

Child Wellbeing, Schooling and Living Standards

REPORT ON TWO VILLAGES
OF
MADHYA PRADESH

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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 completed 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.

Madhya Pradesh was studied in 2008 as part of the Project on Agrarian Relations in India. Census-type surveys were conducted in May-June 2008 in two villages, Gharsondi and Badhar. Gharsondi is a village in Bhitwar tehsil, Gwalior district, western Madhya Pradesh. The village is about 25 km from Dabra town and is connected to it by an all-weather road. In 2008, there were 273 households in Gharsondi. The village has canal- and groundwater-irrigation. Badhar is a small Adivasi village in Anuppur district. Badhar is about 20 km from Anuppur. Of this, 15 km are covered by a State highway. A four km mud road linking the nearest point of the village to the highway was constructed in 2008. The people of this village had to walk long distances to the highway to be able to gain access to public (or any other type of motorised) transport. In 2008, 118 households lived in Badhar. Of them, 90 belonged to the Gond and Baiga Scheduled Tribes, and 26 to the Nayak caste (Other Backward class).

Madhya Pradesh: Gharsondi Village

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1. LOCATION AND INFRASTRUCTURE

The revenue village of Gharsondi is located in Bhitwar tehsil of Gwalior district in western Madhya Pradesh. The Foundation for Agrarian Studies (FAS) surveyed the village in 2008. There were 273 households in Gharsondi at the time of survey. Three households refused to respond. Seven of the households identified in 2008 were found during the survey to be part of joint households. The FAS census therefore effectively covers 263 households in the village.

Some basic information on the location and infrastructure of the village of Gharsondi are presented in Tables 1.1 to 1.4.

Table 1.1 *Location of the village, Gharsondi, 2008*

Village	Gharsondi
District	Gwalior
Block/Tehsil	Bhitwar
Nearest town	Dabra
Distance from nearest town	21 Km.
Nearest railway station	Dabra
Distance from nearest railway station	21 Km.
Bus stop within the village	Yes
Metalled approach road	No

Table 1.2 *Description of village infrastructure and amenities, Gharsondi, 2008*

Item	Number/ description
Number of anganwadi centres within village	-
Number of primary schools (Std I-V) within village	4
Number of middle schools (up to Std VIII) within village	1
Number of secondary schools (up to Std X) within village	2
Number of higher secondary schools (up to Std XII) within village	-
Distance from nearest PHC	5 Km.
Post office within the village	Yes
Bank within the village	No

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

Village		Area (in hectares)	As % of geographical area	
Geographical area		668	100.0	
Land use (as % of geographical area)	Forest	0	0.0	
	Area under cultivation	Irrigated	587	87.9
		Unirrigated	2	0.3
	Cultivable waste	40	6.0	
	Area not available for cultivation	39	5.8	

Source: Census of India, 2001

1.4 *Agro-economic features of the village, Gharsondi, 2008*

Agro-ecological region	Hot Semi-Arid Eco-region with Alluvium Derived soils*
Major crops grown (by crop seasons)	Kharif: Soyabean, Black gram, Sesame, Rabi: Wheat, Rapeseed, Chickpea and Lucerne grass
Major sources of irrigation	Canal and tubewells

*This is the classification for the district of Gwalior in which Gharsondi is located.

The nearest town as well as railway station for Gharsondi is Dabra, 21 kilometres away. There is a bus stop within the village, but no metalled approach road. The nearest primary health centre is 5 kilometres away. There is no bank within the village. There are four primary schools, a middle school and two high schools. Not all of them were functioning in 2008. For instance, the school in the Adivasi settlement did not function.

In terms of agro-ecological classification, the village falls in the hot semi-arid zone.¹ Of the 668 hectares of village area, 589 hectares were reported as being cultivated, with all but two hectares of this being irrigated. Cultivable waste accounted for 40 hectares while the remaining 39 hectares were not available for cultivation. The lands of Gharsondi were irrigated in 2008 by a canal from the Harsi dam and by privately-owned tubewells. There had been a considerable decline in the availability of irrigation water from the Harsi dam over the previous ten years. As a result, much of the double-cropped land in the village had been reduced to mono-cropping. Until about ten years earlier, paddy was the main kharif crop in Gharsondi. On account of poor irrigation, the cultivation of paddy had completely stopped

¹ This description is from www.fas.org.in

in the village. The major kharif crops in 2008 were soya bean, sesame and black gram. In 2008, the soya bean crop of most households was destroyed because of a pest attack. The main rabi crops in the village were wheat, rapeseed, chickpea and lucerne grass. In 2008, the yields of rabi crops were very low because of poor irrigation.

Thakurs, as Jats are called in Gharsondi, constituted the socially and economically dominant caste of the village. The major landlord family in the village was a Thakur household. In addition, the village had Jat Sikh households who owned the largest share of landholdings. The village also had households belonging to the Kushwaha, Chauhan, Jatav and Baghel castes, and Sahariya Scheduled Tribe households. The Sahariya Adivasi households were the most deprived community in the village, both economically and in terms of access to basic amenities. Most Sahariya households were landless and dependent on agricultural and non-agricultural wage labour. There was no sanitation or lavatory in the entire Adivasi settlement.

2. DEMOGRAPHY

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

Tables 2.1 and 2.2 provide data on the number of households and on the population of Gharsondi, disaggregated by social group, as per the FAS survey of 2008.

Table 2.1 *Distribution of households, by social groups, Gharsondi, 2008*

Social group	Number of households	As percentage of all households
Scheduled Caste	27	10.3
Scheduled Tribe	33	12.5
OBC	153	58.2
Other Caste Hindu	4	1.5
Muslim	13	4.9
Jat Sikh	33	12.5
All	263	100.0

Table 2.2 *Distribution of population by caste and sex, Gharsondi, 2008*

Social group	Number			As percentage to all persons		
	Female	Male	Persons	Female	Male	Persons
Scheduled Caste	82	99	181	9.6	10.1	9.9
Scheduled Tribe	94	95	189	11.0	9.7	10.3
OBC	508	574	1082	59.3	58.5	58.9
Other Caste Hindu	21	22	43	2.5	2.2	2.3
Muslim	35	48	83	4.1	4.9	4.5
Jat Sikh	116	143	259	13.6	14.6	14.1
All	856	981	1837	100.0	100.0	100.0

The FAS survey reports a population of 1837 persons in 263 households, as of 2008. If one were to assume that the three non-responding households also had the same average household size as the rest of the households, the population would be 1858. The population of the village as per the census of 2001 was 1976 from 311 households, consisting of 1055 males and 921 females. It would thus appear that there has been a net decline in both the number of households and the population, reflecting net emigration, since the natural rate of growth of population is unlikely to have been negative. In terms of social composition, the Other Backward Classes account for the largest share of the population at nearly three-fifths,

while the Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes account for 10 per cent each. The Jat Sikhs account for one-eighth of the population. Muslims constitute less than 5 per cent of the population. The Other Caste Hindus – basically the Thakurs – form a very small share of the population, hardly 2 per cent, but are economically powerful. As noted earlier, there are big landowners among the Jat Sikhs as well.

Table 2.3 presents the distribution of the population of Gharsondi by sex and specified age groups.

The overall sex ratio – the number of females per 1000 males in the entire population – was 873 in 2008, the same as the figure reported by the Census of 2001. The non-decline in the sex ratio for the population as a whole may reflect some sex-selective male emigration, but the numbers involved are not large enough to be certain. However, *the child sex ratio* at 734 is significantly lower than the figure of 810 as per Census 2001.

Table 2.3 *Distribution of population by age and sex, Gharsondi, 2008*

Age group	Population			As percentage of total population		
	Female	Male	Persons	Female	Male	Persons
0 < 3 years	46	74	120	5.4	7.5	6.5
3 years to 6 years	78	95	173	9.1	9.7	9.4
7 years to 9 years	50	78	128	5.8	8.0	7.0
10 years to 14 years	108	113	221	12.6	11.5	12.0
15 years to 17 years	50	67	117	5.8	6.8	6.4
18 years to 24 years	131	149	280	15.3	15.2	15.2
25 years to 34 years	135	144	279	15.8	14.7	15.2
35 years to 49 years	116	135	251	13.6	13.8	13.7
50 years to 59 years	63	56	119	7.4	5.7	6.5
60 years to 69 years	39	46	85	4.6	4.7	4.6
≥ 70 years	40	24	64	4.7	2.4	3.5
All	856	981	1837	100.0	100.0	100.0

Sex Ratio, females per 1000 males: Population Sex Ratio **873**; Child (0-6 years) Sex Ratio **734**

It is clear that relative female survival disadvantage, already large in 2001, has increased in Gharsondi since. In 2008, males outnumber females in all but two of the age groups. In the non-adult age interval of 0 to 17 years, there are only 332 females to 427 males. *Gender inequality is a striking feature of society in Gharsondi.*

Table 2.4 presents the distribution of households by size in Gharsondi in 2008.

Table 2.4 *Distribution of households by household size, Gharsondi, 2008*

Household size	Number of households	As percentage of all households	Average size of the households	Cumulative number of persons	Cumulative percentage of population
1	5	1.9	1	5	0.3
2	7	2.7	2	19	1.0
3	16	6.1	3	67	3.6
4	26	9.9	4	171	9.3
5	47	17.9	5	406	22.1
6	55	20.9	6	736	40.1
7	24	9.1	7	904	49.2
≥ 8	83	31.6	11.2	1837	100.0
All	263	100.0	7.0	1837	100.0

The average household size at 7 is much higher than the national rural average in 2001 as well as 2011. Among the villages surveyed by FAS since 2005, the highest household size was 7.2 in Mahatwar in Uttar Pradesh. Gharsondi is a close second. More than half the population of the village lives in households with 7 or more members.

Table 2.5 *Number and proportion of households without children, by social group, Gharsondi, 2008*

Social group	Number of households without children	Total number of households	Households without children as percentage of total households
Scheduled Caste	3	27	11.1
Scheduled Tribe	1	33	3.0
OBC	14	153	9.2
Other Caste Hindu	0	4	0.0
Muslim	2	13	15.4
Jat Sikh	5	33	15.2
All	25	263	9.5

With the demographic transition occurring across the country and with urban areas perceived to offer better schooling, there have been instances in some of the villages surveyed by FAS – most notably, Ananthavaram in Andhra Pradesh – of a significant proportion of households with no member below the age of 18 years. Across social groups, this tends to be more the case with non-Other Backward Class, non-Scheduled Caste and

non-Scheduled Tribe households. Table 2.5 helps us find out how Gharsondi fares in this regard.

The overall percentage of households without children is low at just under 10 per cent in Gharsondi. This compares with close to 50 per cent in Ananthavaram, one-third in Bukkacherla, Kothapalle and Nimshirgaon and one-fifth in Warwat Kandrao, Harveli and 25 F Gulabewala. The proportion of one-tenth in Gharsondi is very similar to the proportions in Rewasi (12 per cent) and Dungariya (9 per cent) in Rajasthan. Mahatwar in Uttar Pradesh reports an even lower proportion, close to one-twentieth. Leaving aside the small number of Other Caste Hindu households, the proportion is very low at 3 per cent in the case of the Scheduled Tribes and highest at around 15 per cent among Muslims and Jat Sikhs.

Table 2.6 presents data on the average number of children per household by size of household.

Table 2.6 Average number of children per households by household size, Gharsondi, 2008

Household size	Number of households	Average number of children
1	5	0.0
2	7	0.0
3	16	0.9
4	26	1.6
5	47	2.1
6	55	2.6
7	24	3.1
≥ 8	83	4.7
All	263	2.9

NOTE 1: Children (in all references in this document) are defined as persons in the age group 0 to 17 years, unless otherwise specified.

The overall average number of children per household at 2.9 in Gharsondi is higher than for the villages surveyed by FAS in Andhra Pradesh, Maharashtra and Rajasthan. If only households with children are considered, there are, on the average, 3.2 children per household in Gharsondi. The numbers in this regard for Gharsondi are similar to the

numbers for the Harevli and Mahatwar, both from Uttar Pradesh. Mahatwar reports the highest numbers, followed by Harevli and Gharsondi.

We turn now to the question of whether children live with their parents as is generally assumed or live elsewhere, on account of various factors including the non-residence of one or both of the parents on account of migration, divorce or separation, death of one or both of the parents and so on. Table 2.7 provides the relevant information.

Table 2.7 *In whose home do children live? Gharsondi, 2008*

Children living in the same household with	Number of children			As percentage of all children		
	Female	Male	Person	Female	Male	Person
Both parents	303	389	692	91.3	91.1	91.2
Mother, not father	17	25	42	5.1	5.9	5.5
Father, not mother	4	3	7	1.2	0.7	0.9
Neither parents but with other family members	4	10	14	1.2	2.3	1.8
No relative	1	0	1	0.3	0.0	0.1
Spouse/ spouse's parents	3	0	3	0.9	0.0	0.4
All	332	427	759	100.0	100.0	100.0

Predictably, most children live in a household where both parents are present. This is not so in nearly 10 percent of the cases, for both girls and boys. There are 17 girls and 25 boys who live with the mother, but not the father. With respect to the boys, in 15 instances, the father was dead. In six cases, the father is in prison. In the remaining four instances, the father was away working, in places quite far from the village including places like Mumbai. In terms of social composition, the boys are drawn from all social groups, with ten of them out of the total 25 - 40 per cent - being from among the Scheduled Tribes, though Scheduled Tribes account for only 10 per cent of all households. Muslims are also over-represented in this category, with 6 out of the 25 boys being from Muslim households while only 4.9 per cent of all households are Muslim. Of the 17 girls living with the mother and not the father, in eight instances the father was dead. Four of the 'missing' nine fathers were working and residing elsewhere, while two others have abandoned their family. The remaining three were in prison.

Of the seven children living with the father but not the mother, three are boys. In one boy's case, the mother is no more. In the case of the other two boys, the parents are divorced. Of the four girls in this category, in all cases the mother is no more. These seven children

belong to Other Backward Class households. Five of these seven children are from households in the top wealth bracket of the village, the highest asset quintile Q5 that we will be describing later in this report. The remaining two – a boy and a girl – are from the second lowest asset quintile Q2.

Four girls and five boys are living not with their parents but with their grandparents. In the case of five other boys not living with their parents but with other relatives, three live in households headed by an elder brother, one lives with his uncle and one with his sister and her husband. Eight of the ten boys and all the four girls living with relatives other than their parents come from Other Backward Class households.

Three girls live with their spouses and the parents of their spouses. In the case of one girl, information is missing.

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 Gharsondi in this regard in 2008? The relevant information is brought together in Tables 2.8 to 2.10.²

Table 2.8 *Children in the age group 6 to 14 years engaged in specific types of activities, by sex, Gharsondi, 2008*

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)	6	7	13	3.4	3.3	3.3
Work on household operational holding	10	11	21	5.6	5.2	5.4
Work in any household enterprise other than animal resources	1	4	5	0.6	1.9	1.3
All	17	22	39	9.6	10.3	10.0

² '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.

On the average, one-tenth of all children aged 6 to 14 years in Gharsondi are engaged in work even as narrowly defined here, excluding work involving animal resources. About a third of the children thus engaged work for an employer outside the household while the remaining two-third work on household operational holding or household enterprise. The incidence of such child labour is highest among Scheduled Castes in the case of both boys and girls. Around ten per cent of Scheduled Tribe boys are also working children. Among girls, the incidence of child labour is high for Scheduled Tribes and Muslims as well, though not as high as for the Scheduled Castes.

Table 2.9 *Boys in the age group 6 to 14 years engaged in specific types of activities, by social group, Gharsondi, 2008*

Social group	Number			As percentage of all boys in the age group		
	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	4	4	0	15.4	15.4	0.0
Scheduled Tribe	1	0	1	5.0	0.0	5.0
OBC	2	6	3	1.6	4.9	2.5
Other Caste Hindu	0	0	0	0.0	0.0	0.0
Muslim	0	0	0	0.0	0.0	0.0
Jat Sikh	0	1	0	0.0	3.6	0.0
All	7	11	4	3.3	5.2	1.9

Table 2.10 Girls in the age group 6 to 14 years engaged in specific types of activities, by social group, Gharsondi, 2008

Social group	Number			As percentage of all girls in the age group		
	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	2	1	10.0	10.0	5.0
Scheduled Tribe	3	0	0	14.3	0.0	0.0
OBC	1	7	0	0.9	6.5	0.0
Other Caste Hindu	0	0	0	0.0	0.0	0.0
Muslim	0	1	0	0.0	11.1	0.0
Jat Sikh	0	0	0	0.0	0.0	0.0
All	6	10	1	3.4	5.6	0.6

Among Scheduled Castes, nearly a third of the boys and one-fourth of the girls aged 6 to 14 years are working children. While this highlights the social dimension of the deprivation that some children experience, it is also important to examine the economic correlates of deprivation of various kinds. With this end in view, we have classified the households into five equal quintiles by their levels of asset holding.³

The maximum, minimum, median and mean asset values of each asset quintile are presented in Table 2.11.

Table 2.11 Details of asset quintile (in Rupees), Gharsondi, 2008

Asset quintile	Minimum	Maximum	Median	Average
Q1	750	139150	51260	55009
Q2	140517	362970	221390	227192
Q3	363240	917163	607181	610587
Q4	922920	1943728	1306581	1320591
Q5	1974213	90445200	3390588	8483038

³ 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 brings out starkly the huge inequality in the ownership of assets across households in Gharsondi. The ratio between asset values of the richest and the poorest households is nearly 12,060. One can also see that the intra-quintile distribution is pretty even among the first four quintiles, with the median and the mean not being far apart from each other. The top quintile Q5, however, presents a very different picture. The highest household asset value in this quintile is nearly five times that of the lowest. The mean value of assets per household is more than two times the median. Q5 is clearly a class apart, and it seems that the top 5 per cent would be even more so.⁴

How does wealth status correlate with social group status? Table 2.12 shows the distribution of households by social group and asset quintile. There is a clear pattern in the variation of wealth status by social group. The Scheduled Tribes are obviously the poorest, with the 33 Scheduled Tribe households being confined to Q1 and Q2. The scheduled castes are somewhat better off, but not by much. Only one out of the 27 Scheduled Caste households makes it to Q5. More than half the Scheduled Caste households are in Q1 or Q2 and nearly 78 per cent in the bottom three quintiles. More than half the Muslim households are in the bottom quintile and more than three-quarters in the bottom three. The Jat Sikhs and the handful of Other Caste Hindu households are heavily over-represented in the top quintiles. All four of the latter are in Q5 or Q4. Only 2 out of the 33 Jat Sikh households are in the bottom quintile and none in the second. On the other hand, more than three-fifths of Jat Sikh households are in Q5. The Other Backward Classes are, relatively speaking, somewhat more evenly distributed across asset quintiles, although, they are slightly over-represented in the top two quintiles taken together and significantly under-represented in the bottom two quintiles.

