Child Wellbeing, Schooling and Living Standards

REPORT ON TWO VILLAGES OF KARNATAKA

December, 2012

FUNDED BY UNICEF INDIA

Foundation for Agrarian Studies

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AN INTRODUCTION TO THE FAS-UNICEF COLLABORATIVE PROJECT ON CHILD WELLBEING, SCHOOLING AND LIVING STANDARDS

In recent years, two prominent though disparate trends have been observed in India: impressive economic growth and wealth creation; and stagnation in key social indicators, particularly among disadvantaged populations, across geographical areas, castes and gender.

While there have been positive trends in respect of certain social indicators, e.g., a significant increase in literacy rates and the enrolment of both boys and girls in primary school, however, progress has been slow in areas requiring systemic changes, such as in the provision of good quality services. In this context, the design of better strategies requires an understanding of the social and economic constraints faced by children and their families, particularly in rural India, where deprivation is more severe than in urban India. To take the case of education and child labour, the persistence of class and caste differences is recognized as an important factor in ensuring equal opportunities to education. While the macro data make overall patterns clear, micro data can actually address the question of identifying specific class and caste constraints.

Since its inception in 2003, the Foundation for Agrarian Studies has been engaged in multidisciplinary theoretical and empirical study of the rural economy and society of India. A defining feature of the Foundation's work is that it is conducted in association with social and political activists and members of mass organizations. From 2005, the Foundation has initiated a Project on Agrarian Relations in India (PARI) in order to study village economy and society in depth (see BOX). In every selected State, our practice is to survey two or three villages in different agro-ecological regions. To date, as part of the project, village surveys have been competed in 18 villages in seven States in India.

It is well established that children in India continue to suffer multiple deprivations, in terms of schooling and education, in terms of health and nutrition, and also in terms of basic household amenities (such as sanitation and water). The FAS UNICEF collaborative programme attempts to complement existing analyses based on large-scale survey and Census data with village level data obtained from the FAS-PARI. An important function of small-scale village-level surveys is to identify emerging relationships and trends that need to be then tested on larger data sets. While the

broad patterns of deprivation can be established with large-scale data such as from the Census and the NFHS, village level data allow us to examine inter-relationships between household and individual variables that affect a child. For example, we can examine the relation between low incomes and child deprivation or between caste status and deprivation.

About FAS PARI (Project on Agrarian Relations in India)

The objectives of the Foundation's Project on Agrarian Relation in India (PARI) are

- *to analyse village-level production, production systems and livelihoods and the socio-economic characteristics of different strata of the rural population;*
- *to conduct specific studies of sectional deprivation in rural India, particularly with regard to the Dalit and Scheduled Tribe populations, women, specific minorities and the income-poor;*
- *and to report on the state of basic village amenities and the access of the rural people to the facilities of modern life.*

The study is being conducted over a period of about six years (it began in 2006). In every selected State, our practice is to survey two or three villages in different agro-ecological regions. The villages studied will ultimately represent a wide range of different agro-ecological regions in the country.

Our team conducts a census-type survey that covers every household and individual in each village. A village-level questionnaire is also canvassed in each village. In addition, a village profile, based on the existing sources of secondary data, is constructed.

UNICEF entered into a partnership with the Foundation for Agrarian Studies (FAS) as part of its social policy programme (part of the ongoing Country Programme 2008-12) in September 2010. In the partnership programme, FAS will provide cross-sectional and micro-level data on the status of children from a variety of agro-ecological settings. The unique FAS-PARI data base of village data, from 14 villages across six States will be used to examine and discuss various types of deprivation among children, and the factors associated with such deprivations.

Specifically, an attempt is being made to link deprivations among children in respect of schooling and access to basic amenities, to household incomes, assets and occupations, and to the particularity of the agro-ecological and socio-economic structure of each village. Together, the Foundation and UNICEF will use this micro-level analysis to detail macro-level trends data on improvements in child well-being, providing nuance and depth towards understanding the main drivers of change for children.

The output of this collaboration will be a series of publications, detailed reports for six States and one overview report, dealing with aspects of deprivation and living standards among women and children in rural areas.

Each report (for a State) will cover the following features of the survey villages

• Document and examine the pattern of schooling and educational attainment among children of different social groups

• Relate the observed deprivations/attainments to household socio-economic factors such as incomes, assets, occupations, to household living conditions and to individual factors such as mother's occupation and education.

• Examine the incidence of child labour and identify factors at the household level and village level associated with the persistence of child labour

• Examine 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.

• Identify the types of government benefits obtained by children (e..g scholarships, participation in ICDS).

These reports can help propose areas in which social protection policies need strengthening in order to end deprivations suffered by rural children and will complement UNICEF's work on analysis of child poverty and vulnerability in the economic and social development domains.

Surveys were conducted in three villages of Karnataka in May-June of 2009. The selected villages were Alabujanahalli in Mandya district, Siresandra in Kolar districtd and Zhapur in Gulbarga district. In this Report, detailed analysis has been undertaken for Siresandra and Zhapur villages.

Siresandra is in Kolar taluk, Kolar district. The nearest town, Kolar, is at a distance of 20 km from the village. Our survey covered 81 households resident in the village. This village belongs to the semi-dry rainfed region in southeastern Karnataka. Cultivation in the village is mainly rain-fed, supplemented by irrigation by means of borewells and drip irrigation. Sericulture and dairying are also important occupations, and contribute substantially to household incomes.

Zhapur is in Gulbarga taluk, Gulbarga district. The village is located at a distance of 13 km from Gulbarga town. Our survey covered 113 households resident in the village. The majority of households are Dalit. The dominant land-owning caste is Lingayat. There are also Kuruba and Scheduled Tribe households resident in the village. This village falls in the dry rainfed region of north Karnataka. Cultivation in the village is mainly rainfed. The cropping pattern followed is that of a single mixed crop of rainfed cereals and oil seeds. Apart from cultivation, many workers are employed as daily labourers in a stone quarry located partially on the boundaries of the village. This is a major source of non-agricultural employment for manual workers from Zhapur.

Karnataka: Siresandra Village

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1. LOCATION AND INFRASTRUCTURE

Siresandra is a revenue village in Huttur block of Kolar taluk in the district of Kolar in Karnataka. It is a small village with a geographical area of 265 hectares as per revenue records. The nearest town is Kolar, 20 kilometers away. The nearest railway station is the Kolar Gold Fields, 15 kilometers from the village. There is a metalled approach road to the village, and a bus stop is located inside the village. There is a primary school in Siresandra, but no post office nor a bank branch. The nearest primary health centre is at Shapur at a distance of 5 kilometers. There is an anganwadi centre in the village.

The FAS survey in 2009 covered 79 resident households in the village.[1] The major caste group in this village is Vokkaliga, which is also the major land-owning caste in the village. This village belongs to the semi-dry rain-fed region in south-eastern Karnataka. Cultivation in the village is mainly rain-fed, supplemented by irrigation by means of borewells and drip irrigation. The cropping pattern includes kharif ragi, followed by vegetables (potato, tomato, carrot, cauliflower, beetroot, radish, fodder maize and fodder grass and other vegetable, condiment and tree crops). Ragi is often intercropped with jowar, red gram, and sesamum. The area under cultivation consisted of 113.74 hectares (43 per cent of geographical area) of which 66.14 hectares were irrigated with bore wells and by means of drip irrigation.[2] Apart from crop cultivation, sericulture and dairying are also important occupations in Siresandra, and contribute significantly to household incomes.

Table 1.1 *Location of the village, Siresandra, 2009*

Village	Siresandra
District	Kolar
Block/Tehsil	Huttur/Kolar
Nearest town	Kolar
Distance from nearest town	20 Km.
Nearest railway station	Kolar gold fields
Distance from nearest railway station	15 Km.
Bus stop within the village	Yes
Metalled approach road	Yes

[1] Though there were 81 resident households in Siresandra in 1979, complete information could not be obtained in respect of two households. This Report utilizes data from all the 79 remaining households.

[2] As per Census 2001, the land use (in hectares) in Siresandra in 2001 was as follows: irrigated cultivated area - 66.14; un-irrigated cultivated area - 47.6; cultivable waste - 84.2; and area not available for cultivation - 66.98.

1.2 *Description of village infrastructure and amenities, Siresandra, 2009*

Item	Number / description
Number of anganwadi centres within village	1
Number of primary schools (Std I-V) within village	1
Number of middle schools (upto Std VIII) within village*	0
Number of secondary schools (upto Std X) within village	0
Number of higher secondary schools (upto Std XII) within village	0
Distance from nearest PHC	Shapur, 5 Km.
Post office within the village	No
Bank within the village	No

* The nearest middle school (upto class 7) is at Shapur.

Table 1.3 *Land use and population (Census of India 2001), Siresandra, 2001*

Village			Area (in hectares)	As % of geographical area
Geographical area			265	100.0
Land use (as % of geographical area)	Forest		0	0.0
	Area under cultivation	Irrigated	66.14	25.0
		Unirrigated	47.6	18.0
	Cultivable waste		84.28	31.8
	Area not available for cultivation		66.98	25.2

Source: Census of India, 2001

1.4 Agro-economic features of the village, Siresandra, 2009

Agro-ecological region (NARP classification)	Southern Plateau and Hills
Major crops grown (by crop seasons)	Kharif: Ragi (mostly intercropped with Jowar, Red gram and Seasame) Rabi: Fodder maize, Fodder grass and vegetables like Cauliflower, Beetroot, Radish etc.
Major sources of irrigation	Mainly rain-fed but supplimented by irrigation by means of borewells and drip irrigation

2. DEMOGRAPHY

2.1 *Population, social composition, sex ratios and children per household*

The FAS conducted a census of all resident households in Siresandra in 2009. Table 2.1 shows the number of resident households in the village in 2009 by social group. Table 2.2 shows the distribution of the resident population by social group and sex.

Table 2.1 *Distribution of households, by social group, Siresandra, 2009*

Social group	Number of households	As percentage of all households
Scheduled Caste	29	36.7
BC	50	63.3
All	79	100.0

Table 2.2 *Distribution of population, by caste and sex, Siresandra, 2009*

Social group	Number			As percentage of all population		
	Female	Male	Persons	Female	Male	Persons
Scheduled Caste	91	83	174	38.9	35.5	37.2
BC	143	151	294	61.1	64.5	62.8
All	234	234	468	100.0	100.0	100.0

There were only two major social groups in Siresandra in 2009: Scheduled Castes (SC) and Backward Classes (BCs). The Scheduled Castes accounted for roughly three-eighths of the population and the BCs for five-eighths. The overall average household size at 5.92 is distinctly higher than in the three villages surveyed by FAS in Andhra Pradesh in 2005, but lower than that 6.13 for Zhapur in Gubarga district of Karnataka, surveyed by the FAS at about the same time as Siresandra. The average household size in Siresandra in 2009 was 6 for Scheduled Castes and 5.8 for BCs.[3]

Table 2.3 presents the distribution of the population of Siresandra in 2009 by specified age groups.

[3] The population of Siresandra in 2001 was 495 as per the Census of India, up from 432 in 1991. The population figure of 468 in 2009 suggests that there may have been some net outmigration from the village since 2001.

Table 2.3 *Distribution of population by age and sex, Siresandra, 2009*

Age group	Population			As percentage of total population		
	Female	Male	Persons	Female	Male	Persons
0 to < 3 years	9	9	18	3.8	3.8	3.8
3 years to 6 years	14	13	27	6.0	5.6	5.8
7 years to 9 years	11	16	27	4.7	6.8	5.8
10 years to 14 years	30	13	43	12.8	5.6	9.2
15 years to 17 years	15	11	26	6.4	4.7	5.6
18 years to 24 years	35	39	74	15.0	16.7	15.8
25 years to 34 years	42	44	86	17.9	18.8	18.4
35 years to 49 years	40	41	81	17.1	17.5	17.3
50 years to 59 years	14	15	29	6.0	6.4	6.2
60 years to 69 years	17	17	34	7.3	7.3	7.3
$\geq$ 70 years	7	15	22	3.0	6.4	4.7
Unspecified	0	1	1	0.0	0.4	0.2
All	234	234	468	100.0	100.0	100.0

The population sex ratio, defined as the number of females per 1000 population, was exactly 1000 in Siresandra in 2009. The gender balance for the age group of 0 to 6 years was healthy, with 23 girls to 22 boys in this age group.[4] There are only two age groups showing large differences between the number of men and that of women in the age group: 10 to 14 years where females outnumber males by a large margin and 70 years or older, where the reverse is the case. In both instances, the numbers involved are small, and given the likelihood of reporting errors in age data, not too much should be read into either of these instances.

Let us turn to the issue of household size. Table 2.4 shows the distribution of households by size in Siresandra in 2009. Close to 45 per cent of all households have six or more members. These households account for five-eighths of the population of the village. There is no single–person household in Sirasendra. Households with four or fewer members account for 36.7 per cent of all households, but only 21.2 per cent of the population of the village. Fifteen very large sized households, with an average household size of 11.1 and constituting 19 per cent of all households in the village, account for 35.5 per cent of the population.

[4] The sex ratio for Siresandra in 2001, as per the Census of India, was 934. As was the case in 2009, the sex ratio for Scheduled Castes was higher than that for the population as a whole in 2001. Among children aged between 0 and 6 years, there were more girls than boys in 2001 as well as in 2009.

Table 2.4 *Distribution of households by household size, Siresandra, 2009*

Household size	Number of households	As percentage of all households	Average size of the households	Cumulative number of persons	Cumulative percentage of populat5ion
1	0	0.0	0.0	0	0.0
2	5	6.3	2	10	2.1
3	7	8.9	3	31	6.6
4	17	21.5	4	99	21.2
5	15	19.0	5	174	37.2
6	12	15.2	6	246	52.6
7	8	10.1	7	302	64.5
≥ 8	15	19.0	11.1	468	100.0
All	79	100.0	5.9	468	100.0

In most villages, there will be some households without any member below the age of 18 years. This was also the case with Sirasendra in 2009. Table 2.5 shows the distribution of households without children by social group. Overall, more than a quarter of all households in the village have no member below the age of 18 years. The proportion exceeds one-third in the case of BCs, but is lower at one-sixth for Scheduled Castes. Across villages surveyed by FAS since 2005, the overall proportion of households without children has varied from a low of less than 5 per cent in Mahatwar in Uttar Pradesh to a high of 45 per cent in Ananthavaram in Andhra Pradesh. In general, villages farther along the demographic transition tend to have a somewhat higher proportion of such households.

Table 2.5 *Number and proportion of households without children, by social group, Siresandra, 2009*

Social group	Number of households without children	Total number of households	Households without children as percentage of total households
Scheduled Caste	5	29	17.2
BC	17	50	34.0
All	22	79	27.8

Table 2.6 *Average number of children per household by household size, Siresandra, 2009*

Household size	Number of households	Average number of children
2	5	0.0
3	7	0.0
4	17	1.0
5	15	1.3
6	12	2.3
7	8	2.4
≥ 8	15	3.8
All	79	1.8

The absence of any child in a household is of course one end of the spectrum. We also have households with many children in our villages. The variation in the number of children across households is of some interest. Table 2.6 above shows the distribution of households in Siresandra by size and the average number of children per household by size of household in 2009. The number of children per household is positively related to household as one would expect. Comparing the average number of children per household for the villages surveyed by FAS in 2005 and that for Siresandra at 1.8, we find that this is about the same as in Ananthavaram in Andhra Pradesh, and well above the figures of 1.29 for Kothapalle and 1.26 for Bukkacherla. At the same time, it is lower than the figure of 2.4 for Zhapur in Karnataka in 2009.

It is generally assumed that children reside with their parents. While this is indeed the case in most instances, it is also true that in every village one would find children living with one of the parents but not the other. Sometimes, a child may be a member of a household of which her/his parents are not members. Table 2.7 presents the details in this regard in Siresandra in 2009.

Table 2.7 *In whose home do children live? Siresandra, 2009*

Children living in the same household with	Number of children			As percentage of all children		
	Female	Male	Persons	Female	Male	Persons
Both parents	73	59	132	92.4	93.7	93.0
Mother, not father	3	3	6	3.8	4.8	4.2
Neither parents but with other family members	2	1	3	2.5	1.6	2.1
No relative	1	0	1	1.3	0.0	0.7
All	79	63	142	100.0	100.0	100.0

In all, there are ten children (out of a total of 142) in Siresandra in 2009 that did not live with both their parents in the same household. There is no instance of a child living with the father but not the mother. Six out of the ten children-3 boys and 3 girls- live with the mother but not the father. In all three cases of children living with relatives other than their parents, it is the grandparents with whom the children are staying. One girl has been adopted by a BC family and is living with them.

2.2 Activity Status of Children

In India, there is a legal provision that children below the age of 14 completed years are not to be engaged in paid or unpaid work. Ideally, they should be enrolled in and attending an educational institution in order to acquire formal education and the skills thereof. However, in reality, not all children aged between 6 and 14 years are in school. This is true even in relatively more 'developed' states such as Tamil Nadu and Maharashtra. What was the picture in Siresandra in this regard in 2009? The relevant information is brought together in Tables 2.8 to 2.10.[5]

Four children between the ages of 6 and 14 years were at work (as defined in footnote 4 below) in Siresandra in 2009. All four - 3 girls and a boy – were working on the household operational holding. No child in this age group was working for an employer outside the household. Three of the four children at work are from BC households.

Table 2.8 *Children in the age group 6 to 14 years engaged in specific activities, by sex, Siresandra, 2009*

Type of activity	Number			As percentage of all children in the age group		
	Girls	Boys	Total	Girls	Boys	Total
Work outside the household for an employer (paid or unpaid)	0	0	0	0.0	0.0	0.0
Work on household operational holding	3	1	4	6.4	3.2	5.1
Work in any household enterprise other than animal resources	0	0	0	0.0	0.0	0.0
All	3	1	4	6.4	3.2	5.1

[5] 'Work', for the purposes of this Report, refers to activities that include paid or unpaid work outside the household for an employer, work on household operational holding and work in any household enterprise other than that relating to animal resources. Children engaged in any of these activities are working children.

Table 2.9 *Boys in the age group 6 to 14 years engaged in specific types of activities, by social group, Siresandra, 2009*

Social group	Number			As percentage of all households		
	Work outside the household for an employer (paid or unpaid)	Work on household operational holding	Work in any household enterprise other than animal resources	Work outside the household for an employer (paid or unpaid)	Work on household operational holding	Work in any household enterprise other than animal resources
Scheduled Caste	0	0	0	0.0	0.0	0.0
BC	0	1	0	0.0	6.3	0.0
All	0	1	0	0.0	3.2	0.0

Table 2.10 *Girls in the age group 6 to 14 years engaged in specific types of activities, by social group, Siresandra, 2009*

Social group	Number			As percentage of all households		
	Work outside the household for an employer (paid or unpaid)	Work on household operational holding	Work in any household enterprise other than animal resources	Work outside the household for an employer (paid or unpaid)	Work on household operational holding	Work in any household enterprise other than animal resources
Scheduled Caste	0	1	0	0.0	4.2	0.0
BC	0	2	0	0.0	8.7	0.0
All	0	3	0	0.0	6.4	0.0

Just as it is useful to examine the variation across social groups in respect of such characteristics as the extent of child work, it is also useful to examine variations along economic lines. In order to pursue this exploration, we have classified the households in Svesandra that were surveyed in 2009 into five equal quintiles based on the value of assets owned by households.[6] The ranges of values of assets as well as the median and mean values in each quintile are shown in Table 2.11 below:

[6] Assets include land and water bodies, houses and buildings, trees, animals, other means of production, means of transport, domestic durable goods, and other assets such as grain stock and inventories. Assets do not include financial assets and gold. Assets are valued at present value, reported by households.

Table 2.11 *Details of asset quintiles (Values in Rupees), Siresandra, 2009*

Asset quintile	Minimum	Maximum	Median	Average
Q1	12,094	319,213	183,008	179,022
Q2	337,150	705,050	420,735	460,870
Q3	758,320	1459,506	1123,024	1111,277
Q4	1462,120	2413,813	1848,528	1893,487
Q5	2648,800	20035,350	4153,225	5450,685

It is obvious that there is a very unequal distribution of assets in Siresandra. The ratio of the highest household asset value and the lowest in 2009 was 1657! The ratio between the average value of household assets in the bottom quintile and that in the top quintile exceeded 30. One can also see that the top quintile Q5 is significantly richer than even the next quintile, with its average asset value per household being approximately three times that of the next quintile Q4. The intra-quintile distribution is most unequal in the top quintile, with the mean asset value being nearly a third higher than the median value.

How does asset ownership vary across social groups? The relevant data is presented in Table 2.12.

Table 2.12 *Distribution of households with social group and asset quintile, Siresandra, 2009*

Social group	Number of households (as percentage of all households in the asset quintile)						As percentage of all households in the social group					
	Q1	Q2	Q3	Q4	Q5	All	Q1	Q2	Q3	Q4	Q5	All
Scheduled Caste	11 *(68.8)*	9 *(56.3)*	5 *(31.3)*	4 *(25.0)*	0 *(0.0)*	29 *(36.7)*	37.9	31.0	17.2	13.8	0.0	100
BC	5 *(31.3)*	7 *(43.8)*	11 *(68.8)*	12 *(75.0)*	15 *(100.0)*	50 *(63.3)*	10.0	14.0	22.0	24.0	30.0	100
All	16 *(100)*	16 *(100)*	16 *(100.0)*	16 *(100)*	15 *(100)*	79 *(100)*	20.3	20.3	20.3	20.3	19.0	100

While a significant proportion of both Scheduled Caste and BC households in Siresandra in 2009 were asset-poor, Scheduled Castes occupied the bottom two quintiles to a far greater extent than their proportion in the population. Thus, though there were only 29 Scheduled Caste households as compared to 50 BC households in the village, Scheduled Castes accounted for nearly seven-tenths of the bottom asset quintile and more than half of Q2. On the other hand, no Scheduled Caste household was in the top asset quintile, and Scheduled Castes accounted for only one-fourth of all households in Q4. Seventy per cent of all Scheduled Caste households were in the bottom two

quintiles as compared to less than a fourth of BC households. At the other end, 54 per cent of BC households were in Q4 and Q5 as against less than one-seventh of Scheduled Castes. One could say that there is some, though not a very high degree of correlation between social category and asset status. Fifteen BC households constituted the highest asset quintile. Among them, a few were far wealthier than the others, with the richest household having nearly four times the average assets of the quintile. These few households dominated the economy of Siresandra in 2009.[7]

Let us now explore the variation in the involvement of children between the ages of 6 and 14 years in specified activities across the asset quintiles. Of the four children who were so engaged – all of them in work on the household operational holding - three came from households in Q2 and one- a girl – came from a household in Q4. Clearly, even in relatively well-off peasant households, it is not unusual to find children being made to work on the family farm.

2.3 *Age at Marriage*

We will return later to the question of working children, taking the entire age group of 6 to 18 years, but before ending this section on children and moving on to discuss literacy, schooling and some other aspects of the educational status and achievements in Siresandra, let us look at the incidence of married children. In the age group of females below the age of 18 years, no one was married. There was one married male below the legal age of marriage for males of 21 years in Siresandra in 2009. It would appear that marriage of males or females below the respective legal minimum age is not in vogue in Siresandra now. It must be made clear that we are not in a position to say anything about the proportion of married persons in the village who did not marry when below the legal minimum age, since we have not asked *all* married persons in the resident population to state the age at which they were married.

We turn now to schooling, literacy and other aspects of the state of education in Siresandra in 2009.

[7]The asset status of a household is an important factor in determining its economic status in structural terms, but not the sole or even primary determinant in contingent terms, given the variation in performance of assets in terms of income generation. Nevertheless, it would be reasonable to assume that the top households in Q5 would hold considerable economic (and political) power in the village.

3. EDUCATION

3.1 *School Attendance*

All three aspects of the challenge of universal school education- enrolment, retention and achievement with regard to learning outcomes- continue to remain unmet in India. In the more backward parts of the country, universal enrolment and attendance constitute the primary challenges. The data on school attendance presented in Table 3.1 and that on gross enrolment ratios presented in Table 3.2 show that, in 2009, Siresandra was yet to achieve universal school enrolment and attendance in the age group of 6 to 18 years, though it had done so in the age group of 6 to 14 years.

Table 3.1 *Number and proportion of children attending school, by age group, by sex, Siresandra, 2009*

Age group	Number of children			As percentage of all children		
	Female	Male	Persons	Female	Male	Persons
6 to 10 years	22	21	43	100.0	100.0	100.0
11 to 14 years	25	10	35	100.0	100.0	100.0
15 to 16 years	8	10	18	72.7	100.0	85.7
17 to 18 years	5	6	11	50.0	60.0	55.0
All	60	47	107	88.2	92.2	89.9

Figure 3.1 *Proportion of children attending school, by age group, by sex, Siresandra, 2009*

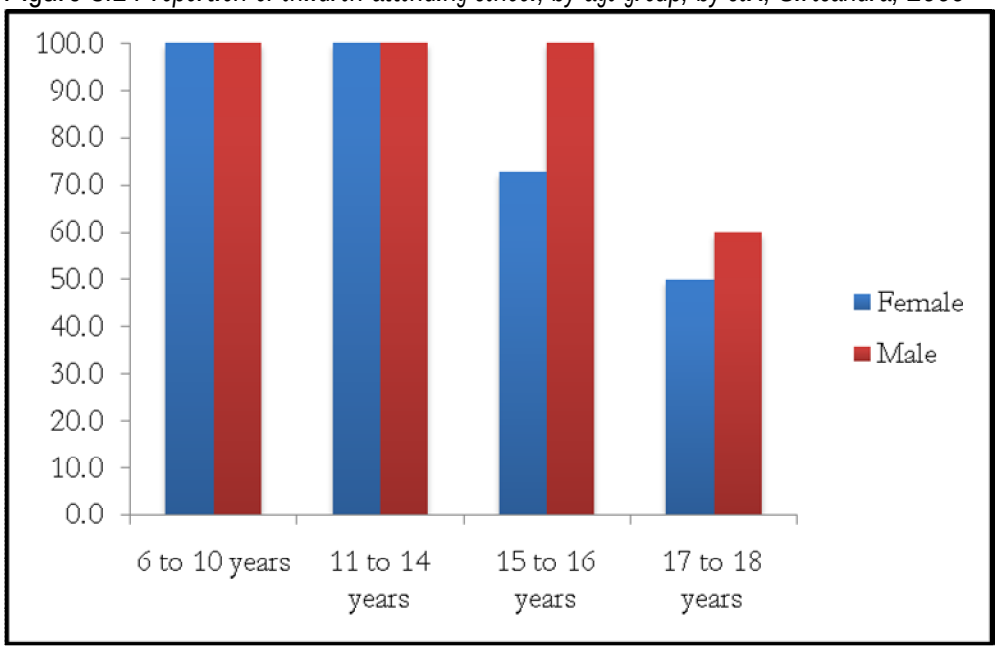


Table 3.2 *Gross enrolment ratio of children, by level of schooling, by sex, Siresandra, 2009*[8]

School level	Number enrolled			GER		
	Female	Male	Persons	Female	Male	Persons
Standard I to V	21	22	43	87.5	100.0	93.5
Standard VI to VIII	21	6	27	84.0	60.0	77.1
Standard IX to X	9	11	20	56.3	91.7	71.4
Standard XI to XII	7	7	14	50.0	53.8	51.9

All children in the age group of 6 to 14 years were attending school in Siresandra in 2009. This is the first of more than 15 villages surveyed by FAS over the last several years in which the rate of school attendance in the age group of 6 to 14 years is 100 per cent for both boys and girls. It is all the more remarkable when one considers the fact that there was only one primary school in the village and the nearest middle school with education being offered up to and including the seventh class was at Shapur, 5 kilometers away.

