Rawal 2011). To illustrate, the Gini coefficient of incomes was 0.59 in Harevli, western Uttar Pradesh and 0.51 in Mahatwar, eastern Uttar Pradesh.
- Secondly, the association between caste and income inequality was also important (Rawal and Swaminathan 2011). The three canal-irrigated villages of Ananthavaram, Harevli and 25 F Gulabewala not only had high aggregate income inequality but also high caste segregation. When inequality was decomposed by caste, the contribution of the between-group component was higher in these villages than in the other villages.
- Thirdly, in relation to child deprivation, it was not always the case that deprivation was less in the agriculturally advanced canal-irrigated villages than in the less agriculturally advanced villages. Let me illustrate the variation within a State. In Andhra Pradesh, the incidence of child labour was higher in canal-irrigated Ananthavaram village than in dry and drought-prone Bukkacherla village. In Rajasthan, the proportion of families with children living in single room houses was higher in Gulabewala village of the Gang canal region than in Rewasi of Sikar district. In Uttar Pradesh, the proportion of children not attending school was higher in Harevli than in Mahatwar. To put it differently, child deprivation was not necessarily higher in resource poor villages as compared to resource rich villages. In the latter, even though the overall level of development of productive forces was high, on account of high within-village inequality, we find that a substantial section of the population suffered deprivations.

Policy Implications

In this set of Reports, we have provided evidence on some aspects of child deprivation, using data from 14 detailed village surveys, conducted by the Foundation for Agrarian Studies, in the States of Andhra Pradesh, Uttar Pradesh, Maharashtra, Rajasthan, Madhya Pradesh and Karnataka. For each village, we examined variations in selected indicators of child deprivation across social categories as well as across asset quintiles, as we have taken the value of asset

holdings of a household as a proxy for long-term economic status. While deprivations among children remain high on many scores and follow patterns already recognized such as gender differences in school attendance, lower attendance at higher ages, and so on, there are some new insights that emerge from our study.

The levels of deprivation were similar for households in the lowest three asset quintiles (Q1 to Q3). In most villages, children in the top quintile, Q5, households were distinctly better off than others, as for example, in terms of attending school and not working, good quality housing, presence of adult literates in the households. Nevertheless, even children in Q5 were at times not in school, or living in single room houses or in families without adult literates. In villages with high level of asset and income inequality, such as Ananthavaram in coastal Andhra Pradesh and Harevli in western Uttar Pradesh, the top decile rather than quintile was a class apart (indeed children from these households were often sent to boarding schools and then for higher education to the top educational institutes in the country or abroad).

The implications of these findings are that we need a massive effort to address the observed deprivations among children in rural India. Overcoming educational deprivation of current school-aged children requires not only provision of quality schooling but also requires public provisioning of libraries and after-school and out-of-school extra-curricular study environments. This is essential given the limited educational attainments of parents. It is also important to invest in programmes of adult literacy, post-literacy and continuing education that will specifically cater to rural residents.

The renewed effort to address child deprivation has to target about 90 per cent of the population. Thus, *there is a very strong case for child-related polices (in education, in health, in social mobilization for sanitation, etc.) to be universal in nature.* Social policy for rural children needs to be designed in such a way as to ensure the inclusion of the lowest 90 per cent and not focus on exclusion of the wealthiest 10 per cent. The latter always have an option of self-selection.

Concurrently, it is clear that households in Q1 to Q3, that is, the bottom 60 per cent of the asset distribution, face acute deprivation, and therefore policy interventions must also be designed to ensure special attention to children from these groups. As we have shown, the lower quintiles have an over-representation of persons from the Scheduled Castes, Scheduled Tribes and

Muslims. So, special attention towards the poorer 60 per cent of households encompasses special attention towards social groups that have faced discrimination in the past.