⁴ 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.

Table 2.12 *Distribution of households with social group and asset quintile, Gharsondi, 2008*

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	6	8	7	5	1	27	22.2	29.6	25.9	18.5	3.7	100.0
	(11.5)	(15.4)	(13.5)	(9.4)	(1.9)	(10.3)						
Scheduled Tribe	15	18	0	0	0	33	45.5	54.5	0.0	0.0	0.0	100.0
	(28.8)	(34.6)	(0.0)	(0.0)	(0.0)	(12.5)						
OBC	22	25	34	43	29	153	14.4	16.3	22.2	28.1	19.0	100.0
	(42.3)	(48.1)	(65.4)	(81.1)	(53.7)	(58.2)						
Other Caste	0	0	0	2	2	4	0.0	0.0	0.0	50.0	50.0	100.0
Hindu	(0.0)	(0.0)	(0.0)	(3.8)	(3.7)	(1.5)						
Muslim	7	1	2	1	2	13	53.8	7.7	15.4	7.7	15.4	100.0
	(13.5)	(1.9)	(3.8)	(1.9)	(3.7)	(4.9)						
Jat Sikh	2	0	9	2	20	33	6.1	0.0	27.3	6.1	60.6	100.0
	(3.8)	(0.0)	(17.3)	(3.8)	(37.0)	(12.5)						
All	52	52	52	53	54	263	19.8	19.8	19.8	20.2	20.5	100.0
	(100.0)	(100.0)	(100.0)	(100.0)	(100.0)	(100.0)						

Note: Figures in parentheses are percentages to column totals

Let us now explore the distribution of children in Gharsondi, 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, Gharsondi, 2008*

Asset quintile	Number			As percentage of all girls in the age group		
	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	2	1	1	5.7	2.9	2.9
Q2	3	3	3	7.0	7.0	7.0
Q3	0	2	0	0.0	6.5	0.0
Q4	2	0	0	4.4	0.0	0.0
Q5	0	5	0	0.0	8.5	0.0
All	7	11	4	3.3	5.2	1.9

Table 2.14 *Girls in the age group 6 to 14 years engaged in specific types of activities, by asset quintile, Gharsondi, 2008*

Asset quintile	Number			As percentage of all girls in the age group		
	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	2	2	0	6.1	6.1	0.0
Q2	3	3	1	9.1	9.1	3.0
Q3	1	3	0	3.0	9.1	0.0
Q4	0	1	0	0.0	2.2	0.0
Q5	0	1	0	0.0	3.0	0.0
All	6	10	1	3.4	5.6	0.6

No child aged between 6 and 14 years and belonging to a household in the top asset quintile is engaged in paid or unpaid work for an employer outside the household. However, five out of the eleven boys working on household operational holding come from Q5 households. By contrast, boys and girls from poorer households account for most of the children who work for an employer outside the household. All six girls in this category and five of the seven boys come from households in the bottom three asset quintiles. Ten out of the thirteen children in this category come from households in Q1 and Q2. All the four boys engaged in household enterprise come from households in the bottom two asset quintiles and the sole girl in this category from a Q3 household. Clearly, social group status and wealth status both matter, as does the peasant character of even some rich households in so far as their children – five boys from Q5 in Gharsondi - work on own operational holding. The poorer children from Scheduled Caste and Scheduled Tribe households tend to work for an employer outside the household while some wealthy landed households of a rich peasant character do make children work on the household operational holding.

2.3 Age at Marriage

Before we conclude this section on demography and turn to the picture in Gharsondi in respect of education, let us take a brief look at how the village fares in respect of the issue of

age at marriage. The legal age at marriage in India is 21 years for males and 18 years for females. There is a general perception that girls, in particular, continue to get married before reaching the legal minimum age in rural India. However, it is also recognized that the frequency of occurrence of this phenomenon has been declining.

The data for Gharsondi in this regard are presented in Table 2.15. Among girls below 18 years of age, five were already married in 2008 at the time of the FAS survey. Four of them came from Other Backward Class households and one was from the Scheduled Tribes. There was a greater incidence of marriage among males below 21 years of age in Gharsondi. In all, among males aged less than 21 years, as many as 21 males were married. The proportion of males less than 21 years of age who were married was as high as 12 per cent for Scheduled Tribes and over 4 per cent overall.

Table 2.15 *Persons currently married in the age group below 18 years for women and below 21 years for men, by sex and social group, Gharsondi, 2008*

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	0	0.0	2	3.6
Scheduled Tribe	1	2.4	7	12.1
OBC	4	2.0	12	4.1
Other Caste Hindu	0	0.0	0	0.0
Muslim	0	0.0	0	0.0
Jat Sikh	0	0.0	0	0.0
All	5	1.5	21	4.1

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

3. EDUCATION

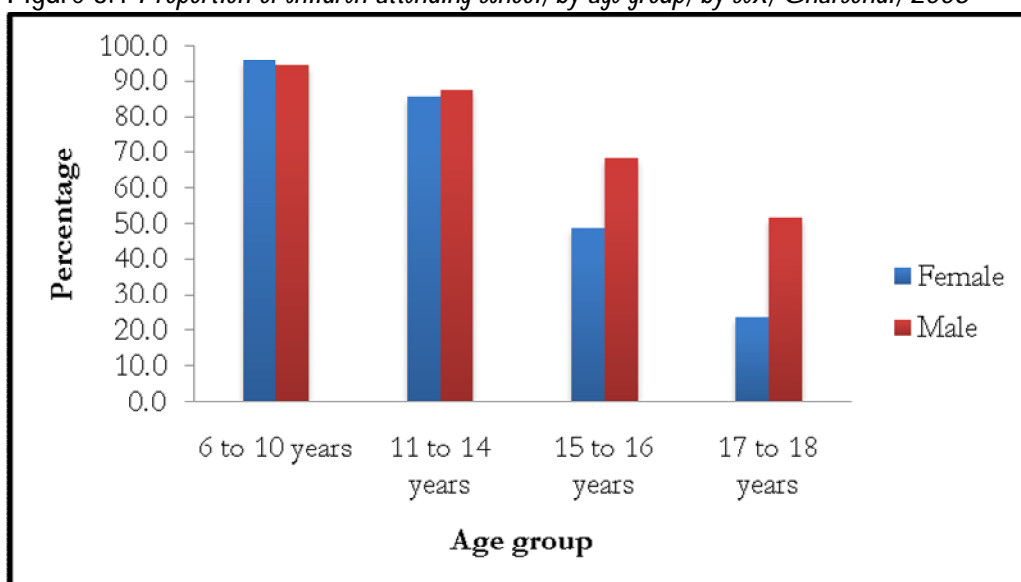
3.1 School Attendance

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 shows that Gharsondi has quite some distance to go to achieve 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, Gharsondi, 2008*

Age group	Number of children			As percentage of all children		
	Female	Male	Persons	Female	Male	Persons
6 to 10 years	89	118	207	95.7	94.4	95.0
11 to 14 years	72	77	149	85.7	87.5	86.6
15 to 16 years	19	34	53	48.7	68.0	59.6
17 to 18 years	12	29	41	23.5	51.8	38.3
6 to 18 years	192	258	450	71.9	80.9	76.8

Figure 3.1 *Proportion of children attending school, by age group, by sex, Gharsondi, 2008*



Even in the age group of 6 to 14 years, there is no universal attendance. For the age group of 6 to 10 years, it could be the case that some children start attending school only after

completing 6 years of age. But one sees that even in the age group of 11-14 years, more than one-eighth of the children are not attending school. The percentage of children attending school declines steeply in the age group of 15 to 18 years, dramatically for girls, but quite significantly for boys as well. Even in the age group of 15 to 16 years, the non-attendance proportion is more than half for girls and about one-third for boys. The observed low GERs, starting at the primary stage itself, are entirely consistent with the picture of considerable non-attendance.

Table 3.2 *Gross enrolment ratio of children, by level of schooling, by sex, Gharsondi, 2008*

School level	Number enrolled			GER		
	Female	Male	Persons	Female	Male	Persons
Standard I to V	107	113	220	100.9	79.6	88.7
Standard VI to VIII	54	71	125	64.3	80.7	72.7
Standard IX to X	16	31	47	27.1	44.9	36.7
Standard XI to XII	7	21	28	10.3	25.0	18.4

NOTE 2: 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 give school-year.

The Annual Report of The Ministry of Human Resource Development, 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

3.2 *School Attendance by Social Group and Asset Quintile*

How do school attendance ratios vary by social group and by asset status? Let us first look at variation by social group. Tables 3.3 to 3.5 provide information on variation in attendance ratios by social group for persons, boys and girls respectively.

Table 3.3 *Children attending school, by age group, by social group, Gharsondi, 2008*

Age group	Scheduled Caste		Scheduled Tribe		OBC		Other Caste Hindu		Muslim		Jat Sikh	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
6 to 10 years	23	95.8	23	92.0	122	96.1	6	100.0	8	72.7	25	100.0
11 to 14 years	19	86.4	11	68.8	93	90.3	6	100.0	7	63.6	13	92.9
15 to 16 years	3	37.5	5	38.5	34	68.0	1	100.0	4	50.0	6	66.7
17 to 18 years	3	37.5	2	15.4	29	43.3	1	100.0	1	25.0	5	35.7
6 to 18 years	48	77.4	41	61.2	278	80.1	14	100.0	20	58.8	49	79.0

Table 3.3 shows that, overall, in the age group of 6 to 14 years, the lowest attendance ratios are reported among Muslim children, followed by children from the Scheduled Tribes. The fourteen children from Other Caste Hindu households *are all attending school*. Apart from the Other Caste Hindus, children from Jat Sikh and Other Backward Class households generally report higher attendance ratios than the other social groups.

Table 3.4 *Boys attending school, by age group, by social group, Gharsondi, 2008*

Age group	Scheduled Caste		Scheduled Tribe		OBC		Other Caste Hindu		Muslim		Jat Sikh	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
6 to 10 years	15	93.8	13	86.7	65	95.6	3	100.0	3	75.0	19	100.0
11 to 14 years	7	70.0	4	80.0	51	94.4	1	100.0	6	66.7	8	88.9
15 to 16 years	1	25.0	2	28.6	21	80.8	1	100.0	4	66.7	5	83.3
17 to 18 years	3	60.0	0	0.0	19	52.8	1	100.0	1	33.3	5	71.4
6 to 18 years	26	74.3	19	61.3	156	84.8	6	100.0	14	63.6	37	90.2

Table 3.5 *Girls attending school, by age group, by social group, Gharsondi, 2008*

Age group	Scheduled Caste		Scheduled Tribe		OBC		Other Caste Hindu		Muslim		Jat Sikh	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
6 to 10 years	8	100.0	10	100.0	57	96.6	3	100.0	5	71.4	6	100.0
11 to 14 years	12	100.0	7	63.6	42	85.7	5	100.0	1	50.0	5	100.0
15 to 16 years	2	50.0	3	50.0	13	54.2	0	NA	0	0.0	1	33.3
17 to 18 years	0	0.0	2	22.2	10	32.3	0	NA	0	0.0	0	0.0
6 to 18 years	22	81.5	22	61.1	122	74.8	8	100.0	6	50.0	12	57.1

Among boys, the attendance ratios fall off steeply for Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes above the age of 14 years. Among girls, the same is true of Muslim children as well. Overall, the Other Backward Classes report a higher attendance ratio than the Jat Sikhs

among girls while the reverse is the case with respect to boys. In the case of Scheduled Castes, the overall attendance ratio is higher for girls than boys, while among Scheduled Tribes the ratios are nearly the same for boys and girls. Among Other Backward Classes, Muslims and Jat Sikhs, the overall attendance ratios are distinctly higher for boys as compared to girls. Among Jat Sikhs, there are 10 girls aged between 15 and 18 years. *Only one of them is attending school.* The corresponding proportion for boys among Jat Sikhs is 10 out of 13. The Other Backward Class girls fare much better in this regard than Jat Sikh girls.

Figure 3.2 *Proportion of boys attending school, by age group, by social group, Gharsondi, 2008*

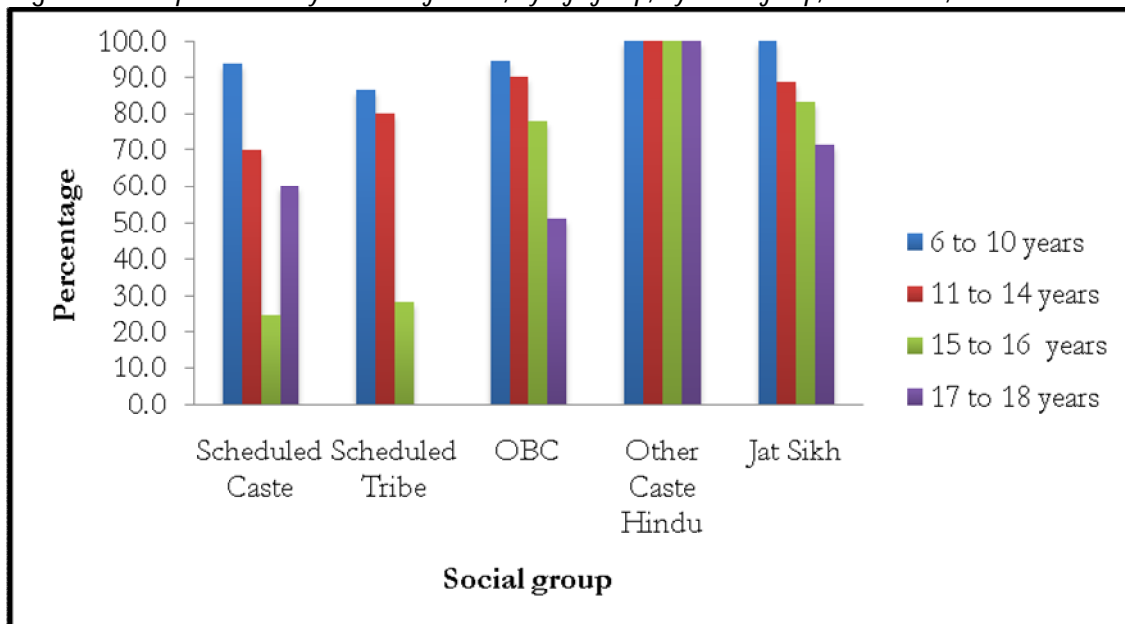
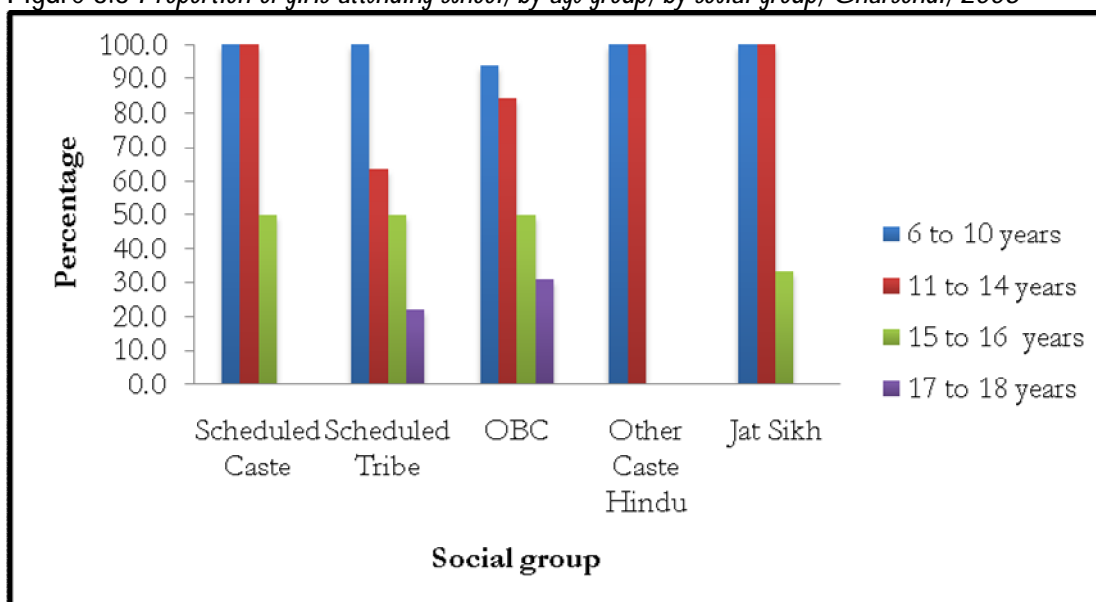


Figure 3.3 *Proportion of girls attending school, by age group, by social group, Gharsondi, 2008*



Let us now look at variation in attendance ratios by asset quintile. The relevant data are presented in Tables 3.6 to 3.8.

Table 3.6 *Children attending school, by age group, by asset quintile, Gharsondi, 2008*

Age group	Q1		Q2		Q3		Q4		Q5	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
6 to 10 years	32	94.1	42	89.4	33	97.1	48	94.1	52	100.0
11 to 14 years	25	73.5	24	82.8	27	90.0	37	94.9	36	90.0
15 to 16 years	6	35.3	10	52.6	11	57.9	13	81.3	13	72.2
17 to 18 years	2	11.1	5	25.0	12	52.2	13	56.5	9	39.1
6 to 18 years	65	63.1	81	70.4	83	78.3	111	86.0	110	82.7

As one would expect, the top two asset quintiles fare much better than the bottom two quintiles. Interestingly, the overall attendance ratio for the top asset quintile is lower than that for Q4. This may reflect the lower attendance ratio for girls among Jat Sikhs who form a significant share of Q5 households as compared to Other Backward Classes who dominate Q4. For children from households in Q1 and Q2 aged between 15 and 18 years, school attendance is not the norm.

Table 3.7 Boys attending school, by age group, by asset quintile, Gharsondi, 2008

Age group	Q1		Q2		Q3		Q4		Q5	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
6 to 10 years	15	93.8	28	90.3	18	94.7	25	92.6	32	100.0
11 to 14 years	13	68.4	10	83.3	12	100.0	17	94.4	25	92.6
15 to 16 years	4	50.0	5	62.5	9	64.3	6	75.0	10	83.3
17 to 18 years	1	8.3	2	28.6	11	73.3	8	80.0	7	58.3
6 to 18 years	33	60.0	45	77.6	50	83.3	56	88.9	74	89.2

Among boys, the overall attendance ratio is marginally higher for Q5 than for Q4. It is, as may be expected, the lowest for Q1. In the case of boys from households in Q1, as high a proportion as nearly one-third are out of school even in the age group of 11 to 14 years.