3.2 *School Attendance by Social Group and Asset Quintile*

Eight out of 11 girls and all the ten boys aged 15 to 16 years were also in school. But the proportion in school fell sharply for the age group of 17 to 18 years for both girls and boys, with five out of ten girls and four out of ten boys in the age group being out of school.

Tables 3.3 to 3.5 show the attendance figures for all children, for boys and for girls respectively by social group for specified age groups.

Table 3.3 *Children attending school, by age group, by social group, Siresandra, 2009*

Age group	Scheduled Caste		BC	
	Number	Percentage	Number	Percentage
6 to 10 years	25	100.0	18	100.0
11 to 14 years	14	100.0	21	100.0
15 to 16 years	5	62.5	13	100.0
17 to 18 years	1	25.0	10	62.5
All	45	88.2	62	91.2

[8] Gross enrolment ratio is the total enrolment in the specific level of education, regardless of age, expressed as a percentage of the official school-age population corresponding to the same level of education in a given school-year. The Annual Report of The Ministry of Human Resource Development (MoHRD), India, 2008-09 provides data on GER for three levels. The school levels and corresponding school-age for three levels specified by the MoHRD are as follows: *Standard I to V: 6 to 11 years; Standard VI to VIII: 11 to 14 years; Standard IX to XII: 14 to 18 years.* In Table 3.2 we have divided Standard IX to XII further in two categories: Standard IX to X: 14 to 16 years; Standard XI to XII: 16 to 18 years

Table 3.4 *Boys attending school, by age group, by social group, Siresandra, 2009*

Age group	Scheduled Caste		BC	
	Number	Percentage	Number	Percentage
6 to 10 years	12	100.0	9	100.0
11 to 14 years	3	100.0	7	100.0
15 to 16 years	3	100.0	7	100.0
17 to 18 years	1	50.0	5	62.5
All	19	95.0	28	90.3

Table 3.5 *Girls attending school, by age group, by social group, Siresandra, 2009*

Age group	Scheduled Caste		BC	
	Number	Percentage	Number	Percentage
6 to 10 years	13	100.0	9	100.0
11 to 14 years	11	100.0	14	100.0
15 to 16 years	2	40.0	6	100.0
17 to 18 years	0	0.0	5	62.5
All	26	83.9	34	91.9

In the age group of 6 to 14 years, there is 100 per cent school attendance among both BCs and Scheduled Castes, for both boys and girls. In the next age group of 15 to 16 years, all three Scheduled Caste boys were in school, but three out of the five girls were out of school. Among the BCs, however, all the seven boys and all the six girls in this age group were attending school. In the next age group of 17 to 18 years, of the two girls and two boys from Scheduled Caste households, only one boy was in school. The situation was better among the BCs, with five out of eight boys and five out of eight girls in school.

Figure 3.2 *Proportion of boys attending school, by age group, by social group, Siresandra, 2009*

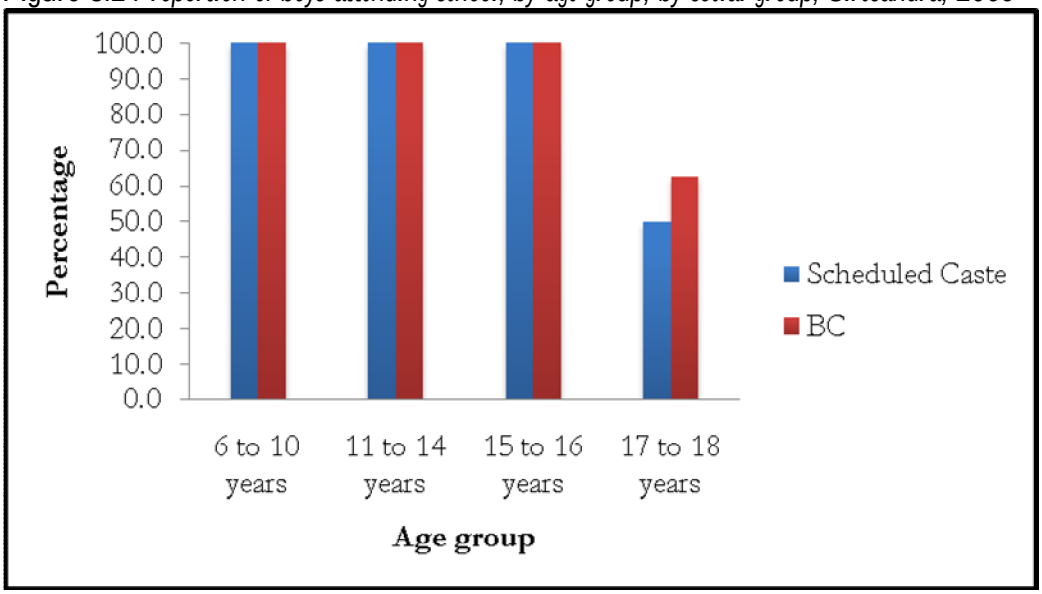
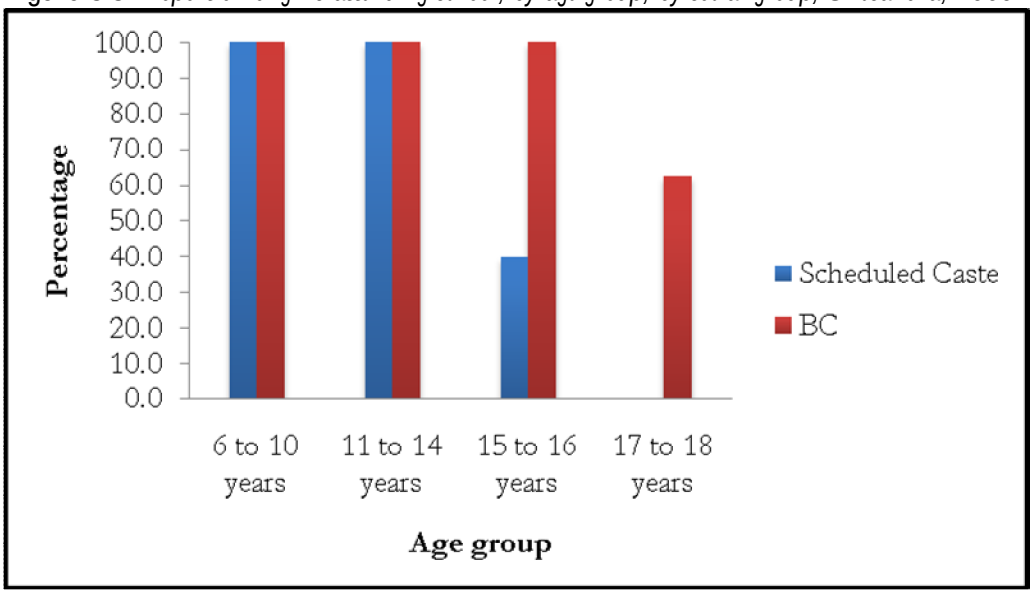


Figure 3.3 *Proportion of girls attending school, by age group, by social group, Siresandra, 2009*



How did school attendance in Siresandra vary across asset quintiles in 2009? The relevant data is presented in Tables 3.6 to 3.8.

Table 3.6 *Children attending school, by age group, by asset quintile, Siresandra, 2009*

Age group	Q1		Q2		Q3		Q4		Q5	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
6 to 10 years	8	100.0	9	100.0	6	100.0	15	100.0	5	100.0
11 to 14 years	6	100.0	8	100.0	5	100.0	6	100.0	10	100.0
15 to 16 years	2	66.7	3	60.0	3	100.0	7	100.0	3	100.0
17 to 18 years	1	33.3	2	40.0	4	80.0	1	33.3	3	75.0
All	17	85.0	22	81.5	18	94.7	29	93.5	21	95.5

Table 3.7 *Boys attending school, by age group, by asset quintile, Siresandra, 2009*

Age group	Q1		Q2		Q3		Q4		Q5	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
6 to 10 years	6	100.0	6	100.0	2	100.0	5	100.0	2	100.0
11 to 14 years	2	100.0	2	100.0	1	100.0	0	NA	5	100.0
15 to 16 years	1	100.0	3	100.0	1	100.0	5	100.0	0	NA
17 to 18 years	1	100.0	0	0.0	2	66.7	0	0.0	3	100.0
All	10	100.0	11	84.6	6	85.7	10	90.9	10	100.0

Table 3.8 Girls *attending school, by age group, by asset quintile, Siresandra, 2009*

Age group	Q1		Q2		Q3		Q4		Q5	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
6 to 10 years	2	100.0	3	100.0	4	100.0	10	100.0	3	100.0
11 to 14 years	4	100.0	6	100.0	4	100.0	6	100.0	5	100.0
15 to 16 years	1	50.0	0	0.0	2	100.0	2	100.0	3	100.0
17 to 18 years	0	0.0	2	66.7	2	100.0	1	50.0	0	0.0
All	7	70.0	11	78.6	12	100.0	19	95.0	11	91.7

Figure 3.4 *Proportion of boys attending school, by age group, by asset quintile, Siresandra, 2009*

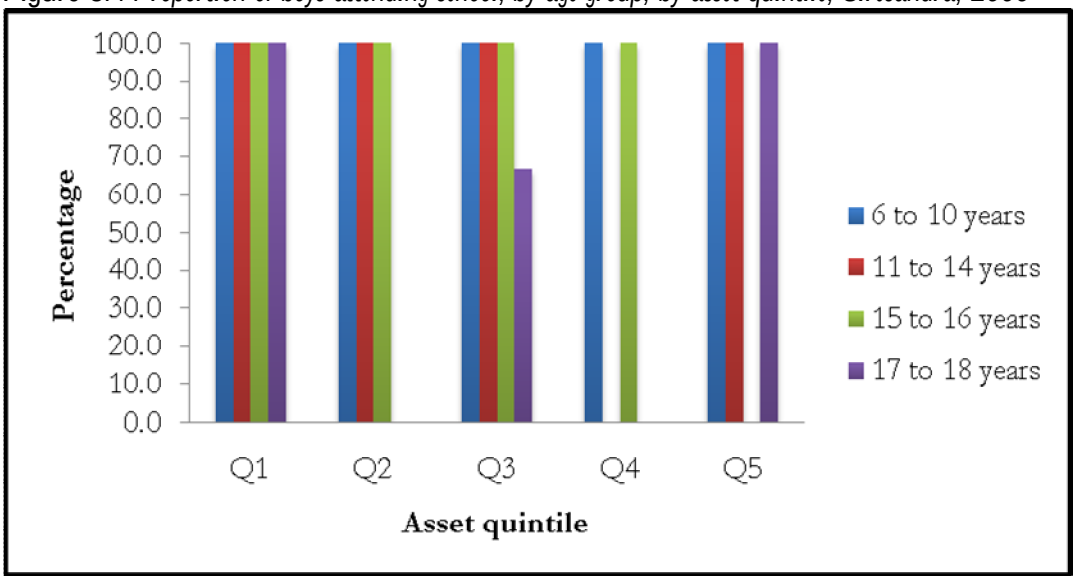
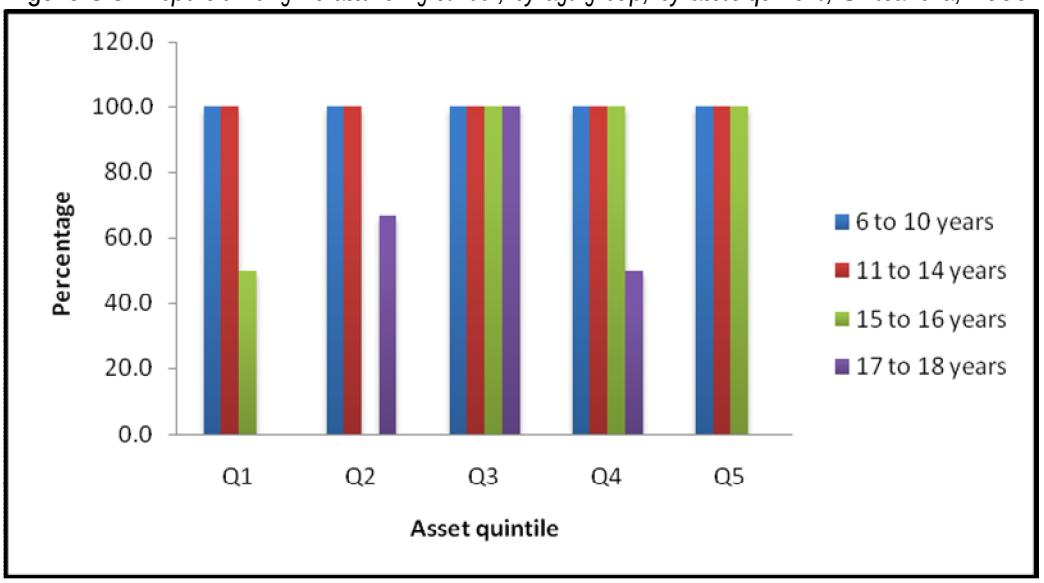


Figure 3.5 *Proportion of girls attending school, by age group, by asset quintile, Siresandra, 2009*



3.3 *School Attendance and Work*

As already noted, all the children aged 6 to 14 years in Siresandra in 2009 were in school. So, the question of variation across asset quintiles is relevant only for children in the age group of 15 to 18 years. Even here, all boys in this age group of 15 to 16 years were attending school in 2009. Among girls, those from households in the bottom two quintiles fared a little more poorly than the top quintile. However, the numbers involved are rather small. It would therefore not be possible to establish any significant negative relationship between asset-poverty and school attendance in Siresandra in 2009

We had earlier seen that four children in the age group of 6 to 14 years were engaged in work as specified. We now examine the distribution of all children aged between 6 and 18 years by four categories: *Working and not attending school, working and attending school, attending school and not working, not attending school and not working.* The data are presented in Table 3. 9.[9] Out of 68 girls in the age group of 6 to 18 years, as many as 14, or a little over one-fifth, are working children, even by the restricted definition of work used in this study.[10] The proportion of working children among boys in the same age group is a little lower at 9 out of 51 or a little more than one-sixth. Nearly one in eight of girls and one in thirteen of boys in the age group of 6 to 18 years are not attending school. The incidence of working children as well as children not attending school in 2009 in Siresandra seem to be comparatively less in comparison with some of the other villages surveyed by the FAS, but are hardly negligible.

Table 3.9 *School attendances among children aged 6 to 18 years, by sex and work status, Siresandra, 2009*

Children	Not attending				Attending			
	Not working		Working		Not working		Working	
	Number	Percentage	Number	Percentage	Number	Percentage	Number	Percentage
Girls	3	4.4	5	7.4	51	75.0	9	13.2
Boys	0	0.0	4	7.8	42	82.4	5	9.8
All	3	2.5	9	7.6	93	78.2	14	11.8

[9] In addition to the children included as 'working', one boy and one girl are tending cattle. They are not included as working children.

[10] Even among the 51 girls categorized as attending school and not working, 12 or just under one-fourth were reported as doing housework. On the other hand, not a single boy was reported as doing housework, and this is of course not surprising in our patriarchal society.

Figure 3.6 *Distribution of boys (6 to 18 years), by school attendance and work status, Siresandra, 2009*

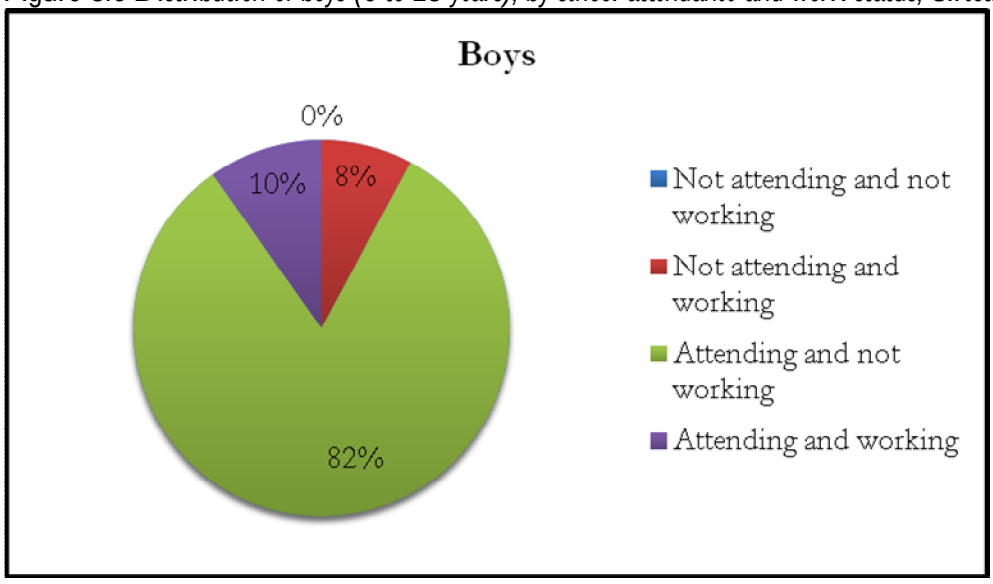
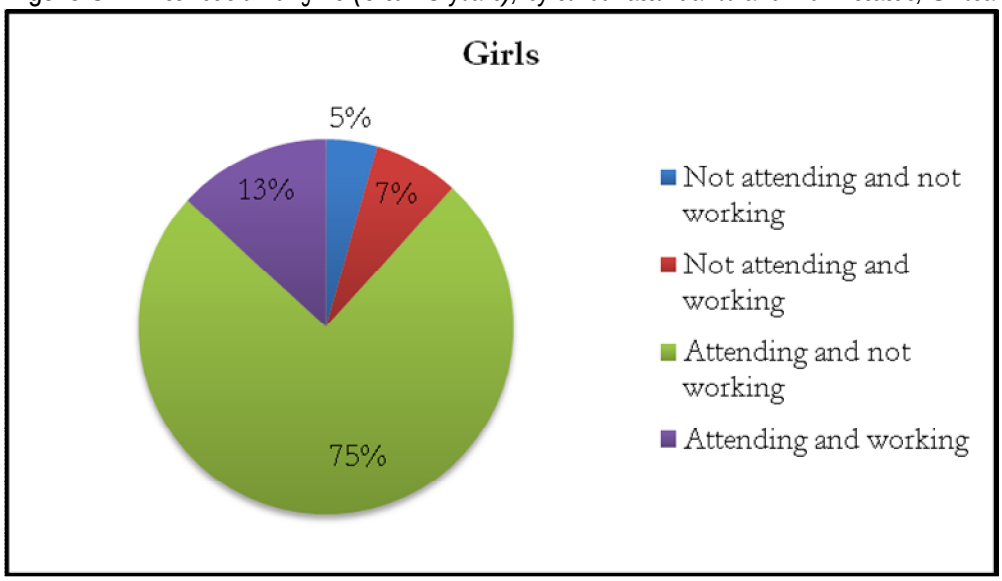


Figure 3.7 *Distribution of girls (6 to 18 years), by school attendance and work status, Siresandra, 2009*



3.4 *Anganwadi*

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. How does Siresandra fare in this regard? Table 3.10 presents the relevant data.

Children three years or younger did not attend anganwadis in Siresandra in 2009. Among the children aged 3 to 6 years, none of the children from BC households went to an anganwadi. However, from among the Scheduled Caste households, four out of eight girls and one out of seven boys in the age group of 3 to 6 years were enrolled in and attending the anganwadis. The anganwadi was thus being utilized by the Scheduled Castes, though not by the BCs.

Table 3.10 *Proportion of children (3 - 6 years) going to Anganwadi centers, by social group, Siresandra, 2009*

Social group	Female		Male		Persons	
	Number	Percentage	Number	Percentage	Number	Percentage
Scheduled Caste	4	50.0	1	14.3	5	33.3
BC	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0
All	4	28.6	1	7.7	5	18.5

Even as none of the children from BC households was attending an anganwadi, there were ten children in the village, seven of them girls, who were attending a nursery school. As can be seen from Table 3.11, the proportion of children aged 6 years or less who were enrolled in nursery schools was more than a fifth of the children in that age group. The proportion for girls was three-tenths. Four of these ten children came from Scheduled Caste households, of whom one was a boy and the other three were girls. Of the six children from BC households enrolled in nursery school, two were males and the other four were females.

Table 3.11 *Number of children (0 to 6 years) enrolled in nursery, Siresandra, 2009*

Children	Number	Percentage
Girls	7	30.4
Boys	3	13.6
All	10	22.2

It is interesting to note that eleven girls below six years of age were enrolled in an educational facility – either anganwadi or nursery school - while only four boys were so enrolled.

3.5 *Literacy*

In the FAS survey, respondents were categorised in terms of literacy, not in a binary manner as literate/non-literate, but into four categories-'*cannot read or write*', '*can only sign name*', '*can read but not write*', '*can read and write*'- and it is only the last category we treat as literate in the discussion that follows. Table 3.12 presents the distribution of the population of Siresandra aged 7 years and above by level of literacy.

Table 3.12 *Distribution of population (7 years and above), by literacy level, Siresandra, 2009*

Literacy status	Female		Male		Persons	
	Number	Percentage	Number	Percentage	Number	Percentage
Cannot read and write	58	27.5	37	17.5	95	22.5
Can only sign name	40	19.0	22	10.4	62	14.7
Can read but cannot write	1	0.5	3	1.4	4	0.9
Can read and write	112	53.1	147	69.7	259	61.4
Unspecified	0	0.0	2	0.9	2	0.5
All	211	100.0	211	100.0	422	100.0

The overall literacy rate in Siresandra in 2009 for the population seven years and older was 61.4 per cent. The rate for males was nearly 70 per cent and that for females much lower at 53.1 per cent.[11] How does this vary as between BCs and Scheduled Castes? The details are shown in Table 3.13.

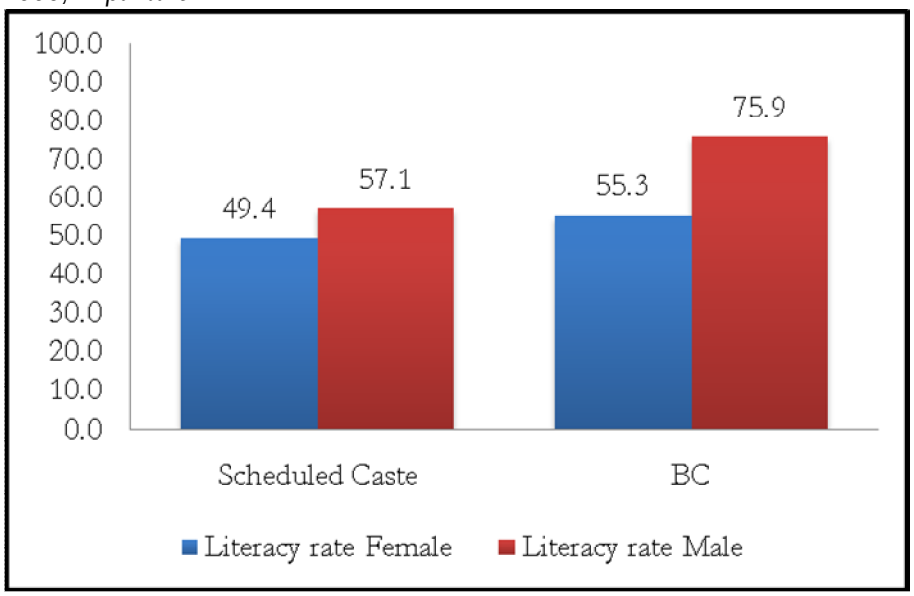
It can be seen that in the case of males as well as females, the literacy rates among Scheduled Castes are distinctly lower than those among the BCs. The gap between the Scheduled Caste and BC literacy rates is especially large with respect to males at 17.8 percentage points.

Table 3.13 *Proportion of population (7 years and above) who can read and write, by social group, Siresandra, 2009*

Social group	Number			Literacy rate		
	Female	Male	Persons	Female	Male	Persons
Scheduled Caste	39	40	79	49.4	57.1	53.0
BC	73	107	180	55.3	75.9	65.9
All	112	147	259	53.1	69.7	61.4

[11] The literacy rate for Siresandra for the population aged 7 years and above was 69.34 per cent, with the rate for males as high as 80.5 per cent and that for females at 56 per cent, as per the Census of 2001. These would appear to be overestimates by a considerable margin.

Figure 3.8 *Literacy rate of the population in the age group 7 years and above, by sex, by social group, Siresandra, 2009, in per cent*



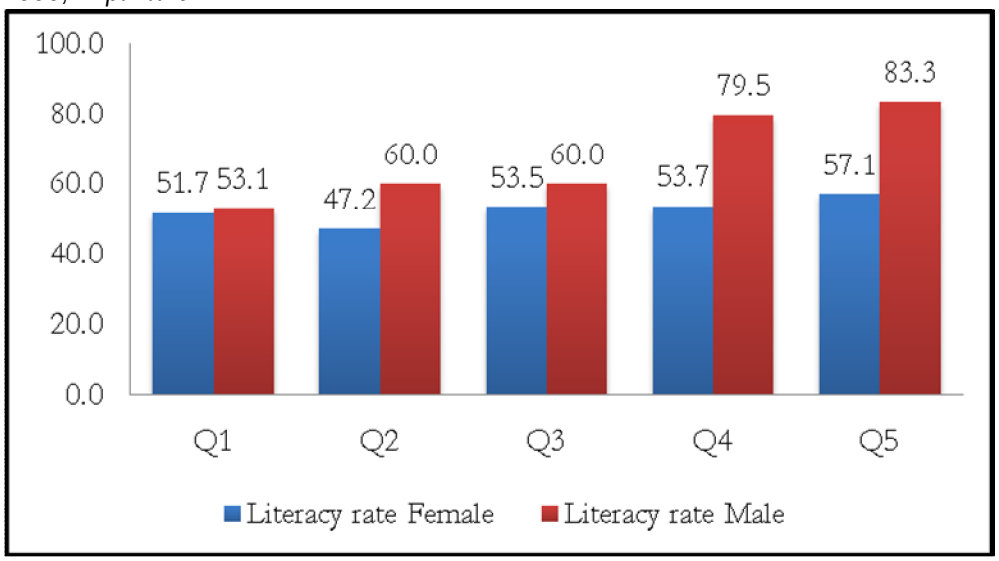
How do literacy rates for the population aged 7 years and above in Siresandra in 2009 vary across asset quintiles? The data is shown in Table 3.14.