At the same time, special attention has to be paid to girls. The child sex ratio, an indicator of relative well being of boys and girls, is unfavourable for girls in most of the villages (and we know this is so for large parts of the country as well). Cohort analysis indicates that literacy rates are higher for younger generations of women. School attendance is also higher for girls in the ages 6-14 as compared to older girls. In education, the critical years are from 15 and onwards, when drop out among girls rises. For rural areas, the burden of house and field work, on the one hand, and distance from secondary schools, on the other hand, are clearly factors affecting the drop-out rate of teenage girls.

In public policy, often the focus on women is implemented by identifying and targeting special programmes at female-headed households. We argue that "female headship" is a very blunt and unsatisfactory policy instrument. Our analysis showed that female headed households are a residual category. In all the villages, it generally comprised households headed by widows, often elderly. So, while there may be pensions for widows or for elderly persons, it is clear that for child welfare related policies, female-headed households are far from the appropriate or ideal focus of attention.

A related issue is that of the need for gender-disaggregated data. Most data on household economic status, such as data on housing or land ownership or assets is not disaggregated by sex. In the Census of India and most surveys conducted by the NSSO, gender segregation of data is often possible only by using sex of the head of household. We clearly need more data disaggregated by gender for better public policy.

The importance of pre-school education and supplementary nutrition is widely recognized in official policy documents in India. Since 1975, one of the major schemes intended to address these and other issues related to child care, maternal nutrition and pregnancy-related care has been the Integrated Child Development Services (ICDS) scheme. As part of ICDS, anganwadi centres have been set up across the country. However, the provision of anganwadi facilities is far from universal. Even where they exist, it does not follow that the personnel required to operate these centres are in place. It is also observed that, even where they have been set up, for a variety of reasons, not many children are found to be enrolled in them. The failure of the State to

provide appropriate care and preschool education for children below six years is providing the space for expensive private pre-schools of uncertain and unmonitored quality.

Sadly, child labour persists in all the villages we surveyed. Child labour will not wither away merely with the passage of time. While the expansion of schooling is clearly the first step in ending child labour, unless made compulsory, provision of better schooling may not be sufficient to end child labour. With the exception of Siresandra in Kolar district of Karnataka, we did not observe 100 per cent school attendance among children aged 6 to 14 in any of the villages. Even though many of the out of school children were not reported as "working", they were clearly engaged in unpaid work. The continuing demand for child labour, as from the stone quarries around Zhapur in Gulbarga district, or from landlords in Gulabewala employing children as long-term workers, is important in understanding the persistence of child labour. The child labour problem has to be addressed from many fronts. Provision of financial support to labouring households - a substantial proportion of which are Scheduled Caste households – to enable them to send children to school instead of work should also be given urgent consideration.

Our studies have highlighted the deplorable condition of housing and related amenities for the large majority of rural households. While the pucca or kuccha nature of houses is often discussed, the issue of crowding and space finds less attention in the policy discussion around children and their well being. How can a child study if she has to share the study space with all the other members of the family, the kitchen and sometimes the cow? Although well known, it is worth reiterating that access to clean drinking water and to proper sanitary toilets is essential for our children. Provision of water and toilets in schools is one step in the right direction but much more has to be done at the household level.

- Lastly, it is striking, in the context of the rhetoric of 'inclusive growth', how miserable and deprived rural Scheduled Tribe households continue to be. Given the population structure of tribal villages, their remoteness, the nature of income and occupations, suitable policies for tribal villages have to be designed.[6] The two tribal villages we studied had pathetic social infrastructure. Not surprisingly, on almost all our indicators, the majority of the population of these two villages suffered deprivations. Special and immediate attention is imperative in respect

[6] For an understanding of a tribal economy, see Ramachandran (2010).

of tribal villages like Dungariya, ensuring land rights, decent employment and provision of basic infrastructure for health and education.