Table 3.8 Girls attending school, by age group, by asset quintile, Gharsondi, 2008

Age group	Q1		Q2		Q3		Q4		Q5	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
6 to 10 years	17	94.4	14	87.5	15	100.0	23	95.8	20	100.0
11 to 14 years	12	80.0	14	82.4	15	83.3	20	95.2	11	84.6
15 to 16 years	2	22.2	5	45.5	2	40.0	7	87.5	3	50.0
17 to 18 years	1	16.7	3	23.1	1	12.5	5	38.5	2	18.2
6 to 18 years	32	66.7	36	63.2	33	71.7	55	83.3	36	72.0

Figure 3.4 Proportion of boys attending school, by age group, by asset quintile, Gharsondi, 2008

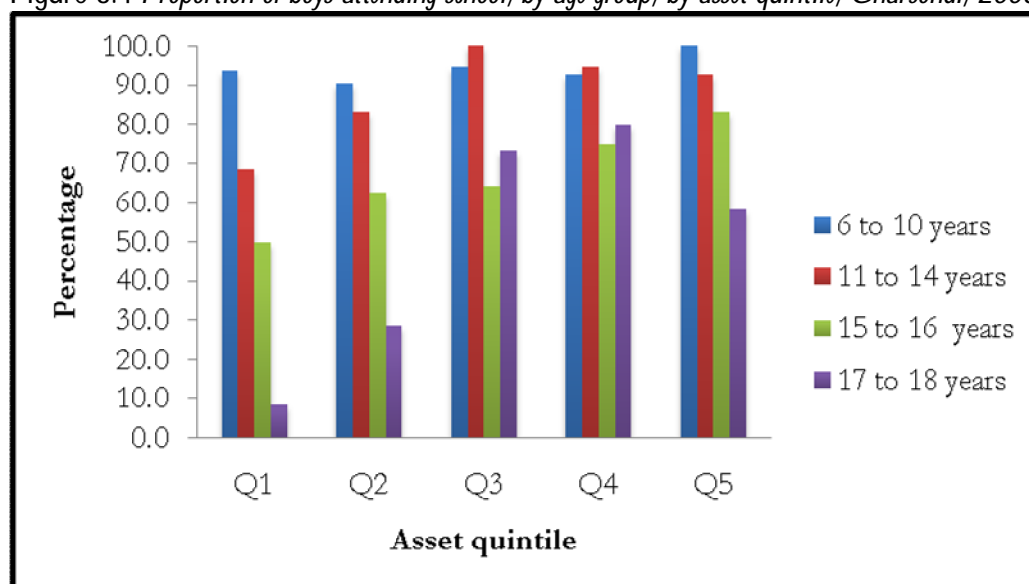
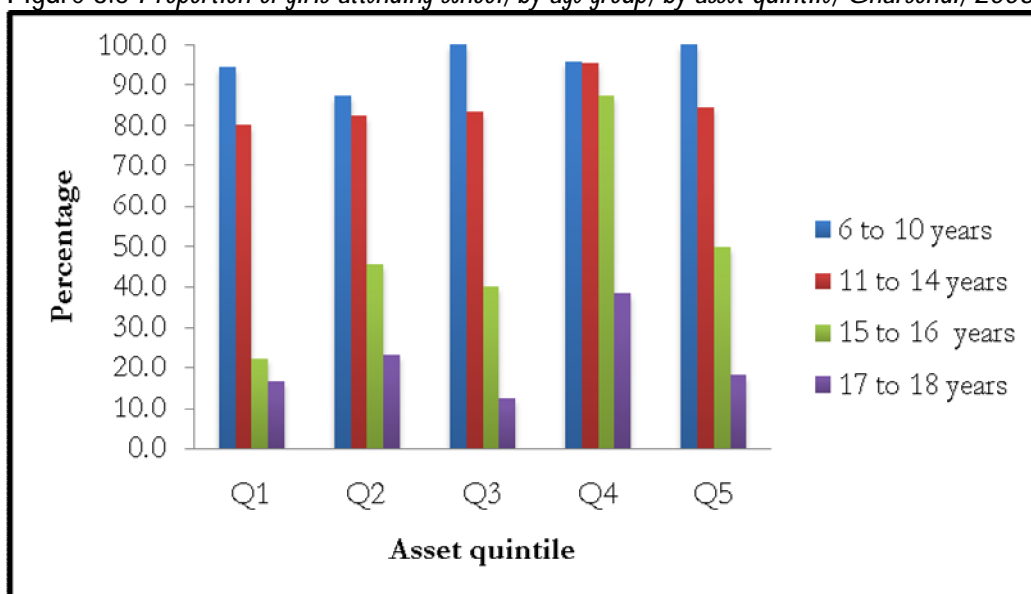


Figure 3.5 *Proportion of girls attending school, by age group, by asset quintile, Gharsondi, 2008*



Among girls, the overall attendance ratio is higher for Q4 than for Q5, bearing out the point made earlier that the strong presence of Jat Sikhs in Q5 may be the reason for this outcome. The ratios are low for the bottom two asset quintiles. Except in the case of the poorest quintile, the overall attendance ratios for girls are lower than those for boys in every asset quintile.

3.3 *School Attendance and Work*

We have now seen that attendance ratios do vary by social group, asset quintile and sex in a fairly systematic manner. We now turn to the question of the distribution of children aged 6 to 18 years across four categories: *Children attending school and not working, those attending school and working, those working and not attending school and those neither attending school nor working*. The data is brought together in Table 3.9. We need to keep in mind that a total of sixteen children working with animal resources have been considered as 'not working' in view of the definition of work adopted in this Report.⁵

⁵ Of the sixteen, three are girls out of school. Of the remaining thirteen boys, six are attending school and seven are out of school.

Table 3.9 *School attending among children aged 6 to 18 years, by sex and work status, Gharsondi, 2008*

Children	Not attending				Attending			
	Not working		Working		Not working		Working	
	Number	Percentage	Number	Percentage	Number	Percentage	Number	Percentage
Girls	42	15.7	33	12.4	179	67.0	13	4.9
Boys	13	4.1	48	15.0	214	67.1	44	13.8
All	55	9.4	81	13.8	393	67.1	57	9.7

NOTE 3: Work (in all references in this document) is defined as three specific types of activities:
a. Work outside the household for an employer (paid and unpaid)
b. Work on household operational holding
c. Work in any household enterprise other than animal resources.
Any person 18 years or below engaged in any of the three activities above is considered to be "working".

Overall, 23.2 per cent of all children aged between 6 and 18 years are not attending school. The figure is 19.1 per cent in the case of boys and 28.1 per cent in the case of girls. The proportion of *working children* aged 6 to 18 years comes to 28.8 per cent for boys, 17.2 per cent for girls and 23.5 per cent overall. Even these are under-estimates, given our narrow definition of work and the fact that many girls (and a few boys) engaged in domestic chores and sibling care or other care functions in the household are regarded as not working.⁶

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 are more likely to be working children, there are children from even the wealthiest asset quintile and the social groups dominant in the caste hierarchy who are found to be working. Thus, out of 12 boys aged 17 to 18 years and belonging to households in Q5, five are out of school and working on the household operational holding. Two of them come from two Jat Sikh households, two from Other Backward Class households and one is a Muslim. The two Jat Sikh households own 45 and 27 acres each, the Other Backward Class ones 13 and 7 acres each and the Muslim 7 acres as well. By contrast, none of the children from the four 'Other Caste Hindu' households which are in the top two asset quintiles go to work. There are 11

⁶ Forty-seven girls –of whom 46 were attending school –and four boys, all in school, are recorded as doing housework. All of them are regarded as 'not working'. If one includes the sixteen children working with animal resources and the fifty-one doing housework in the category of working children, the proportion of working children to all children in the age group of 6 to 18 years would go up to 35 per cent

girls aged 17 to 18 years in Q5. Nine of them are out of school and listed as doing housework. One of them also works on the household operational holding. Six of the girls belong to Jat Sikh households and three to Other Backward Class ones. These 11 households own lands ranging from 7 to 35 acres.

Figure 3.6 *Distribution of boys (6 to 18 years), by school attendance and work status, Gharsondi, 2008*

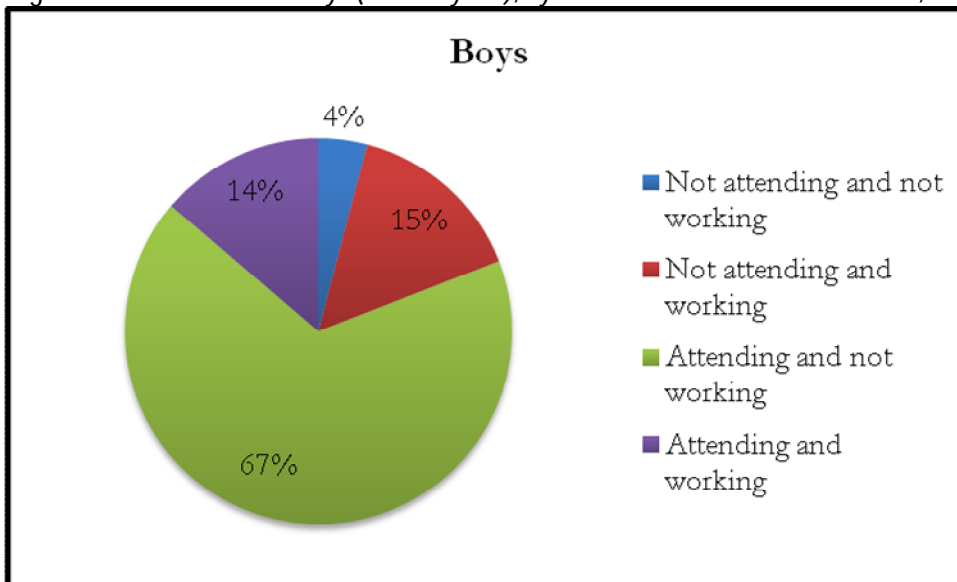
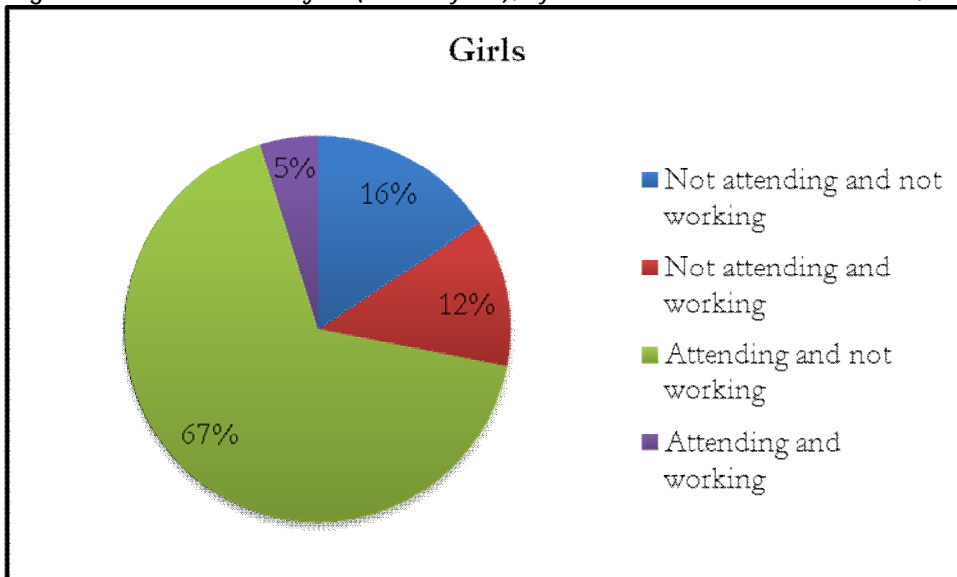


Figure 3.7 *Distribution of girls (6 to 18 years), by school attendance and work status, Gharsondi, 2008*



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 Gharsondi fare in this regard?

There are 293 children in the age group of 0 to 6 years. There is only one female child from a tribal household in the age group of 3 to six years that attends the anganwadi in the village. None of the other children in the age group of 0 to 6 years goes to an anganwadi. In sharp contrast to the extremely poor utilization of the anganwadi system, children were being sent to nursery schools.⁷ As many as 5 girls and 17 boys six years or younger were attending a nursery school. This amounted to 7.5 per cent of all children aged 6 years or younger. For boys, the proportion was a little higher than one-tenth. The failure of the State to provide appropriate care and preschool education for children below six years is providing the space for expensive private pre-schools of uncertain and unmonitored quality.

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 Gharsondi in the context of issues of child well-being.

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

⁷ In recent years, so-called 'nursery' schools have been mushrooming in both urban and rural areas. These are mostly privately owned and run, and there is no regulation, quality control mechanism or monitoring of these institutions. These schools have found takers, even among some of the non-rich households.

discussion that follows. Table 3.10 presents the distribution of the population of Gharsondi aged 7 years and above by level of literacy.

Table 3.10 *Distribution of population (7 years and above), by literacy level, by sex, Gharsondi, 2008*

Literacy status	Female		Male		Persons	
	Number	Percentage	Number	Percentage	Number	Percentage
Cannot read and write	336	45.9	174	21.4	510	33.0
Can only sign name	75	10.2	69	8.5	144	9.3
Can read but cannot write	15	2.0	29	3.6	44	2.8
Can read and write	302	41.3	536	66.0	838	54.3
Unspecified	4	0.5	4	0.5	8	0.5
All	732	100.0	812	100.0	1544	100.0

The overall literacy rate is 54.3 per cent, with male literacy rate at 66 per cent being nearly 25 percentage points higher than that of females at 41.3 per cent. It is interesting to note that the literacy rate for Gharsondi as per Census 2001 is 68.6 per cent, with the rate for males at 80 per cent and that for females at 53.9 per cent. The Census rates appear to be gross over-estimates, based as they are on a binary classification of a respondent into 'literate' and 'non-literate' instead of the more nuanced four-fold classification adopted in the FAS survey.

Tables 3.11 and 3.12 present the literacy rates in Gharsondi across social groups and across asset quintiles respectively for females, males and persons aged 7 years and above.

Table 3.11 *Proportion of population (7 years and above) who can read and write, by social group, by sex, Gharsondi, 2008*

Social group	Number			Literacy rate		
	Female	Male	Persons	Female	Male	Persons
Scheduled Caste	28	57	85	37.8	69.5	54.5
Scheduled Tribe	8	9	17	10.1	12.3	11.2
OBC	200	356	556	46.3	74.0	60.9
Other Caste	15	17	32	78.9	89.5	84.2
Hindu						
Muslim	5	19	24	16.7	46.3	33.8
Jat Sikh	46	78	124	46.9	67.2	57.9
All	302	536	838	41.3	66.0	54.3

Table 3.12 Proportion of population (7 years and above), who can read and write by asset quintile, by sex, Gharsondi, 2008

Asset quintile	Number			Literacy rate		
	Female	Male	Persons	Female	Male	Persons
Q1	31	51	82	28.7	45.1	37.1
Q2	32	63	95	24.4	44.4	34.8
Q3	62	105	167	45.6	70.9	58.8
Q4	78	137	215	47.0	75.7	62.0
Q5	99	180	279	51.8	78.9	66.6
All	302	536	838	41.3	66.0	54.3

Figure 3.8 Literacy rate of the population in the age group 7 years and above, by sex, by social group, Gharsondi, 2008, in per cent

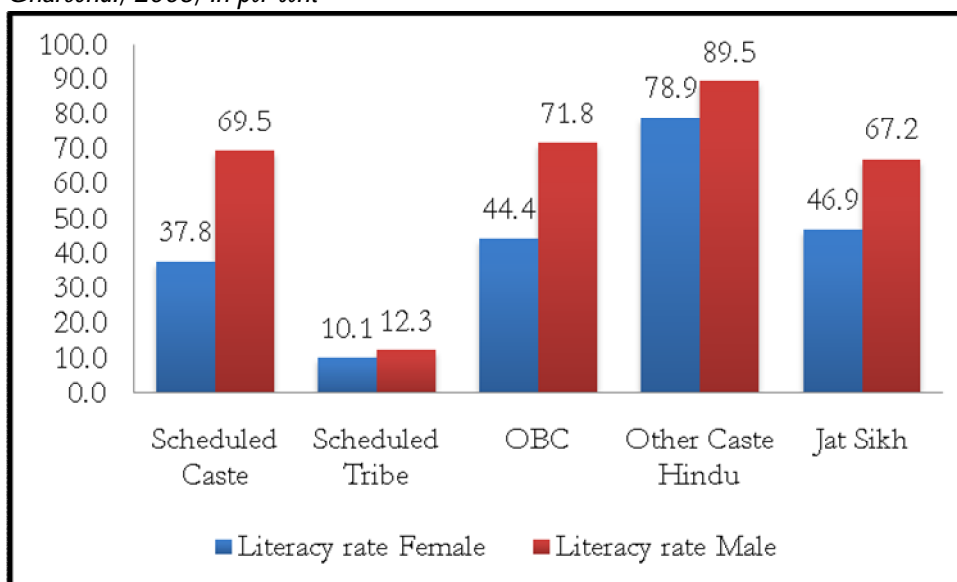
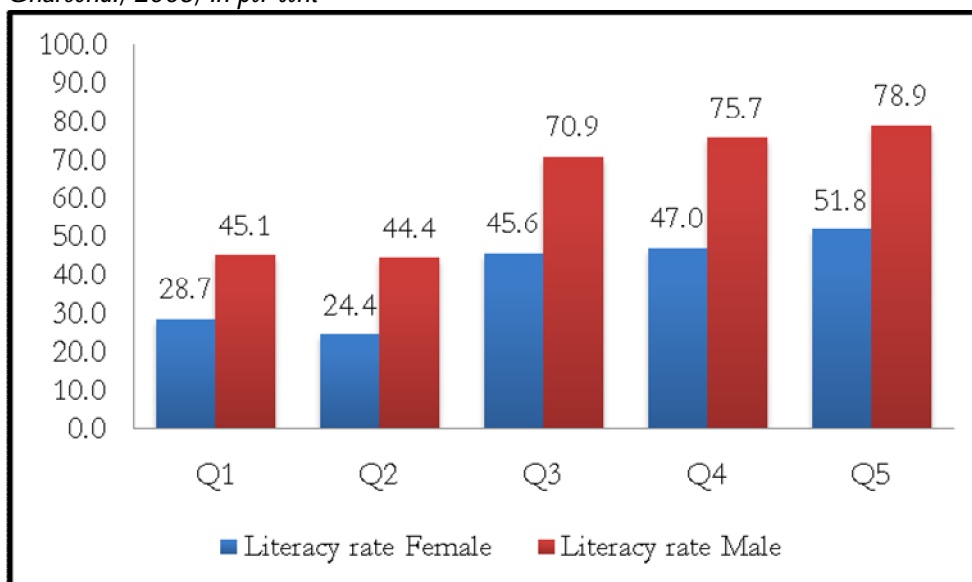


Figure 3.9 Literacy rate of the population in the age group 7 years and above, by sex, by asset quintile, Gharsondi, 2008, in per cent



The literacy rates among the Scheduled Tribes are extremely low for both males and females. Muslims also fare rather poorly in this regard. That the gender gap in literacy rates is the lowest for Scheduled Tribes is only a reflection of extreme deprivation in this respect among both females and males of Scheduled Tribe households. The gender gap in literacy rates is quite large for Scheduled Castes, Muslims and Other Backward Classes. In terms of percentage points, it is nearly 32 for Scheduled Castes, 30 for Muslims, 28 for Other Backward Classes, 20 for Jat Sikhs and 11 for Other Caste Hindus. Among males, the Scheduled Caste and Jat Sikh rates are marginally above the overall mean while those for Other Backward Classes and Other Caste Hindus are higher, with the latter faring much better than all the other social groups. Among females, the Scheduled Caste literacy rate is well below the overall mean while those of Jat Sikhs and Other Backward Classes are almost identical and distinctly above the overall mean. The Other Caste Hindus are in a different league altogether. Scheduled Tribes and Muslims fare very poorly, as already noted, among both males and females.