Table 3.14 *Proportion of population (7 years and above), who can read and write by asset quintile, Siresandra, 2009*

Asset quintile	Number			Literacy rate		
	Female	Male	Persons	Female	Male	Persons
Q1	15	17	32	51.7	53.1	52.5
Q2	17	21	38	47.2	60.0	53.5
Q3	23	24	47	53.5	60.0	56.6
Q4	29	35	64	53.7	79.5	65.3
Q5	28	50	78	57.1	83.3	71.6
All	112	147	259	53.1	69.7	61.4

There is an interesting pattern in the literacy rates across asset quintiles. There is not much variation with respect to female literacy rates. These are clustered around 53 per cent, with the top quintile showing a higher rate at 57.1 per cent , the bottom two together averaging closer to 50 per cent and Q3 and Q4 close to the overall average for females. But when it comes to males, the literacy rates are strongly correlated with asset status. The top two report considerably higher literacy rates than the bottom three. In general, the literacy rates for both males and females are significantly correlated with asset status. Also, the literacy rates for males exceed those for females in every asset quintile by a sizeable margin, except for Q1.

Figure 3.9 *Literacy rate of the population in the age group 7 years and above, by sex, by asset quintile, Siresandra, 2009, in per cent*

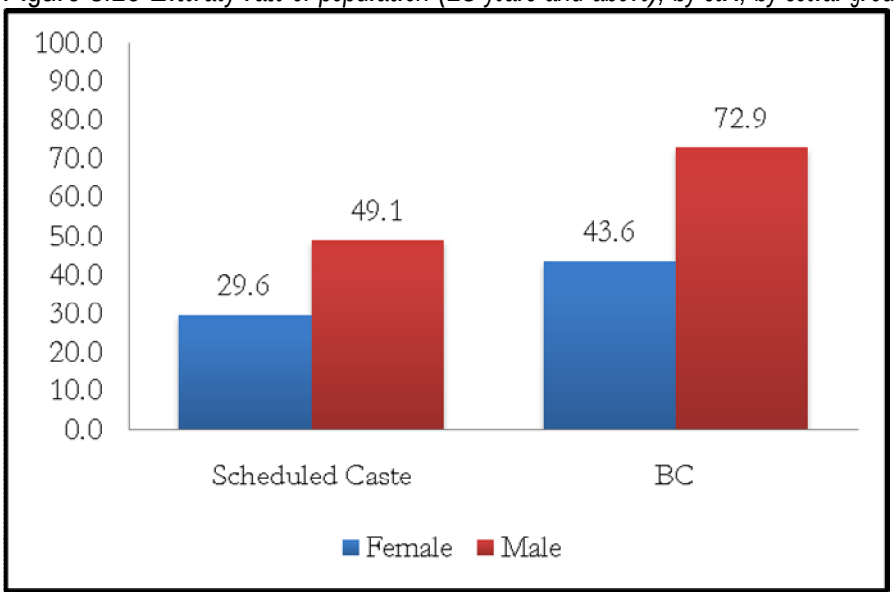


We turn now to adult literacy rates. The literacy rates for the population of Siresandra aged 18 years and above are shown in Table 3.15.

Table 3.15 *Proportion of population (18 years and above), who can read and write, by social group, Siresandra, 2009*

Social group	Number			Adult literacy rate		
	Female	Male	Persons	Female	Male	Persons
Scheduled Caste	16	26	42	29.6	49.1	39.3
BC	44	86	130	43.6	72.9	59.4
All	60	112	172	38.7	65.5	52.8

Figure 3.10 *Literacy rate of population (18 years and above), by sex, by social group, Siresandra, 2009, in per cent*



Except for male literacy rates among BCs, the gap between the literacy rate for the population aged 7 years and above and that for the adult population is quite large. Thus the literacy rate for adult Scheduled Caste females at 29.6 per cent is much lower than the rate for Scheduled Caste females aged 7 years and above at 49.4 per cent. The corresponding gap for BC females is nearly 12 percentage points. The literacy rate for adult Scheduled Caste males is 8 percentage points lower than that for the male Scheduled Caste population aged 7 years and above. It is only in the case of BC males that the difference is as low as 3 percentage points. Thus, both female and Scheduled Caste literacy rates can be seen to be improving, and rising more quickly as compared to the literacy rate among BC males. The bigger gains are among females, both Scheduled Castes and BCs.

The variation in adult literacy rates across asset quintiles is shown in Table 3. 16.

Table 3.16 *Proportion of population (18 years and above), who can read and write, by asset quintile, Siresandra, 2009*

Asset quintile	Number			Adult literacy rate		
	Female	Male	Persons	Female	Male	Persons
Q1	9	10	19	39.1	43.5	41.3
Q2	7	11	18	28.0	45.8	36.7
Q3	14	22	36	42.4	61.1	52.2
Q4	13	26	39	35.1	74.3	54.2
Q5	17	43	60	45.9	81.1	66.7
All	60	112	172	38.7	65.5	52.8

Figure 3.11 *Literacy rate of population (18 years and above), by sex, by asset quintile, Siresandra, 2009, in per cent*

As with literacy rates for the population aged 7 years and above, there does not appear to be a strong correlation between literacy rates of adult females and household asset status. The bottom two quintiles average around 34 per cent and the top three around 41 per cent. The overall average is 38.7per cent. Contrary to what one might expect, the bottom quintile reports a much higher female literacy rate than Q4! With regard to the literacy rates for adult males, there is a clear and significant positive correlation between asset status and literacy rate. There is also a large gap between male and female literacy rates among adults in every asset quintile except Q1.

Table 3.17 shows the literacy rates of the population in Siresandra in 2009 by age cohorts.

Table 3.17 *Proportion of population who can read and write, by age cohorts, Siresandra, 2009*

Age group	Number			Literacy rate		
	Female	Male	Persons	Female	Male	Persons
6 to 17 years	54	35	89	87.1	83.3	85.6
18 to 34 years	52	75	127	67.5	90.4	79.4
35 to 49 years	6	24	30	15.0	58.5	37.0
50 to 65 years	2	11	13	6.5	36.7	21.3
> 65 years	0	2	2	0.0	11.8	8.3
All	114	147	261	52.5	69.0	60.7

It is interesting to note that in the age group of 6 to 17 years, the female literacy rate is marginally higher than that of males. The fact that a gender gap in the literacy rate in favour of the male does not show up in this age group simply reflects the more or less equal and relatively high rates of enrolment and school attendance of boys and girls at the present time. The big increase in the female literacy rate occurs as we move from the age group of 35 to 49 years to that of 18 to 34 years, and this latter age cohort would have been of school going age twelve to fifteen years ago. For the males, the increases had begun to occur even earlier.

Of course, no complacency is warranted, since the high rates of literacy in the 6 to 17 years' age group arises from taking most persons in this age group to be literate while they are attending school. However, apart from the question of immediate learning outcomes in formal schooling, there is the question of relapse into illiteracy over the long term in the absence of post literacy and continuing education efforts, especially in a backward village like Siresandra. Neoliberal policies of the Central and most State governments have not foregrounded these efforts so far.

3.6 *Years of Schooling*

A useful measure of adult achievement with respect to school education is the average years of schooling in a group. The distributions of *median* and *mean* years of schooling for the population of Siresandra aged above 16 years by social group are presented in Tables 3.18 and 3.19.

Table 3.18 *Median number of completed years of schooling for population above 16 years, by social group, Siresandra, 2009*

Social group	Female	Male	Persons
Scheduled Caste	0	0	0
BC	0	9	8
All	0	8	5

Table 3.19 *Average number of completed years of schooling for population above 16 years, by social group, Siresandra, 2009*

Social group	Female	Male	Persons
Scheduled Caste	5.3	5.8	5.6
BC	6.8	8.2	7.5
All	6.3	7.4	6.9

Half or more of all females aged above 16 years in Siresandra in 2009 had not completed even one year of formal schooling. Among Scheduled Castes, none of the males had done so either. The BC males over 16 years of age had done better. The average number of years of completed schooling is not particularly impressive either, both among Scheduled Castes and among BCs, though the BCs do distinctly better than the Scheduled Castes.

Let us look at the variation across asset quintiles. Tables 3.20 and 3.21 show the variations in median and mean years of schooling across asset quintiles in Siresandra in 2009.

Table 3.20 *Median number of completed years of schooling for population above 16 years, by asset quintile, Siresandra, 2009*

Asset quintile	Female	Male	Persons
Q1	0	1	0
Q2	0	5	0
Q3	0	8	7
Q4	0	7	5
Q5	0	10	9
All	0	8	5

Half or more of the females in the specified age group had not completed even one year of formal schooling, and this was the case in all asset quintiles. This brings out the massive level of educational deprivation that women in Siresandra, as in much of rural India, have experienced. The strong positive relationship between the median years of schooling and household asset status among males comes out very clearly, with the top three asset quintiles doing far better than the bottom two and the highest quintile ahead of all the other quintiles by a big margin.

Table 3.21 *Average number of completed years of schooling for population above 16 years, by asset quintile, Siresandra, 2009*

Asset quintile	Female	Male	Persons
Q1	6.4	5.8	6.1
Q2	6.1	6.9	6.5
Q3	7.6	7.7	7.7
Q4	4.8	6.8	5.7
Q5	7.4	8.6	8.2
All	6.3	7.4	6.9

3.7 *Educational Achievements*

Let us now turn to educational achievements of the population across various social groups in Siresandra. We begin with the number of persons who have obtained a degree, which requires, at a minimum, fifteen completed years of schooling. We confine ourselves to the population aged 25 years or older. Table 3.22 presents the variation in the number and proportions of graduates to population in the age group of 25 years or older.

Table 3.22 *Graduates in the age group 25 years and above, by social group, by sex, Siresandra, 2009*

Social group	Number of graduates			As percentage of total population (25 years and above)		
	Female	Male	Persons	Female	Male	Persons
Scheduled Caste	0	0	0	0.0	0.0	0.0
BC	1	9	10	1.3	10.1	6.1
All	1	9	10	0.8	6.8	4.0

Of a total of 120 females aged 25 years and above, only one female is a graduate. She is from a BC household. Among the 133 males aged 25 years or older, there were only 9 graduates. All the ten graduates-one female and nine males- are from BC households. There is not a single graduate among the Scheduled Castes, male or female.

The distribution of graduates by asset quintile is presented in Table 3.23. Of ten graduates in Siresandra in 2009 aged 25 years or older, seven – one female and 6 male – were from the highest asset quintile. None of the other four quintiles had a female graduate. The bottom quintile had no graduate, male or female. In each of the second, third and fourth quintiles, there was just one male graduate and no female graduate. The top quintile is a class apart. The next three quintiles perform poorly. The bottom quintile draws a blank.

Table 3.23 *Graduates in the age group 25 years and above, by asset quintile, Siresandra, 2009*

Asset quintal	Number of graduates			As percentage of total population (25 years and above)		
	Female	Male	Persons	Female	Male	Persons
Q1	0	0	0	0.0	0.0	0.0
Q2	0	1	1	0.0	5.6	2.6
Q3	0	1	1	0.0	3.8	1.9
Q4	0	1	1	0.0	3.4	1.8
Q5	1	6	7	3.7	14.6	10.3
All	1	9	10	0.8	6.8	4.0

A more modest measure of educational achievement is completion of twelve years of formal education. Table 3.24 presents the data in this regard for males and females aged 25 years and above, by social group.

Table 3.24 *Population in the age group 25 years and above who have completed 12 years of formal education, by social group, Siresandra, 2009*

Social group	Number			As percentage of total population (25 years and above)		
	Female	Male	Persons	Female	Male	Persons
Scheduled Caste	1	0	1	2.3	0.0	1.1
BC	4	17	21	5.3	19.1	12.7
All	5	17	22	4.2	12.9	8.7

Out of 120 females in this age group, only 5 have completed twelve years of formal schooling. Of the five, only one of them is from among the Scheduled Castes. While there are 17 males out of 133 in this age group who have done so, not one of them is from among the Scheduled Castes. Even among the males among BCs in this age group, more than four-fifths had not been able to complete twelve years of formal education.

The distribution by asset quintile of females and males aged 25 years or older with at least twelve completed years of schooling in 2009 is shown in Table 3.25.

Table 3.25 *Population in the age group 25 years and above who have completed 12 years of formal education, by asset quintile, Siresandra, 2009*

Asset quintile	Number			As percentage of total population (25 years and above)		
	Female	Male	Persons	Female	Male	Persons
Q1	0	0	0	0.0	0.0	0.0
Q2	0	1	1	0.0	5.6	2.6
Q3	2	3	5	7.7	11.5	9.6
Q4	0	4	4	0.0	13.8	7.1
Q5	3	9	12	11.1	22.0	17.6
All	5	17	22	4.2	12.9	8.7

There were three females in the top asset quintile and two in the third quintile who had completed twelve years of schooling in Siresandra in 2009. In the bottom two quintiles and in the fourth quintile, there were no such females at all. Thus, there is no clear correlation between asset status and this indicator of educational achievement. The record in respect of males, on the other hand,

shows a clear correlation with asset status. More than a fifth of the males aged 25 years and above in the top quintile had completed twelve years of education. The percentage declines as we move to the lower asset quintiles.

Next, we look at an even more modest measure of educational achievement, namely the proportion of persons aged 25 years or above who have completed ten years of formal schooling. The data is presented in Table 3.26

Overall, not even one-fifth of the population aged 25 years or older in 2009 in Siresandra had completed ten years of formal schooling. The proportion for males was a little over one-fourth while that for females was just about one-tenth. The proportion was the lowest among Scheduled Caste females at one in fifteen. The highest proportion was among the males from the Backward Classes at just over one-third.

Table 3.26 *Population in the age group 25 years and above who have completed 10 years of formal education, by social group, by sex, Siresandra, 2009*

Social group	Number			As percentage of total population (25 years and above)		
	Female	Male	Persons	Female	Male	Persons
Scheduled Caste	3	4	7	6.8	9.3	8.0
BC	10	31	41	13.2	34.8	24.8
All	13	35	48	10.8	26.5	19.0

The distribution of persons aged 25 years and above in 2009 in Siresandra who had completed ten years of school education by asset quintile is shown in Table 3.27.

Table 3.27 *Population in the age group 25 years and above who have completed 10 years of formal education, by asset quintile, Siresandra, 2009*

Asset quintile	Number			As percentage of total population (25 years and above)		
	Female	Male	Persons	Female	Male	Persons
Q1	2	0	2	10.0	0.0	5.3
Q2	1	3	4	5.0	16.7	10.5
Q3	4	5	9	15.4	19.2	17.3
Q4	1	6	7	3.7	20.7	12.5
Q5	5	21	26	18.5	51.2	38.2
All	13	35	48	10.8	26.5	19.0

Three-fifths of the males and more than two-fifths of the females who had successfully completed ten years of formal education belonged to the top asset quintile. There is no consistent pattern across asset quintiles in the percentage of females in the specified age group who had completed ten years of formal education. Female educational achievements in Siresandra in 2009 were poor across all asset quintiles, with the top quintile doing relatively better and the third a little behind the top. When it comes to males, however, a consistent pattern is seen, with over half the males in the top quintile having completed ten years of formal education, and the proportion much lower in the next three quintiles. In the bottom quintile, there is no male with ten years of formal education, though there are two females.

3. 8 *Households with Children*

The presence or absence of literate adults in a household may not only influence the decision to send children to school but the learning environment in the home as well. In this sub-section, we look at the distribution in Siresandra in 2009 of *households with children* by the presence or absence of adults with specified levels of education. Table 3.28 provides the distribution of households with children *without literate adults* in Siresandra in 2009.

More than two-fifths of households with children in Siresandra in 2009 did not have a literate adult female. In the case of Scheduled Castes, every second household with children fell in this category, while for BCs, this was true of two out of five households. With respect to the absence of a literate adult male, the situation is better, but not by much. Over one-fifth of households with children did not have a literate adult male. The proportion was close to three-tenths for Scheduled Castes. One-fifth of Scheduled Caste households with children did not have any literate adult, male or female.

Table 3.28 *Distribution of households with children, by absence of adult literates, by social group, Siresandra, 2009*

Social group	Without any adult female literate		Without any adult male literate		Without any adult literate	
	Number	Percentage	Number	Percentage	Number	Percentage
Scheduled Caste	12	50.0	7	29.2	5	20.8
BC	13	39.4	5	15.2	2	6.1
All	25	43.9	12	21.1	7	12.3

What is the position in this regard across asset quintiles? The data is presented in Table 3.29.

Table 3.29 *Distribution of households with children by absence of adult literates, by asset quintile, Siresandra, 2009*

Asset quintile	Without any adult female literate		Without any adult male literate		Without any adult literate	
	Number	Percentage	Number	Percentage	Number	Percentage
Q1	6	50.0	3	25.0	2	16.7
Q2	7	58.3	5	41.7	3	25.0
Q3	4	36.4	3	27.3	2	18.2
Q4	7	63.6	1	9.1	0	0.0
Q5	1	9.1	0	0.0	0	0.0
All	25	43.9	12	21.1	7	12.3

The relationship between asset status and the proportion of households with children deprived of the presence of a literate adult male is one of a negative correlation. The top two quintiles face much less deprivation than the bottom three. In the highest quintile, among households with children, there is none without a literate adult male. The top quintile fares better with regard to the absence of a literate adult female as well, with only one household having no literate adult female. Among the other four quintiles, the third does better than the rest in this regard.

Finally, in this section, let us look at two other indicators of the educational environment at home for children in Siresandra. One relates to the presence of at least one male graduate in the household and the other to that of a female who has passed the tenth class. The data regarding the presence of a male graduate is shown in Table 3.30. Only one out of eight households has a male graduate.

Table 3.30 *Households with children with at least one male graduate, by social group, Siresandra, 2009*

Social group	Number	As percentage of all households with children within the social group
Scheduled Caste	0	0.0
BC	7	21.2
All	7	12.3

None of the 24 Scheduled Caste households with children have a male graduate (or a female one). Only 7 out of the 33 BC households with children have a male graduate.

How are the seven male graduates, all from the Backward Classes, distributed across asset quintiles? The data is shown in Table 3.31. Four out of the seven are from the top asset quintile, which is unsurprising. The other three are distributed across the next three equally.

Table 3.31 *Households with children with at least one male graduate, by asset quintile, Siresandra, 2009*

Asset quintile	Number	As percentage of all households with children within the social group
Q1	0	0.0
Q2	1	8.3
Q3	1	9.1
Q4	1	9.1
Q5	4	36.4
All	7	12.3

Let us now look at the situation with respect to the weaker indicator of the presence of a female who had completed ten years of schooling. The data, across social groups, are presented in Table 3.32. Overall, nearly half of all households with children had a female who had passed the tenth class. Around three-fifths of the BC households with children had at least one female who had passed the tenth class. While even this cannot be regarded as a satisfactory achievement, the situation is much worse among Scheduled Castes, with the corresponding proportion being a little less than three-tenths.

Table 3.32 *Households with children with at least one female with 10th pass by social group, Siresandra, 2009*

Social group	Number	As percentage of all households with children within the social group
Scheduled Caste	7	29.2
BC	20	60.6
All	27	47.4

The variation in the number and proportion of households with at least one female who had passed the tenth class by asset quintile in Siresandra in 2009 is shown in Table 3.33. About 60 per cent of all households with children in the top three asset quintiles had at least one female member who had completed ten years of formal education. The proportion was nearly three-fourth for the highest quintile. The bottom two groups fared rather more poorly, with the corresponding proportion being less than three-tenths. As with some of the other indicators of educational achievement, the third quintile performed much better than the fourth with regard to this indicator as well.

Table 3.33 *Households with children with at least one female 10th pass by asset quintile, Siresandra, 2009*

Asset quintile	Number	As percentage of all households with children within the social group
Q1	3	25.0
Q2	4	33.3
Q3	7	63.6
Q4	5	45.5
Q5	8	72.7
All	27	47.4

In this section, we have seen both the poor situation overall with respect to educational indicators and achievements in Siresandra and the especially poor status of Scheduled Castes in these respects. We have also seen that the variation in literacy rates for specified age groups, mean and median years of schooling, specified educational achievements and so on across asset quintiles showed the enormous deprivation among households belonging to the lower asset quintiles, especially the bottom two. There is also considerable gender inequality. While attendance ratios and literacy rates have improved significantly in recent years, the overall situation in this regard must still be regarded as extremely unsatisfactory. The indicators pertaining to the educational environment at home suggest that it is rather weak for children from among the Scheduled Castes and from poorer households. Though not to the same extent as in some other villages surveyed by FAS since 2005, there was considerable incidence of child work in Siresandra as well.

We now proceed to an examination of the situation with respect to amenities in Siresandra, focusing on households with children.

4. AMENITIES

4.1 *Housing*

Our discussion of amenities relating to households with children will cover the conditions of housing, access to electricity for domestic consumption, access to drinking water and provisions relating to sanitation. We begin with a discussion of the state of shelter pertaining to households with children in Siresandra in 2009. Table 4.1 shows the distribution of households with children by type of housing.

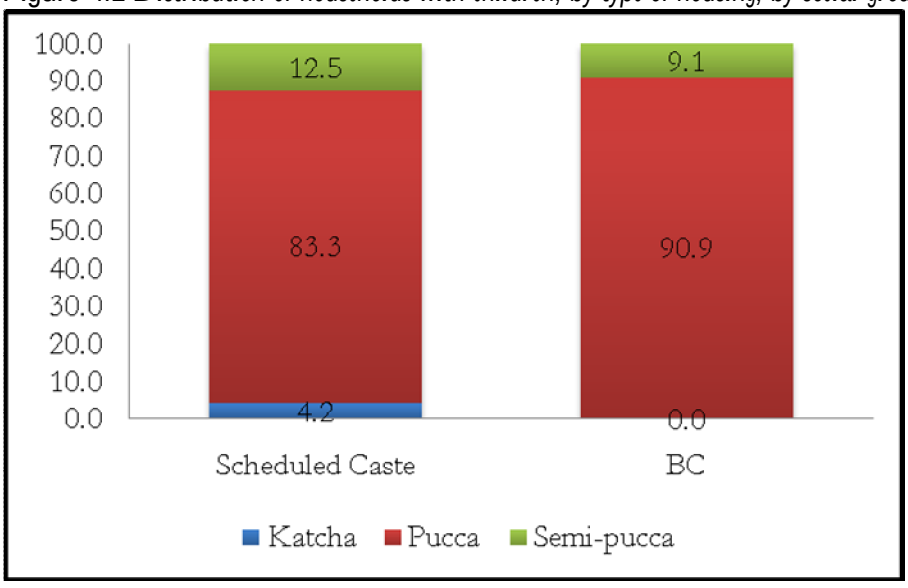
Table 4.1 *Distribution of households with children, by type of housing, by social group, Siresandra, 2009*

Social group	Katcha	Pucca	Semi-pucca	All
Scheduled Caste	4.2	83.3	12.5	100.0
BC	0.0	90.9	9.1	100.0
All	1.8	87.7	10.5	100.0

Note: *As per the definition followed by the Census of India and the NSSO, 'Pucca' houses are houses with both roof and walls constructed of permanent materials. Katcha houses are houses with both roof and walls constructed of temporary materials. Semi-pucca houses are those with either roof or walls constructed of permanent materials.*

Of the 24 Scheduled Caste households with children, 20 lived in pucca dwellings, three in semi-pucca shelters, and one in a katcha shelter. Among the 33 BC households with children, thirty lived in pucca dwellings and the remaining three lived in a semi pucca shelter. None lived in a katcha shelter.

Figure 4.1 *Distribution of households with children, by type of housing, by social group, Siresandra, 2009*

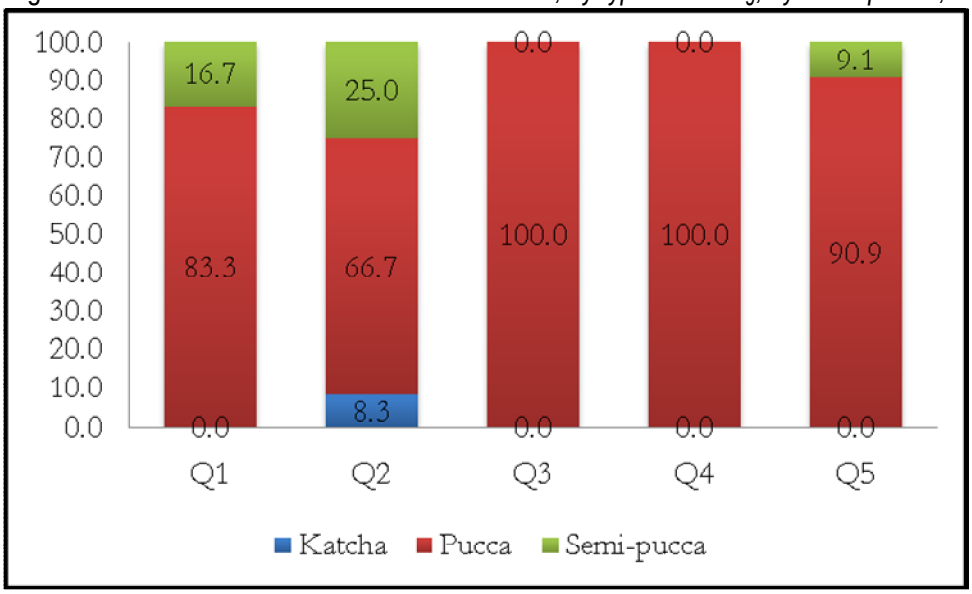


The picture across asset quintiles shown in Table 4.2 makes it clear that the poorest two quintiles do worse than the others.

Table 4.2 *Distribution of households with children, by type of housing, by asset quintile, Siresandra, 2009*

Asset quintile	Katcha	Pucca	Semi-pucca	All
Q1	0.0	83.3	16.7	100.0
Q2	8.3	66.7	25.0	100.0
Q3	0.0	100.0	0.0	100.0
Q4	0.0	100.0	0.0	100.0
Q5	0.0	90.9	9.1	100.0
All	1.8	87.7	10.5	100.0

Figure 4.2 *Distribution of households with children, by type of housing, by asset quintile, Siresandra, 2009*



A more meaningful indicator of the quality of shelter is the number of households living in single room houses. While the data in table 4.1 might give an impression of decent housing in the village, a look at the number of households living in single room dwellings tells us that would be an incorrect impression. The data is presented in Table 4.3.

Table 4.3 *Number of households with children living in single room houses by social group, Siresandra, 2009*[12]

Social group	Number of households	As percentage of all households
Scheduled Caste	11	45.8
BC	10	30.3
All	21	36.8

Nearly half of all Scheduled Caste and three-tenths of all BC households with children lived in single room dwellings in Siresandra in 2009. This puts the housing situation in perspective, and provides a better picture of the extent of deprivation in housing.