In conclusion, in the current context of social policy in India, our findings, though from only 14 villages, bring out very clearly the need for policies pertaining to basic education, health and shelter to be universal in scope with special attention and effort placed on more deprived households. It follows, then, that we must move away from policies designed specifically for "below-poverty-line" (BPL) households, that is, policies of narrow targeting based on an arbitrary expenditure poverty line. As we have shown, the incidence of child labour is often higher among small land owning households than among landless labour households. So, ensuring all children are not working but attending school will require a focus on children that may belong officially to APL (above poverty line) households. Similarly, we have seen that the problem of lack of space or absence of an educated woman in the family does not necessarily disappear with higher asset ownership. While backward districts and correspondingly backward villages need special attention, so do the poorer sections in the more advanced villages.

List of Reports Prepared

- Child Well Being, Schooling and Living Standards: Report on Three Villages of Andhra Pradesh, 2011

http://www.fas.org.in/UserFiles/File/Andhra Report.pdf

- Child Well Being, Schooling and Living Standards: Report on Two Villages of Uttar Pradesh, 2011

http://www.fas.org.in/UserFiles/File/UP Report.pdf

- Child Well Being, Schooling and Living Standards: Report on Two Villages of Maharashtra, 2011

http://www.fas.org.in/UserFiles/File/Maharashtra_Report.pdf

- Child Well Being, Schooling and Living Standards: Report on Three Villages of Rajasthan, 2012 http://www.fas.org.in/UserFiles/File/Rajasthan_Report.pdf

- Child Well Being, Schooling and Living Standards: Report on Two Villages of Madhya Pradesh, 2012

http://www.fas.org.in/UserFiles/File/MP Report.pdf

- Child Well Being, Schooling and Living Standards: Report on Two Villages of Karnataka, 2012

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Annexure Tables

Table 1 *Description of study villages*

Village	District	State	Agro-ecological zone
Ananthavaram	Guntur	Andhra Pradesh	Krishna Godavari zone
Bukkacherla	Anantapur	Andhra Pradesh	Scarce Rainfall zone of Rayalaseema
Kothapalle	Karimnagar	Andhra Pradesh	North Telangana zone
Harevli	Bijnor	Uttar Pradesh	Bhabar and Tarai zone
Mahatwar	Ballia	Uttar Pradesh	Eastern Plain zone
Warwat Khanderao	Buldhana	Maharashtra	Western Maharastra Plain zone
Nimshirgaon	Kolhapur	Maharashtra	Western Maharashtra Plain zone
25 F Gulabewala	Sri Ganganagar	Rajasthan	Trans-Gangetic Plains
Dungariya	Udaipur	Rajasthan	Central Plateau and Hills zone
Rewasi	Sikar	Rajasthan	Central Plateau and Hills zone
Gharsondi	Gwalior	Madhya Pradesh	Hot Semi-Arid Eco-region with Alluvium Derived soils
Badhar	Anuppur	Madhya Pradesh	Central Plateau and Hills zone
Siresandra	Kolar	Karnataka	Southern Plateau and Hills
Zhapur	Gulbarga	Karnataka	Southern Plateau and Hills

Table 2 *Average household size by village*

Village	Average size of the household
Ananthavaram	3.6
Bukkacherlla	4.2
Kothapalle	3.9
Harevli	6.0
Mahatwar	7.2
Warwat Khanderao	5.2
Nimshirgaon	5.2
25 F Gulabewala	5.5
Dungariya	6.3
Rewasi	5.9
Gharsondi	7.0
Badhar	5.1
Siresandra	5.9
Zhapur	6.1

Table 3 *Sex-ratio of population, village wise*

Village	0 to 6 years	All
Ananthavaram	902	1039
Bukkacherlla	1425	981
Kothapalle	957	1087
Harevli	758	860
Mahatwar	1068	993
Warwat Khanderao	930	994
Nimshirgaon	813	857
25 F Gulabewala	788	970
Dungariya	848	912
Rewasi	835	1183
Gharsondi	734	873
Badhar	1016	1035
Siresandra	1045	1000
Zhapur	1145	970