Across asset quintiles, the picture is consistent. As one moves up the quintiles, the literacy rates improve for both males and females, with the exception of the bottom two quintiles. Between Q1 and Q2, Q1 reports a marginally higher rate for males and a distinctly higher rate for females as compared to Q2. But the differences are not large and can be treated as

random variations. The hypothesis of a positive association between asset ownership and literacy achievement is certainly validated by the evidence.

Let us now turn to the issue of adult literacy. Tables 3.13 and 3.14 present the sex-specific numbers and proportions of population in Gharsondi aged 18 years and above that can read and write by social group and asset quintile respectively.

Table 3.13 *Proportion of population (18 years and above) who can read and write, by social group, by sex, Gharsondi, 2008*

Social group	Number			Adult literacy rate		
	Female	Male	Persons	Female	Male	Persons
Scheduled Caste	11	37	48	21.6	71.2	46.6
Scheduled Tribe	2	4	6	3.8	8.9	6.2
OBC	102	241	343	33.3	71.5	53.3
Other Caste Hindu	7	12	19	63.6	92.3	79.2
Muslim	1	6	7	5.0	28.6	17.1
Jat Sikh	32	53	85	38.1	61.6	50.0
All	155	353	508	29.6	63.7	47.1

Table 3.14 *Proportion of population (18 years and above), who can read and write, by asset quintile, by sex, Gharsondi, 2008*

Asset quintile	Number			Adult literacy rate		
	Female	Male	Persons	Female	Male	Persons
Q1	7	28	35	10.4	40.6	25.7
Q2	14	40	54	15.4	43.0	29.3
Q3	31	73	104	31.3	70.2	51.2
Q4	39	94	133	33.9	73.4	54.7
Q5	64	118	182	42.1	73.8	58.3
All	155	353	508	29.6	63.7	47.1

Figure 3.10 Literacy rate of population (18 years and above), by sex, by social group, Gharsondi, 2008, in per cent

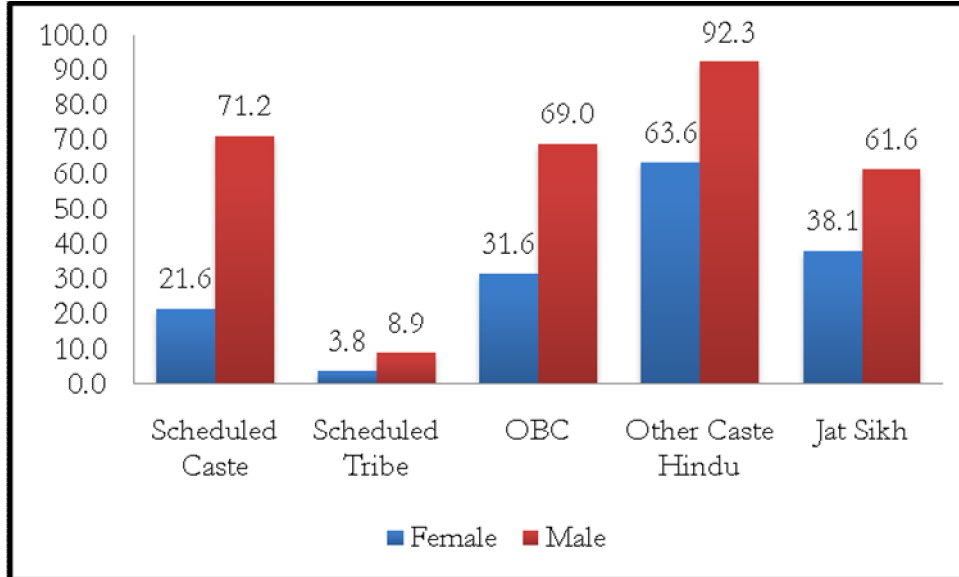
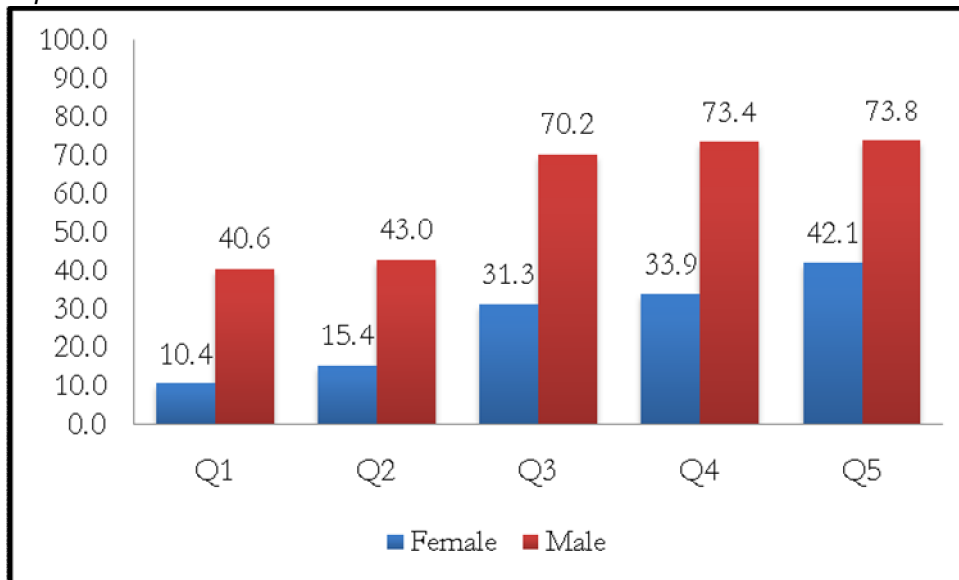


Figure 3.11 Literacy rate of population (18 years and above), by sex, by asset quintile, Gharsondi, 2008, in per cent



A comparison of the literacy rates of the population aged 7 years and above and the adult population shows that the big difference is in the female literacy rate. The respective rates are 41.3 per cent and 29.6 per cent for females, 66 per cent and 63.7 per cent for males and 54.3 per cent and 47.1 per cent for persons. Female literacy has been advancing more rapidly in recent years than the male. This is to be expected as female enrolment and attendance

rates have risen more rapidly than those for males. The advances in school enrolment and attendance came much earlier for males than for females, and there is some 'catching up' happening now. The fact remains that female literacy rates are still distinctly lower than those for males, but there is some reduction in the gender differential. The decline in gender differential in literacy rates when one compares the adult and the 7 plus populations occurs for all social groups. Among Scheduled Tribes, the females have caught up with the males in the 7 plus population, but both are at abysmally low levels. Among Scheduled Castes and Other Backward Classes, the gender differential has declined significantly from around 45 and 38 percentage points for the adult population to 30 and 28 for the population aged 7 years and older.

Continuing with literacy, let us look at literacy rates for age groups specified in greater detail. Table 3.15 presents the literacy rates of females, males and persons in Gharsondi for five age groups in sequence.

Table 3.15 *Proportion of population who can read and write, by age cohorts, by sex, Gharsondi, 2008*

Age group	Number			Literacy rate		
	Female	Male	Persons	Female	Male	Persons
6 to 17 years	148	185	333	65.2	66.1	65.7
18 to 34 years	113	210	323	42.5	71.7	57.8
35 to 49 years	30	86	116	25.9	63.7	46.2
50 to 65 years	11	46	57	10.9	48.4	29.1
> 65 years	1	11	12	2.4	35.5	16.7
All	303	538	841	40.3	64.5	53.1

A steady rise in literacy rates can be discerned as we move toward the lower age groups. The only instance in which this is not true relates to male literacy rate for the 18-34 years being higher than that for males in the age groups of 6 to 17 years. This is most likely the result of many boys entering school after completing 6 years of age. In the case of girls, such an effect is more than compensated by the rise in enrolment and attendance in recent times. Interestingly, the big jump in male literacy rates occurs between the age group of 50 to 65 years and that of 35 to 49 years. With female literacy rates, the increase is large both between the age groups of 50 to 65 years and 35 to 49 years and between the latter age group and the age group of 18 to 34 years. 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.

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 Gharsondi aged above 16 years by social group are presented in Tables 3.16 and 3.17. The picture is one of almost universal deprivation. At least half of all females above 16 years of age have not had a single year of formal schooling across all social groups except for the Other Caste Hindus. Among tribals and Muslims, this is also the case for males.

Table 3.16 *Median number of completed years of schooling for population above 16 years, by social group, by sex, Gharsondi, 2008*

Social group	Female	Male	Person
Scheduled Caste	0	7	2
Scheduled Tribe	0	0	0
OBC	0	8	5
Other Caste Hindu	5	10	8
Muslim	0	0	0
Jat Sikh	0	8	5
All	0	8	4

Table 3.17 *Average number of completed years of schooling for population above 16 years, by social group, by sex, Gharsondi, 2008*

Social group	Female	Male	Persons
Scheduled Caste	1.8	5.9	3.9
Scheduled Tribe	0.6	1.0	0.8
OBC	3.1	6.9	5.1
Other Caste Hindu	4.4	9.3	7.1
Muslim	0.6	2.1	1.4
Jat Sikh	3.3	6.4	4.8
All	2.7	6.1	4.5

The record in respect of average years of schooling is also unimpressive, with the overall average at less than three for females and barely over 6 for males. There is a clear hierarchy

here across social groups, with the Other Caste Hindus at the top, the Other Backward Classes and Jat Sikhs next, the Scheduled Castes below them and the Scheduled Tribes and Muslims at the bottom.

How do median and mean years of schooling vary across asset quintiles? The relevant data are brought together in Tables 3.18 and 3.19. It is only the top asset quintile that reports a positive figure for the median value of completed years of schooling for females. In all other asset quintiles as well as overall, at least half of all females aged older than 16 years have not completed a single year of formal schooling.

As for males in the specified age group, half or more of them in the bottom asset quintile have not completed even one year of schooling while half or more in Q2 have not completed four years of schooling. There is not much difference with regard to median years of schooling among males in the top three asset quintiles, with males in Q5 slightly ahead.

Table 3.18 *Median number of completed years of schooling for population above 16 years, by asset quintile, by sex, Gharsondi, 2008*

Asset quintile	Female	Male	Persons
Q1	0	0	0
Q2	0	3.5	0
Q3	0	8	5
Q4	0	8	5
Q5	1.5	9	7
All	0	8	4

Table 3.19 *Average number of completed years of schooling for population above 16 years, by asset quintile, by sex, Gharsondi, 2008*

Asset quintile	Female	Male	Persons
Q1	1.1	3.5	2.3
Q2	1.6	4.0	2.8
Q3	2.6	6.4	4.6
Q4	2.9	6.8	5.0
Q5	4.0	7.7	5.9
All	2.7	6.1	4.5

The mean years of completed schooling among females comes to barely over 1 year for Q1, under 2 for Q2, below the overall average of 2.7 years for Q3 and barely above it for Q4. It is only in the top asset quintile that we get an average of four years of completed schooling

for females, which is by no means an impressive figure. Among males, the situation is better but not by much. Males in the specified age group average less than 4 years of completed schooling in Q1, and just about 4 years in Q2. The average for each of the next two quintiles lies between 6 and 7 years. It is only in the top asset quintile that the average approaches 8 years, itself not a terribly impressive figure.

The overall situation is thus one of massive deprivation in access to formal schooling, practically across the board, and for both females and males, except for the males of the richest asset quintile. Even in their case, the achievements are modest in absolute terms.

3.7 Educational Achievements

Let us now turn to educational achievements of the population across various social groups and asset classes in Gharsondi. 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 3.20 presents the variation in the number and proportions of graduates to population in the age group of 25 years or older. Table 3.21 shows the corresponding variation across asset quintiles.

Table 3.20 *Graduates in the age group 25 years and above, by social group, Gharsondi, 2008*

Social group	Number of graduate			As percentage of total population (25 years and above)		
	Female	Male	Persons	Female	Male	Persons
Scheduled Caste	0	1	1	0.0	2.5	1.2
Scheduled Tribe	0	1	1	0.0	2.9	1.4
OBC	8	16	24	3.6	6.8	5.3
Other Caste Hindu	0	1	1	0.0	9.1	4.8
Muslim	0	0	0	0.0	0.0	0.0
Jat Sikh	0	3	3	0.0	4.4	2.2
All	8	22	30	2.0	5.4	3.8

NOTE 4: Graduates are persons who have completed B.A/B.Com/B.Sc or equivalent degree. Persons with diploma in various technical and vocational courses are not included.

Table 3.21 *Graduates in the age group 25 years and above, by asset quintile, Gharsondi, 2008*

Asset quintile	Number of graduate			As percentage of total population (25 years and above)		
	Female	Male	Persons	Female	Male	Persons
Q1	0	2	2	0.0	4.1	1.9
Q2	1	1	2	1.5	1.5	1.5
Q3	0	1	1	0.0	1.4	0.7
Q4	1	4	5	1.2	4.3	2.8
Q5	6	14	20	5.0	11.1	8.2
All	8	22	30	2.0	5.4	3.8

Among females, all the eight graduates are from among the Other Backward Classes. Contrary to expectations, one does not find any female graduate from among the Other Caste Hindus, but the simple explanation for this is that there were only four households in this social group in Gharsondi with a total of 21 females, of whom only ten are in the specified age group. The eight Other Backward Class female graduates come from out of 222 females in the category of Other Backward Class females aged 25 years or older. There are, not surprisingly, a much larger number of male graduates at 22, of whom more than two-thirds 16 in number – come from Other Backward Class households. As a share of the relevant population, Other Caste Hindus have a higher percentage of graduates than Other Backward Classes, but the difference is not great. All other social groups have much lower percentages of graduates to population in the specified age group. Among Muslims, there is not a single graduate, male or female. As for variation across asset quintiles, the top quintile is a class apart. All others are far behind, with Q4 males doing better than males from the lower asset quintiles.

Let us consider a more modest level of educational achievement. Tables 3.22 and 3.23 present the variation across, respectively, the social groups and the asset quintiles, the numbers and the proportions of females, males and persons with at least twelve completed years of formal education.

Table 3.22 Persons in the age group 25 years and above who have completed 12 years of formal education, by social group, by sex, Gharsondi, 2008

Social group	Number			As percentage of total population (25 years and above)		
	Female	Male	Persons	Female	Male	Persons
Scheduled Caste	1	3	4	2.4	7.5	4.9
Scheduled Tribe	1	1	2	2.6	2.9	2.7
OBC	15	35	50	6.8	14.9	11.0
Other Caste Hindu	0	2	2	0.0	18.2	9.5
Muslim	0	0	0	0.0	0.0	0.0
Jat Sikh	2	8	10	3.0	11.8	7.5
All	19	49	68	4.8	12.1	8.5

Fifteen of the 19 females and 35 of the 49 males who have completed 12 years of formal schooling come from Other Backward Class households. Overall, not even 5 per cent of females in the 25 plus age group have completed twelve years of formal education. Among males, the proportion is one-eighth. Not a single male or female among Muslims has completed twelve years of formal schooling.

Table 3.23 Persons in the age group 25 years and above who have completed 12 years of formal education, by asset quintile, by sex, Gharsondi, 2008

Asset quintile	Number			As percentage of total population (25 years and above)		
	Female	Male	Persons	Female	Male	Persons
Q1	1	2	3	1.8	4.1	2.9
Q2	1	2	3	1.5	3.1	2.3
Q3	2	3	5	2.9	4.2	3.6
Q4	3	11	14	3.6	11.7	7.9
Q5	12	31	43	10.1	24.6	17.6
All	19	49	68	4.8	12.1	8.5

Across asset quintiles, the pattern is clear. The top asset quintile shows the highest levels of achievement with respect to this indicator. Far behind, but distinctly better off than the lower asset quintiles is the second highest quintile, Q4. The bottom three quintiles show much lower levels of achievement in respect of both females and males. The levels of achievement overall are extremely modest. Even in the highest quintile, they are far from impressive, especially with respect to females.

Taking a weaker measure of educational achievement, let us look at the proportions of females and males aged 25 years or older with ten completed years of formal education. The variation in this indicator across social groups is shown in Table 3.24 and 3.25.

Table 3.24 *Population in the age group 25 years and above who have completed 10 years of formal education, by social group, by sex, Gharsondi, 2008*

Social group	Number			As percentage of total population (25 years and above)		
	Female	Male	Persons	Female	Male	Persons
Scheduled Caste	1	8	9	2.4	20.0	11.0
Scheduled Tribe	1	1	2	2.6	2.9	2.7
OBC	24	64	88	10.9	27.2	19.3
Other Caste Hindu	0	6	6	0.0	54.5	28.6
Muslim	0	0	0	0.0	0.0	0.0
Jat Sikh	5	23	28	7.6	33.8	20.9
All	31	102	133	7.9	25.2	16.7

Table 3.25 *Population in the age group 25 years and above who have completed 10 years of formal education, by asset quintile, by sex, Gharsondi, 2008*

Asset quintile	Number			As percentage of total population (25 years and above)		
	Female	Male	Persons	Female	Male	Persons
Q1	3	3	6	5.5	6.1	5.8
Q2	3	6	9	4.5	9.2	6.8
Q3	4	16	20	5.9	22.5	14.4
Q4	5	26	31	6.0	27.7	17.4
Q5	16	51	67	13.4	40.5	27.3
All	31	102	133	7.9	25.2	16.7

Twenty four of the 31 females and 64 of the 102 males with at least ten years of completed formal schooling are from Other Backward Class households. Among males, more than half of the males in the specified age group in the Other Caste Hindu category, a third of Jat Sikhs, more than one-fourth of Other Backward Class males and a quarter of the Scheduled Caste males have completed at least ten years of formal education. No Muslim - male or female - figures in this list, and only one female and one male from among the Scheduled Tribes do. The variation across asset quintiles is along expected lines, with Q5 the best performer and Q1 the poorest. The highest asset quintile is way ahead of the others. However, even among the males of this quintile in the specified age group, less than half

have completed ten years of formal schooling. The proportion for females is of course much smaller at about one-seventh.