The variation across asset quintiles is presented in Table 4.4. There is not a great deal of variation across the asset quintiles, though the bottom two quintiles are more deprived than the others.

Table 4.4 *Number of households with children living in single room houses by asset quintile, Siresandra, 2009*

Asset quintile	Number of households	As percentage of all households
Q1	5	41.7
Q2	5	41.7
Q3	3	27.3
Q4	4	36.4
Q5	4	36.4
All	21	36.8

4.2 *Access to Electricity for Domestic Use*

An important amenity of particular relevance to the home infrastructure for children's education is the availability of electricity. That is of course difficult to capture, especially in view of the uncertainty of availability of power in rural areas even when there is a power connection. However, we have to make do with the data available, which relates to whether a household had an electric connection for domestic use, though this by itself is no guarantee of access to electricity. Table 4.5 presents the data for Siresandra's households with children in 2009.

[12] A room indicates a separate living quarter. Kitchen and covered verandah are not considered as rooms

Table 4.5 *Households with children with electric connection for domestic use, by social group, Siresandra, 2009*

Social group	Number of households	As percentage of all households
Scheduled Caste	24	100.0
BC	32	97.0
All	56	98.2

Of the 57 households with children in Siresandra in 2009, only one BC household did not have an electric connection for domestic use. The picture across asset quintiles, presented in Table 4.6, does not show much variation. The sole (BC) household without an electric connection for domestic use belonged to the third asset quintile.

Table 4.6 *Households with children with electric connection for domestic use, by asset quintile, Siresandra, 2009*

Asset quintile	Number of households	As percentage of all households
Q1	12	100.0
Q2	12	100.0
Q3	10	90.9
Q4	11	100.0
Q5	11	100.0
All	56	98.2

4.3 *Access to Drinking Water*

Safe drinking water is critical to minimizing morbidity and episodes of illness among children, and is therefore a crucial to household infrastructure for education of children. Let us now look at the position in respect of the source of drinking water and access to it among households with children in Siresandra. Table 4.7 gives the distribution of these households by primary source of drinking water in Siresandra in 2009.

Around three-fifths of households in the village had access to water from taps for use as drinking water. The other important source of drinking water was borewells/tube wells.

Table 4.7 *Distribution of households with children by primary source of drinking water, Siresandra, 2009*

Source	Number of households	As percentage of all households with children
Tap	34	59.6
Tank/drum	3	5.3
Tubewell/borewell	20	35.1
All	57	100.0

In official reckoning, drinking water from a covered source is usually considered to be 'safe'. While this may not always be a valid conclusion, it is generally used as the criterion in most surveys and by most official agencies. Keeping this in mind, we present in Table 4.8 the distribution of households with children which had access to a covered source of water by social group in Siresandra in 2009.

Table 4.8 *Households with children with access to covered source of drinking water, by social group, Siresandra, 2009*

Social group	Number of households	As percentage of all households with children
Scheduled Caste	24	100.0
BC	33	100.0
All	57	100.0

Interestingly, all the households with children in Siresandra had access to a covered source of drinking water in 2009. With all households with children having access to a covered source of drinking water, the question of variation across asset quintiles does not arise. Such access does not, of course, imply that water is always available from the covered source and in adequate quantity. This needs to be kept in mind as well.

An aspect of interest in relation to access to drinking water of a household is whether access is within the homestead or not. If not, the distance at which the water is available becomes an important issue. Table 4.9 presents the data for Siresandra in this regard.

Table 4.9 *Number of households with children by distance from source of drinking water, by social group, Siresandra, 2009*

Asset quintile	Number of households	As percentage of all households with children
Q1	12	100.0
Q2	12	100.0
Q3	11	100.0
Q4	11	100.0
Q5	11	100.0
All	57	100.0

Table 4.10 *Number of households with children by distance from source of drinking water, by social group, Siresandra, 2009*

Social group	Within homestead	≤ 500 metres	> 500 metres	Unspecified
Scheduled Caste	0	23	1	0
BC	3	28	1	1
All	3	51	2	1

It turns out that only three households - all belonging to Backward Classes - had access to water within the homestead. Most others had to fetch water from a distance of half a kilometer or less. One BC and one Scheduled Caste household each had to get water for drinking from a source more than half a kilometer away from the residence. The implication of this is that almost all households with children had to expend family labour to fetch water from some distance. It might not be altogether off the mark to assume that a good share of the burden in this regard fell on women, and that a part of it would have fallen on girls of school-going age. Clearly, this is an issue of importance for children's education, not just in terms of enrolment but also in terms of attendance and achievement of satisfactory learning outcomes.

The variation across asset quintiles in this regard is presented in Table 4.11.

Table 4.11 *Number of households with children, by distance from the source of drinking water, by asset quintile, Siresandra, 2009*

Asset quintile	Within homestead	≤ 500 metres	> 500 metres	Unspecified
Q1	0	12	0	0
Q2	0	11	1	0
Q3	1	10	0	0
Q4	1	9	1	0
Q5	1	9	0	1
All	3	51	2	1

There is not a significant degree of variation across the top three asset quintiles, except that one household in the second highest quintile had to fetch water from a distance of more than half a kilometer. Among the bottom two quintiles, no household had access to water within the homestead, and one in the second quintile had to fetch water from a distance of more than half a kilometer.

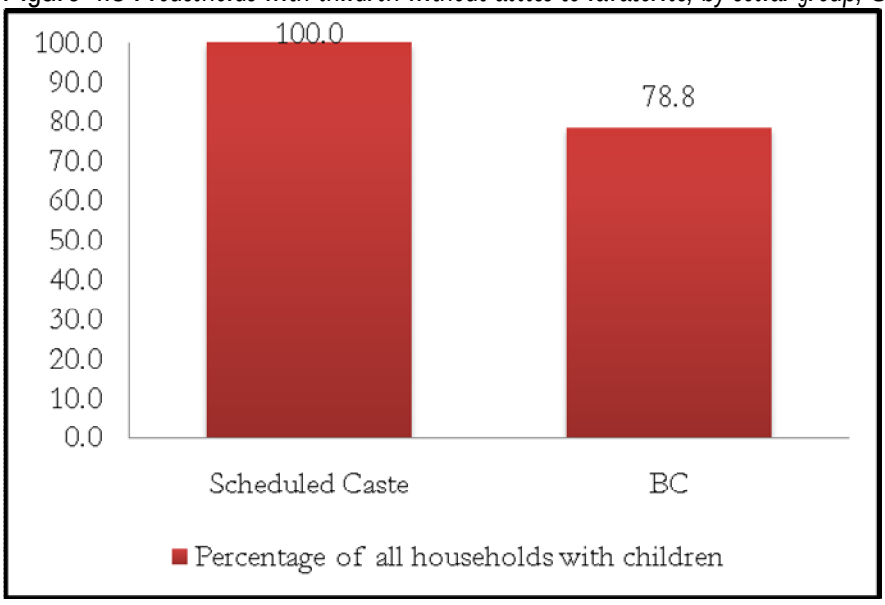
4.4 *Lavatories*

Finally, in our discussion of the provision of amenities in Siresandra in 2009 in relation to households with children, we look at sanitation. The indicator we use is the number of households without access to a toilet. There is a gender dimension to this issue. Apart from the fact that sanitation, as measured by the indicator we have chosen, is crucial, along with access to safe drinking water as an input into ensuring preventive health care, there is also the question of dignity and privacy, especially for women in our patriarchal society. Provision of access to a toilet is critical to health (especially of children) and women's dignity in the Indian context. Table 4.12 presents the relevant data for Siresandra in 2009 in this regard by social group. The variation across asset quintiles is shown in Table 4.13.

Table 4.12 *Households with children without access to lavatories, by social group, Siresandra, 2009*

Social group	Number of households	As percentage of all households with children
Scheduled Caste	24	100.0
BC	26	78.8
All	50	87.7

Figure 4.3 *Households with children without access to lavatories, by social group, Siresandra, 2009*

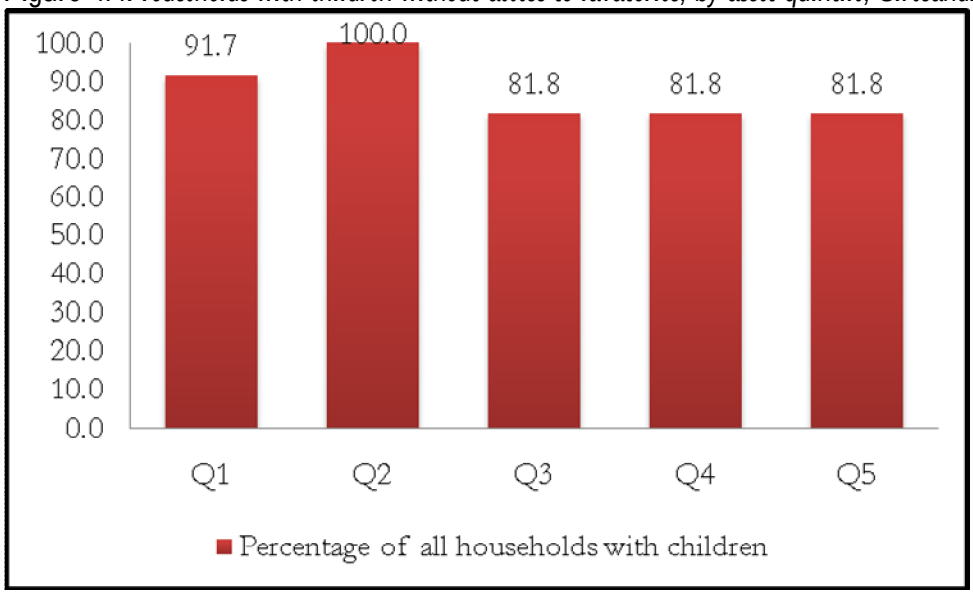


The situation is truly abysmal, with not a single Scheduled Caste household with children having access to a lavatory, and with nearly four-fifths of the BC households in the same situation. With 50 out of 57 households with children not having access to a lavatory, open defecation is the rule, with its attendant health consequences. The health and gender implications of this state of affairs merit serious consideration.

Table 4.13 *Households with children without access to lavatories, by asset quintile, Siresandra, 2009*

Asset quintile	Number of households	As percentage of all households with children
Q1	11	91.7
Q2	12	100.0
Q3	9	81.8
Q4	9	81.8
Q5	9	81.8
All	50	87.7

Figure 4.4*Households with children without access to lavatories, by asset quintile, Siresandra, 2009*



Our review of some indicators of access of the people of Siresandra in 2009 to basic amenities reveals a picture of considerable deprivation. Nearly three eighths of all households with children lived in single room shelters. Most households had to fetch water from outside their homestead. None of the Scheduled Caste households had access to a lavatory and neither did nearly four-fifths of BC households with children. Public provisioning needs to improve considerably if children are to be provided amenities at home that would be conducive to their education.

We turn now to the final section of this report dealing with some aspects of the situation of women in Siresandra in 2009.

5. *ECONOMIC SITUATION OF WOMEN*

5.1 *Marital Status*

Table 5.1 shows the marital status of women aged 18 years and above in the village of Siresandra as per the FAS survey of 2009. Table 5.2 provides the age distribution of widows in the village.

Table 5.1 *Distribution of women (18 years and above) by marital status, Siresandra, 2009*

Marital status	Number of women	As percentage of all women
Never married	15	9.7
Currently married	124	80.0
Widowed	14	9.0
Separated/divorced	2	1.3
All	155	100.0

Table 5.2 *Age distribution of widowed women (18 years and above), Siresandra, 2009*

Age group	Number	As percentage of all women within the age group
18 years to 34 years	0	0.0
35 years to 49 years	4	10.0
50 years to 59 years	1	7.1
60 years to 69 years	3	17.6
≥ 70 years	6	85.7
All	14	9.0

The percentage of widows in the adult female population of Siresandra in 2009 at 9 per cent is among the lowest in the set of villages surveyed by FAS between 2005 and 2010. Nearly two-thirds of the widows are aged above 60 years, which is of course no surprise. While more than 85 per cent of women over 70 years were widows, the proportion was one-sixth in the age group of 60 to 69 years, much lower than is often the case in India. Somewhat surprisingly, 10 per cent of females in the age group of 35 to 49 years were widows. But the numbers being small, one cannot read too much into this fact.

5.2 *Women in Workforce*

An important aspect of the situation of females in society is the extent of their participation in the work force. Table 5.3 shows the rates of workforce participation for adult males and females in Siresandra in 2009.

Table 5.3 *Proportion of working population (18 years and above), by sex, by social group, Siresandra, 2009*

Social group	Female		Male		Persons	
	Number	Percentage	Number	Percentage	Number	Percentage
Scheduled Caste	40	74.1	48	90.6	88	82.2
BC	72	71.3	102	86.4	174	79.5
All	112	72.3	150	87.7	262	80.4

The rates of workforce participation are high for both males (which is the case in most villages) and females (which is *not* the case in many villages). Moreover, they are similar for Scheduled Castes and BCs. Siresandra's adult population certainly seems to have been at work in 2009.

Does the workforce participation rate of adult women vary much by marital status? Table 5.4 provides the details.

Table 5.4 *Work participation rate of women (18 years and above), by marital status, Siresandra, 2009*

Marital status	Number	WPR
Never married	7	46.7
Currently married	98	79.0
Widowed	6	42.9
Separated/divorced	1	50.0
All	112	72.3

The workforce participation rate is high for currently married women. It is distinctly lower for widows and never-married females, but the numbers are small and it would be unwise to draw firm inferences. However, the fact that 9 of the 14 widows were senior citizens would go some way towards explaining the lower WPR for widows.

In rural India, women in the workforce are mostly found in agriculture as cultivators or agricultural wage labourers. Table 5.5 shows the activity profile of women in the workforce in Siresandra in 2009. As is the case across the country's villages, a majority of the adult women in the workforce in Siresandra in 2009 reported being engaged in cultivation.

Table 5.5 *Activity profile of women (18 years and above), Siresandra, 2009*[13]

Occupation	Number of women participating in the activity	As percentage of all women
Cultivation	82	52.9
Agricultural wage employment	40	25.8
Animal husbandry	16	10.3
Non agricultural wage employment	26	16.8
Non agricultural self employment	6	3.9
Salaried employment	2	1.3
Other	0	0.0
Sericulture	21	13.5
Sericulture labour	1	0.6

More than one-fourth of women reported being employed as wage labourers in agriculture. The next most frequently reported activity was wage labour outside agriculture and animal husbandry. Interestingly, sericulture appears to have been a sideline occupation for households in Siresandra in 2009, since 21 adult women in the workforce reported being engaged in sericulture, in addition to one women reporting employment as a labourer in sericulture. It would appear that while the predominance of agriculture in the activity profile of adult women in the workforce is evident, there is also some diversification.

5.3 *Heads of Households*

Finally, let us take a look at the incidence of female-headed households. Of the 79 households in Siresandra, 74 were headed by males and only 5 by females in 2009 (2 Scheduled Castes and 3 BCs). Of the five female heads, three were widows and two were currently married. One of these five instances is of a widow who lived alone and was the head by default. This was the only single person household in the village.

The distribution of heads of households by age is shown for males and females separately in Tables 5.6 and 5.7. In terms of age distribution, male heads are fairly evenly distributed across all the age groups. But there are no female heads in the age group of 18 to 34 years.

[13] Since a female respondent may report more than one activity, the percentages are not to be added across the rows.

Table 5.6 Distribution of female heads of households, by age group, Siresandra, 2009

Age group	Number	Percentage
Upto 34 years	0	0.0
35 to 49 years	2	40.0
50 to 60 years	2	40.0
Above 60 years	1	20.0
All	5	100.0

Table 5.7 Distribution of male heads of households, by age group, Siresandra, 2009

Age group	Number	Percentage
Upto 34 years	12	16.2
35 to 49 years	26	35.1
50 to 60 years	23	31.1
Above 60 years	13	17.6
All	74	100.0

Our brief overview of some aspects of the situation of women in Siresandra shows that in our patriarchal society, the default option for the head of the household remains male. It is only under exceptional circumstances that a woman is reported as the head of a household. Most adult women work in agriculture, as cultivators and as labourers. When they work outside agriculture, it is mostly as wage labourers. Both in economic and in social terms, the status of women is far from satisfactory.

Karnataka: Zhapur Village

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1. LOCATION AND INFRASTRUCTURE

Zhapur is a small village in Gulbarga taluk of Gulbarga district in Karnataka State. The village is located at a distance of 15 km from Gulbarga town. The nearest railway station and the primary health centre (PHC) are both at Nandur at a distance of 5 kilometers. There is a metalled approach road to the village, and a bus stop within the village. Some idea of the backwardness of the village can be had from the fact that the village does not have a bank branch or a post office. There was, however, an anganwadi centre within the village, and a primary school.

Zhapur falls in the dry rain-fed region of north Karnataka. Zhapur has a geographical area of 628 hectares, of which 84 per cent is under cultivation, most of it rain-fed. . The cropping pattern followed is that of a single mixed crop of rain-fed cereals and oil seeds. Most cultivators grow red gram intercropped with maize, sesamum, bajra and green gram. They also cultivate jowar and safflower either as pure crops or as mixed crops. In addition, Bengal gram is grown as a mixed crop with safflower.

The FAS survey in Zhapur in 2009 covered 113 households resident in the village. The majority of households belong to the Scheduled Castes. The dominant land-owning caste is Lingayat. Kuruba and Scheduled Tribe households are also resident in the village. Cultivation and wage labour in agriculture are the main occupations in Zhapur. Apart from this, many workers are employed as daily labourers in a stone quarry located partially on the boundaries of the village. This is a major source of non-agricultural employment for manual workers from Zhapur.

Table 1.1 *Location of the village, Zhapur, 2009*

Village	Zhapur
District	Gulbarga
Block/Tehsil	Aurad circle/ Gurbarga
Nearest town	Gulbarga
Distance from nearest town	15 Km.
Nearest railway station	Nandur
Distance from nearest railway station	5 Km.
Bus stop within the village	Yes
Metalled approach road	Yes

1.2 *Description of village infrastructure and amenities, Zhapur, 2009*

Item	Number/ description
Number of anganwadi centres within village	1
Number of primary schools (Std I-V) within village	1
Number of middle schools (upto Std VIII) within village	0
Number of secondary schools (upto Std X) within village	0
Number of higher secondary schools (upto Std XII) within village	0
Distance from nearest PHC	Nandur, 5 Km.
Post office within the village	No
Bank within the village	No

Table 1.3 *Land use and population (Census of India 2001), Zhapur, 2001*

Village			Area (in hectares)	As % of geographical area
Geographical area			628	100.0
Land use (as % of geographical area)	Forest		0	0.0
	Area under cultivation	Irrigated	7.45	1.2
		Unirrigated	514.42	81.9
	Cultivable waste		0.0	0.0
	Area not available for cultivation		106.13	16.9

Source: Census of India, 2001

1.4 *Agro-economic features of the village, Zhapur, 2009*

Agro-ecological region (NARP classification)	Southern Plateau and Hills
Major crops grown (by crop seasons)	Kharif: Red gram (intercropped with Maize, Seasame Green gram and Pearl millet), Jowar Rabi: Safflower, Bengal gram
Major sources of irrigation	Rain-fed

2. DEMOGRAPHY

2.1 *Population, social composition, sex ratios and children per household*

The FAS survey in 2009 covered 113 households. But the information in respect of four households was incomplete. This Report utilizes information from the remaining 109 households. The distribution of households by social group in Zhapur is shown in Table 2.1. Table 2.2 shows the distribution of the male and female population of the village by social group. The total population of Zhapur as per the FAS survey of 2009 was 668.[14]

Table 2.1 *Distribution of households, by social group, Zhapur, 2009*

Social group	Number of households	As percentage of all households
Scheduled Caste	46	42.2
Scheduled Tribe	14	12.8
BC	46	42.2
Other Caste Hindu	2	1.8
Muslim	1	0.9
All	109	100.0

Table 2.2 *Distribution of population, by caste and sex, Zhapur, 2009*

Social group	Number			As percentage of all population		
	Female	Male	Persons	Female	Male	Persons
Scheduled Caste	130	152	282	39.5	44.8	42.2
Scheduled Tribe	42	38	80	12.8	11.2	12.0
BC	144	140	284	43.8	41.3	42.5
Other Caste Hindu	5	3.0	8	1.5	0.9	1.2
Muslim	8	6	14	2.4	1.8	2.1
All	329	339	668	100.0	100.0	100.0

As noted earlier, the two main social groups in the village are Scheduled Castes and Lingayats classified as Backward classes. These two groups account for nearly 85 per cent of the population in Zhapur. The Scheduled Tribe households account for another one-eighth.[15] The age distribution of the population is presented in Table 2.3.

[14] The Census 2001 population for Zhapur was 759, consisting of 386 females and 373 males. It would appear that there has been some net migration out of the village between 2001 and 2009.

[15] As per the Census of India, the share of Scheduled Castes in the population of Zhapur was 43.87 per cent and that of Scheduled Tribes 3.9 per cent. While the Census and FAS figures for the share of Scheduled Castes in the population

Table 2.3 *Distribution of population by age and sex, Zhapur, 2009*

Age group	Population			As percentage of total population		
	Female	Male	Persons	Female	Male	Persons
0 to < 3 years	23	13	36	7.0	3.8	5.4
3 years to 6 years	32	35	67	9.7	10.3	10.0
7 years to 9 years	25	29	54	7.6	8.6	8.1
10 years to 14 years	36	34	70	10.9	10.0	10.5
15 years to 17 years	18	22	40	5.5	6.5	6.0
18 years to 24 years	44	55	99	13.4	16.2	14.8
25 years to 34 years	48	51	99	14.6	15.0	14.8
35 years to 49 years	43	45	88	13.1	13.3	13.2
50 years to 59 years	23	26	49	7.0	7.7	7.3
60 years to 69 years	21	15	36	6.4	4.4	5.4
≥ 70 years	16	14	30	4.9	4.1	4.5
All	329	339	668	100.0	100.0	100.0

Unlike the many North Indian villages that FAS has surveyed over the years, Zhapur in 2009 had a healthy, non-masculine child sex ratio at 1145 girls per 1000 boys in the age group of 0 to 6 years as against 919 for rural India and 945 for rural Karnataka as per the 2011 Census. Its population sex ratio at 970 is also well above the average for rural India as per Census 2011 at 947 and close to that for rural Karnataka at 975.[16] However, there is a consistent deficit of females in each of the age groups between 15 and 60 years.[17] On the other hand, in the age group of 60 years and above, females outnumber males as is generally the case in southern states.

Table 2.4 presents the distribution of households by size.

differ only marginally, those for Scheduled Tribes differ considerably. As against 27 Scheduled Tribes in 2001 Census, the FAS reports 80 Scheduled Tribes in 2009. There is no reason to doubt the FAS figures obtained on the basis of a carefully conducted census of the population in Zhapur. The question of whether the Census2001 undercounted the Scheduled Tribes remains an open question. The other possibility is that of net in migration of Scheduled Tribes into Zhapur.

[16] The sex ratio for Zhapur as per the Census of 2001 was 1035. Its child sex ratio was 974. Given the small numbers involved, not much can be read into the differences between the Census 2001 and the FAS 2009 values for the sex ratios.

[17] The deficit is especially large in the age group of 15 to 24 years, with 77 males and only 62 females, and one is tempted to wonder if it has to do with deaths of women related to teen/young age pregnancy, but the numbers being small, this is only a speculative observation.

Table 2.4 *Distribution of households by household size, Zhapur, 2009*

Household size	Number of households	As percentage of all households	Average size of the households	Cumulative number of persons	Cumulative percentage of population
1	1	0.9	1	1	0.1
2	9	8.3	2	19	2.8
3	9	8.3	3	46	6.9
4	15	13.8	4	106	15.9
5	19	17.4	5	201	30.1
6	16	14.7	6	297	44.5
7	12	11.0	7	381	57.0
≥ 8	28	25.7	10.3	668	100.0
All	109	100.0	6.1	668	100.0

The average household size in Zhapur is a somewhat high (for rural south India) 6.1.[18] Households with 7 or more members account for 55.5 per cent of the population while constituting 36.7 per cent of all households.

It is known that there are households without any member below the age of 18 years in rural India. The proportion of such households varies by village and social group, and is linked to a number of socioeconomic factors such as labour mobility, educational aspirations and so on. Table 2.5 presents the data on the percentages of households without children (defined in this *Report* as those below the age of 18 years) by social group.

Table 2.5 *Number and proportion of households without children, by social group, Zhapur, 2009*

Social group	Number of households without children	Total number of households	Households without children as percentage of total households
Scheduled Caste	9	46	19.6
Scheduled Tribe	1	14	7.1
BC	12	46	26.1
Other Caste Hindu	0	2	0.0
Muslim	0	1	0.0
All	22	109	20.2

The average at one-fifth is much lower than that at over 45 per cent for Ananthavaram, which is of course not typical. It is also much lower than those for Bukkacherla and Kothapalle at more than

[18] This is in contrast to 3.61 for Ananthavaram, 3.86 for Kothapalle and 4.2 for Bukkacherla, all from Andhra Pradesh and surveyed by FAS in 2005.

one-third each. One plausible explanation for the higher ratio for Backward Classes is a slightly greater probability of children from the Backward Class households studying in an urban centre with better educational facilities than Zhapur, a phenomenon that is so striking in Ananthavaram with respect to the Other Caste Hindus.

Table 2.6 shows the distribution of the average number of children per household by size of household. The overall average is 2.4 children per household, distinctly higher than 1.72 for Ananthavaram, 1.29 for Kothapalle and 1.26 for Bukkacherla, all in 2005. It is reasonable to conclude that Zhapur is still in the early stages of a demographic transition in the South Indian context.

Table 2.6 *Average number of children per household by household size, Zhapur, 2009*

Household size	Number of households	Average number of children
1	1	0.0
2	9	0.0
3	9	0.4
4	15	0.9
5	19	2.3
6	16	2.9
7	12	3.5
≥ 8	28	4.2
All	109	2.4

We turn now to the question of whether all the children reside with their parents in the same household or not. As is known, while children are generally assumed –and this is a reasonable assumption –to be living with both their parents, children may not have both or either of their parents living with them in the same household for a variety of reasons. The relevant data in this regard is presented in Table 2.7.

Table 2.7 *In whose home does the child live? Zhapur, 2009*

Children living in the same households with	Number of children			As percentage of all children		
	Female	Male	Persons	Female	Male	Persons
Both parents	124	123	247	92.5	92.5	92.5
Mother, not father	3	6	9	3.7	4.5	4.1
Father, not mother	1	2	3	0.7	1.5	1.1
Neither parents but with other family members	5	2	7	2.2	1.5	1.9
No relative	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA
Spouse/spouse's parents	1		1	0.7	0.0	0.4
All	134	133	267	100.0	100.0	100.0

Out of the 267 children in Zhapur, all but 20 live in the same household as both their parents. But there are ten girls and ten boys for whom this is not the case. With respect to the three girls living with the mother but not the father, in two cases the father was no more. In the remaining case, the father was working elsewhere and would come home once a week. With regard to the six boys similarly placed, in three instances, the father was no more. In the other three instances, the father was working elsewhere and would come home once a week. In the case of the children - a girl and two boys - living with the father, the mother was no more. All the five girls not living with their parents were residing with their grandparents, and this was also the case with one boy. The other boy living apart from both his parents was in a household headed by his cousin. One girl, who was already married in 2009, was living in the house headed by her spouse's father. It is interesting to note that three other married girls were living with their parents and not with the family of their respective spouses.