Table 4 *Proportion of working children (6 to 18 years), by sex, village wise*

Village	Scheduled Caste		Scheduled Tribe		All	
	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male
Ananthavaram	29	32	50	17	23	21
Bukkacherlla	13	11	-	-	11	11
Kothapalle	10	9	33	29	14	10
Harevli	20	17	-	-	19	22
Mahatwar	18	14	-	-	19	20
Warwat Khanderao	19	17	-	-	24	19
Nimshirgaon	6	20	-	-	17	20
25 F Gulabewala	38	38	-	-	31	27
Dungariya	-	-	46	42	46	43
Rewasi	11	26	18	18	13	26
Gharsondi	26	40	33	36	17	29
Badhar	-	33	38	36	39	36
Siresandra	16	20	-	-	18	21
Zhapur	24	26	20	27	19	21

Table 5 *Proportion of children (6 to 18 years) not attending school, by sex and social group, village wise*

Village	Scheduled Caste		Scheduled Tribe		All	
	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male
Ananthavaram	43	38	70	26	39	30
Bukkacherlla	23	21	-	-	21	17
Kothapalle	14	13	67	57	21	13
Harevli	24	28	-	-	27	22
Mahatwar	18	10	-	-	16	9
Warwat Khanderao	31	22	-	-	26	22
Nimshirgaon	20	10	-	-	22	13
25 F Gulabewala	48	45	-	-	41	28
Dungariya	-	-	82	59	82	60
Rewasi	22	11	24	0	19	6
Gharsondi	19	26	39	39	28	19
Badhar	-	0	18	22	20	20
Siresandra	16	5	-	-	12	8
Zhapur	37	36	30	13	31	30

Table 6 *Proportion of literate population (7 years and above), by sex and social group, village wise*

Village	Scheduled Caste			Scheduled Tribe			All		
	Female	Male	Persons	Female	Male	Persons	Female	Male	Persons
Ananthavaram	43	61	53	24	44	33	54	67	60
BukkacherIla	28	43	35	-	-	-	44	66	55
Kothapalle	46	57	51	25	33	29	45	67	55
Harevli	40	46	44	-	-	-	50	65	58
Mahatwar	37	68	53	-	-	-	43	70	57
Warwat Khanderao	55	76	66	-	-	-	66	84	75
Nimshirgaon	55	84	71	-	-	-	66	87	77
25 F Gulabewala	32	40	36	-	-	-	48	60	54
Dungariya	-	-	-	9	26	18	10	29	20
Rewasi	45	74	57	50	77	64	46	76	60
Gharsondi	38	70	55	10	12	11	41	66	54
Badhar	0	40	33	23	35	28	20	34	27
Siresandra	49	57	53	-	-	-	53	70	61
Zhapur	25	36	31	22	33	28	33	46	40

Table 7 *Proportion of literate population (18 years and above), by sex and social group, village wise*

Village	Scheduled Caste			Scheduled Tribe			All		
	Female	Male	Persons	Female	Male	Persons	Female	Male	Persons
Ananthavaram	35	56	46	17	30	23	47	63	55
BukkacherIla	9	33	20	-	-	-	30	60	45
Kothapalle	27	45	35	8	30	18	30	60	45
Harevli	14	33	25	-	-	-	36	60	49
Mahatwar	13	64	40	-	-	-	24	68	47
Warwat Khanderao	43	77	59	-	-	-	55	82	69
Nimshirgaon	43	79	62	-	-	-	59	84	72
25 F Gulabewala	15	29	22	-	-	-	40	53	47
Dungariya	-	-	-	1	18	10	3	22	13
Rewasi	29	64	44	27	61	43	29	66	45
Gharsondi	22	71	47	4	9	6	30	64	47
Badhar	0	0	0	10	28	19	7	26	16
Siresandra	30	49	40	-	-	-	39	66	53
Zhapur	10	30	20	12	24	17	18	39	29

Table 8 *Mean of years of schooling of the population above 16 years, by sex, village wise*