It is interesting to look at the 'progress rate' in terms of the proportion completing ten years of formal education going on to complete twelve , and further, to obtaining a graduate degree. Since the numbers are significant only for Other Backward Classes among females, let us look at the picture here. Of the 24 Other Backward Class females completing ten years of formal education, 15 have gone on to complete twelve years of schooling. Out of these 15, 8 have become graduates. The corresponding numbers for Other Backward Class males are 64, 35 and 16. Thus, the progress rate is in fact higher for females as compared to males at both transitions.

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 subsection, we look at the distribution in Gharsondi of *households with children* by the presence or absence of adults with specified levels of education. Table 3.26 provides the distribution of *households with children* without literate adults in Gharsondi. Table 3.27 provides the corresponding variation across asset quintiles.

Table 3.26 *Distribution of household with children by absence of adult literates, by social groups, Gharsondi, 2008*

Social group	Without any adult female literate		Without any adult male literate		Without any adult literate	
	Number	Percentage	Number	Percentage	Number	Percentage
Scheduled Caste	16	66.7	3	12.5	3	12.5
Scheduled Tribe	30	93.8	28	87.5	28	87.5
OBC	77	55.4	27	19.4	23	16.6
Other Caste Hindu	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0
Muslim	10	90.9	7	63.6	7	63.6
Jat Sikh	8	28.6	8	28.6	3	10.7
All	141	59.2	73	30.7	64	26.9

Overall, three-fifths of all households with children do not have a single literate adult female. For Scheduled Tribes and Muslims, the proportion is over nine-tenths. It is two-thirds for Scheduled Castes and more than half for Other Backward Classes. Only the Other Caste

Hindus fare well, with no household lacking a literate adult female. Even with Jat Sikhs, who are on the average well-to-do, more than a quarter of the households with children do not have a literate female adult in the household.

Three-tenths have no literate adult male. The proportion is seven-eighths for Scheduled Tribes and more than three-fifths for Muslims. Other Backward Classes fare better than Jat Sikhs in respect of this indicator. Scheduled Castes also do better –even better than Other Backward Classes, in fact - but the numbers involved are quite small.

Table 3.27 *Distribution of household with children by absence of adult literates, by asset quintile, Gharsondi, 2008*

Asset quintile	Without any adult female literate		Without any adult male literate		Without any adult literate	
	Number	Percentage	Number	Percentage	Number	Percentage
Q1	42	89.4	26	55.3	24	51.1
Q2	35	74.5	24	51.1	23	48.9
Q3	28	59.6	12	25.5	11	23.4
Q4	23	47.9	5	10.4	3	6.3
Q5	13	26.5	6	12.2	3	6.1
All	141	59.2	73	30.7	64	26.9

The variation across asset quintiles is as expected. The top two quintiles report the lowest and the bottom two the highest proportions of households with children without a literate adult female. The same is the case with respect to those without a literate adult male. There is not much of a difference between the top two quintiles in overall terms and with respect to the absence of literate adult males, but Q5 does distinctly better than Q4 with respect to the proportion of households with children without a literate adult female.

Just as the absence of a literate adult in the household can be taken as a negative factor in the educational environment of children, the presence of adults with some level of educational achievement would be a positive factor. Let us explore this aspect. Tables 3.28 and 3.29 present data on the number and percentage of households with children in Gharsondi with at least one male graduate, by social group and asset quintile respectively.

Table 3.28 *Households with children with at least one male graduate, by social group, Gharsondi, 2008*

Social group	Number	As percentage of all households with children within the social group
Scheduled Caste	1	4.2
Scheduled Tribe	1	3.1
OBC	12	8.6
Other Caste Hindu	2	50.0
Muslim	0	0.0
Jat Sikh	3	10.7
All	19	8.0

With regard to variation across social groups in respect of this indicator, Muslim and Other Caste Hindu (OCH) households are at the two opposite extremes, the former having no male graduate and two out of the four Other Caste Hindu households reporting one or more male graduates. Other Backward Classes and Jat Sikhs are close to the overall average while Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes are just a little ahead of the Muslims.

Table 3.29 *Households with children with at least one male graduate, by asset quintile, Gharsondi, 2008*

Asset quintile	Number	As percentage of all households with children within the asset quintile
Q1	2	4.3
Q2	2	4.3
Q3	0	0.0
Q4	5	10.4
Q5	10	20.4
All	19	8.0

Across asset quintiles, the top two have significantly higher proportions of households with children with a male graduate than the bottom three. They account for 15 out of the total of 19 male graduates among households with children in Gharsondi. The top quintile is a league ahead of the rest, including Q4.

Finally, let us look at the picture in relation to a more modest requirement: the presence of at least one female who has passed the tenth class. The relevant information for Gharsondi is presented for social groups in Table 3.30 and for asset quintiles in Table 3.31.

Table 3.30 *Households with children with at least one female 10th pass by social group, Gharsondi, 2008*

Social group	Number	As percentage of all households with children within the social group
Scheduled Caste	1	4.2
Scheduled Tribe	1	3.1
OBC	29	20.9
Other Caste Hindu	0	0.0
Muslim	0	0.0
Jat Sikh	8	28.6
All	39	16.4

Some idea of the extreme deprivation that females experience with respect to education can be had from the fact that only one-sixth of all households with children in Gharsondi report a female member who has successfully completed ten years of school. Jat Sikhs report the highest proportion of more than one-fourth, followed by Other Backward Classes with one-fifth. Between them, they account for all but two of the 39 females who have successfully completed ten years of school.

Table 3.31 *Households with children with at least one female 10th pass by asset quintile, Gharsondi, 2008*

Asset quintile	Number	As percentage of all households with children within the asset quintile
Q1	3	6.4
Q2	2	4.3
Q3	6	12.8
Q4	11	22.9
Q5	17	34.7
All	39	16.4

The variation across asset quintiles is as one would expect. The bottom two report low proportions of females with a tenth pass while the top two quintiles show much higher proportions. The top quintile is distinctly ahead of the rest. However, even in the top quintile, only about a third of the households with children report the presence of at least one female who has successfully completed ten years of school.

This brings to a close our analysis of the state of formal educational achievements and deprivation of the people of Gharsondi. Our analysis has covered school attendance, children and work, literacy among the general population and among adults, educational achievements and some characteristics of households with children that have a bearing on

the household environment for the education of children. The overall picture that emerges is one of massive deprivation in terms of access to and achievements in education. To begin with, not all children aged 6 to 18 years-or even 6 to 14 years-are attending school. Among children aged 6 to 18 years, 75 girls out of a total of 257 and 61 boys out of a total of 319 are out of school. Second, the literacy rates of the 7 plus population at 41.3 per cent for females and 66 per cent for males should be considered quite low overall and especially low for females. Third, the literacy rates among Scheduled Tribes and Muslims for both males and females are especially low. The same pattern generally holds with respect to most of the other indicators of educational achievement or deprivation. Fourth, there is a large gap between the social category of 'Other caste Hindus' and the others in respect of educational achievement, both among males and among females, with the former much better off. Fifth, the bottom two asset quintiles face huge deprivation in respect of every measure of educational achievement and participation as compared to the top two quintiles. Females do more poorly than males in respect of all the indicators, and the gender gap is generally substantial. There has clearly been improvement in literacy levels as shown by the much better literacy rates for the population aged 7 years or older as compared to those for adults, with literacy rates worsening as we move to older age groups.

Overall, 23.2 per cent of all children aged between 6 and 18 years are not attending school. The figure is 19.1 per cent in the case of boys and 28.1 per cent in the case of girls. The proportion of *working children* aged 6 to 18 years comes to 28.8 per cent for boys, 17.2 per cent for girls and 23.5 per cent overall. Even these are under-estimates, given our narrow definition of work and the fact that many girls (and a few boys) engaged in domestic chores and sibling care or other care functions in the household are regarded as not working.

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

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 Gharsondi.

Table 4.1 presents the distribution of households with children in Gharsondi by social group and type of housing. Table 4.2 presents the corresponding distribution by asset quintile.

Table 4.1 *Distribution of household with children by type of housing, by social group, Gharsondi, 2008*

Social group	Katcha	Semi-pucca	Pucca	All
Scheduled Caste	20.8	12.5	66.7	100.0
Scheduled Tribe	75.0	6.3	18.8	100.0
OBC	10.8	18.0	71.2	100.0
Other Caste Hindu	0.0	0.0	100.0	100.0
Muslim	36.4	9.1	54.5	100.0
Jat Sikh	0.0	3.6	96.4	100.0
All	20.2	13.4	66.4	100.0

NOTE 5: 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. (This is the standard definition followed by the Census of India and the National Sample Survey Organisation, Government of India).

Table 4.2 *Distribution of households with children, by type of housing, by asset quintile, Gharsondi, 2008*

Asset quintile	Katcha	Semi-pucca	Pucca	All
Q1	53.2	21.3	25.5	100.0
Q2	40.4	17.0	42.6	100.0
Q3	6.4	17.0	76.6	100.0
Q4	2.1	6.3	91.7	100.0
Q5	0.0	6.1	93.9	100.0
All	20.2	13.4	66.4	100.0

Figure 4.1 *Distribution of households with children, by type of housing, by social group, Gharsondi, 2008*

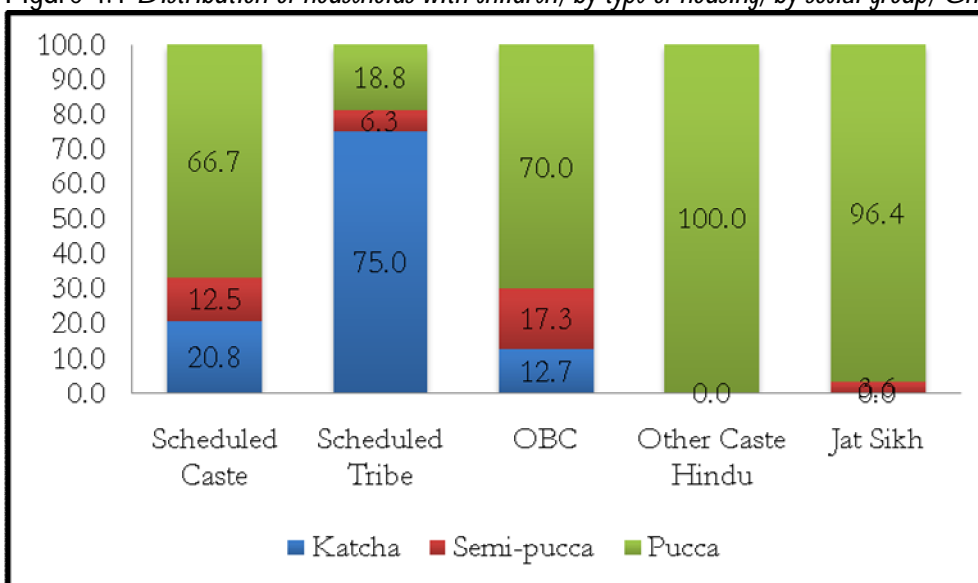
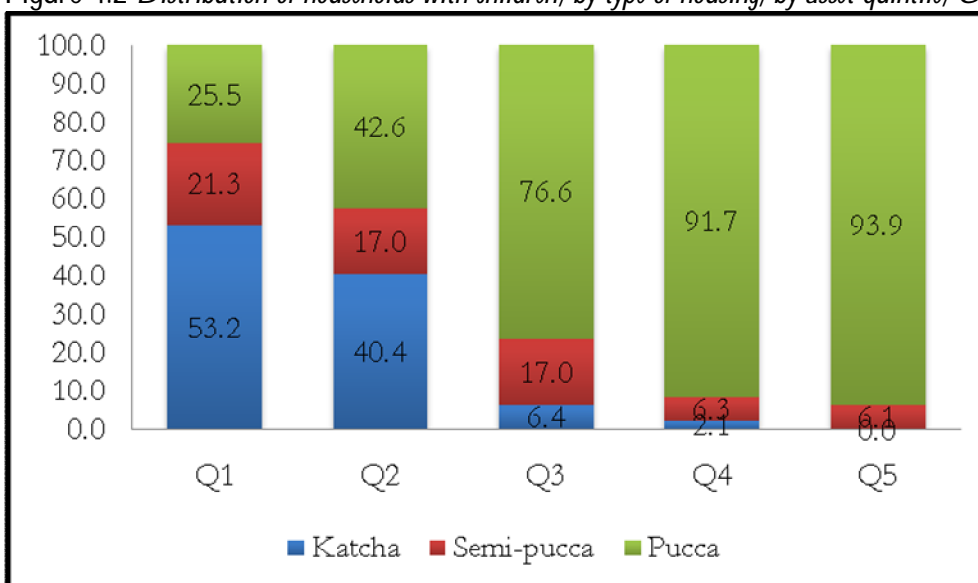


Figure 4.2 *Distribution of households with children, by type of housing, by asset quintile, Gharsondi, 2008*



Less than 20 per cent of the Scheduled Tribe households live in a pucca shelter. The proportion is slightly over half for Muslims, who are second to Scheduled Tribes in the extent of deprivation in this regard. The proportion of Scheduled Caste households living in pucca houses is the same as the overall average at about two-thirds. The Other Backward Classes fare a bit better than the Scheduled Castes, but the best off in this respect are the Jat Sikhs and the Other Caste Hindus, among whom only one Jat Sikh household lives in a semi

pucca house while all the others live in pucca houses. Three-fourths of Scheduled Tribe and more than a third of Muslim households live in katcha houses.

Across asset quintiles, there is a clear pattern. Only a fourth of Q1 households and around two-fifths of those in Q2 live in pucca houses. The corresponding proportions for Q4 and Q5 exceed nine-tenths.

The type of housing as per the official definition is of course only one aspect of housing. Possibly a more important indicator is the proportion of households living in a single room shelter. The distribution in this regard by social group for households with children in Gharsondi is presented in Table 4.3 while the same by asset quintiles is shown in Table 4.4.

Table 4.3 *Households with children living in single room houses by social group, Gharsondi, 2008*

Social group	Number of households	As percentage of all households with children
Scheduled Caste	1	4.2
Scheduled Tribe	8	25.0
OBC	4	2.9
Other Caste Hindu	0	0.0
Muslim	2	18.2
Jat Sikh	4	14.3
All	19	8.0

NOTE 6: A room indicates a separate living quarter. Kitchen and covered verandah are not considered as rooms.

Table 4.4 *Households with children living in single room houses by asset quintile, Gharsondi, 2008*

Asset quintile	Number of households	As percentage of all households with children
Q1	13	27.7
Q2	3	6.4
Q3	2	4.3
Q4	0	0.0
Q5	1	2.0
All	19	8.0

Scheduled Tribes and Muslims are the two social groups with a significant percentage of households living in single room shelters. It is interesting and somewhat counter-intuitive that four of the 28 Jat Sikh households with children also live in single room shelters, while the corresponding proportion is much smaller for both Scheduled Castes and Other

Backward Classes. The variation across asset quintiles is broadly in line with expectations, except for one Q5 household living in a shelter with only one room.

4.2 Access to Electricity for Domestic Use

An amenity of obvious importance from the viewpoint of children pursuing formal education is access to electricity. Table 4.5 shows, for households with children in Gharsondi, the variation in the proportion of households with electric connection for domestic use by social group while Table 4.6 shows the corresponding variation by asset quintile.⁸

Table 4.5 *Households with children with electric connection for domestic use, by social group, Gharsondi, 2008*

Social group	Number of households	As percentage of all household with children
Scheduled Caste	22	91.7
Scheduled Tribe	23	71.9
OBC	123	88.5
Other Caste Hindu	4	100.0
Muslim	9	81.8
Jat Sikh	28	100.0
All	209	87.8

Nearly 88 per cent of all households with children in Gharsondi have access to an electric connection. The lowest proportion is for Scheduled Tribes at 72 per cent followed by Muslim households at 82 per cent. As one would expect by now, all Jat Sikh and Other Caste Hindu households have access to an electric connection. The proportions for Other Backward Class and Scheduled Caste households are close to the overall average.

⁸ One must keep in mind though, especially in these times of constant power cuts and 'outages', that access to an electric connection is no guarantee of access to electricity.

Table 4.6 *Households with children with electric connection for domestic use, by asset quintile, Gharsondi, 2008*

Asset quintile	Number of households	As percentage of all households with children
Q1	34	72.3
Q2	35	74.5
Q3	43	91.5
Q4	48	100.0
Q5	49	100.0
All	209	87.8

The variation across asset quintiles is unsurprising, with all households in the top two quintiles having access to an electric connection and around a quarter of those in the bottom two not having one.

4.3 *Drinking Water*

Let us now look at the position in respect of the source of drinking water and access to it among households with children in Gharsondi-. Table 4.7 gives the distribution of these households by primary source of drinking water.

Table 4.7 *Distribution of households with children by primary source of drinking water, Gharsondi, 2008*

Source	Number of households	As percentage of all household with children
Tap	38	16.0
Handpump	155	65.1
Borewell/tubewell/ powered tubewell	18	7.6
Well	25	10.5
Unspecified	2	0.8
All	238	100.0

The hand pump is the main source of drinking water in Gharsondi, with 65 per cent of households with children depending on it. One-sixth get water from a tap while another ten percent rely on open wells. Note, however, that this says nothing about the quantum of water available daily to a household . Nor can it be assumed that water from the specified sources is necessarily 'safe' for drinking.

Data is also available from the FAS survey on access to a covered source of drinking water, which may, with some justification, be taken to be a proxy for safe drinking water. Table 4.8

shows the percentage distribution of households with children in Gharsondi with access to a covered source of drinking water by social group. Table 4.9 shows the corresponding distribution by asset quintile.

Table 4.8 *Households with children with access to covered source of drinking water, by social group, Gharsondi, 2008*

Social group	Number of households	As percentage of all households with children
Scheduled Caste	14	58.3
Scheduled Tribe	30	93.8
OBC	124	89.2
Other Caste Hindu	4	100.0
Muslim	11	100.0
Jat Sikh	28	100.0
All	211	88.7

With respect to access to drinking water from a covered source – reckoned as ‘safe’ in official terms – it turns out that Scheduled Castes have the lowest proportion of households with such access at a little less than three-fifth. In the case of all the other groups, the corresponding proportion is around nine-tenths or higher.

Table 4.9 *Households with children with access to covered source of drinking water, by asset quintile, Gharsondi, 2008*

Asset quintile	Number of households	As percentage of all households with children
Q1	45	95.7
Q2	41	87.2
Q3	42	89.4
Q4	38	79.2
Q5	45	91.8
All	211	88.7

The pattern of variation across asset quintiles is also somewhat different from what one would expect. The lowest quintile has the highest proportion followed by the highest quintile. Q4 has the lowest proportion. But the variation across the asset quintiles is modest. 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 4.10 shows the distribution of households with children in Gharsondi by distance of drinking water source from homestead. The corresponding distribution by asset quintile is shown in Table 4.11.