2.2 *Activity Status of Children*

In India, there is a legal provision that children below the age of 14 completed years are not to be engaged in paid or unpaid work. Ideally, they should be enrolled in and attending an educational institution in order to acquire formal education and the skills thereof. However, in reality, not all children aged 14 years or younger are in school. This is true even in relatively more 'developed' states such as Tamil Nadu and Maharashtra. What was the picture in Zhapur in this regard in 2009? The relevant information is brought together in Tables 2.8 to 2.10.[19]

[19] 'Work', for the purposes of this Report, refers to activities that include paid or unpaid work outside the household for an employer, work on household operational holding and work in any household enterprise other than that relating to animal resources. Children engaged in any of these activities are working children.

Table 2.8 *Children in the age group 6 to 14 years engaged in specific activities, by sex, Zhapur, 2009*

Type of activity	Number			As percentage of all children in the age group		
	Girls	Boys	Total	Girls	Boys	Total
Work outside the household for an employer (paid or unpaid)	3	7	10	4.2	9.2	6.8
Work on household operational holding	4	0	4	5.6	0.0	2.7
Work in any household enterprise other than animal resources	1	0	1	1.4	0.0	0.7
All	8	7	15	11.3	9.2	10.2

Table 2.9 *Boys in the age group 6 to 14 years engaged in specific types of activities, by social group, Zhapur, 2009*

Social group	Number			As percentage of all households		
	Work outside the household for an employer (paid or unpaid)	Work on household operational holding	Work in any household enterprise other than animal resources	Work outside the household for an employer (paid or unpaid)	Work on household operational holding	Work in any household enterprise other than animal resources
Scheduled Caste	6	0	0	15.0	0.0	0.0
Scheduled Tribe	1	0	0	7.7	0.0	0.0
BC	0	0	0	0.0	0.0	0.0
Other Caste Hindu	0	0	0	0.0	0.0	0.0
Muslim	0	0	0	NA	0.0	0.0
All	7	0	0	9.2	0.0	0.0

About 10 per cent of the children in the age group of 6 to 14 years are engaged in work as defined in this *Report*. The proportion is almost the same for boys and girls, differing only marginally. Two-thirds of the fifteen working children in this age group work for an employer outside the household.

Table 2.10 *Girls in the age group 6 to 14 years engaged in specific types of activities, by social group, Zhapur, 2009*

Social group	Number			As percentage of all households		
	Work outside the household for an employer (paid or unpaid)	Work on household operational holding	Work in any household enterprise other than animal resources	Work outside the household for an employer (paid or unpaid)	Work on household operational holding	Work in any household enterprise other than animal resources
Scheduled Caste	2	3	1	6.7	10.0	3.3
Scheduled Tribe	0	0	0	0.0	0.0	0.0
BC	1	1	0	3.0	3.0	0.0
Other Caste Hindu	0	0	0	NA	NA	NA
Muslim	0	0	0	0.0	0.0	0.0
All	3	4	1	4.2	5.6	1.4

Twelve of the fifteen working children are from the Scheduled Castes and one is a tribal. There are two BC girls working, but none of the BC boys. Of the ten children working for an employer outside the household, seven are boys and three girls. Eight are from Scheduled Caste households. It is thus the Scheduled Caste children who constitute the major portion of working children and of children working for an employer outside the household.

BOX ON CHILD WORKERS

All the Scheduled Caste child workers belong to the Vaddaru caste and come from very poor and deprived families. Take the case of Srini. He lives in a family of 8 persons, his parents and all four male siblings work in the local quarry. The family is landlless and has only a few household assets. In another case, while the parents are quarry workers earning a measly piece-rated wage of Rs 50 to 100 a day, Raju and his brother work at construction. This family is not only landless but does not even own their homestead plot. They live in rented premises. Another child worker, B, comes from a family of landless quarry workers. At the age of 10 he was sent to work year-round for a landlord family. He looks after the landlord's sheep and earns 6000 rupees a year.

These child workers come from very poor landless and asset-less families and a deprived community, but the availability of employment in the quarries is clearly an important factor in the continuation of child labour. Indeed Gulbarga district is infamous for its limestone quarries and the long days of back-breaking work in a hazardous environment can damage these working children permanently.

Just as the variation in the incidence of working children across social groups is of interest, one would also be interested in how this variable and others of interest vary across economic categories. For this purpose, the households of Zhapur have been divided into five groups of equal size – asset quintiles - according to the value of household assets.[20] Table 2.11 shows the minimum, maximum, median and average value for each asset quintile.

Table 2.11 *Details of Asset quintiles (Values in Rupees), Zhapur, 2009*

Asset quintile	Minimum	Maximum	Median	Average
Q1	200	71987	32875	29452
Q2	73315	150080	113661	112056
Q3	156870	371050	252980	247013
Q4	373250	732610	505678	518808
Q5	804960	15791600	1426030	3678337

[20] Assets include land and water bodies, houses and buildings, trees, animals, other means of production, means of transport, domestic durable goods, and other assets such as grain stock and inventories. Assets do not include financial assets and gold. Assets are valued at present value, reported by households.

There is a high degree of asset inequality among households in Zhapur. The highest value of household assets in 2009 was 15.79 million rupees and the lowest a mere 200 rupees. Further, the top quintile seems to be in an altogether different league from the others. In the case of each of the first four quintiles, the median and mean asset values are close to each other. This suggests that inequality within the quintile was relatively modest. But in the highest quintile, the mean value at 36.78 lakh rupees is more than two and a half times the median value at 14.26 lakhs. The maximum value at 1.58 crore rupees is nearly 20 times the minimum value of 8.05 lakhs. It would appear that the top quintile is very heterogeneous and one should perhaps look at the top decile or even the top five per cent. Be that as it may, let us look at the relationship between the social status as captured by the social group to which a household belongs and its economic status as indicated by its asset holding. The data is brought together in Table 2.12.

Table 2.12 *Distribution of households with social group and asset quintile, Zhapur, 2009*

Social group	Number of households (as percentage of all households in the asset quintile)						As percentage of all households in the social group					
	Q1	Q2	Q3	Q4	Q5	All	Q1	Q2	Q3	Q4	Q5	All
Scheduled Caste	10 *(47.6)*	11 *(52.4)*	13 *(59.1)*	10 *(45.5)*	2 *(8.7)*	46 *(42.2)*	21.7	23.9	28.3	21.7	4.3	100.0
Scheduled Tribe	3 *(14.3)*	4 *(19.0)*	2 *(9.1)*	4 *(18.2)*	1 *(4.3)*	14 *(12.8)*	21.4	28.6	14.3	28.6	7.1	100.0
BC	7 *(33.3)*	6 (28.6)	5 *(22.7)*	8 *(36.4)*	20 *(87.0)*	46 *(42.2)*	15.2	13.0	10.9	17.4	43.5	100.0
Other Caste Hindu	1 *(4.8)*	0 *(0.0)*	1 *(4.5)*	0 *(0.0)*	0 *(0.0)*	2 *(1.8)*	50.0	0.0	50.0	0.0	0.0	100.0
Muslim	0 *(0.0)*	0 *(0.0)*	1 *(4.5)*	0 *(0.0)*	0 *(0.0)*	1 *(0.9)*	0.0	0.0	100.0	0.0	0.0	100.0
All	21 *(100.0)*	21 *(100.0)*	22 *(100.0)*	22 *(100.0)*	23 *(100.0)*	109 *(100.0)*	19.3	19.3	20.2	20.2	21.1	100.0

There is a clear correlation between social status and asset status. The Scheduled Castes constituting 42.2 per cent of all households in Zhapur accounted for only 8.7 per cent of the households in the top asset quintile. Similarly, the corresponding figures for Scheduled Tribes were 12.8 per cent and 4.3 per cent. On the other hand, Backward classes constituted 42.2 per cent of all households just as the Scheduled Castes did, but 87 per cent of the households in the top asset quintile were Backward classes. It is clear that Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes are distributed to a greater extent in the bottom three quintiles, and constitute a small minority of the households in the top quintile.

Let us now explore the distribution of children in Zhapur, aged between 6 and 14 years, engaged in specified activities across asset quintiles. The data are brought together in Tables 2.13 and 2.14.

Table 2.13 *Boys in the age group 6 to 14 years engaged in specific types of activities, by asset quintile, Zhapur, 2009*

Asset quintile	Number			As percentage of all households		
	Work outside the household for an employer (paid or unpaid)	Work on household operational holding	Work in any household enterprise other than animal resources	Work outside the household for an employer (paid or unpaid)	Work on household operational holding	Work in any household enterprise other than animal resources
Q1	4	0	0	30.8	0.0	0.0
Q2	2	0	0	12.5	0.0	0.0
Q3	0	0	0	0.0	0.0	0.0
Q4	0	0	0	0.0	0.0	0.0
Q5	1	0	0	11.1	0.0	0.0
All	7	0	0	9.2	0.0	0.0

Of the seven boys engaged in work for an employer outside the household, six are from the bottom two quintiles. Surprisingly, the seventh child is from a Q5 household. Four of the boys are working in stone quarries, two in other non-agricultural activity and the remaining one was engaged as a long term worker. *The child from Q5 is aged 14 years and is working in a quarry, as does his elder male sibling aged 16 years.* Of the eight girls engaged in work as specified, four are from Q4, three from Q2 and one from Q1. None of the girls aged between 6 and 14 years belonging to households from the third and the top asset quintiles are engaged in work as specified. Three of the four girls in Q4 worked on the household operational holding. This suggests that the fourth quintile is perhaps populated by middle/rich peasant households. Of the three girls engaged in work for an employer outside the household, one was loading stones, another was an agricultural labourer and the third was engaged to work in a shop.

Table 2.14 *Girls in the age group 6 to 14 years engaged in specific types of activities, by asset quintile, Zhapur, 2009*

Asset quintile	Number			As percentage of all households		
	Work outside the household for an employer (paid or unpaid)	Work on household operational holding	Work in any household enterprise other than animal resources	Work outside the household for an employer (paid or unpaid)	Work on household operational holding	Work in any household enterprise other than animal resources
Q1	1	0	0	10.0	0.0	0.0
Q2	1	1	1	9.1	9.1	9.1
Q3	0	0	0	0.0	0.0	0.0
Q4	1	3	0	5.6	16.7	0.0
Q5	0	0	0	0.0	0.0	0.0
All	3	4	1	4.2	5.6	1.4

2.3 *Age at marriage*

We will later return to the question of working children, taking the entire age group of 6 to 18 years, but before ending this section on children, let us look at the incidence of married children in Zhapur. The data is presented in Table 2.15.

Table 2.15 *Persons currently married in the age group below 18 years for women and below 21 years for men, Zhapur, 2009*

Social group	Female		Male	
	Number married	As percentage of all females below 18 years in social group	Number married	As percentage of all males below 21 years in social group
Scheduled Caste	2	3.6	3	3.7
Scheduled Tribe	0	0.0	0	0.0
BC	2	3.6	1	1.6
Other Caste Hindu	0	0.0	0	0.0
Muslim	0	0.0	0	0.0
All	4	3.0	4	2.4

In Zhapur in 2009, there were no married children from among the Scheduled Tribes, Muslims and Other Caste Hindus. Four girls who had not completed 18 years of age in 2009 in Zhapur were

already married. Two of them came from Scheduled Caste households and the other two from among the Backward classes. Four men in Zhapur– three from among the Scheduled Castes and one from among the Backward classes – below the age of 21 years in 2009 were also already married. There is a much higher incidence of marriage below the legal age than the FAS surveys found in Ananthavaram, Bukkacherla and Kothapalle in Andhra Pradesh in 2005.[21] Again, this is suggestive of a greater degree of backwardness in Zhapur compared to the Andhra Pradesh villages surveyed by FAS in 2005.

We turn now to schooling, literacy and other aspects of the state of education in Zhapur in 2009.

[21] We wish to make it clear that we have not investigated the age at marriage of all the married members of the population in Zhapur and cannot say anything about the larger issue of how widespread the practice of marriage before attainment of the legal minimum age may be in the entire population.

3. EDUCATION

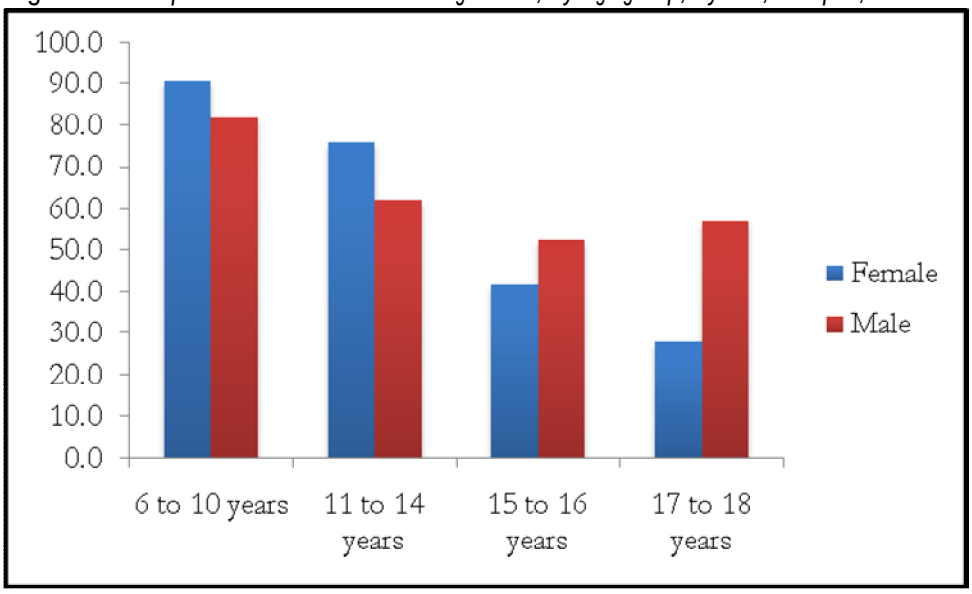
3.1 *School Attendance*

All three aspects of the challenge of universal school education- enrolment, retention and achievement with regard to learning outcomes- continue to remain unmet in India. In the more backward parts of the country, universal enrolment and attendance constitute the primary challenges. The data on school attendance presented in Table 3.1 and that on gross enrolment ratios presented in Table 3.2 show that, in 2009, Zhapur had not achieved universal school enrolment and attendance in the age group of 6 to 18 years.

Table 3.1 *Number and proportion of children attending school, by age group, by sex, Zhapur, 2009*

Age group	Number of children			As percentage of all children		
	Female	Male	Persons	Female	Male	Persons
6 to 10 years	38	45	83	90.5	81.8	85.6
11 to 14 years	22	13	35	75.9	61.9	70.0
15 to 16 years	5	10	15	41.7	52.6	48.4
17 to 18 years	5	8	13	27.8	57.1	40.6
All	70	76	146	69.3	69.7	69.5

Figure 3.1 *Proportion of children attending school, by age group, by sex, Zhapur, 2009*



Attendance ratios are well below 100 per cent even in the age group of 6 to 10 years. They then decline progressively and fall below 50 per cent beyond the age of 14 years. Overall, 30 per cent of

children aged 6 to 18 years were not attending school in Zhapur in 2009, the proportion being more or less the same for boys and girls. The only saving grace, if any, is that unlike in most other villages, the attendance ratio for girls is higher than that for boys in the age group of 6 to 14 years! But this gets sharply reversed beyond the age of 14 years.

Even the gross enrolment ratios which typically overstate enrolment performance are quite unimpressive. [22]

Table 3.2 *Gross enrolment ratio of children, by level of schooling, by sex, Zhapur, 2009*

School level	Number enrolled			GER		
	Female	Male	Persons	Female	Male	Persons
Standard I to V	30	43	73	62.5	74.1	68.9
Standard VI to VIII	20	17	37	69.0	81.0	74.0
Standard IX to X	7	5	12	38.9	20.8	28.6
Standard XI to XII	3	5	8	12.5	20.8	16.7

3.2 *School Attendance by Social Group*

One may reasonably expect that, given the social inequalities and hierarchies that characterize Indian villages, attendance ratios may vary systematically with social group status. Tables 3.3 to 3.5 throw some light on this issue.

Table 3.3 *Children attending school, by age group, by social group, Zhapur, 2009*

Age group	Scheduled Caste		Scheduled Tribe		BC		Other Caste Hindu		Muslim	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
6 to 10 years	37	78.7	10	90.9	33	91.7	0	NA	3	100.0
11 to 14 years	14	60.9	5	71.4	15	78.9	1	100.0	0	NA
15 to 16 years	4	30.8	2	50.0	8	61.5	1	100.0	0	NA
17 to 18 years	3	37.5	2	66.7	7	36.8	1	100.0	0	0.0
All	58	63.7	19	76.0	63	72.4	3	100.0	3	75.0

[22] Gross enrolment ratio is the total enrolment in the specific level of education, regardless of age, expressed as a percentage of the official school-age population corresponding to the same level of education in a given school-year. The Annual Report of The Ministry of Human Resource Development (MoHRD), India, 2008-09 provides data on GER for three levels. The school levels and corresponding school-age for three levels specified by the MoHRD are as follows: *Standard I to V: 6 to 11 years; Standard VI to VIII: 11 to 14 years; Standard IX to XII: 14 to 18 years.* In Table 3.2 we have divided Standard IX to XII further in two categories: Standard IX to X: 14 to 16 years; Standard XI to XII: 16 to 18 years.

Leaving out of the discussion the small number of children from Muslim and Other Caste Hindu households, and the age groups beyond 14 years of age where the numbers involved are again rather small, let us examine the pattern of attendance ratios in the age group of 6 to 14 years across Scheduled Castes, Backward classes and Scheduled Tribes. There is not much of a gap between the Backward classes and the Scheduled Tribes in respect of attendance ratios. However, the Scheduled Castes have a consistently lower attendance ratio than Backward classes and Scheduled Tribes. This links up, in part, with child labour in the age group of 6 to 14 years that we discussed earlier, where we found that 12 of the 15 working children in this age group were Scheduled Castes. Of course, being a working child in the sense in which we are using the term does not rule out the possibility that the child may also be in school. But a link can nevertheless be hypothesized. This gets strengthened when one looks at the attendance ratio for Scheduled Caste boys in the age group of 11 to 14 years, which is as low as 45.5 per cent. Six Scheduled Caste boys were working for an employer outside the household in this age group as opposed to two girls. The likelihood of not going to school is greater when the child is working for an employer outside the household since such work is more likely to be full time.

It is obvious that, while all social groups fare poorly in respect of school attendance in the age group of 6 to 18 year, the Scheduled Castes are most severely deprived.

Table 3.4 *Boys attending school, by age group, by social group, Zhapur, 2009*

Age group	Scheduled Caste		Scheduled Tribe		BC		Other Caste Hindu		Muslim	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
6 to 10 years	23	79.3	6	85.7	16	84.2	0	NA	0	NA
11 to 14 years	5	45.5	4	66.7	3	100.0	1	100.0	0	NA
15 to 16 years	3	37.5	0	0.0	7	70.0	0	NA	0	NA
17 to 18 years	3	60.0	1	100.0	4	57.1	0	NA	0	0.0
All	34	64.2	11	73.3	30	76.9	1	100.0	0	0.0

Table 3.5 *Girls attending school, by age group, by social group, Zhapur, 2009*

Age group	Scheduled Caste		Scheduled Tribe		BC		Other Caste Hindu		Muslim	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
6 to 10 years	14	77.8	4	100.0	17	100.0	3	100.0	0	NA
11 to 14 years	9	75.0	1	100.0	12	75.0	0	NA	0	NA
15 to 16 years	1	20.0	2	66.7	1	33.3	0	NA	1	100.0
17 to 18 years	0	0.0	1	50.0	3	25.0	0	NA	1	100.0
All	24	63.2	8	80.0	33	68.8	3	100.0	2	100.0

Figure 3.2 *Proportion of boys attending school, by age group, by social group, Zhapur, 2009*

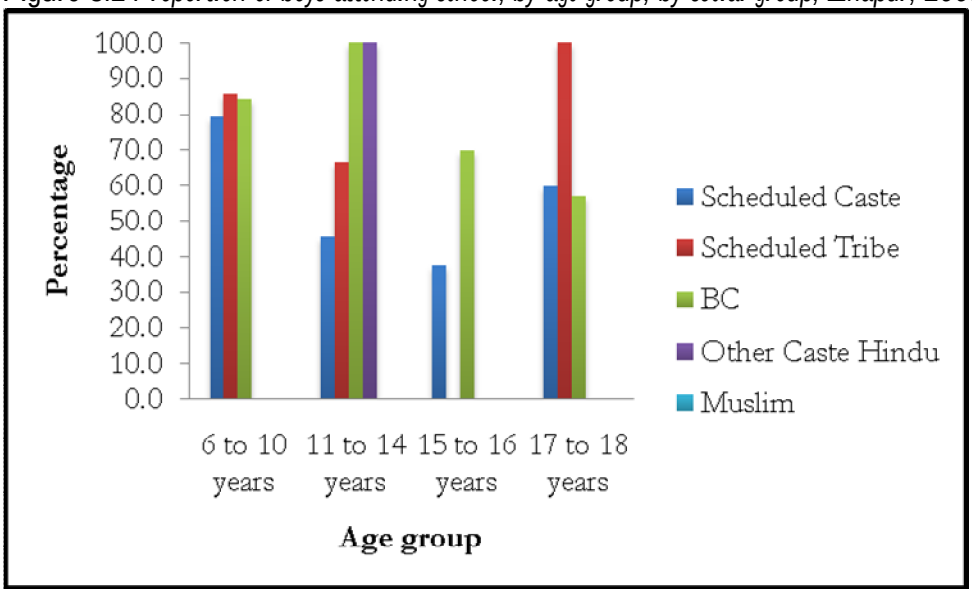
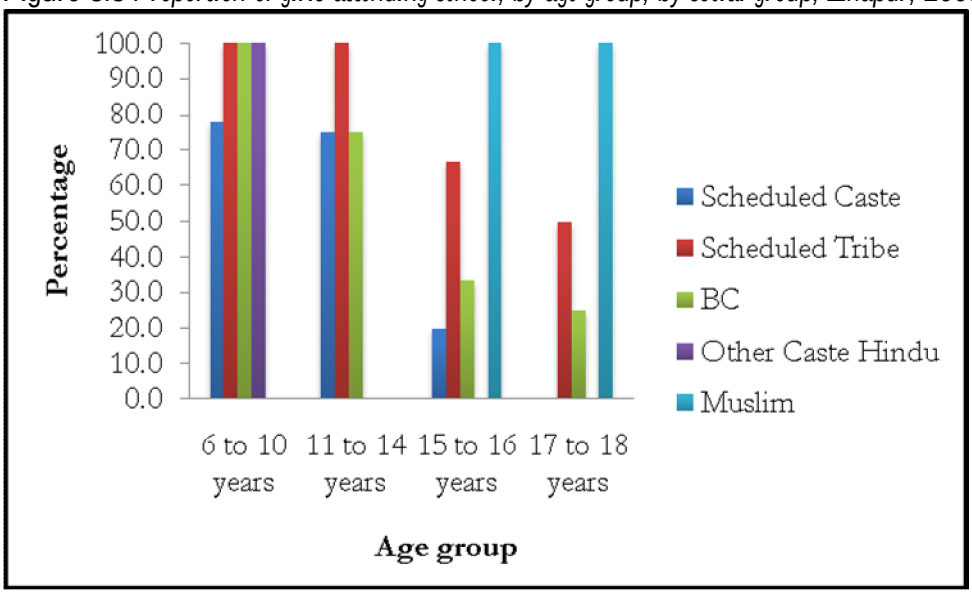


Figure 3.3 *Proportion of girls attending school, by age group, by social group, Zhapur, 2009*



How does school attendance vary by asset status? The data is presented in Table 3.6 for all children. Tables 3.7 and 3.8 show the data separately for boys and girls respectively.

Table 3.6 *Children attending school, by age group, by asset quintile, Zhapur, 2009*

Age group	Q1		Q2		Q3		Q4		Q5	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
6 to 10 years	9	56.3	17	89.5	19	95.0	19	82.6	19	100.0
11 to 14 years	4	57.1	4	50.0	6	66.7	13	81.3	8	80.0
15 to 16 years	3	42.9	1	25.0	3	60.0	2	25.0	6	85.7
17 to 18 years	1	14.3	3	60.0	1	50.0	1	16.7	7	58.3
All	17	45.9	25	69.4	29	80.6	35	66.0	40	83.3

Attendance rates are very poor among children of the bottom two quintiles, even in the age group of 6 to 10 years. The attendance rates are poor for all the quintiles, taking the age group of 6 to 18 years, except, to an extent, for the top quintile.