Village	Scheduled Caste			Scheduled Tribe			All		
	Female	Male	Persons	Female	Male	Persons	Female	Male	Persons
Ananthavaram	3	5	4	2	3	2	4	6	5
BukkacherIla	1	3	2	-	-	-	3	6	4
Kothapalle	3	4	4	2	2	2	3	6	4
Harevli	1	3	2	-	-	-	3	6	5
Mahatwar	1	6	4	-	-	-	3	7	5
Warwat Khanderao	3	7	5	-	-	-	5	7	6
Nimshirgaon	4	6	5	-	-	-	5	7	6
25 F Gulabewala	1	2	2	-	-	-	4	5	4
Dungariya	-	-	-	0.2	1	0.7	0.3	2	1
Rewasi	2	7	4	2	5	3	2	6	4
Gharsondi	2	6	4	1	1	1	3	6	5
Badhar	0	0	0	1	3	2	1	3	2
Siresandra	5	6	6	-	-	-	6	7	7
Zhapur	2	4	3	5	5	5	3	6	5

Table 9 *Median of years of schooling of the population above 16 years, by sex, village wise*

Village	Scheduled Caste			Scheduled Tribe			All		
	Female	Male	Persons	Female	Male	Persons	Female	Male	Persons
Ananthavaram	0	4	2	0	0	0	2.5	5	4
BukkacherIla	0	0	0	-	-	-	0	6	2
Kothapalle	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	6	0
Harevli	0	0.5	0	-	-	-	1	4	2
Mahatwar	0	8	0	-	-	-	0	9	3
Warwat Khanderao	0	8	4.5	-	-	-	4	9	7
Nimshirgaon	2	8	5	-	-	-	5	8	7
25 F Gulabewala	0	0	0	-	-	-	0	5	2
Dungariya	-	-	-	0	0	0	0	0	0
Rewasi	0	8	0	0	5	0	0	7	0
Gharsondi	0	7	2	0	0	0	0	8	4
Badhar	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Siresandra	0	0	0	-	-	-	0	8	5
Zhapur	0	1	0	0	1	0	0	1	0

Table 10 *Percentage of households with children without a literate adult, by sex and social group, village wise*

Village	Scheduled Caste			Scheduled Tribe			All		
	Female	Male	Persons	Female	Male	Persons	Female	Male	Persons
Ananthavaram	31	27	13	67	40	30	26	23	11
Bukkacherlla	53	32	18	-	-	-	30	19	8
Kothapalle	26	24	7	67	56	33	26	22	8
Harevli	82	61	58	-	-	-	63	39	36
Mahatwar	81	26	25	-	-	-	71	25	22
Warwat Khanderao	50	28	17	-	-	-	38	13	8
Nimshirgaon	34	18	17	-	-	-	22	16	14
25 F Gulabewala	80	67	62	-	-	-	53	44	39
Dungariya	-	-	-	97	76	76	95	74	74
Rewasi	74	32	32	68	42	26	63	33	27
Gharsondi	67	13	13	94	88	88	59	31	27
Badhar	100*	100*	100*	92	65	61	94	70	66
Siresandra	50	29	21	-	-	-	44	21	12
Zhapur	92	65	65	85	62	54	82	56	52

*Only one household.

Table 11 *Proportion of households with children living in a non-pucca house, by social group, village wise*

Village	Scheduled Caste	Scheduled Tribe	All
Ananthavaram	81	90	51
Bukkacherlla	13	-	43
Kothapalle	8	78	12
Harevli	39	-	38
Mahatwar	42	-	30
Warwat Khanderao	56	-	48
Nimshirgaon	32	-	22
25 F Gulabewala	81	-	53
Dungariya	-	65	66
Rewasi	21	11	8
Gharsondi	33	81	34
Badhar	100	99	99
Siresandra	17	-	12
Zhapur	0	0	0

Note: Non-pucca refers to kucha and semi-pucca houses.