Table 4.10 *Number of households with children, by distance from source of drinking water, by social group, Gharsondi, 2008*

Social group	Within homestead or just outside	≤ 500 metres	> 500 metres	Unspecified
Scheduled Caste	7	14	1	2
Scheduled Tribe	2	30	0	0
OBC	29	103	4	3
Other Caste Hindu	1	3	0	0
Muslim	2	8	0	1
Jat Sikh	17	10	0	1
All	58	168	5	7

Overall, only around one-fourth of the households with children have access to a source of water within the homestead. The proportion exceeds one-half for Jat Sikhs, but for all other social groups, it is much lower.

Table 4.11 *Number of households with children, by distance from the source of drinking water, by asset quintile, Gharsondi, 2008*

Asset quintile	Within homestead or just outside	≤ 500 metres	> 500 metres	Unspecified
Q1	5	42	0	0
Q2	8	37	1	1
Q3	9	37	0	1
Q4	15	30	3	0
Q5	21	22	1	5
All	58	168	5	7

The variation across asset quintiles shows clearly that the top quintile is much better off than all the others, but even in this quintile more than half the households for which we have information do not have access to a source of drinking water within the homestead. In the bottom two quintiles, only a very small proportion has access to drinking water within the

homestead. The proportion is less than one-fourth and one-third respectively for households in Q3 and Q4.

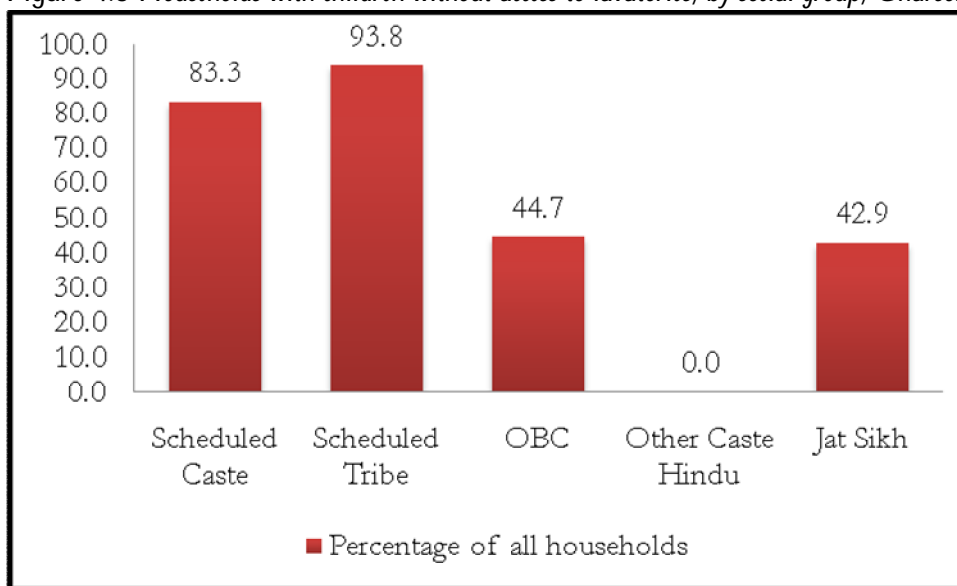
4.4 Lavatories

A critical requirement from the standpoint of the health of children is decent sanitation. Access to a toilet is one of the most important means of ensuring some degree of improvement in the sanitation situation of rural (and urban) households. How does Gharsondi fare in this regard? Table 4.12 shows the distribution of households with children in the village by social group and lack of access to lavatories. Table 4.13 provides the corresponding distribution by asset quintile.

Table 4.12 *Household with children without access to lavatories, by social group, Gharsondi, 2008*

Social group	Number of households	As percentage of all households with children
Scheduled Caste	20	83.3
Scheduled Tribe	30	93.8
OBC	58	41.7
Other Caste Hindu	0	0.0
Muslim	9	81.8
Jat Sikh	12	42.9
All	129	54.2

Figure 4.3 *Households with children without access to lavatories, by social group, Gharsondi, 2008*

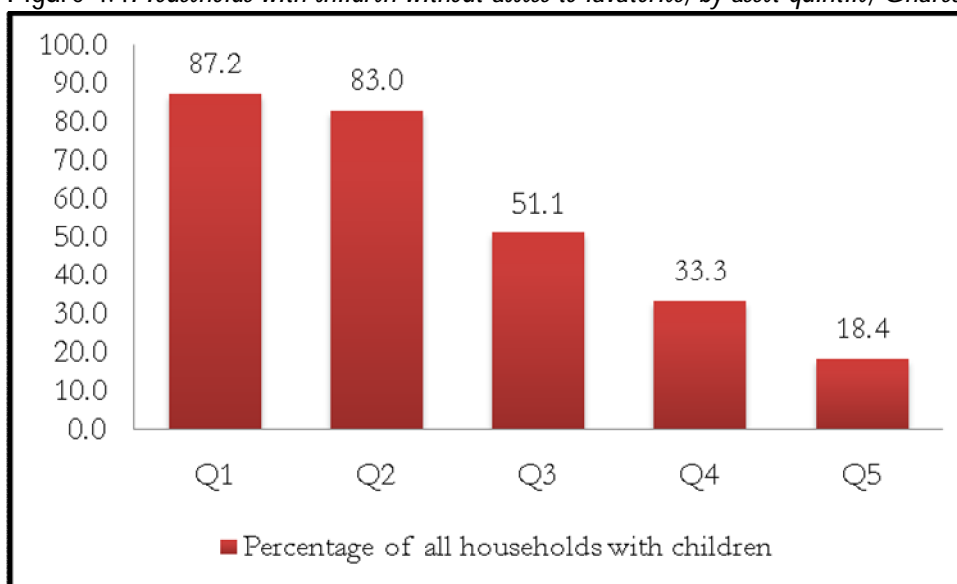


Overall, less than half of all households with children in Gharsondi have access to a lavatory. At one end, all the four Other Caste Hindu households with children have access to a lavatory. At the opposite end, four-fifth or more of Scheduled Caste, Scheduled Tribe and Muslim households do not have such access. Among the Other Backward Classes and the economically well-off Jat Sikhs, slightly more than two-fifths lack access to a lavatory.

Table 4.13 *Households with children without access to lavatories, by asset quintile, Gharsondi, 2008*

Asset quintile	Number of households	As percentage of all households with children
Q1	41	87.2
Q2	39	83.0
Q3	24	51.1
Q4	16	33.3
Q5	9	18.4
All	129	54.2

Figure 4.4 *Households with children without access to lavatories, by asset quintile, Gharsondi, 2008*



Across asset quintiles the variation is as one would expect. More than four-fifths of the households with children in Q1 and Q2 do not have access to a lavatory. The corresponding proportion for Q5 is less than one-fifth. It is around one-half for Q3 and one-third for Q4. It is worth noting that, even among the richest households with children in Gharsondi, quite a few lack access to a lavatory.

Summing up the situation with regard to shelter and amenities, we find a high degree of inequality in respect of shelter in Gharsondi. More than four-fifths of Scheduled Tribes and close to one-half of Muslim households with children lives in non-pucca houses. More than three-fourths of those in the lowest asset quintile and more than half of those in Q2 also live in non-pucca shelters. Only around a fourth of households live in single room shelters, as do those in Q1. Again, only around a fourth of all households with children have access to a source of drinking water within the homestead or just outside. More than half of all households with children in Gharsondi and more than three-fourth of Scheduled Caste, Scheduled Tribe and Muslim households lacks access to a lavatory. The prevailing situation with regard to sanitation in Gharsondi is a matter of great concern from the viewpoints of public health, women's privacy and dignity and safety for women and children.

We now turn to the final section that provides a brief description of the position of women in this village in respect of a few key characteristics.

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 Gharsondi as per the FAS survey of 2008. Table 5.2 provides the age distribution of widows in the village. The proportion of widows in the adult female population of Gharsondi is a little under one-seventh.⁹

Table 5.1 *Distribution of women (18 years and above) by marital status, Gharsondi, 2008*

Marital status	Number of women	As percentage of all women
Never married	29	5.5
Currently married	422	80.5
Widowed	70	13.4
Separated/divorced	3	0.6
All	524	100.0

Table 5.2 *Age distribution of widowed women (18 years and above), Gharsondi, 2008*

Age group	Number of women	As percentage of all women within the age group
18 years to 34 years	3	1.1
35 years to 49 years	8	6.9
50 years to 59 years	8	12.7
60 years to 69 years	19	48.7
≥ 70 years	32	80.0
All	70	13.4

The variation in the proportion of widows to all the women across various age groups is not inconsistent with patterns generally found in the other villages surveyed by FAS and those reported from Census and NFHS data.¹⁰

⁹ This is lower than what one finds in relatively 'developed' villages surveyed by FAS such as the Andhra Pradesh villages and Nimshirgaon in Maharashtra, but higher than that found by FAS in Harevli in Uttar Pradesh and Rewasi and Dungariya in Rajasthan. It is close to what we find in 25F Gulabewala, Mahatwar and Warwat Khanderao.

¹⁰ To put the numbers in perspective, as per the Census of India 1981, 64 per cent of women aged 60 years or older and 80 per cent of those 70 years or older were widows. The NFHS -2, relating to reference year 1998-99, gives a figure of 58 per cent for the percentage of widows among women aged 60 years and above.

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 Gharsondi. As is generally the case, the workforce participation rates (WPRs) are much higher for males than females, both overall and in all the social groups. Among females, again reflecting the pattern observed generally, the WPRs are much higher among Scheduled Tribes, Scheduled Castes and Other Backward Classes as also Muslims than among the Jat Sikhs who constitute the richer section of landowners in the village and the Other Caste Hindus.

Table 5.3 *Proportion of working population (18 years and above), by sex, by social group, Gharsondi, 2008*

Social group	Female		Male		Persons	
	Number	Percentage	Number	Percentage	Number	Percentage
Scheduled Caste	35	68.6	47	90.4	82	79.6
Scheduled Tribe	37	71.2	44	97.8	81	83.5
OBC	158	51.6	310	92.0	468	72.8
Other Caste Hindu	2	18.2	12	92.3	14	58.3
Muslim	15	75.0	18	85.7	33	80.5
Jat Sikh	3	3.6	73	84.9	76	44.7
All	250	47.7	504	91.0	754	69.9

Table 5.4 shows the variation in work participation rate (WPR) of women aged 18 years and above by marital status in Gharsondi. Leaving out of reckoning the small number of separated/divorced/never married women, the WPR is the highest for married women at 54.3 per cent. The overall rate is close to 50 per cent. The low rate among widows reflects the age composition of this group, as more than seven-tenths of them are over 60 years of age.

Table 5.4 *Work participation rate of women (18 years and above), by marital status, Gharsondi, 2008*

Marital status	Number	WPR
Never married	4	13.8
Currently married	229	54.3
Widowed	15	21.4
Separated/divorced	1	100.0
Other	1	50.0
All	250	47.7

Table 5.5 shows the activity profile of women aged 18 years or older in Gharsondi in 2008. Cultivation is the most frequently reported activity, followed by agricultural wage employment and then animal husbandry. While the preponderance of agriculture-related activities in the activity profile of women is typical of rural India, the interesting feature here is that it is not agricultural wage employment that dominates, as is often the case.

Table 5.5 *Activity profile of women (18 years and above), by marital status, Gharsondi, 2008*

Occupation	Number of women participating in the activity	As percentage of all women
Cultivation	156	29.8
Agricultural wage employment	104	19.8
Animal husbandry	44	8.4
Non-agricultural wage employment	34	6.5
Non-agricultural self employment	15	2.9
Salaried employment	7	1.3
Other	6	1.1

Note: The percentages of women in all activities do not add up to the WPR because individuals may be involved in more than one activity and animal husbandry is not included as work in our definition.

5.3 Women as Heads of Households

Is there any systematic variation in the percentage of female heads of households across either social groups or asset quintiles or both? Tables 5.6 and 5.7 present the picture in this regard for Gharsondi by social group and asset quintile respectively.

Table 5.6 *Distribution of heads of household, by sex, by social group, Gharsondi, 2008*

Social group	Number		Percentage	
	Female	Male	Female	Male
Scheduled Caste	1	26	3.7	96.3
Scheduled Tribe	7	26	21.2	78.8
OBC	5	148	3.3	96.7
Other Caste Hindu	0	4	0.0	100.0
Muslim	3	10	23.0	77.0
Jat Sikh	2	31	6.1	93.9
All	18	245	6.8	93.2

It is only among Scheduled Tribes and Muslims that a significant proportion of households are female-headed. In both these instances, the proportion exceeds one-fifth. In all other social groups and overall, the proportion of female headed households to the total is quite small, being less than 7 per cent overall. Consistent with this, it is the lowest asset quintile that reports the highest proportion – over one-sixth - of female-headed households. Muslims and Scheduled Tribes together account for 43 per cent of all Q1 households.

Table 5.7 Distribution of head of the household, by sex, by asset quintile, Gharsondi, 2008

Asset quintile	Number		Percentage	
	Female	Male	Female	Male
Q1	9	43	17.3	82.7
Q2	4	48	7.7	92.3
Q3	2	50	3.8	96.2
Q4	0	53	0.0	100.0
Q5	3	51	5.6	94.4
All	18	245	6.8	93.2

Does the fact of a female heading household have a systematic relationship to her marital status? Table 5.8 presents the information for Gharsondi in this regard. Of the 18 households headed by females, 13 or more than seven-tenths are headed by widows. This is no surprise. Interestingly, three currently married women head their households.

Table 5.8 Distribution of female head of households, by marital status, Gharsondi, 2008

Marital status	Number	Percentage
Never married	0	0.0
Currently married	3	16.7
Widowed	13	72.2
Separated/divorced	0	0.0
Other	2	11.1
All	18	100.0

Often, many of the female headed households also turn out to be single person ones. In other words, in many cases, females are heads by default rather than by conscious designation. The position in Gharsondi in this regard is shown in Table 5.9. There are only 5 single person households in Gharsondi. All are headed by females, of whom four are

widows. Thus, out of 18 households headed by females, five are by default. Thirteen are headed by widows. This is to be expected in a highly patriarchal society.

Table 5.9 *Number of single person households, by sex, by marital status, Gharsondi, 2008*

Marital status	Number	Percentage
Never married	0	0.0
Currently married	1	20.0
Widowed	4	80.0
Separated/divorced	0	0.0
Other	0	0.0
All	5	100.0

Note: There is no male headed single - person household.

As is easy to infer, females become heads of households only under 'unusual' circumstances, very often having to do with the death of the male head, along with the absence of an adult male member in a position to assume that role. It is, therefore, often the case that the age distribution of female heads of households will be skewed towards the older age groups. Tables 5.10 and 5.11 show, respectively, the distribution of heads of households by age group, separately for women and men in Gharsondi.

Table 5.10 *Distribution of female head of households, by age group, Gharsondi, 2008*

Age group	Number	Percentage
Upto 34 years	1	5.6
35 years to 49 years	5	27.8
50 years to 60 years	4	22.2
Above 60 years	8	44.4
All	18	100.0

Table 5.11 *Distribution of male head of households, by age group, Gharsondi, 2008*

Age group	Number	Percentage
Upto 34 years	43	17.6
35 years to 49 years	89	36.3
50 years to 60 years	75	30.6
Above 60 years	38	15.5
All	245	100.0

Two-thirds of the female heads are 50 years or older. By contrast, nearly 60 per cent of the male heads are under 50 years of age. There are only six female heads under the age of 50 years as compared to 132 male heads.

To conclude this section, our brief examination of some aspects of the situation of women in Gharsondi, demonstrate the enormous gender inequality that exists in this village (as in most Indian villages) not only in terms of access to or achievements in education but also in terms of work participation and diversification of employment.

Madhya Pradesh: Badhar Village

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1. LOCATION AND INFRASTRUCTURE¹¹

Badhar is a village with predominantly Adivasi population. It is located in Anuppur block in the district of Anuppur in Madhya Pradesh at a distance of 25 km from Anuppur, the district headquarters. In 2008 when the FAS conducted its census type survey, 118 households lived in Badhar. Of them, 90 belonged to the Gond and Baiga Scheduled Tribes and 26 to the Nayak Caste (OBC). The remaining two households were from the Scheduled Castes.

Households in the village depend on traditional agriculture, forest produce, and public employment programmes for subsistence. The geographical area of the village as per revenue records was 886 hectares. The bulk of this, 596 hectares, was classified as forest. Of the remaining 290 hectares, an area of 33 hectares was not available for cultivation while 105 hectares constituted cultivable waste. There was no irrigation in the village and the entire 152 hectares of land under cultivation consisted of unirrigated lands. In terms of agro-ecological classification by NARP, Badhar belongs to the North Hill zone of Chattisgarh.

One of the most striking features of agriculture in Badhar is the rich diversity of crops cultivated in the village. Households in Badhar cultivated paddy, wheat, kodo millet, little millet, kodaili millet, maize, red gram, black gram, masur, chickpea, cowpea, carpet legume, rapeseed, mustard, niger, linseed, cucumber, bottle gourd, bitter gourd, okra, pumpkin, tomato and a large variety of other vegetables. Agriculture was characterised by low use of modern inputs and hired labour. Households collected firewood, tendu leaves, mahua, and a number of other commodities from the forest.

The village was poorly connected. Only a mud road linked it to the highway at quite some distance. There was no bus stop in the village and villagers had to walk long distances to catch a bus. There was no electricity in the village, and civic amenities were very poorly developed. There was no middle, secondary or higher secondary school within the village. The nearest railway station, Anuppur, was located at a distance of 25 kilometers. There was no post office or branch of any bank within the village.

¹¹ This section draws substantially from the description of the village provided on the FAS website www.fas.org.in

Table 1.1 *Location of the village, Badhar, 2008*

Village	Badhar
District	Anuppur
Block/Tehsil	Anuppur
Nearest town	Anuppur
Distance from nearest town	25 Km.
Nearest railway station	Anuppur
Distance from nearest railway station	25 Km.
Bus stop within the village	No
Metalled approach road	No

Table 1.2 *Description of village infrastructure and amenities, Badhar, 2008*

Item	Number/ description
Number of anganwadi centres within village	1
Number of primary schools (Std I-V) within village	2
Number of middle schools (upto Std VIII) within village	1
Number of secondary schools (upto Std X) within village	1
Number of higher secondary schools (upto Std XII) within village	0
Post office within the village	No
Bank within the village	No

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

Village		Area (in hectares)	As % of geographical area	
Geographical area		886	100.0	
Land use (as % of geographical area)	Forest	596	67.3	
	Area under cultivation	Irrigated	0	0.0
		Unirrigated	152	17.2
	Cultivable waste	105	11.9	
	Area not available for cultivation	33	3.6	

Source: Census of India, 2001

1.4 *Agro-economic features of the village, Badhar, 2008*

Agro-ecological region (NARP*
classification)

Central Plateau and Hills zone

Major crops grown (by crop seasons)

Kharif: Paddy, Bitter gourd, Red gram, Maize
Rabi: Wheat, Chick pea, Masur, Mustard, Rapeseed
Annual crop: A variety of vegetables like Pumpkin,
Tomato, Okra etc.