Table 3.7 *Boys attending school, by age group, by asset quintile, Zhapur, 2009*

Age group	Q1		Q2		Q3		Q4		Q5	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
6 to 10 years	4	44.4	11	84.6	10	90.9	12	85.7	8	100.0
11 to 14 years	1	25.0	2	66.7	4	66.7	6	85.7	0	0.0
15 to 16 years	1	25.0	1	50.0	1	50.0	1	25.0	6	85.7
17 to 18 years	0	0.0	1	100.0	1	50.0	1	33.3	5	71.4
All	6	33.3	15	78.9	16	76.2	20	71.4	19	82.6

Table 3.8 Girls *attending school, by age group, by asset quintile, Zhapur, 2009*

Age group	Q1		Q2		Q3		Q4		Q5	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
6 to 10 years	5	71.4	6	100.0	9	100.0	7	77.8	11	100.0
11 to 14 years	3	100.0	2	40.0	2	66.7	7	77.8	8	88.9
15 to 16 years	2	66.7	0	0.0	2	66.7	1	25.0	0	Na
17 to 18 years	1	16.7	2	50.0	0	Na	0	0.0	2	40.0
All	11	57.9	10	58.8	13	86.7	15	60.0	21	84.0

Figure 3.4 *Proportion of boys attending school, by age group, by asset quintile, Zhapur, 2009*

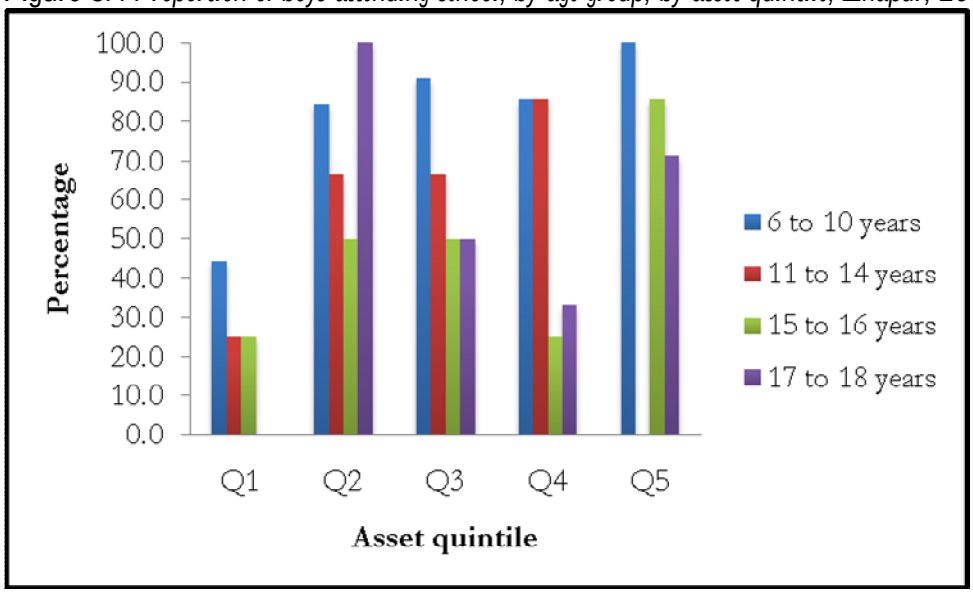
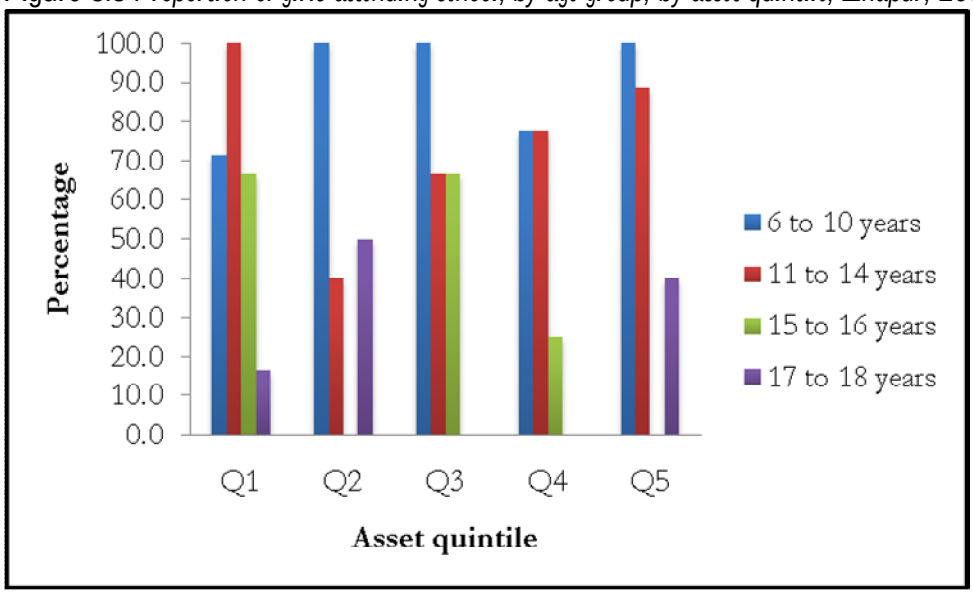


Figure 3.5 *Proportion of girls attending school, by age group, by asset quintile, Zhapur, 2009*



The attendance ratios for boys in the bottom quintile are possibly the lowest across all the villages surveyed by FAS since 2006. This reflects the employment of even very young children in stone quarries as wage workers. The girls in this quintile do better. Beyond the age of 14 years, attendance ratios are poor across all quintiles and for both boys and girls, except for boys in Q5 who do somewhat better, but not by a great deal.

3.3 *School Attendance and Work*

We have now seen that attendance ratios do vary by social group and by asset quintile in fairly systematic ways. Let us probe further into the question of the relationship between school attendance and children being engaged in work. Table 3.6 provides a four-way classification of the children of Zhapur in the age group of 6 to 18 years: *working and not attending school* ; *attending school and not working* ; *attending school and working ; neither attending school nor working.*

Several points emerge from the data. First, 42 children out of a total of 210 – one in five - are working children, even by the narrow definition of work adopted in this *Report*. Second, if we include the seven boys and two girls engaged in work with animal resources, the proportion goes up to 51 out of 210 or approximately one in four. Third, many of the children, mostly girls, whether in school or not, are engaged in household chores, which are not treated as work here. Such chores include not just routine physical housework including fetching water from some distance from the homestead, but also such things as minding senior elders or younger siblings.

Table 3.9 *School Attendance and Work Status among children aged 6 to 18 years, Zhapur, 2009*

Children	Not attending				Attending			
	Not working		Working		Not working		Working	
	Number	Percentage	Number	Percentage	Number	Percentage	Number	Percentage
Girls	13	12.9	18	17.8	69	68.3	1	1.0
Boys	12	11.0	21	19.3	74	67.9	2	1.8
All	25	11.9	39	18.6	143	68.1	3	1.4

Figure 3.6 *Distribution of boys (6 to 18 years), by school attendance and work status, Zhapur, 2009*

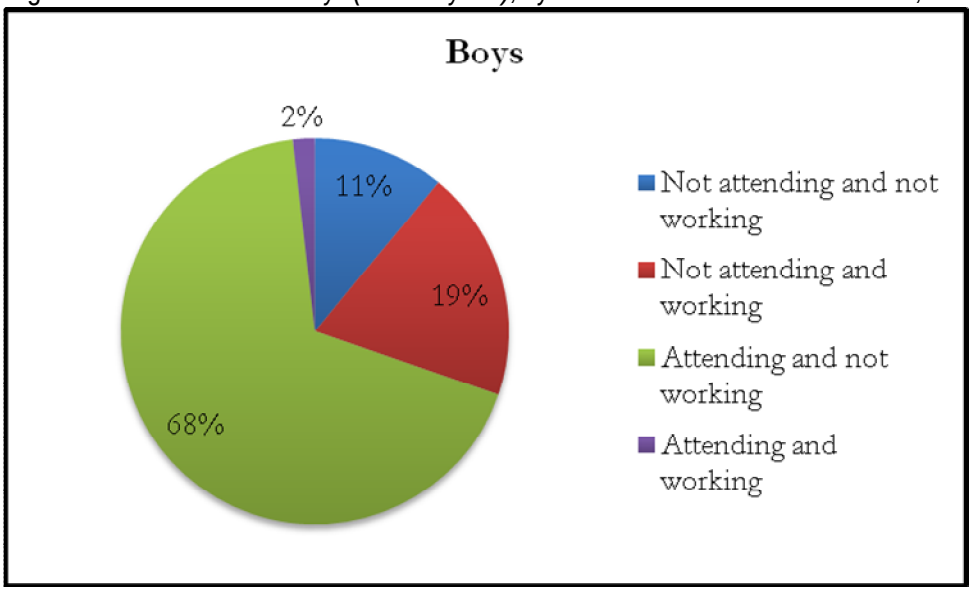
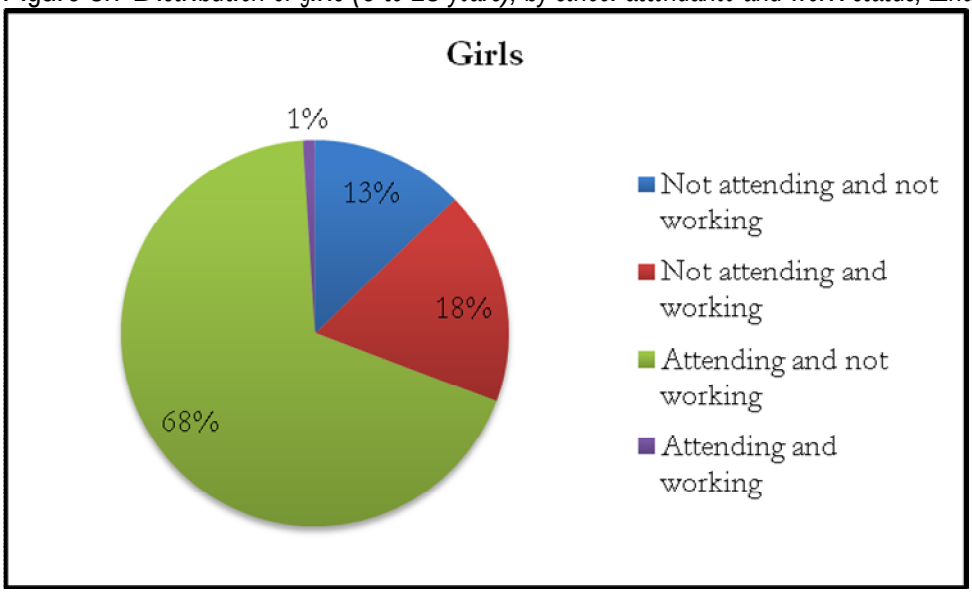


Figure 3.7 *Distribution of girls (6 to 18 years), by school attendance and work status, Zhapur, 2009*



Twenty-seven girls, of whom eleven are out of school, report doing housework. If their numbers are added, working children as a proportion of the total amounts to 78 out of 210 or 37 per cent. By far the largest segment of the set of working children comes from Scheduled Caste households and from the bottom two asset quintiles, though this is not shown in Table 3.9.

3.4 *Anganwadi*

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. How does Zhapur fare in this regard?

Table 3.10 shows the number of children in Zhapur below 6 years of age attending an anganwadi centre in 2009. No child from Muslim and Other Caste Hindu households is attending the anganwadi. On the other hand, a number of children from Scheduled Caste, BC and Scheduled Tribe households were attending the anganwadi centre in Zhapur. In all, 20 children were attending the anganwadi centre, of whom one was below 3 years of age and all the others between 3 and 6

years of age. It has been the case in many villages surveyed by FAS that children below 3 years of age generally do not attend an anganwadi centre, though the programme is intended for them as well.[23] What is of interest is that among the three social groups of Scheduled Castes, Scheduled Tribes and Backward classes, nearly three-tenths of the children between 3 and 6 years of age were attending an anganwadi. This is among the highest proportions among the villages surveyed by FAS. Clearly, the anganwadi serves a felt need in Zhapur. It is quite possible that if the supply infrastructure including the posting of personnel was ensured, there would be a greater willingness on the part of parents – especially working mothers – to send their children to anganwadis.

Table 3.10 *Proportion of children 6 years and below going to Anganwadi centers, by social group, by sex, Zhapur, 2009*

Social group	Less than 3 years						3 to 6 years					
	Female		Male		Persons		Female		Male		Persons	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
Scheduled Caste	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0	5	50.0	3	17.6	8	29.6
Scheduled Tribe	0	0.0	1	50.0	1	25.0	2	25.0	1	33.3	3	27.3
BC	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0	6	46.2	2	13.3	8	28.6
Other Caste Hindu	0	0.0	0	NA	0	0.0	0	NA	0	NA	0	NA
Muslim	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	NA	0	0.0
All	0	0.0	1	7.7	1	2.8	13	40.6	6	17.1	19	28.4

However, it must also be noted that while nineteen children aged between three and six years - thirteen girls and six boys - are in anganwadi centres, an equal number, consisting of twelve boys and seven girls, are enrolled in a private nursery school in this poor and backward village! This only reinforces the case for effectively functioning anganwadi centres that the poor can afford.

Having examined school attendance and child labour at some length, let us turn now to the issue of literacy and other indicators of educational achievement/deprivation among the population of Zhapur, in the context of issues of child well-being.

[23] This was true even of the villages in Andhra Pradesh surveyed by FAS. Thus in Ananthavarm, only one child below three years of age was in an anganwadi; the numbers for Bukkacherla and Kothapalle were one and zero. The figures for villages in the northern and western states from FAS surveys show the same pattern of very few children below three years of age in anganwadis. It is beyond the scope of this Report to analyse why this is the case.

3.5 *Literacy*

In the FAS survey, respondents were categorised in terms of literacy, not in a binary manner as literate/non-literate, but into four categories-'*cannot read or write*', '*can only sign name*', '*can read but not write*', '*can read and write*'- and it is only the last category we treat as literate in the discussion that follows. Table 3.11 presents the distribution of the population of Zhapur aged 7 years and above by level of literacy.

Table 3.11 *Distribution of population (7 years and above), by literacy level, by sex, Zhapur, 2009*

Literacy status	Female		Male		Persons	
	Number	Percentage	Number	Percentage	Number	Percentage
Cannot read and write	135	49.3	85	29.2	220	38.9
Can only sign name	42	15.3	66	22.7	108	19.1
Can read but cannot write	3	1.1	7	2.4	10	1.8
Can read and write	90	32.8	133	45.7	223	39.5
Unspecified	4	1.5	0	0.0	4	0.7
All	274	100.0	291	100.0	565	100.0

The overall literacy rate in Zhapur for the population aged 7 years and above was just under two-fifth. There was a large differential between the literacy rates of males and females, with the female literacy proportion not reaching one-third and the male literacy proportion not reaching one in two.[24]

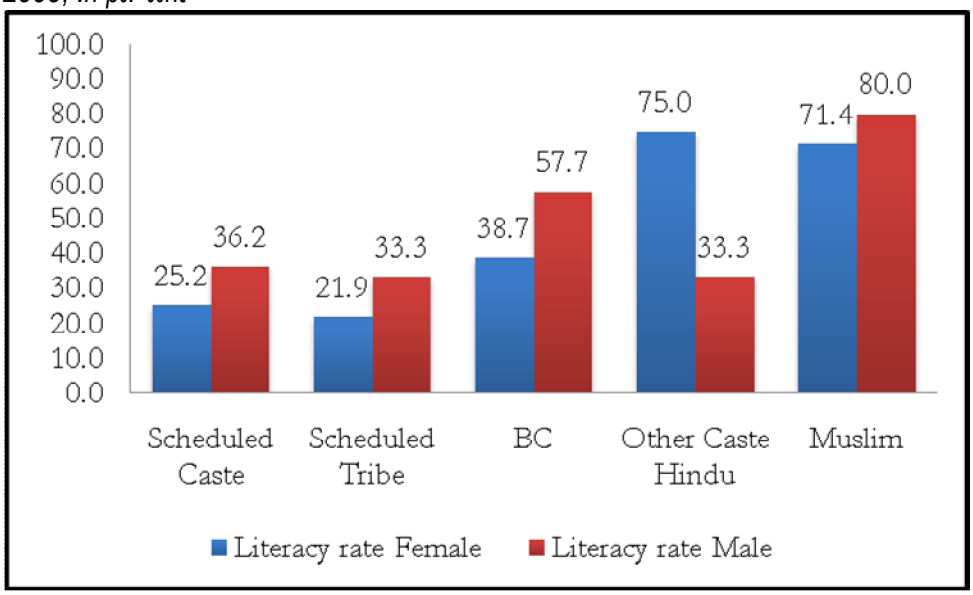
How do literacy rates vary by social group and by asset quintiles? The relevant data is presented in Tables 3.12 and 3.13 respectively.

[24] The literacy rates for the population aged 7 years and above were 61.68 per cent for males and 34.2 per cent for females and the overall average was47.65 per cent These are clearly overestimates, and possibly arise, at least in part, from the binary nature of the question asked in the Census as opposed to the more nuanced enquiry in the FAS survey. It may also be noted that the difference between the Census 2001 figure and the FAS 2009 figure is marginal in the case of females, but very large with respect to males. This is consistent with the point made earlier that males are more likely to report themselves as literate when they are not, because of presumed social pressures and expectations. This is easier to do with a binary question asking a respondent if he is literate or not.

Table 3.12 *Proportion of population (7 years and above) who can read and write, by social group, Zhapur, 2009*

Social group	Number			Literacy rate		
	Female	Male	Persons	Female	Male	Persons
Scheduled Caste	27.0	46	73	25.2	36.2	31.2
Scheduled Tribe	7	11	18	21.9	33.3	27.7
BC	48	71	119	38.7	57.7	48.2
Other Caste Hindu	3	1	4	75.0	33.3	57.1
Muslim	5	4	9	71.4	80.0	75.0
All	90	133	223	32.8	45.7	39.5

Figure 3.8 *Literacy rate of the population in the age group 7 years and above, by sex, by social group, Zhapur, 2009, in per cent*

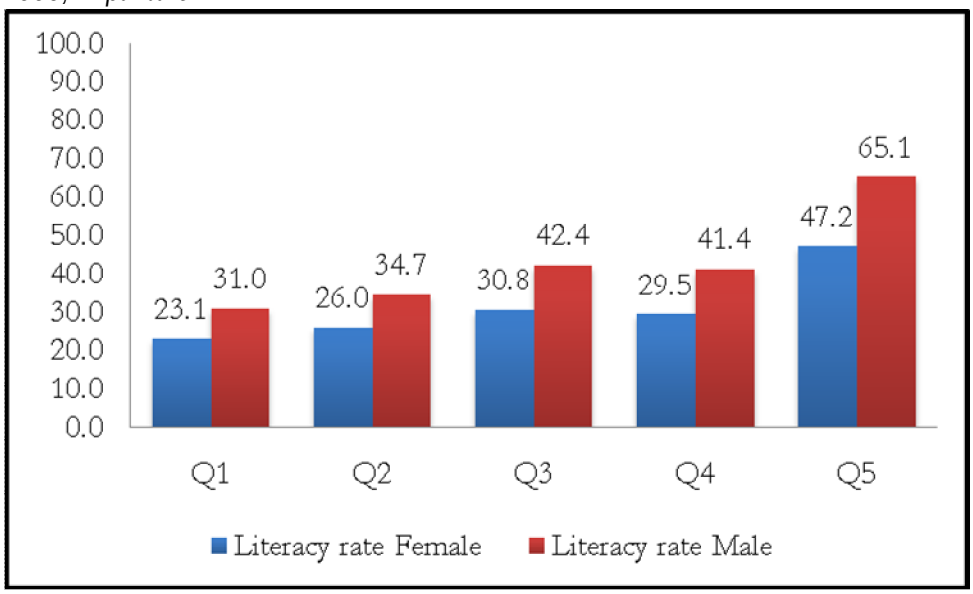


Leaving aside the small number of Other Caste Hindus and Muslims, let us focus on the Scheduled Castes, Scheduled Tribes and the Backward classes. It is clear that the literacy rates among Backward classes are distinctly higher than those among the Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes. The Scheduled Castes do marginally better than the Scheduled Tribes in respect of both females and males. Female literacy rates are significantly lower than male rates for all three social groups. The sex differential is highest among Backward classes. Overall, it is a dismal picture, with the literacy rate being less than 50 per cent for all the three major social groups in the village, and hovering around 30 per cent in the case of two of them, the Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes.

Table 3.13 *Proportion of population (7 years and above), who can read and write by asset quintile, by sex, Zhapur, 2009*

Asset quintile	Number			Literacy rate		
	Female	Male	Persons	Female	Male	Persons
Q1	9	13	22	23.1	31.0	27.2
Q2	13	17	30	26.0	34.7	30.3
Q3	16	25	41	30.8	42.4	36.9
Q4	18	24	42	29.5	41.4	35.3
Q5	34	54	88	47.2	65.1	56.8
All	90	133	223	32.8	45.7	39.5

Figure 3.9 *Literacy rate of the population in the age group 7 years and above, by sex, by asset quintile, Zhapur, 2009, in per cent*



It is only in the top quintile that the male literacy rate crosses 50 per cent. It never does for females. The bottom two quintiles fare especially poorly, the next two do marginally better, and even in the highest quintile, the literacy rates are far from impressive.

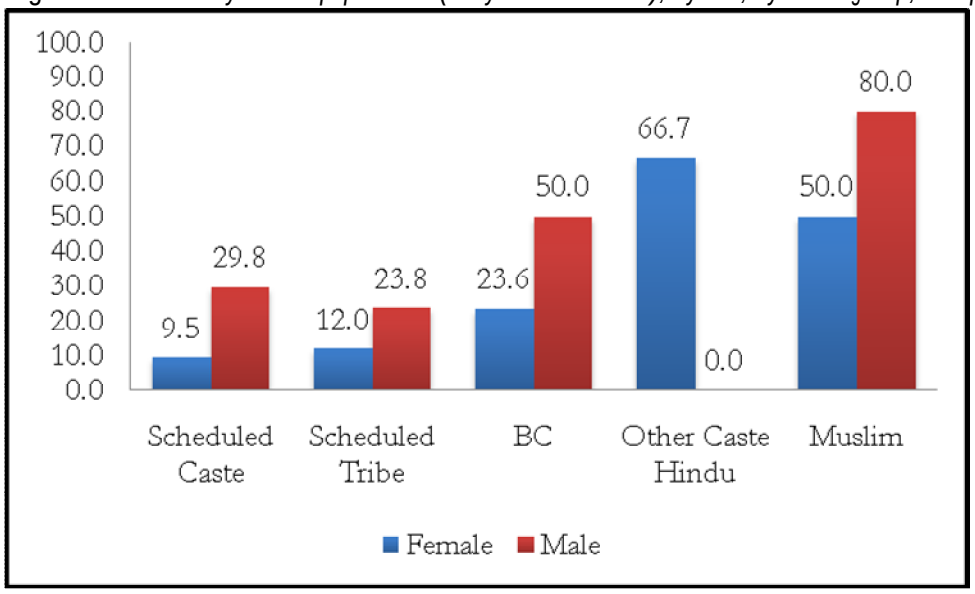
Moving from the population aged 7 years or older, let us take a look at the literacy profile of the adult population in Zhapur. The relevant data, by social group, is presented in Table 3.14. There has been improvement in school attendance rates over the years. This and the fact that the 7 plus age group includes those currently in schools, most of whom would be reported as literate, the literacy rates for adults, males as well as females, are much lower than those for the population aged 7 years and above, for every social group. Comparing the corresponding literacy rates in the two age groups by category, we find that the differential is higher with respect to female literacy rates in every social

group. With respect to male literacy rates, the highest difference between the two age groups is recorded by Scheduled Tribes, while the Backward classes and Scheduled Castes report more modest differentials. With respect to female literacy rates, it is evident that both Backward classes and Scheduled Castes show a higher differential between the 7 plus and the 18 plus age groups than the Scheduled Tribes. As a result the gender differentials in literacy rates are much smaller in the population aged 7 years and above than in the adult population for both Backward classes and Scheduled Castes. In the case of Scheduled Tribes, the gender difference in literacy rates is more or less the same in both age groups. [25]

Table 3.14 *Proportion of population (18 years and above), who can read and write, by social group, by sex, Zhapur, 2009*

Social group	Number			Adult literacy rate		
	Female	Male	Persons	Female	Male	Persons
Scheduled Caste	7	25	32	9.5	29.8	20.3
Scheduled Tribe	3	5	8	12.0	23.8	17.4
BC	21	47	68	23.6	50.0	37.2
Other Caste Hindu	2	0	2	66.7	0.0	40.0
Muslim	2	4	6	50.0	80.0	66.7
All	35	81	116	17.9	39.3	28.9

Figure 3.10 *Literacy rate of population (18 years and above), by sex, by social group, Zhapur, 2009, in per cent*



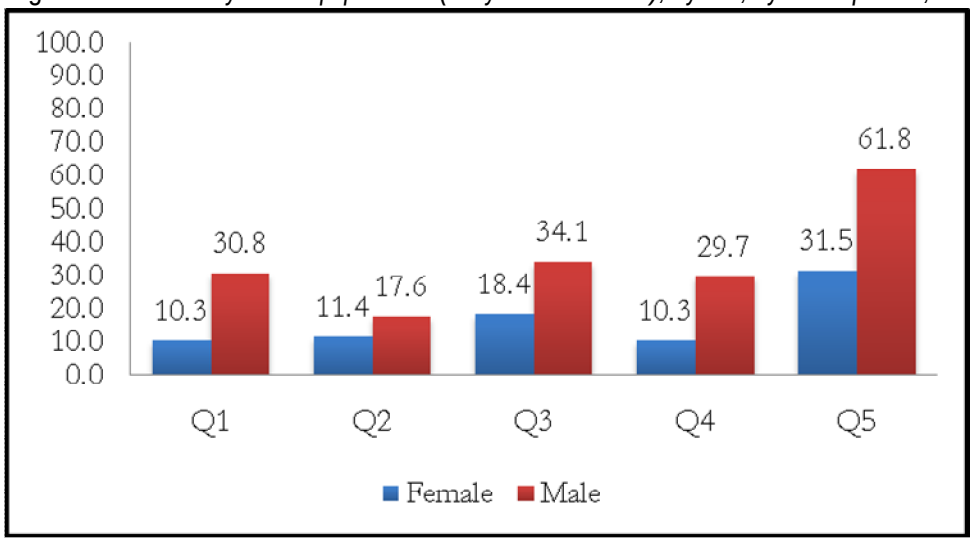
[25] We have not discussed the literacy rates of the other two social groups, Muslims and Other Caste Hindus, because of the small absolute numbers involved.

How do adult literacy rates vary across asset quintiles? The data are presented in Table 3.15.

Table 3.15 *Proportion of population (18 years and above), who can read and write, by asset quintile, by sex, Zhapur, 2009*

Asset quintile	Number			Adult literacy rate		
	Female	Male	Persons	Female	Male	Persons
Q1	3	8	11	10.3	30.8	20.0
Q2	4	6	10	11.4	17.6	14.5
Q3	7	14	21	18.4	34.1	26.6
Q4	4	11	15	10.3	29.7	19.7
Q5	17	42	59	31.5	61.8	48.4
All	35	81	116	17.9	39.3	28.9

Figure 3.11 *Literacy rate of population (18 years and above), by sex, by asset quintile, Zhapur, 2009, in per cent*



Literacy rates for adult females are poor across all quintiles, though they are much higher for the top quintile compared to all the others. Among the males, the literacy rate crosses 50 5 only in the top quintile, and is much poorer in all the others. It is also worth noting that the male literacy rate for adults and that for those aged 7 years and above are quite close to each other, suggesting little improvement in recent years.

Finally on literacy rates, we can also take a look at the literacy rates by age cohorts to get an idea of progress over time. Table 3.16 shows the literacy rates by specified age groups for Zhapur residents in 2009.