Table 12 *Proportion of households with children living in a single room house, by social group, village wise*

Village	Scheduled Caste	Scheduled Tribe	All
Ananthavaram	54	87	49
Bukkacherlla	29	-	25
Kothapalle	36	33	30
Harevli	61	-	37
Mahatwar	12	-	15
Warwat Khanderao	44	-	26
Nimshirgaon	25	-	24
25 F Gulabewala	24	-	15
Dungariya	-	32	31
Rewasi	11	21	10
Gharsondi	4	25	8
Badhar	100*	13	16
Siresandra	46	-	37
Zhapur	54	54	48

*only one household

Table 13 *Proportion of households with children without covered source of drinking water, village wise*

Village	Percentage of households
Ananthavaram	0.3
Bukkacherlla	1
Kothapalle	22
Harevli	0
Mahatwar	1
Warwat Khanderao	8
Nimshirgaon	36
25 F Gulabewala	10
Dungariya	72
Rewasi	12
Gharsondi	11
Badhar	53
Siresandra	0
Zhapur	28

Table 14 *Proportion of households with children without access of drinking water within homestead, by social group, village wise*

Village	Scheduled Caste	Scheduled Tribe	All
Ananthavaram	67	100	52
Bukkacherlla	97	-	82
Kothapalle	57	100	66
Harevli	30	-	17
Mahatwar	51	-	38
Warwat Khanderao	89	-	93
Nimshirgaon	48	-	38
25 F Gulabewala	60	-	36
Dungariya	-	95	94
Rewasi	16	37	21
Gharsondi	71	94	76
Badhar (1 HH)	100*	82	83
Siresandra	100	-	95
Zhapur	100	100	99

Table 15 *Proportion of households with children without access to lavatories, by social group, village wise*

Village	Scheduled Caste	Scheduled Tribe	All
Ananthavaram	79	97	57
Bukkacherlla	76	-	84
Kothapalle	56	89	58
Harevli	94	-	66
Mahatwar	97	-	92
Warwat Khanderao	72	-	47
Nimshirgaon	34	-	30
25 F Gulabewala	21	-	14
Dungariya	-	100	99
Rewasi	58	63	61
Gharsondi	83	94	54
Badhar	100*	100	100
Siresandra	100	-	88
Zhapur	100	100	97

*only one household

Table 16 *Proportion of widows to the adult female population, village wise*

Village	Percentage of households
Ananthavaram	19
Bukkacherlla	18
Kothapalle	18
Harevli	8
Mahatwar	12
Warwat Khanderao	13
Nimshirgaon	20
25 F Gulabewala	14
Dungariya	2
Rewasi	10
Gharsondi	13
Badhar	15
Siresandra	9
Zhapur	17

Table 17 *Work participation rate, by sex, village wise*

Village	Female	Male
Ananthavaram	49	83
Bukkacherlla	60	77
Kothapalle	60	77
Harevli	38	91
Mahatwar	55	88
Warwat Khanderao	70	90
Nimshirgaon	50	86
25 F Gulabewala	48	84
Dungariya	97	98
Rewasi	52	88
Gharsondi	48	91
Badhar	87	94
Siresandra	72	88
Zhapur	59	86

Table 18 P*roportion of adult females reported to be engaged in different types of work, village wise*

Village	Cultivation	Agricultural labourer	Non-agricultural labourer
Ananthavaram	10.5	36.5	4.2
Bukkacherlla	34.1	39.4	0.7
Kothapalle	15.2	43.9	5.6
Harevli	7.5	21.4	1.7
Mahatwar	25	21	4.3
Warwat Khanderao	52	40.2	2.8
Nimshirgaon	29.3	18	1.2
25 F Gulabewala	12.6	31.5	4.5
Dungariya	91.6	7.1	66.2
Rewasi	45.6	5.9	8.3
Gharsondi	29.8	19.8	6.5
Badhar	69.6	54	49.1
Siresandra	52.9	25.8	16.8
Zhapur	23.6	27.2	14.4

Table 19 *Proportion of female headed households, village wise*

Village	Percentage of households
Ananthavaram	14
Bukkacherlla	10
Kothapalle	11
Harevli	5
Mahatwar	5
Warwat Khanderao	6
Nimshirgaon	8
25 F Gulabewala	9
Dungariya	1
Rewasi	18
Gharsondi	7
Badhar	11
Siresandra	6
Zhapur	14