2. DEMOGRAPHY

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

Tables 2.1 and 2.1 provide information on the number of households and the population of Badhar, disaggregated by social group. Badhar is a small village in terms of population, with just 590 persons belonging to 115 households as per the FAS census type survey of 2008. Slightly over three-fourths of the population consisted of tribals and the rest were Other Backward Classes, except for two Scheduled Caste households which together accounted for only 1 per cent of the population of Badhar.

The population of Badhar has risen from 280 in the 1961 (Census) to 555 in 2001(Census) to 590 in 2008.

Table 2.1 *Distribution of households, by social group, Badhar, 2008*

Social group	Number of households	As percentage of all households
Scheduled Caste	2	1.7
Scheduled Tribe	88	76.5
OBC	25	21.7
All	115	100.0

Table 2.2 *Distribution of population by caste and sex, Badhar, 2008*

Social group	Number			As percentage of all persons		
	Female	Male	Person	Female	Male	Person
Scheduled Caste	1	5	6	0.3	1.8	1.0
Scheduled Tribe	236	215	451	78.7	74.1	76.5
OBC	63	70	133	21.0	24.1	22.5
All	300	290	590	100.0	100.0	100.0

The distribution of the population in Badhar by specified age groups and sex is given in Table 2.3.

Table 2.3 *Distribution of population by age and sex, Badhar, 2008*

Age group	Number			As percentage of total population		
	Female	Male	Persons	Female	Male	Persons
0 < 3 years	19	19	38	6.3	6.6	6.4
3 years to 6 years	43	42	85	14.3	14.5	14.4
7 years to 9 years	24	26	50	8.0	9.0	8.5
10 years to 14 years	43	32	75	14.3	11.0	12.7
15 years to 17 years	8	14	22	2.7	4.8	3.7
18 years to 24 years	28	31	59	9.3	10.7	10.0
25 years to 34 years	48	42	90	16.0	14.5	15.3
35 years to 49 years	47	52	99	15.7	17.9	16.8
50 years to 59 years	16	15	31	5.3	5.2	5.3
60 years to 69 years	13	9	22	4.3	3.1	3.7
≥ 70 years	9	7	16	3.0	2.4	2.7
Unspecified	2	1	3	0.7	0.3	0.5
All	300	290	590	100.0	100.0	100.0

Females outnumber males in the population and in the age group of 0 to 6 years. But the pattern is different as between tribals and non-tribals. Among tribals, the number of females exceeds the number of males, but the reverse is the case among non-tribals.

The sex ratio in Badhar has been favourable to females – unlike in much of rural North and Central India –for several decades now. It was 1064 in 1981 and 1063 in 2001 for the population. For the children aged 6 years or less, it was 1042 in 1991 and 1340 in 2001. In 2008, it was 1035 overall and 1016 for children. Given the small population totals, one need not read too much into these changes. The point remains that because of its largely tribal composition, Badhar has an excess of females to males, overall and in the age group of 0 to 6 years.

Table 2.4 provides the distribution of households in Badhar by size. Nearly three-fifth of the population lives in households with six or more members. The average household size of 5.1 is higher than the ones in the villages surveyed by the FAS in Andhra Pradesh, but lower than those for the villages that FAS surveyed in Rajasthan and Uttar Pradesh and that for Gharsondi in Madhya Pradesh. It is, in fact, close to those for the two Maharashtra villages of Nimshirgaon and Warwat Khanderao.

Table 2.4 *Distribution of households by household size, Badhar, 2008*

Household size	Number of households	As percentage of all households	Average size of the households	Cumulative number of persons	Cumulative percentage of population
1	6	5.2	1	6	1.0
2	11	9.6	2	28	4.7
3	10	8.7	3	58	9.8
4	16	13.9	4	122	20.7
5	26	22.6	5	252	42.7
6	19	16.5	6	366	62.0
7	15	13.0	7	471	79.8
≥ 8	12	10.4	9.9	590	100.0
All	115	100.0	5.1	590	100.0

There are some households in Badhar, as there are in most villages, which have no member less than 18 years of age. The overall proportion of such households is one-fifth, and there is little difference between Scheduled Tribes and Other Backward Classes in this respect. The number of children per household is 2.4

Table 2.5 *Number and proportion of households without children, by social group, Badhar, 2008*

Social group	Number of households without children	Total number of households	Households without children as percentage of total households
Scheduled Caste	1	2	50.0
Scheduled Tribe	17	88	19.3
OBC	5	25	20.0
All	23	115	20.0

While one would normally expect children to reside with their parents, this need not always be the case. For a number of reasons, such as one of the parents either not being alive or residing elsewhere than with spouse and children or both parents living separately from their children leaving them to the care of other relatives and so on, we find in all the villages that FAS has surveyed, some children living with only one or even neither of their parents. The data in this regard for Badhar is presented in Table 2.6.

Table 2.7 *In whose home do children live? Badhar, 2008*

Children living in the same household with	Number of children			As percentage of all children		
	Female	Male	Persons	Female	Male	Persons
Both parents	129	120	249	94.2	90.2	92.2
Mother, not father	5	9	14	3.6	6.8	5.2
Father, not mother	3	4	7	2.2	3.0	2.6
All	137	133	270	100.0	100.0	100.0

As one would expect, most children reside with both their parents in the same household. But as many as 21 children out of a total of 270 do not have both their parents, but only one of them as members of their households. Of the nine boys living with the mother and not the father, eight of them do so because the father is no more. In the remaining case, the father is working elsewhere. Of the five girls in this category, the father is no more in two cases. In the other three instances, the father is working elsewhere. There are seven children - four boys and three girls - living with the father and not the mother. In all the seven cases, the mother is no more.

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. What is the picture in Badhar in this regard? The relevant information is brought together in Tables 2.8 to 2.10.

Table 2.8 *Children in the age group 6 to 14 years engaged in specific types of activities, by sex, Badhar, 2008*

Type of activity	Number			As percentage of all children in the age group		
	Girls	Boys	All	Girls	Boys	All
Work outside the household for an employer (paid or unpaid)	1	4	5	1.3	5.8	3.4
Work on household operational holding	12	9	21	15.8	13.0	14.5
Work in any household enterprise other than animal resources*	14	9	23	18.4	13.0	15.9
All	27	22	49	35.5	31.9	33.8

*This type of activity mainly consists of collection of forest produce such as firewood, tendu leaves, mahua and so on from the forest.

Table 2.9 *Boys in the age group 6 to 14 years engaged in specific types of activities, by social group, Badhar, 2008*

Social group	Number			As percentage of all boys in the age group		
	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	1	1	0	33.3	33.3	0.0
Scheduled Tribe	3	7	6	5.8	13.5	11.5
OBC	0	1	3	0.0	7.1	21.4
All	4	9	9	5.8	13.0	13.0

A very high proportion of children age between 6 and 14 years in Badhar – a little over a third - are working, even by the restricted definition of work used in this Report. The proportion is slightly higher for girls at 35.5 per cent as against 31.8 per cent for boys. Of the 49 children - 22 boys and 27 girls - thus engaged in work, five work for an employer outside the household while the remaining work on either the household operational holding or in some household enterprise. Except for three Other Backward Class girls and six boys (3 SCs, 3 OBCs), the remaining 40 children engaged in work in the age group of 6 to 14

years all belong to Scheduled Tribe households. If one were to include the five boys and one girl in this age group who work with animal resources, the number of working children is 55 - 27 boys and 28 girls - out of the total of 125 children in this age group or 44 per cent.

Table 2.10 *Girls in the age group 6 to 14 years engaged in specific types of activities, by social group, Badhar, 2008*

Social group	Number			As percentage of all girls in the age group		
	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	NA	NA	NA
Scheduled Tribe	1	10	13	1.6	15.9	20.6
OBC	0	2	1	0.0	15.4	7.7
All	1	12	14	1.3	15.8	18.4

2.3 Age at Marriage

Before we conclude this section on demography and turn to the picture in Badhar in respect of education, let us take a brief look at how the village fares in respect of the issue of age at marriage. The legal age at marriage in India is 21 years for males and 18 years for females. There is a general perception that girls, in particular, continue to get married before reaching the legal minimum age in rural India. But it is also recognized that the frequency of occurrence of this phenomenon has been declining. The data for Badhar in this regard are presented in Table 2.11.

Table 2.11 *Persons currently married in the age group below 21 years for men, by social group, Badhar, 2008*

Social group	Number married	As percentage of all males below 21 years within the social group
Scheduled Caste	0	0.0
Scheduled Tribe	1	1.0
OBC	2	5.0
All	3	2.0

Note: There are no married girls below 18 years of age.

Interestingly, there is no married girl among girls who were 18 years or younger in Badhar at the time of the FAS survey in 2008. But three men below the legal age of marriage for men were married, and two of them were from the Other Backward Classes. It appears that the practice of marrying young is still present to some extent among the men in Badhar, though the practice may be declining. It should also be made clear that we have not investigated the age at marriage of all the married members of the population in Badhar, and cannot say anything about the larger issue of how widespread the practice of marriage before attainment of the legal minimum age may be.

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 shows Badhar has a long way to go to achieve universal school enrolment and attendance.

Table 3.1 *Number and proportion of children attending school, by age group, by sex, Badhar, 2008*

Age group	Number of children			As percentage of all children		
	Female	Male	Persons	Female	Male	Persons
6 to 10 years	42	41	83	93.3	89.1	91.2
11 to 14 years	28	22	50	90.3	95.7	92.6
15 to 16 years	3	7	10	60.0	58.3	58.8
17 to 18 years	0	1	1	0.0	12.5	5.6
6 to 18 years	73	71	144	80.2	79.8	80.0

No girl is enrolled in classes IX to XII and no girl above the age of 16 years is in school. Beyond the age of 14 years, school attendance ratios fall steeply for both boys and girls. Of the 17 children aged between 15 and 18 years, only one child, a boy, is in school.

Table 3.2 *Gross enrolment ratio of children, by level of schooling, by sex, Badhar, 2008*¹²

School level	Number enrolled			GER		
	Female	Male	Persons	Female	Male	Persons
Standard I to V	55	51	106	119.6	98.1	108.2
Standard VI to VIII	10	16	26	32.3	69.6	48.2
Standard IX to X	0	1	1	0.0	5.6	3.6
Standard XI to XII	0	2	2	0.0	15.4	8.3

3.2 School Attendance by Social Group

Attendance rates usually vary across social groups, with a general hierarchy present. The rates tend to be the highest for other caste Hindus, followed by Other Backward Classes, Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes in that order. In Badhar, the majority of children are from the Scheduled Tribes, with a significant minority from Other Backward Classes and a few children from Scheduled Caste households. Tables 3.3 to 3.5 provide data on the distribution of attendance rates by age group and social group for all children, boys and girls respectively.

Table 3.3 *Children attending school, by age group, by social group, Badhar, 2008*

Age group	Scheduled Caste		Scheduled Tribe		OBC	
	Number	Percentage	Number	Percentage	Number	Percentage
6 to 10 years	1	100.0	66	91.7	16	88.9
11 to 14 years	2	100.0	40	93.0	8	88.9
15 to 16 years	0	NA	8	57.1	2	66.7
17 to 18 years	0	NA	1	7.1	0	0.0
6 to 18 years	3	100.0	115	80.4	26	76.5

¹² 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 give 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, Badhar, 2008*

Age group	Scheduled Caste		Scheduled Tribe		OBC	
	Number	Percentage	Number	Percentage	Number	Percentage
6 to 10 years	1	100.0	33	89.2	7	87.5
11 to 14 years	2	100.0	14	93.3	6	100.0
15 to 16 years	0	NA	6	60.0	1	50.0
17 to 18 years	0	NA	1	14.3	0	0.0
6 to 18 years	3	100.0	54	78.3	14	82.4

Table 3.5 *Girls attending school, by age group, by social group, Badhar, 2008*

Age group	Scheduled Caste		Scheduled Tribe		OBC	
	Number	Percentage	Number	Percentage	Number	Percentage
6 to 10 years	0	NA	33	94.3	9	90.0
11 to 14 years	0	NA	26	92.9	2	66.7
15 to 16 years	0	NA	2	50.0	1	100.0
17 to 18 years	0	NA	0	0.0	0	0.0
6 to 18 years	0	NA	61	82.4	12	70.6

There are only three boys from among the Scheduled Castes in the age group of 6 to 18 years and no girls at all. The three boys are aged between 6 and 14 years, and all are in school. Of the 27 Other Backward Class children aged between 6 and 14 years, all but three - a boy and two girls - are in school. Among Scheduled Tribes, 33 out of 37 boys and 33 out of 35 girls aged between 6 and 10 years are in school. The attendance ratios remain high for Scheduled Tribes in the next age group of 11 to 14 years, with 14 out of 15 boys and 26 out of 28 girls in school. Beyond the age of 14 years, attendance ratios fall off sharply. There were no Scheduled Caste children in Badhar in 2008 in this age group. There were two boys and a girl among Other Backward Classes aged 15 to 16 years, of whom one boy was not in school. There were three girls and two boys from the Other Backward Classes aged between 17 and 18 years and none of them was in school. Among Scheduled Tribes, six of the ten boys aged 15 to 16 years and one out of the seven boys aged 17 to 18 years were in school. Among girls from Scheduled Tribe households, two of the four aged between 15 and 16 years were in school, but none of the seven aged 17 to 18 years were. Overall, there is not much variation across social groups in the attendance ratios, for both boys and girls. There is a uniformly high level of deprivation.

We turn now to the question of child work and its relationship to school attendance in Badhar.

3.3 Child Labour and School Attendance

It is obvious that a number of boys and girls in Badhar in the age group of 6 to 18 years are not attending school. Besides, many of those attending school are also working on the household operational holdings or for employers outside the household.

Table 3.6 provides the distribution of children aged 6 to 18 years by four categories: 'attending school and not working', 'working *and* attending school', 'working *and* not attending school', and 'not attending school and not working', separately for boys and girls.

Table 3.6 *School attending among children aged 6 to 18 years, by sex and work status, Badhar, 2008*

Children	Not attending				Attending			
	Not working		Working		Not working		Working	
	Number	Percentage	Number	Percentage	Number	Percentage	Number	Percentage
Girls	4	4.4	14	15.4	52	57.1	21	23.1
Boys	5	5.6	13	14.6	52	58.4	19	21.3
All	9	5.0	27	15.0	104	57.8	40	22.2

Overall, 37.2 per cent of all children –approximately three-eighths—are working. A smaller proportion - 20 per cent - is out of school. The percentages are roughly the same for boys and girls. However, we must note that fifteen girls, recorded as not working, are engaged in housework, not counted as work as defined in this report. Seven boys and a girl engaged in cattle tending are also reported as not working because of the definition of work adopted in the FAS survey. All this implies considerable incidence of child work.

3.4 Anganwadi

What is the situation with regard to pre-school education for children under six years of age in Badhar. Unlike in many of the other villages surveyed by the FAS, we find that a number of children in Badhar aged between 3 and 6 years are attending an *anganwadi*. The details are shown in Table 3.7 below.

Table 3.7 *Proportion of children aged 3 to 6 years going to an Anganwadi, by social group and sex, Badhar, 2008*

Social group	Female		Male		Persons	
	Number	Percentage	Number	Percentage	Number	Percentage
Scheduled Caste	0	NA	0	NA	0	NA
Scheduled Tribe	18	51.4	7	25.9	25	40.3
OBC	0	0.0	1	6.7	1	4.3
All	18	41.9	8	19.0	26	30.6

Note: There is no child below 3 years of age going to an *Anganwadi*.

Around half of all the female children aged 3 to 6 years among Scheduled Tribes are going to an *anganwadi*.

Among Scheduled Tribe boys, the proportion is about one-fourth. Except for one boy from an Other Backward Class household, all children going to an *anganwadi* are from the Scheduled Tribes. This situation highlights the importance of an *anganwadi* for tribal women to go to work, besides their desire for educating their children.

Interestingly, some children of Badhar are enrolled in a nursery school, as shown in Table 3.8. It is also interesting that the number of girls sent to a nursery school is about the same as the number of boys. Considering that children are normally not sent to a nursery before they are at least two years old, the proportions of children in the relevant age group in the nursery schools would be higher than indicated.

Table 3.8 *Number of children (0 to 6 years) enrolled in a nursery, Badhar, 2008*

Children	Number	Percentage
Girls	10	16.1
Boys	11	18.0
All	21	17.1

3.5 Literacy

Having examined school attendance and child labour at some length, let us turn now to the issue of literacy. In the FAS survey, respondents were categorized 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 3.9 presents the distribution of the population in Badhar aged 7 years or older by the category of literacy attainment.

Table 3.9 *Distribution of population (7 years and above), by literacy level and sex, Badhar, 2008*

Literacy status	Female		Male		Persons	
	Number	Percentage	Number	Percentage	Number	Percentage
Cannot read and write	134	56.8	60	26.3	194	41.8
Can only sign name	51	21.6	82	36.0	133	28.7
Can read but cannot write	4	1.7	9	3.9	13	2.8
Can read and write	47	19.9	77	33.8	124	26.7
All	236	100.0	228	100.0	464	100.0

The literacy situation in Badhar is really poor. The literate population 7 years or older is barely one fourth of the total in the age group. Among females, it is just under one-fifth. Even among males, it is barely one-third.¹³

The variation in literacy rates across social groups is shown in Table 3.10.

Table 3.10 *Proportion of population (7 years and above) who can read and write, by social group, by sex, Badhar, 2008*

Social group	Number			Literacy rate		
	Female	Male	Persons	Female	Male	Persons
Scheduled Caste	0	2	2	0.0	40.0	33.3
Scheduled Tribe	42	60	102	22.5	34.5	28.3
OBC	5	15	20	10.4	30.6	20.6
All	47	77	124	19.9	33.8	26.7

Leaving aside the very small Scheduled Caste population, it is clear that the literacy rates among the Scheduled Tribe males are marginally higher than those among the Other Backward Class males, and substantially higher in the case of females.¹⁴ This is quite contrary

¹³According to the Census of 2001, the male literacy rate in Badhar was 42.47 per cent and the female rate 16.44 per cent. These are way higher than the rates as per the FAS survey of 2008. The latter is far more reliable than the Census, which, with its binary classification 'literate/non-literate', does not seek a nuanced assessment of literacy attainments of a population. It may be noted that the female literacy rates of the Census and the FAS are fairly close to each other and it is the male rate from the Census that seems widely off the mark. This is consistent with the view that males tend to over report their literacy attainments in a patriarchal society, especially if the question about one's literacy skill is posed in public!