Table 3.16 *Proportion of population who can read and write, by age cohorts, by sex, Zhapur, 2009*

Age group	Number			Literacy rate		
	Female	Male	Persons	Female	Male	Persons
6 to 17 years	59	56	115	66.3	57.1	61.5
18 to 34 years	27	54	81	29.3	50.9	40.9
35 to 49 years	6	13	19	14.0	28.9	21.6
50 to 65 years	2	13	15	4.7	32.5	18.1
> 65 years	0	1	1	0.0	6.7	3.1
All	94	137	231	33.1	45.1	39.3

Looking at differentials between each pair of successive cohorts, it is clear that the big differential for male literacy rates occurs when we move from the age group of 35 to 49 years to that of 18 to 34 years. The difference between the 6 to 17 years' age group and the 18 to 34 years' age group in respect of male literacy rate is modest at 7.8 percentage points.[26] The picture in the case of female literacy rates is quite different. Here the big differential is between the age group of 6 to 17 years and that of 18 to 34 years, reflecting the fact that female attendance rates have increased rapidly in recent years, though of course from abysmal levels (and they have a long way to go still!). The female literacy rate jumps up from 29.3 per cent for the age groups of 18 to 34 years to 66.3 per cent for the age group of 6 to 17 years, a difference of 37 percentage points. Of course, no complacency is warranted, since the figure of 66.3 per cent for the latter age group arises from taking most of the females in this age group as literate. Apart from the question of immediate learning outcomes in formal schooling, there is also the question of relapse into illiteracy over the long term in the absence of post literacy and continuing education efforts, especially in a backward village like Zhapur. Neoliberal policies of the Central and most State governments have not foregrounded these efforts so far. As already noted, the differential in literacy rates between males and females has definitely come down considerably over the decades. Of course, both female and male literacy rates are far from satisfactory, and are in fact scandalous from the standpoint of contemporary norms and expectations, especially so when India's GDP growth rates of the last three decades are being widely advertised and hailed.

[26] Interestingly, there is a dip in the male literacy rate when we move from the age group of 50 to 65 years to that of 35 to 49 years. But it is small, and so are the numbers involved, so we will not try 'explaining' it.

3.6 *Years of Schooling*

A useful measure of adult achievement with respect to school education is the average years of schooling in a group. The distributions of *median* and *mean* years of schooling for the population of Zhapur aged above 16 years by social group are presented in Tables 3.17 and 3.18. We have not separately given the figures for other caste Hindus and Muslims in view of the small numbers, but data relating to them has been taken into account in calculating the numbers of the category 'All'.

Table 3.17 *Median number of completed years of schooling for population above 16 years by social group, Zhapur, 2009*

Social group	Female	Male	Persons
Scheduled Caste	0	1	0
Scheduled Tribe	0	1	0
BC	0	3	0
Other Caste Hindu	9	0	2.5
Muslim	1.5	3	1.5
All	0	1	0

Table 3.18 *Average number of completed years of schooling for population above 16 years by social group, Zhapur, 2009*

Social group	Female	Male	Persons
Scheduled Caste	1.5	4.3	3.1
Scheduled Tribe	4.8	5.0	4.9
BC	4.5	6.7	5.8
Other Caste Hindu	10.0	0.0	10.0
Muslim	5.5	5.3	5.3
All	3.2	5.5	4.5

Among males, the mean years of schooling in the specified age group are highest for Backward Classes and lowest for Scheduled Castes, with Scheduled Tribes in between. The median years of schooling for Backward Classes is distinctly higher for Backward Classes at 3 years as compared to just one year for males among Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes. The very poor state of affairs in this regard with respect to females is evident from the fact that the median years of schooling for females in all three categories – Scheduled Caste, Scheduled Tribe and Backward Class – is zero. On the average, Scheduled Caste women get only a year and a half of formal schooling. The record is modest enough for Backward Classes and Scheduled Tribes, but it is even worse for Scheduled Castes. The overall figures of zero years of schooling as the median value and 4.5 years as the mean

value confirm that Zhapur is educationally quite deprived. The extreme level of deprivation among the Scheduled Castes has a clear class implication: most of the Scheduled Castes are manual workers and it is this segment that contributes substantially to production in Zhapur that remains most deprived.

The variation in median and mean years of schooling across asset quintiles is brought out in Tables 3.19 and 3.20 respectively.

Table 3.19 *Median number of completed years of schooling for population above 16 years, by asset quintile, by sex, Zhapur, 2009*

Asset quintile	Female	Male	Persons
Q1	0	0	0
Q2	0	0	0
Q3	0	0.5	0
Q4	0	1	0
Q5	0	7	3
All	0	1	0

Table 3.20 *Average number of completed years of schooling for population above 16 years, by asset quintile, by sex, Zhapur, 2009*

Asset quintile	Female	Male	Persons
Q1	2.1	4.1	3.1
Q2	2.3	3.4	2.8
Q3	2.8	4.7	3.9
Q4	1.6	4.1	3.0
Q5	6.2	7.8	7.2
All	3.2	5.5	4.5

Except for males in the top asset quintile, the achievement in terms of median or mean years of schooling is indeed miserable. Even in the case of males in the highest asset quintile, the mean years of schooling does not reach eight years!

3.7 *Educational Achievements*

Let us now turn to educational achievements of the population across various social groups in Zhapur. We begin with the number of persons who have obtained a degree, which requires, at a minimum, fifteen completed years of schooling. We confine ourselves to the population aged 25

years or older. Table 3.21 presents the variation in the number and proportions of graduates to population in the age group of 25 years or older.

Table 3.21 *Graduates in the age group 25 years and above, by social group, by sex, Zhapur, 2009*

Social group	Number of graduate			As percentage of total population (25 years and above)		
	Female	Male	Persons	Female	Male	Persons
Scheduled Caste	1	1	2	1.8	1.6	1.7
BC	2	5	7	2.9	7.6	5.1
All	3	6	9	2.0	4.0	3.0

There were no graduates, male or female, in the Scheduled Tribe, Other Caste Hindu and Muslim households of Zhapur. There were, in all, only 9 graduates in the population aged 25 years and above, six of them being males. Seven out of the nine were from Backward class households, while there was one male and one female graduate from the Scheduled Caste households. Even in the 'best-performing' category, the BC male over 25 years of age, there were only 7 graduates out of a total of 92 persons, which is less than one in thirteen!

The picture of educational achievement across asset quintiles is shown in Table 3.22. The bottom two quintiles and the fourth draw a blank. There is one male and one female graduate in the third quintile. Among the graduates, two out of the three females and five out of the six males come from the top quintile. Even in the best performing category, males in the top quintile, barely ten per cent are graduates.

Table 3.22 *Graduates in the age group 25 years and above, by asset quintile, by sex, Zhapur, 2009*

Asset quintile	Number of graduate			As percentage of total population (25 years and above)		
	Female	Male	Persons	Female	Male	Persons
Q1	0	0	0	0.0	0.0	0.0
Q2	0	0	0	0.0	0.0	0.0
Q3	1	1	2	3.1	3.1	3.1
Q4	0	0	0	0.0	0.0	0.0
Q5	2	5	7	4.4	10.6	7.6
All	3	6	9	2.0	4.0	3.0

Let us look at a less demanding measure of educational achievement: persons aged 25 years and above who have successfully completed twelve years of schooling. The data, by social group, is presented in Table 3.23.

Table 3.23 *Number of persons in the age group 25 years and above with 12 completed years of formal education, Zhapur, 2009*

Social group	Number			As percentage of total population (25 years and above)		
	Female	Male	Persons	Female	Male	Persons
Scheduled Caste	1	1	2	1.8	1.6	1.7
BC	5	13	18	7.1	19.7	13.2
All	6	14	20	4.0	9.3	6.6

There is no person from Scheduled Tribe, Other Caste Hindu and Muslim households aged 25 years or older, with twelve completed years of formal schooling. Among the Scheduled Castes, the same female and male who were graduates (*vide* Table 3.18) now reappear as the ones who have completed twelve years of formal schooling. Among Backward classes, the two female and five male graduates in Table 3.18 are now joined by three more females and eight more males. Still, the proportion of the best performing category, Backward class males, aged 25 years and above with at least a twelfth class pass hardly reaches one-fifth, while the overall proportion for males does not even reach one-tenth. It is worse at one in twenty-five for females.

The variation in the number and percentage of persons aged 25 years and above with twelve completed years of education across asset quintiles is shown in Table 3.24. Again, the top quintile accounts for 16 out of the 20 persons – 80 per cent – who had completed twelve years of formal education. Of the 16, five out of the six females and eleven out of the fourteen males belong to the top quintile. The bottom two quintiles draw a blank in this regard.

Table 3.24 *Population in the age group 25 years and above who have completed 12 years of formal education, by asset quintile, Zhapur, 2009*

Asset quintile	Number			As percentage of total population (25 years and above)		
	Female	Male	Persons	Female	Male	Persons
Q1	0	0	0	0.0	0.0	0.0
Q2	0	0	0	0.0	0.0	0.0
Q3	1	1	2	3.1	3.1	3.1
Q4	0	2	2	0.0	7.4	3.3
Q5	5	11	16	11.1	23.4	17.4
All	6	14	20	4.0	9.3	6.6

As a final, and less strenuous measure of educational achievement, we have looked at the number and proportion of males and females 25 years or older with ten successfully completed years of schooling. The data, by social group, is presented in Table 3.25.

Table 3.25 *Population in the age group 25 years and above who have completed 10 years of formal education, Zhapur, 2009*

Social group	Number			As percentage of total population (25 years and above)		
	Female	Male	Persons	Female	Male	Persons
Scheduled Caste	1	8	9	1.8	13.1	7.7
Scheduled Tribe	0	1	1	0.0	5.6	2.6
BC	6	19	25	8.6	28.8	18.4
All	7	28	35	4.6	18.5	11.6

There were no persons from Other Caste Hindu and Muslim households and no females from Scheduled Tribe households aged 25 years or older in Zhapur who had completed ten years of formal schooling. But there was one Scheduled Tribe male in this age group who had. Among Scheduled Castes in the specified age group, besides the lone male and lone female graduate noted earlier, there were seven more males with ten completed years of schooling, but not one more female. Among Backward classes in the age group specified, besides the five females and 13 males with twelve completed years of schooling, one more female and six more males had completed ten years of schooling successfully. With all this, the overall proportion of males aged 25 years or older with ten completed years of formal schooling was still less than one-fifth in Zhapur in 2009.The proportion for females was below one twentieth. In the best performing category, the Backward

class male, the proportion was of course higher at nearly 29 per cent, but this would hardly qualify as a sterling educational achievement in the twenty-first century!

The variation in this weaker measure of educational achievement across asset quintiles is shown in Table 3.26.

Table 3.26 *Population in the age group 25 years and above who have completed 10 years of formal education, by asset quintile, Zhapur, 2009*

Asset quintile	Number			As percentage of total population (25 years and above)		
	Female	Male	Persons	Female	Male	Persons
Q1	0	1	1	0.0	5.0	2.6
Q2	0	1	1	0.0	4.0	2.1
Q3	1	2	3	3.1	6.3	4.7
Q4	0	3	3	0.0	11.1	5.0
Q5	6	21	27	13.3	44.7	29.3
All	7	28	35	4.6	18.5	11.6

The achievement levels are quite poor in the quintiles Q1 to Q4. Things are a little better in Q5 with respect to males, with nearly 45 per cent of males having completed ten years of schooling. Among females in Q5, only 13.3 per cent have done so. All but one of the females and three-fourths of the males with ten completed years of schooling belong to the top quintile.

3. 8 *Households with Children*

The presence or absence of literate adults in a household may not only influence the decision to send children to school but the learning environment in the home as well. In this sub-section, we look at the distribution in Zhapur in 2009 of *households with children* by the presence or absence of adults with specified levels of education. Table 3.27 provides, by social group, the distribution of households with children *without literate adults* in Zhapur in 2009.

Table 3.27 *Distribution of households with children, by absence of adult literates, by social group, Zhapur, 2009*

Social group	Total number of households with children	Without any adult female literate		Without any adult male literate		Without any adult literate	
	Number	Number	Percentage	Number	Percentage	Number	Percentage
Scheduled Caste	37	34	91.9	24	64.9	24	64.9
Scheduled Tribe	13	11	84.6	8	61.5	7	53.8
BC	34	25	73.5	15	44.1	13	38.2
Other Caste Hindu	2	1	50.0	2.0	100.0	1	50.0
Muslim	1	0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0	0.0
All	87	71	81.6	49	56.3	45	51.7

There was one Muslim household in Zhapur, and it had children. This household had both male and female adults who were literate. Of the two 'Other Caste Hindu' households, both had children. In one, there was no literate adult. In the other, there was a literate adult female, but no such male. We will leave these three households out of the subsequent discussion and focus on the Scheduled Caste, Scheduled Tribe and Backward class households with children.

Of 37 Scheduled Caste households with children, only three had a literate adult female. Of 13 Scheduled Tribe households with children, only two had a literate adult female. Even among the Backward classes, only 9 out of 34 households with children had a literate adult female. This says something about the educational environment for children, since it is also generally believed that the presence of a female literate makes a greater difference to the education of children. Of course, things are not all that much better with respect to the presence of a literate adult male in the household either, especially in the case of Scheduled Tribes and Scheduled Castes. Among Scheduled Caste households with children, 24 have no literate adult male, and these do not have a literate adult female either. Among Scheduled Tribe households with children, 8 have no literate adult males, but one of these has a literate adult female, which marginally lowers the level of deprivation. Things are a little better among Backward classes, with only (?!) three-eighths lacking any adult literate. It is indeed a sad state of affairs, three decades into rapid growth of GDP!

The variation in this regard across asset quintiles is shown in Table 3.28.

Table 3.28 *Distribution of household with children by absence of adult literates, by asset quintile, Zhapur, 2009*

Asset quintile	Without any adult female literate		Without any adult male literate		Without any adult literate	
	Number	Percentage	Number	Percentage	Number	Percentage
Q1	15	88.2	10	58.8	9	52.9
Q2	15	88.2	11	64.7	10	58.8
Q3	14	82.4	13	76.5	12	70.6
Q4	14	77.8	9	50.0	8	44.4
Q5	13	72.2	6	33.3	6	33.3
All	71	81.6	49	56.3	45	51.7

Even in the top quintile, nearly three-fourths of households with children did not have a single literate adult female. The percentage was higher for all the other quintiles. The situation was a little better with regard to the presence of a literate male adult, but not by much, with half or more of the households with children in Q1 to Q4 not having a single literate adult male. Even in Q5, this proportion was as high as one-third.

Finally, in this section, we look at two other indicators of the educational environment at home for children in Zhapur. One relates to the presence of at least one male graduate in the households and the other to that of a female who has passed the tenth class.

The distribution of households with children having at least one male graduate, by social group, is shown in Table 3.29. The variation across asset quintiles is shown in Table 3.30.

Table 3.29 Households with children with at least one male graduate, by social group, Zhapur, 2009

Social group	Number	As percentage of all households with children within the social group
Scheduled Caste	0	0.0
Scheduled Tribe	0	0.0
BC	4	11.8
Other Caste Hindu	0	0.0
Muslim	0	0.0
All	4	4.6

Table 3.30 *Households with children with at least one male graduate, by asset quintile, Zhapur, 2009*

Asset quintile	Number	As percentage of all households with children within the social group
Q1	0	0.0
Q2	0	0.0
Q3	0	0.0
Q4	0	0.0
Q5	4	22.2
All	4	4.6

There are no households with children with a male graduate among Scheduled Castes, Scheduled Tribes, Other Caste Hindus and Muslims. The only such households in Zhapur in 2009 were four Backward class households, constituting one-ninth of all Backward class households with children and less than 5 per cent of all households with children in Zhapur. Across asset quintiles, all the four households with children having a male graduate belong to Q5. They constitute just over a fifth of all households in the quintile.

The distribution of households with children having at least one female with tenth class pass by social group is shown in Table 3.31. The variation by asset quintiles is shown in Table 3.32.

Table 3.31 Households with children with at least one female 10th pass by social group, Zhapur, 2009

Social group	Number	As percentage of all households with children within the social group
Scheduled Caste	0	0.0
Scheduled Tribe	1	7.7
BC	7	20.6
Other Caste Hindu	1	50.0
Muslim	0	0.0
All	9	10.3

Table 3.32 *Households with children with at least one female 10th pass by asset quintile, Zhapur, 2009*

Asset quintile	Number	As percentage of all households with children within the social group
Q1	1	5.9
Q2	2	11.8
Q3	2	11.8
Q4	0	0.0
Q5	4	22.2
All	9	10.3

Among the 37 Scheduled Caste households with children in Zhapur, there was not even one with a female member who has passed the tenth class. It was also the case with the sole Muslim household with children in Zhapur and one of the two Other Caste Hindu households with children. Only one of the 13 Scheduled Tribe households with children had a female member who has passed the tenth class. The situation was somewhat better only among the Backward classes. Of the 34 Backward class households with children, 7 had at least one female member who had passed the tenth class. Overall, only 9 out of 87 households with children in Zhapur in 2009 had at least one female member who had passed the tenth class. Among the asset quintiles, the top quintile accounted for 4 of the 9 households with children with a female tenth pass. The fourth quintile drew a blank. The achievements in this regard are indeed rather modest.

Before moving on to the next section on amenities, it is useful to take stock of the overall picture on educational levels and deprivations of the people of Zhapur. The literacy rates in Zhapur in 2009 were generally poor. They were particularly poor for females and the oppressed social groups, the Scheduled Castes and the Scheduled Tribes. The picture was not very different across various age groups, although the improvement in school attendance in recent years naturally resulted in higher literacy rates for the population aged 7 years and above as compared to the adult population. The indicators of educational achievement, such as mean and median years of schooling, the proportion of graduates or those with twelve or ten years of completed formal schooling and so on reinforce the picture of widespread educational deprivation. The home educational environment of children as captured by the absence of literate adults or the presence of a male graduate or a female with ten or more years of completed schooling in households with children reveals a picture of exceptional deprivation, especially among Scheduled Caste and Scheduled Tribe households. A significant proportion of children below the age of 18 years are engaged in work. The employment of children in stone quarries and the fact of a sizeable proportion of children are out of school, especially among Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes are grim reminders of the failure of the Indian State to ensure free and compulsory education and elimination of child labour through decades of 'high growth' of GDP.

We turn now to a discussion of the provision of amenities in Zhapur.

4. AMENITIES

4.1 *Housing*

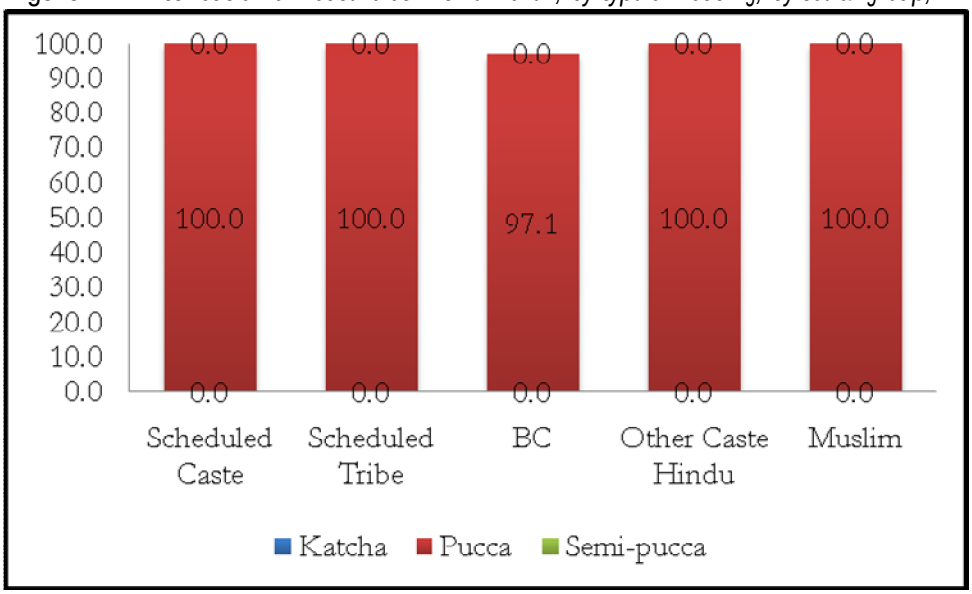
Our discussion of amenities relating to households with children will cover the conditions of housing, access to electricity for domestic consumption, access to drinking water and provisions relating to sanitation. We begin with a discussion of the state of shelter pertaining to households with children in Zhapur in 2009. Table 4.1 shows the distribution of households with children by type of housing.

Table 4.1 *Distribution of households with children, by type of housing, by social group, Zhapur, 2009*

Social group	Katcha	Pucca	Semi-pucca	Unspecified	All
Scheduled Caste	0.0	100.0	0.0	0.0	100.0
Scheduled Tribe	0.0	100.0	0.0	0.0	100.0
BC	0.0	97.1	0.0	2.9	100.0
Other Caste Hindu	0.0	100.0	0.0	0.0	100.0
Muslim	0.0	100.0	0.0	0.0	100.0
All	0.0	98.9	0.0	1.1	100.0

Note: *As per the definition followed by the Census of India and the NSSO, 'Pucca' houses are houses with both roof and walls constructed of permanent materials. Katcha houses are houses with both roof and walls constructed of temporary materials. Semi-pucca houses are those with either roof or walls constructed of permanent materials.*

Figure 4.1 *Distribution of households with children, by type of housing, by social group, Zhapur, 2009*



Practically all households with children in the otherwise backward village of Zhapur lived in what are officially considered 'pucca' houses. The sole exception is a Backward class household. There is therefore also little variation across asset quintiles with respect to this aspect of housing conditions.

Housing in Zhapur

Almost all houses in Zhapur are classified as pucca, that is, with roof and walls made of pucca materials. This is in stark contrast to most of our study villages.

If we examine the data closely, two factors explain this observation. First, data on construction material used reveal that almost all households in the village used stone as the main material in constructing roofs and walls of their dwelling units. There are many stone quarries in and around the village. This makes availability of stones easy and financially affordable. The data show that stone was used by households across all classes and castes irrespective of their income levels.

Most households constructed the roof using a combination of materials. These include stone, wood, metal and asbestos sheet. Stone is the common material in almost all the material combinations. A few households used only metal or asbestos sheet in constructing the roof. Use of stone along with materials such as bricks, clay, cement and mud in constructing walls was more common than its use in roof construction. Excepting twelve households, all households had used stone for construction of walls. Easy availability and affordability of stone is reflected in the fact that almost one-third of all households used stone with mud. In other words, even if cement was unaffordable, stone was used. Almost one-half of all households used stone with cement, while the remaining reported using stone alone in constructing walls.

A second factor which seems to have influenced the type of housing in this village is assistance from government. A little more than one-third of all households reported receiving some sort of government aid either in the form of financial assistance or in terms of physical assistance, that is, a fully constructed house. Only a small number of households were given new houses, and the majority received financial help. The main phase of government house construction was between 1969 and the mid-1990s. In the 2000s, only two households were reported as beneficiaries of government-constructed housing. Government-constructed dwelling units have one or two rooms with a kitchen but none has a toilet. Financial assistance received by households in Zhapur ranged from Rs. 2,500 in 1984 to Rs. 40,000 in 2007, with most households receiving between Rs 10,000 and Rs 20,000. The majority of the beneficiary households belong to the Dalit community.

To sum up, easy availability of stone in the region along with some financial assistance from the government, even if small, has helped households in Zhapur improve the condition of their housing.

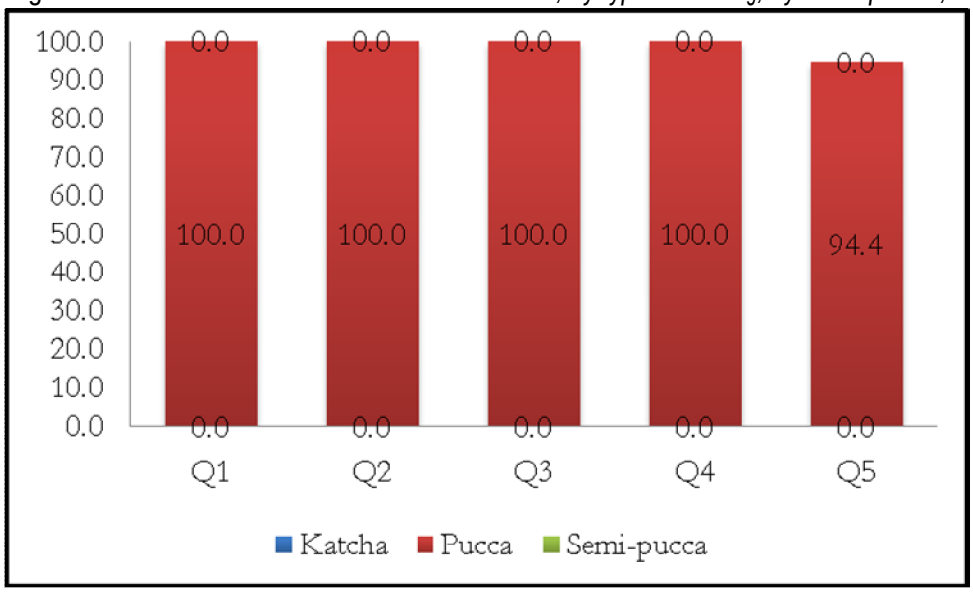
Source: Shamsher Singh, November 2012

A more meaningful indicator of the quality of shelter is the number of households living in single room houses. Table 4.2 presents the data in this regard for Zhapur's households with children in 2009. It can be seen immediately that the quality of housing in Zhapur reflected its backwardness and underdevelopment.

Table 4.2 *Number of households with children living in single room houses, Zhapur, 2009*

Asset quintile	Katcha	Pucca	Semi-pucca	Unspecified	All
Q1	0.0	100.0	0.0	0.0	100.0
Q2	0.0	100.0	0.0	0.0	100.0
Q3	0.0	100.0	0.0	0.0	100.0
Q4	0.0	100.0	0.0	0.0	100.0
Q5	0.0	94.4	0.0	5.6	100.0
All	0.0	98.9	0.0	1.1	100.0

Figure 4.2 *Distribution of households with children, by type of housing, by asset quintile, Zhapur, 2009*



Nearly half of all households with children lived in single room houses. The proportion exceeded half among Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes, and was close to two-fifths among the Backward classes.

The variation across asset quintiles is shown in Table 4.3.

Table 4.3 *Number of households with children living in single room houses by asset quintile, Zhapur, 2009*

Social group	Number of households	As percentage of all households
Scheduled Caste	20	54.1
Scheduled Tribe	7	53.8
BC	13	38.2
Other Caste Hindu	2	100.0
Muslim	0	0.0
All	42	48.3

Even in the top asset quintile, more than a fourth of the households with children lived in single room shelters. In the poorest quintile, the proportion was as high as seven-tenths. In the other three quintiles, the proportion was around a half.

4.2 *Access to Electricity for Domestic Use*

An important amenity of particular relevance to the home infrastructure for children's education is the availability of electricity. That is of course difficult to capture, especially in view of the uncertainty of availability of power in rural areas even when there is a power connection. However, we have to make do with the data available, which relates to whether a household had an electric connection for domestic use, though this by itself is no guarantee of access to electricity. Table 4.4 presents the data for Zhapur's households with children in 2009.

Table 4.4 *Households with children with electric connection for domestic use, Zhapur, 2009*

Asset quintile	Number of households	As percentage of all households
Q1	12	70.6
Q2	8	47.1
Q3	8	47.1
Q4	9	50.0
Q5	5	27.8
All	42	48.3

Most of these households did have an electric connection for domestic use in 2009. Five Scheduled Caste and five Backward class households did not have such a connection. All the other 77 households with children did.

The distribution of households with children with an electricity connection for domestic use by asset quintile is shown in Table 4.5.

Table 4.5 *Households with children with electric connection for domestic use, by asset quintile, Zhapur, 2009*

Social group	Number of households	As percentage of all households
Scheduled Caste	32	86.5
Scheduled Tribe	13	100.0
BC	29	85.3
Other Caste Hindu	2	100.0
Muslim	1	100.0
All	77	88.5

In the poorest asset quintile, nearly three-tenths of the households have no electricity connection for domestic use. Among the other quintiles, the fourth quintile lags behind the others.

4.3 *Access to Drinking Water*

Safe drinking water is critical to minimizing morbidity and episodes of illness among children, and is therefore a crucial to household infrastructure for education of children. Let us now look at the position in respect of the source of drinking water and access to it among households with children in Zhapur. Table 4.6 gives the distribution of these households by primary source of drinking water in Zhapur in 2009.

Table 4.6 *Distribution of households with children by primary source of drinking water, Zhapur, 2009*

Asset quintile	Number of households	As percentage of all households
Q1	12	70.6
Q2	16	94.1
Q3	16	94.1
Q4	16	88.9
Q5	17	94.4
All	77	88.5

A majority of households with children in Zhapur were relying on water from wells –open, tube and bore wells – for their drinking water needs. Water from a tap was accessed by less than three-tenths of all households with children.

In official reckoning, drinking water from a covered source is usually considered to be 'safe'. While this may not always be a valid conclusion, it is generally used as the criterion in most surveys and by most official agencies. Keeping this in mind, we present in Table 4.7 the distribution of households with children which had access to a covered source of water by social group in Zhapur in 2009.

Table 4.7 *Households with children with access to covered source of drinking water, by social group, Zhapur, 2009*

Source	Number of households	As percentage of all households with children
Tap	25	28.7
Tubewell/borewell	31	35.6
Water tank	7	8.0
Well/open well	22	25.3
Pond/open tank	1	1.1
Unspecified	1	1.1
All	87	100.0

Interestingly, with regard to access to a covered source of water, Scheduled Caste households with children, with all but two of them having such access, were much better off than both Backward classes and Scheduled Tribes. Overall, nearly three-fourths of all households with children in Zhapur had access to a covered source of water in 2009. Such access does not, of course, imply that water is always available from the covered source and in adequate quantity. This needs to be kept in mind as well.

The variation in access to a covered source of water by asset quintiles is shown in Table 4.8.

Table 4.8 *Households with children with access to covered source of drinking water, by asset quintile, Zhapur, 2009*

Social group	Number of households	As percentage of all households with children
Scheduled Caste	35	94.6
Scheduled Tribe	6	46.2
BC	21	61.8
Other Caste Hindu	1	50.0
Muslim	0	0.0
All	63	72.4

There is no systematic relationship between access to a covered source of drinking water and asset status. The third quintile reports the highest proportion, followed by Q4. The bottom two quintiles and the top quintile report very similar proportions, distinctly lower than the other two quintiles.

An aspect of particular importance in the context of access to drinking water is the distance of the water source from the homestead. This has clear gender implications since it is mostly the women in rural households on whom the burden of ensuring water availability for domestic use often falls. Table 4.9 shows the distribution of households with children in Zhapur by distance of drinking water source from homestead, by social group.

Table 4.9 *Number of households with children by distance from source of drinking water, by social group, Zhapur, 2009*

Asset quintile	Number of households	As percentage of all households
Q1	11	64.7
Q2	11	64.7
Q3	15	88.2
Q4	14	77.8
Q5	12	66.7
All	63	72.4

Among the 87 households with children in Zhapur in 2009, only one Backward class household had access to water within the homestead. In 81 of the cases, the distance was less than half a kilometer, while in three instances, it was more than a kilometer away. The implication of this is that almost all households with children had to expend family labour to fetch water from some distance. It might not be altogether off the mark to assume that a good share of the burden in this regard fell on women, and that a part of it would have fallen on girls of school-going age. Clearly, this is an issue of importance for children's education, not just in terms of enrolment but also in terms of attendance and achievement of satisfactory learning outcomes.

The variation across asset quintiles in this regard is shown in Table 4.10. There is not much variation across asset quintiles, with only one household in the top quintile having access to water within the homestead.

In fact, the three households who get water from a distance of more than half a kilometer are from the top two quintiles, not the bottom ones as one might have expected.

Table 4.10 *Number of households with children by distance from source of drinking water, by asset quintile, Zhapur, 2009*

Social group	Within homestead	≤ 500 metres	> 500 metres	Unspecified
Scheduled Caste	0	35	2	0
Scheduled Tribe	0	13	0	0
BC	1	31	1	1
Other Caste Hindu	0	2	0	0
Muslim	0	0	0	1
All	1	81	3	2

Finally, in our discussion of the provision of amenities in Zhapur in 2009 in relation to households with children, we look at sanitation. The indicator we use is the number of households without access to a toilet. There is a gender dimension to this issue. Apart from the fact that sanitation, as measured by the indicator we have chosen, is crucial, along with access to safe drinking water as an input into ensuring preventive health care, there is also the question of dignity and privacy, especially for women in our patriarchal society. Provision of access to a toilet is critical to health (especially of children) and women's dignity in the Indian context. Table 4.11 presents the relevant data for Zhapur in 2009 in this regard.

Table 4.11 *Households with children without access to lavatories, by social group, Zhapur, 2009*

Asset quintile	Within homestead	≤ 500 metres	> 500 metres	Unspecified
Q1	0	17	0	0
Q2	0	17	0	0
Q3	0	16	0	1
Q4	0	16	2	0
Q5	1	15	1	1
All	1	81	3	2

4.4 *Lavatories*

Of 87 households with children in Zhapur in 2009, only two Backward class households, and the sole Muslim household, had access to a toilet. 84 out of 87 households did not have access to a lavatory. This means that there is little variation across social groups and also therefore across asset quintiles. This also implies that open defecation was the rule in Zhapur. The health and gender implications of this state of affairs merit serious consideration.

Table 4.12 *Households with children without access to lavatories, by social group, Zhapur, 2009*

Social group	Number of households	As percentage of all households with children
Scheduled Caste	37	100.0
Scheduled Tribe	13	100.0
BC	32	94.1
Other Caste Hindu	2	100.0
Muslim	0	0.0
All	84	96.6

Table 4.13 *Households with children without access to lavatories, by asset quintile, Zhapur, 2009*

Asset quintile	Number of households	As percentage of all households with children
Q1	16	94.1
Q2	17	100.0
Q3	16	94.1
Q4	18	100.0
Q5	17	94.4
All	84	96.6

Our brief review of the situation with respect to the access of households with children in Zhapur in 2009 shows a sorry state of affairs, with most households not having access to a source of drinking water within the homestead and almost all households lacking access to a toilet.

Figure 4.3 *Households with children without access to lavatories, by social group, Zhapur, 2009*

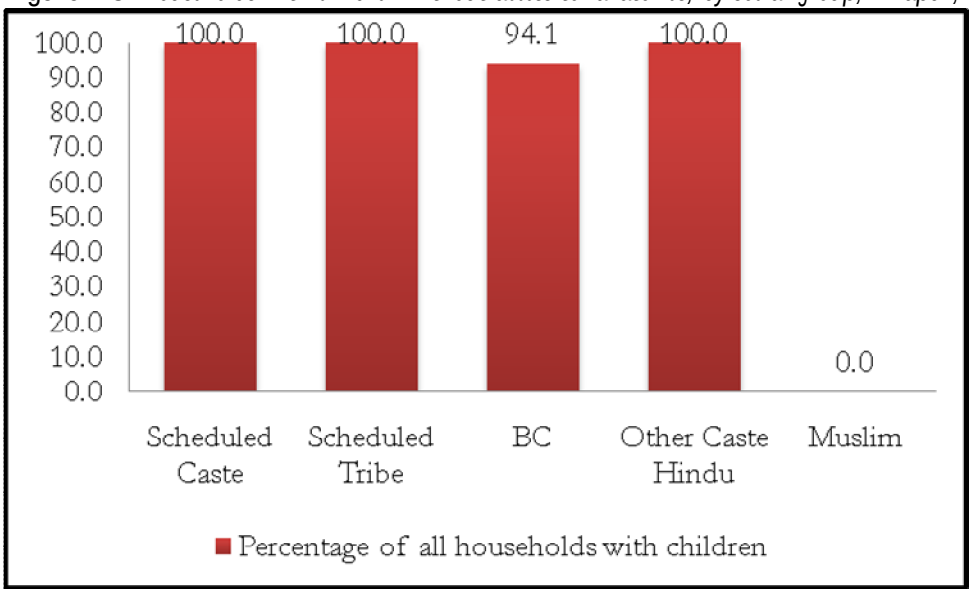
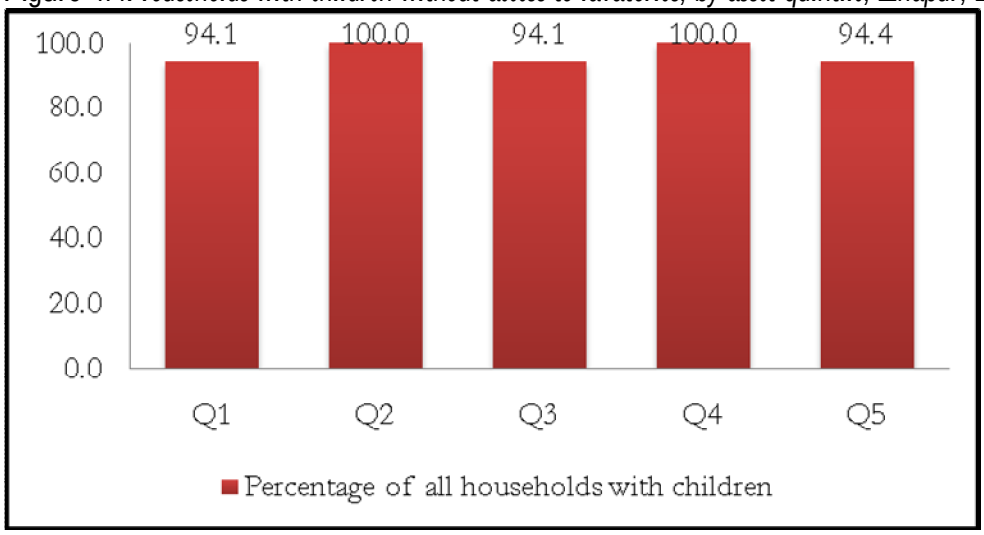


Figure 4.4*Households with children without access to lavatories, by asset quintile, Zhapur, 2009*



We now turn to a discussion on the economic situation of women in Zhapur.

5. *ECONOMIC SITUATION OF WOMEN*

5.1 *Marital Status*

Table 5.1 shows the marital status of women aged 18 years and above in the village of Zhapur as per the FAS survey of 2009. Table 5.2 provides the age distribution of widows in the village.

Around one-sixth of women 18 years or older in Zhapur in 2009 were widows. This figure is very similar to those for the villages of Andhra Pradesh surveyed by FAS in 2005.

Table 5.1 *Distribution of women (18 years and above) by marital status, Zhapur, 2009*

Marital status	Number of women	As percentage of all women
Never married	14	7.2
Currently married	145	74.4
Widowed	33	16.9
Separated/divorced	3	1.5
All	195	100.0

Table 5.2 *Age distribution of widowed women (18 years and above), Zhapur, 2009*

Age group	Number	As percentage of all women within the age group
18 years to 34 years	0	0.0
35 years to 49 years	3	7.0
50 years to 59 years	7	30.4
60 years to 69 years	11	52.4
$\geq$ 70 years	12	75.0
All	33	16.9

The proportion of widows in the female population aged 70 years and above and that for the age group of 60 to 69 years are broadly consistent with proportions derived from Census and other sources of data such as the National Family Health Surveys (NFHS). As one would expect, a high proportion of widows -70 per cent - are 60 years of age or older.

5.2 *Women in the Workforce*

Table 5.3 shows the proportion of the working population to the total adult population, separately for women, men and persons among those 18 years or older, by social group, in Zhapur in 2009.

Leaving out the small number of Muslim and Other Caste Hindu workers, among the Other Backward classes, Scheduled Tribes and Scheduled Castes, it is the Scheduled Castes who reported the highest work participation rates (WPR) in Zhapur in 2009, both among adult men and among adult women. Overall, Other Backward classes and Scheduled Tribes reported a WPR of around two-thirds while Scheduled Castes had a WPR of over 80 per cent. Among females, the Scheduled Tribes had a distinctly higher WPR than Other Backward classes, but well below that for Scheduled Castes. Among adult males, however, the Backward classes and the Scheduled Tribes had almost identical WPRs.

Table 5.3 *Proportion of working population (18 years and above), by sex, by social group, Zhapur, 2009*

Social group	Female		Male		Persons	
	Number	Percentage	Number	Percentage	Number	Percentage
BC	44	49.4	77	81.9	121	66.1
Muslim	2	50.0	5	100.0	7	77.8
Other Caste Hindu	1	33.3	2	100.0	3	60.0
Scheduled Caste	53	71.6	77	91.7	130	82.3
Scheduled Tribe	14	56.0	17	81.0	31	67.4
All	114	58.5	178	86.4	292	72.8

It is clear that a sizeable proportion of adult women in Zhapur were working in 2009. Did their participation vary according to their marital status? What were the activities that they were engaged in? Tables 5.4 and 5.5 provide some information in this regard.

Table 5.4 *Work participation rate of women (18 years and above), by marital status, Zhapur, 2009*

Marital status	Number	WPR
Never married	9	64.3
Currently married	91	62.8
Widowed	11	33.3
Separated/divorced	3	100.0
All	114	58.5

Table 5.5 *Activity profile of women (18 years and above), Zhapur, 2009*

Occupation	Number of women participating in the activity	As percentage of all women
Cultivation	46	23.6
Agricultural wage employment	53	27.2
Animal husbandry	12	6.2
Non agricultural wage employment	28	14.4
Non agricultural self employment	10	5.1
Salaried employment	7	3.6
Other	3	1.5

Table 5.4 shows the work participation rates of adult women in Zhapur in 2009 by marital status. The low WPR for widows is clearly linked to their age distribution, with 70 per cent of them being 60 years or older.

Table 5.5 provides information on the number and proportion of these adult women engages in specified activities. Wage labour in agriculture is the activity that the highest number and proportion of adult women were engaged in. Next in order is cultivation. About one in seven of the adult women reported working as wage labourers in non-agricultural activities, while about one in sixteen reported being engaged in animal husbandry and one in twenty were self-employed outside of agriculture. A few adult women were salaried employees.

5.3 *Women as Head of Households*

In our patriarchal society, and especially in rural India, only a small proportion of households have female heads. Zhapur is of course no exception. Table 5.6 presents the distribution of households in Zhapur by social group and the sex of the head of household. Table 5.7 presents the same by asset quintile.

Table 5.6 *Distribution of heads of the households by sex and social group, Zhapur, 2009*

Social group	Number		Percentage	
	Female	Male	Female	Male
Scheduled Caste	4	42	8.7	91.3
Scheduled Tribe	2	12	14.3	85.7
BC	9	37	19.6	80.4
Other Caste Hindu	0	2	0.0	100.0
Muslim	0	1	0.0	100.0
All	15	94	13.8	86.2

Table 5.7 *Proportion of head of the households by sex, by asset quintile, Zhapur, 2009*

Asset quintile	Number		Percentage	
	Female	Male	Female	Male
Q1	2	19	9.5	90.5
Q2	4	17	19.0	81.0
Q3	3	19	13.6	86.4
Q4	3	19	13.6	86.4
Q5	3	20	13.0	87.0
All	15	94	13.8	86.2

Just under one-seventh of all households in Zhapur in 2009 were female-headed. The proportion was higher and close to one-fifth among Backward classes. There is not much variation across social groups or asset quintiles.

Does the marital status of a woman have any influence on the likelihood of her being the head of a household? Table 5.8 shows the distribution of female heads of households by marital status in Zhapur in 2009.

Table 5.8 *Distribution of female head of the households by marital status, Zhapur, 2009*

Marital status	Number	Percentage
Never married	0	0.0
Currently married	5	33.3
Widowed	9	60.0
Separated/divorced	1	6.7
All	15	100.0

It is obvious that, if her spouse is alive, the likelihood of the woman being head of the household to which she belongs is rather small. On the other hand, while the likelihood of a female being the head of the household is greater if she is a widow, it is far from being a certainty, with the main adult male earner being a more likely candidate for the headship of the household. It is no surprise then that two-thirds of all female heads of households in Zhapur in 2009 -10 out of 15 - were either widows or were separated/divorced. An obvious instance of a woman being head of a household is if we are dealing with a single person household whose only member is head by default! There is one such case in Zhapur in 2009, a widow heading the only single person household in the village!

Female heads of households are more likely to be widows and the age distribution of female heads is bound to reflect this. Table 5.9 shows the distribution of female heads of households by age while Table 5.10 shows the corresponding distribution for male heads.

Table 5.9 Distribution of female heads of households, by age group, Zhapur, 2009

Age group	Number	Percentage
Upto 34 years	0	0.0
35 to 49 years	3	20.0
50 to 60 years	11	73.3
Above 60 years	1	6.7
All	15	100.0

Table 5.10 Distribution of male heads of households, by age group, Zhapur, 2009

Age group	Number	Percentage
Upto 34 years	17	18.1
35 to 49 years	31	33.0
50 to 60 years	28	29.8
Above 60 years	18	19.1
All	94	100.0

While only 20 per cent of female heads of households are below 50 years of age, more than half of male heads are in this age group. This is no surprise since the presence of an adult male earner in a household would make the likelihood of a woman heading that household rather slim.

Some Observations on the findings from the FAS survey of two villages in Karnataka in 2009

The two villages surveyed by FAS in 2009 in Karnataka were Zhapur in Gulbarga district located at a distance of 15 km from Gulbarga town and Siresandra in Kolar district, 20 km from Kolar town. Siresandra is a small village with a population of 294 persons from 79 households in 2009 while Zhapur had a population, in 2009, of 668 persons from 109 households. Of the 79 households in Siresandra, 50 belonged to the backward Classes and the remaining 29 to the Scheduled Castes. In Zhapur, the Backward Classes and Scheduled Castes accounted for 92 of the 109 households while Scheduled Tribes accounted for 14. There were one Muslim and two Other Caste Hindu households. In both villages, the infrastructure was poor, and the majority of the population suffered from significant deprivation in terms of assets, education and amenities. There was considerable incidence of child labour in Zhapur, and somewhat less of it in Siresandra.

Assets

Both villages exhibit a high degree of inequality in the ownership of assets. The general level of the value of assets owned by households in Siresandra in 2009 was distinctly higher than that in Zhapur, with median asset values in every quintile in Siresandra being significantly higher than that for the corresponding quintile in Zhapur. In both villages, there was some degree of correlation between social group status and asset status. Across social groups, the Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes in Zhapur were poorer than the Backward Classes. The latter, comprising 42 per cent of all households, accounted for 87 per cent of assets owned. In Siresandra, Backward Classes were on the whole better off than Scheduled Castes in terms of assets owned. Seventy per cent of all Scheduled Caste households were in the bottom two quintiles as compared to less than a fourth of Backward Class households. At the other end, 54 per cent of Backward Class households were in Q4 and Q5 as against less than one-seventh of Scheduled Castes. In both villages, there was a large gap between the top asset quintile and the rest. The degree of inequality within the quintile was the highest in the top quintile in both villages, while the intra-quintile inequality in the top quintile in Siresandra was more modest than that in Zhapur. The maximum household asset value in the top quintile in Zhapur was two and a half times that of the minimum in that quintile, while in Siresandra, the maximum was only forty per cent higher than the minimum in the top quintile.

Education

In terms of school attendance ratios in the age group of 6 to 18 years, Siresandra was much better than Zhapur. In fact, Siresandra's record of universal per cent attendance in the age group of 6 to 14 years for both boys and girls is the best across all the villages surveyed by FAS since 2005. In sharp contrast, the attendance ratio for the age group of 6 to 18 years was about 70 per cent for Zhapur as compared to Siresandra's 90 per cent. Literacy rates for the population aged 7 years or older as well as for the adult population showed considerable gender differentials in both villages. Similarly, Scheduled Castes were much worse off than the Backward Classes in both villages, while Scheduled Tribes in Zhapur were as deprived as the Scheduled Castes. The literacy rates in Zhapur were much lower than those in Siresandra for both males and females across social groups. The median and mean years of schooling at zero and 4.5 years for the population aged 16 years and older in Zhapur highlights the degree of educational deprivation in that village. The situation in Siresandra with respect to the median years of schooling is as dismal as in Zhapur, with both villages reporting that not a single female aged 16 years or older had completed even one year of formal school. The situation with respect to males is better in Siresandra as compared to Zhapur, with the median value being 8 years in the former as opposed to 5 years in the latter. It was only in the case of households in the top asset quintile in Siresandra that the median years of schooling for males reached ten years.

The record in respect of other indicators such as proportion of graduates/12th pass/10th pass aged 25 years or older or households with children with a literate adult tell pretty much the same story of widespread deprivation in both villages. Over four-fifths of households with children in Zhapur did not have a literate adult female and more than half did not have a literate adult male. Siresandra had a better (though still unenviable) record, with the corresponding proportions being less than half and about one-fifth.

In both villages, and for all indicators of educational achievement, the households in the top asset quintile constituted a class apart, and practically all the other households did dismally for the most part. But even the achievements of the top quintile were rather modest.

Working Children

Over a fifth of the children in Zhapur were working children in 2009. If children engaged in work with animal resources and those doing housework are included, the proportion goes up substantially. The overall proportion of working children was close to one-fifth in Siresandra. The presence of stone quarries in the neighbourhood of Zhapur had facilitated boys being sent to work in quarries

by parents of poor households. We even found one child from a household in the top quintile being so sent. It is clear that in 2009, there was a significant incidence of child work in both Zhapur and Siresandra. In Zhapur, it took the form of boys being engaged as wage workers in quarries in addition to employment on household operational holdings. In Siresandra, children were not engaged in work for an employer outside the household. Further, while around 30 per cent of children were out of school in Zhapur, the percentage was lower at around 10 per cent in Siresandra. It should be noted that while children from weaker social groups such as Scheduled Tribes and Scheduled Castes as well as those from households in the bottom two asset quintiles were more likely to be working children, there were children from even the wealthiest asset quintile and the social groups dominant in the caste hierarchy who were found to be working.

Pre School Education

In Zhapur, among the three social groups of Scheduled Castes, Scheduled Tribes and Backward Classes, nearly three-tenths of the children between 3 and 6 years of age were attending an anganwadi. This is among the highest proportions among the villages surveyed by FAS. Clearly, the anganwadi serves a felt need in Zhapur. It is quite possible that if the supply infrastructure including the posting of personnel was ensured, there would be a greater willingness on the part of parents – especially working mothers – to send their children to anganwadis. In Siresandra, while no child from Backeard Class households was sent to the anganwadi centre, a third of the children from Scheduled Caste households were in anganwadi centres. This also reinforces the point that anganwadi centres do satisfy the felt needs of the rural poor, and if they are properly staffed and run, there would be greater participation from the people, especially the poorer households as well.

In both villages, there were also private nursery schools to which children in the pre-school age group were sent. In Zhapur, there were as many children in private nursery schools as there were in anganwadis. In Siresandra, their number was twice the number in the anganwadi. It has been argued by many that absence of or inadequate provision by government of pre-school education is leading to a proliferation of private nursery schools across the country, and the data from Zhapur and Siresandra are consistent with this argument.

Amenities

While easy availability of stones from quarries and some government assistance in housing had enabled practically all households in Zhapur to have pucca shelters, nearly half of all households

with children lived in single room houses in 2009. This proportion was 36 per cent in Siresnadra, but was close to half for Scheduled Castes in that village. While access to a covered source of water was high in both villages, almost all households had to fetch drinking water from outside the homestead. Sanitation was abysmal, with nearly all households in both villages not having access to a toilet. Policy needs to address this issue urgently, in view of its health as well as gender implications.

Policy Implications

It is clear that over two to three decades of relatively rapid growth of GDP in the country have not led to elimination of even the most elementary deprivations in much of rural India. The policy implication of this is that a direct attack on rural deprivation in such aspects as education, child labour, amenities such as housing, drinking water and sanitation is urgently required. It is also clear that the particularly poor status of women, Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes with regard to educational achievements needs to be tackled.

While it is true that there is a high degree of correlation between the asset status of a household and its access to education and amenities, it is also true that household economic status being higher in terms of asset ownership does not necessarily imply better outcomes for children. Even among relatively affluent households, we found childhood deprivations, such as children, especially girls, being engaged in labour as well as not being in school. One implication of this is that policies for children, such as free schooling or scholarships or noon meals, should not be targeted narrowly in terms of income or asset criteria. A second and corollary policy implication is that cash transfers cannot solve the problem when there are specific household constraints or constraints on the supply side. For instance, when a sibling is kept back to take care of a disabled child, a cash transfer is not a solution.

An important imperative to ensure universal enrolment and attendance, especially of girls, is the provision of child and elderly care facilities. Social mobilization for gender equality, encouraging sharing of the tasks of caring and public provisioning of care facilities to enable women to earn income from work and also enable girl children to go to school, are important. The distance of a secondary school from the village is also critical to girls going beyond the primary and elementary levels of schooling. More generally, there is a need for more schools and/or better and cheaper

transport of children to and from school, for instance, using dedicated public transport. The degree of utilization of anganwadi facilities in both Zhapur and Siresandra suggests the presence of a felt need for anganwadis. It is important that the ICDS is fully and properly implemented everywhere.

The fact of massive educational deprivation in the adult population has important implications for the educational achievements of children. The fact that the majority of households with children does not have an adult female with even a tenth or twelfth class pass, let alone a graduate degree, has implications for the learning environment of children. The issue of continuing or adult education is relevant for the improvement of the learning environment that children face at home.

It is striking, in the context of the rhetoric of 'inclusive growth', how miserable and deprived rural Scheduled Tribe and Scheduled Caste households continue to be, as seen from the two villages surveyed by FAS in Karnataka. Clearly, provision of child-friendly rural housing, and ensuring public provisioning of basic amenities with a focus on Scheduled Castes, and Scheduled Tribes should command urgent and serious policy attention. Provision of financial support to labouring households, a substantial proportion of which are Scheduled Caste/Scheduled Tribe households, to enable them to send children to school instead of work should also be given urgent consideration.

The situation with regard to amenities in general and sanitation in particular in Zhapur and Siresandra in 2009 should be a matter of great concern from the viewpoints of public health, women's privacy and dignity and safety for women and children, and of course from the viewpoint of people's entitlements that one would consider as non-negotiable in a decent society. Safe drinking water and sanitation are critical in ensuring food and nutrition security of the people, a task that is part of the constitutional responsibility of the State in India.