¹⁴ It must be noted, however, that the absolute numbers involved in the case of females are much smaller.

to the 'normal' pattern we observe in most villages where Other Backward Classes report much higher literacy attainments than Scheduled Tribes, and reflects the extreme backwardness of the Other Backward Class population in Badhar.

Let us now look at adult literacy rates in Badhar. There are three adults among the two Scheduled Caste households in Badhar and all of them are illiterate. We leave them out of the discussion that follows.

Table 3.11 *Proportion of population (18 years and above) who can read and write, by social group, by sex, Badhar, 2008*

Social group	Number			Adult literacy rate		
	Female	Male	Person	Female	Male	Person
Scheduled Caste	0	0	0	0.0	0.0	0.0
Scheduled Tribe	12	33	45	9.7	27.7	18.5
OBC	0	7	7	0.0	20.0	9.9
All	12	40	52	7.0	25.5	16.3

There are only 12 literate adult females in Badhar out of an adult female population of 163 and all of them are from among the Scheduled Tribes. The literacy rate among adult Scheduled Tribe males is distinctly higher than among adult Other Backward Class males. Not surprisingly, given that school enrolment and attendance have been rising over time, adult literacy rates are lower than those for the population aged 7 years and above for every social group, among both males and females, except for females among Scheduled Castes where it is zero in both cases.

Let us now have a look at literacy rates by specified age cohorts. Table 3.12 presents the data for Badhar in this regard. The largest difference in literacy rates is that between the age group of 6 to 17 years –consisting mostly of the currently school-going population –and the one immediately elder –the age group of 18 to 34 years. This aspect is especially true in respect of females and reflects the relatively more rapid rise in female school enrolment and attendance ratios from abysmal levels over the past two decades.

Table 3.12 *Proportion of population who can read and write, by age cohorts, by sex, Badhar, 2008*

Age group	Number			Literacy rate		
	Female	Male	Persons	Female	Male	Persons
6 to 17 years	35	38	73	41.7	45.8	43.7
18 to 34 years	11	26	37	14.5	35.6	24.8
35 to 49 years	1	12	13	2.1	23.1	13.1
50 to 65 years	0	2	2	0.0	8.3	3.8
> 65 years	0	0	0	0.0	0.0	0.0
All	47	78	125	19.2	32.6	25.8

3.6 Years of Schooling

Having looked at literacy rates across various age groups in the population, let us now turn to some other indicators of educational achievement. Two indicators of formal schooling that are widely used as measure of educational achievement are the median and mean years of formal schooling in the post-high school age population. Table 3.13 presents the data on median years of schooling for the population aged above 16 years by social group, separately for males and females. Table 3.14 presents the corresponding data for mean years of schooling.

Table 3.13 *Median number of completed years of schooling for population above 16 years, by social group, Badhar, 2008*

Social group	Female	Male	Person
Scheduled Caste	0	0	0
Scheduled Tribe	0	0	0
OBC	0	1	0
All	0	0	0

Table 3.14 *Average number of completed years of schooling for population above 16 years, by social group, Badhar, 2008*

Social group	Female	Male	Person
Scheduled Caste	0.0	0.0	0.0
Scheduled Tribe	0.9	2.6	1.8
OBC	0.3	2.6	1.4
All	0.8	2.6	1.7

It is very obvious from the data in Tables 3.13 and 3.14 that the level of educational achievement in Badhar as measured by median or mean years of schooling is absolutely

dismal. With respect to mean years of schooling, the Scheduled Tribes perform marginally better than the Other Backward Classes in respect of females, but the absolute level of achievement is depressingly poor for both social groups.

3.7 Household with Children

An important determinant of school enrolment, attendance and learning achievement is the home environment for learning. An indicator that can be used as proxy for the home environment for education is the presence or otherwise of a literate adult in the household for all households with children. Table 3.15 presents the data in this regard for Badhar.

There was only one Scheduled Caste household with children in Badhar. There was no literate adult in this household.

There were 20 Other Backward Class households with children. None of these had a literate adult female. 17 of them did not have a literate adult male either. It was only in three of the 20 households that there was a literate adult, male in all three instances.

Table 3.15 *Distribution of households with children by absence of adult literates, by social group, Badhar, 2008*

Social group	Without any adult female literate		Without any adult male literate		Without any adult literate	
	Number	Percentage	Number	Percentage	Number	Percentage
Scheduled Caste	1	100.0	1	100.0	1	100.0
Scheduled Tribe	65	91.5	46	64.8	43	60.6
OBC	20	100.0	17	85.0	17	85.0
All	86	93.5	64	69.6	61	66.3

There were 71 Scheduled Tribe households with children. All but 6 of them had no literate adult female. The situation was slightly better with regard to the presence of a literate adult male. Of the 71 Scheduled Tribe households with children, 25 did have a literate adult male. But the majority -46 out of 71 – did not have a literate adult male. Interestingly, three of these did have a literate adult female, so that there were only 43 Scheduled Tribe households without any literate adult.

It is obvious that the learning environment for children in Badhar, as measured by the presence of one or more literate adults in the household is not at all an encouraging one.

Finally, let us look at two positive measures of educational achievement. One is the number of households with at least one male graduate. The other is the number of households with at least one female member who has completed ten years of schooling.

Table 3.16 Households with children with at least one male graduate, by social group, Badhar, 2008

Social group	Number	As percentage of all households with children within the social group
Scheduled Caste	0	0.0
Scheduled Tribe	0	0.0
OBC	1	5.0
All	1	1.1

Table 3.17 Households with children with at least one female 10th pass by social group, Badhar, 2008

Social group	Number	As percentage of all households with children within the social group
Scheduled Caste	0	0.0
Scheduled Tribe	1	1.4
OBC	0	0.0
All	1	1.1

The level of educational achievement in Badhar, as measured by the two indicators presented in Tables 3.16 and 3.17, is indeed unenviable. It is even more appalling than in some of the more backward villages surveyed by the FAS.

Summing up the story of education in Badhar, one can only say that the levels of deprivation are unbelievable. This is true for males and for females. It is true for both Other Backward Classes and Scheduled Tribes. Perhaps the only element of surprise is that the Scheduled Tribes do marginally better than the Other Backward Classes, which is not the case in most of rural India.

The overall picture in respect of education in Badhar, as in Dungariya, the tribal village in Rajasthan that the FAS has surveyed, is a damning indictment of the Indian State in the post-independence period, where the constitutional promise relating to free and compulsory education has remained a dead letter, and the State has displayed utter indifference to widespread deprivation among tribals.

We turn now to the situation in Badhar with respect to the provision of amenities which are relevant to the health and educational prospects of children.

4. AMENITIES

4.1 Housing

In this section on amenities, we confine ourselves to households with children in Badhar. This is because our concern here is not with amenities per se, but with the implications of the provision or non-provision of amenities for the well-being of children, especially with respect to education and health.

There were 92 households with children in Badhar in 2008 out of a total number of 115 households. Of the 92, the Scheduled Tribes accounted for 71 households, the Other Backward Classes for 20 and the Scheduled Castes for the one remaining household. In our brief discussion of amenities, we will be looking at conditions of shelter, access to electricity, access to safe drinking water and provisions regarding sanitation.

Shelter

Table 4.1 presents the distribution of households with children in Badhar in 2008 by type of shelter.

Table 4.1 *Distribution of households with children by type of housing, by social group, Badhar, 2008*¹⁵

Social group	Katcha	Semi-pucca	Unspecified	All
Scheduled Caste	0.0	100.0	0.0	100.0
Scheduled Tribe	1.4	97.2	1.4	100.0
OBC	0.0	100.0	0.0	100.0
All	1.1	97.8	1.1	100.0

The one Scheduled Caste household with children lived in a semi pucca dwelling.¹⁶ All the 20 Other Backward Class households and all but two of the 71 Scheduled Tribe households with children lived in semi pucca houses. One Scheduled Tribe household with children lived in a pucca house while another lived in a katcha house. Thus, only one household out

¹⁵ Of the two Scheduled Caste households in Badhar, one is without children. It lives in a pucca house.

¹⁶ 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. (This is the standard definition followed by the Census of India and the National Sample Survey Organisation, Government of India).

of the 92 with children in Badhar lived in a pucca dwelling. This testifies to the poor housing conditions in Badhar for most people.

Table 4.2 presents the distribution by social group of households with children in Badhar who lived in single room houses in 2008. The lone Scheduled Caste household with children and a fourth of such households among Other Backward Classes lived in single room houses in 2008. The corresponding proportion for Scheduled Tribe households with children was lower at one in eight.

Table 4.2 Number of households with children living in single room houses by social group, Badhar, 2008

Social group	Number of households	As percentage of all households with children
Scheduled Caste	1	100.0
Scheduled Tribe	9	12.7
OBC	5	25.0
All	15	16.3

4.2 Access to Electricity for Domestic Use

None of the households with children in Badhar had access to an electric connection.

4.3 Drinking Water

Table 4.3 presents the distribution of households with children in Badhar in 2008 by the primary source of drinking water.

Table 4.3 Distribution of households with children by primary source of drinking water, Badhar, 2008

Type of source	Number of households	As percentage of all households with children
Hand pump	43	46.7
Pond/tank	3	3.3
Well	24	26.1
River/stream/canal	22	23.9
All	92	100.0

Somewhat less than half of all households with children in Badhar in 2008 had access to water from a hand pump. The rest rely on open sources such as rivers, streams, canals,

ponds, tanks and open wells. How is the access to the only closed source of water –the hand pump – distributed across social groups? The relevant data is shown in Table 4.4.

Table 4.4 *Households with children with access to covered source of drinking water, by social group, Badhar, 2008*

Social group	Number of households	As percentage of all households with children
Scheduled Caste	1	100.0
Scheduled Tribe	35	49.3
OBC	7	35.0
All	43	46.7

Leaving aside the lone Scheduled Caste household, it is seen that only a little over one-third of the Other Backward Class households have access to the covered source of water while almost half of the Scheduled Tribes have such access. In sum, half of all Scheduled Tribe and nearly two-thirds of all Other Backward Class households with children do not have access to a covered source of drinking water. One must note, however, that even where a household has access to a covered source of water, this tells us nothing about the daily per capita quantum of water available for drinking. We also do not have information about the quality of water thus accessed, though the official presumption is that a covered source provides 'safe' drinking water.

An important aspect of access to water is the distance of the source of water from the household. This has implications for the household, especially its women members on whom the task of fetching water for household needs almost invariably falls. Table 4.5 presents the distribution of households with children in Badhar by social group and distance of water source from the homestead.

Table 4.5 *Number of households with children by distance from the source of drinking water, Badhar, 2008*

Social group	Within homestead or just outside	≤ 500 metres	> 500 metres	Unspecified
Scheduled Caste	0	1	0	0
Scheduled Tribe	13	49	5	4
OBC	3	13	3	1
All	16	63	8	5

Only 16 out of the 92 households with children in Badhar have access to a source of water within the homestead or just outside. The overwhelming majority have to travel a good distance to fetch water. Since children are sometimes assigned the task of fetching water for the household, lack of access to water within the homestead or just outside can also imply lack of access to school education, especially for girl children.

4.4 Lavatories

Finally, in this discussion of amenities, let us take a look at the sanitation situation, important from the point of view of preventive health care, in Badhar, as it affects households with children. Table 4.6 presents the relevant information.

Table 4.6 *Households with children without access to lavatories, by social group, Badhar, 2008*

Social group	Number of households	As percentage of all households with children
Scheduled Caste	1	100.0
Scheduled Tribe	71	100.0
OBC	20	100.0
All	92	100.0

Not a single household in Badhar has access to a lavatory of any kind. Though Table 4.6 relates to households with children, it is indeed the case that not a single household has access to a lavatory in Badhar and therefore open defecation is the rule. This is obviously an extremely unsatisfactory state of affairs, not only from the viewpoint of health, but also from a gender perspective. It not only violates privacy and dignity, but also renders women vulnerable.

Summing up the situation in Badhar in 2008 with respect amenities, complete lack of access to electricity, poor shelter, limited access to a safe source of drinking water with no assurance with regard to quality or adequacy of quantity, and total absence of lavatory facilities imply a deplorable situation.

In the final section of this Report, we turn to some aspects of the status of women in Badhar.

5. ECONOMIC SITUATION OF WOMEN

5.1 Marital Status

Table 5.1 shows the marital status of women aged 18 years and above in Badhar as per the FAS survey of 2008. Table 5.2 provides the age distribution of widows in Badhar.

Table 5.1 *Distribution of women (18 years and above) by marital status, Badhar, 2008*

Marital status	Number of women	As percentage of all women
Never married	3	1.9
Currently married	132	82.0
Widowed	24	14.9
Separated/divorced	1	0.6
Other	1	0.6
All	161	100.0

Table 5.2 *Age distribution of widowed women (18 years and above), Gharsondi, 2008*

Age group	Number of women	As percentage of all women within the age group
18 years to 34 years	1	1.3
35 years to 49 years	5	10.6
50 years to 59 years	2	12.5
60 years to 69 years	10	76.9
≥ 70 years	6	66.7
All	24	14.9

Close to 15 per cent of all adult women in Badhar are widows. This is close to the average proportion observed in the villages surveyed by FAS so far in different states. A fourth of the widows are under 50 years of age, which may be a reflection of the relatively lower life expectancy among males in Badhar. The proportion of widows to all women in a specified age group reaches 70 per cent in the age group of women 60 years or older. This is not far off from the national average as assessed from secondary data sources such as NSS and NFHS.

5.2 Women in the work force

Turning to women's participation in the work force, Table 5.3 presents the proportions of adult males and females in the work force by social group. Table 5.4 shows the distribution of female work participation rates by marital status.

Table 5.3 *Proportion of working population (18 years and above), by sex, by social group, Badhar, 2008*

Social group	Female		Male		Persons	
	Number	Percentage	Number	Percentage	Number	Percentage
Scheduled Caste	1	100.0	2	100.0	3	100.0
Scheduled Tribe	108	87.1	112	94.1	220	90.5
OBC	31	86.1	32	91.4	63	88.7
All	140	87.0	146	93.6	286	90.2

Unlike in the case of predominantly non-tribal villages, the work force participation rates for females are very close to that of males across both Scheduled Tribes and Other Backward Classes. Data in Table 5.4 shows that the workforce participation rates in Badhar in 2008 among adult women did not vary much across marital status, except for widows whose participation rate was the lowest at 50 per cent. This is primarily on account of the fact that two-thirds of the widows are 60 years or older.

Table 5.4 *Work participation rate of women (18 years and above), by marital status, Badhar, 2008*

Marital status	Number	WPR
Never married	3	100.0
Currently married	123	93.2
Widowed	12	50.0
Separated/divorced	1	100.0
Other	1	100.0
All	140	87.0

Where do the women in the work force work? Table 5.5 presents the distribution of the female work force by activity reported.

Table 5.5 *Activity profile of women (18 years and above), by marital status, Badhar, 2008*

Occupation	Number of women participating in the activity	As percentage of all women
Cultivation	112	69.6
Agricultural wage employment	87	54.0
Animal husbandry	2	1.2
Non-agricultural wage employment	79	49.1
Non-agricultural self-employment	37	23.0
Salaried employment	2	1.2
Other	2	1.2

Note: In the category "Non-agricultural self-employment", most of the women are engaged in the collection of forest produce.

Cultivation, wage labour in agriculture, wage labour outside of agriculture and collection of forest produce are the most frequently reported activities of females in the work force. This is fairly typical of the pattern of female work force participation across rural India, except for collection of forest produce, which is specific to areas in or close to forests. That half the female work force also reports being engaged in non-agricultural wage employment is significant and reflects the importance of non-agricultural activity in a village where the scope for crop agriculture is limited.

5.3 *Women as Heads of Households*

In a patriarchal society such as ours, the default option for the head of the household is the adult male. It is only in exceptional circumstances, such as when the erstwhile male head is no more, and an adult male is not present in the household to replace him that the spouse or the mother of the deceased male is accepted as the head of the household. This is true not only among the non-tribals but among the tribals as well. This is brought out in Table 5.6 below.

Table 5.6 *Distribution of heads of household, by sex, by social group, Badhar, 2008*

Social group	Number		Percentage	
	Female	Male	Female	Male
Scheduled Caste	0	2	0.0	100.0
Scheduled Tribe	8	80	9.1	90.9
OBC	5	20	20.0	80.0
All	13	102	11.3	88.7

In both the Scheduled Caste households in Badhar in 2008, the household head was a male. Among Scheduled Tribes, one in eleven households had a female head. The situation was marginally better among Other Backward Classes, with a fifth of Other Backward Class households being female headed.

Table 5.7 *Distribution of female head of households, by marital status, Badhar, 2008*

Marital Status	Number	Percentage
Never married	0	0.0
Currently married	2	15.4
Widowed	11	84.6
Separated/divorced	0	0.0
Other	0	0.0
All	13	100.0

Table 5.7 brings out the point that, when a household is female-headed, the chances are high that the head is a widow. Of the thirteen female heads of households, 11 are widows. It is only in two instances that a currently married woman is heading a household.

Women end up being heads of households by virtue of belonging to one-person households where this is the inevitable, default option! Of 13 female household heads, 5 are from single person households. Each one of them consists of a widow living alone. By contrast, while there are 102 male heads of households, in only one instance is this on account of the male belonging to a single person household.

Table 5.8 *Number of single person households, by sex, by marital status, Badhar, 2008*

Marital status	Female		Male	
	Number	Percentage	Number	Percentage
Never married	0	0.0	0	0.0
Currently married	0	0.0	0	0.0
Widowed	5	100.0	1	100.0
Separated/divorced	0	0.0	0	0.0
Other	0	0.0	0	0.0
All	5	100.0	1	100.0

Finally, let us take a look at the age distribution of male and female heads of households. Table 5.9 presents the distribution of female heads of households by specified age groups. Table 5.10 presents the corresponding data for male heads of households.

Table 5.9 Distribution of female head of households, by age group, Badhar, 2008

Age group	Number	Percentage
Up to 34 years	1	7.7
35 years to 49 years	5	38.5
50 years to 60 years	3	23.1
Above 60 years	4	30.8
All	13	100.0

Table 5.10 Distribution of male head of households, by age group, Badhar, 2008

Age group	Number	Percentage
Up to 34 years	26	25.5
35 years to 49 years	48	47.1
50 years to 60 years	20	19.6
Above 60 years	8	7.8
All	102	100.0

More than half of the female heads of households are 50 years of age or older. The corresponding proportion for male heads of households is only around one-fourth. There is only one female head of household below the age of 35 years. But one-fourth of the male heads of households are found in this age bracket.

The very unequal position of women in rural India is fully brought out by even the limited information concerning the status of women in Badhar that we have examined. Taken together with the analysis in the earlier sections on literacy and education, this confirms the huge gender inequality that characterizes India even after decades of the much hyped "high growth" rates of GDP.

Reflections on Village Survey Findings

The two villages surveyed by the FAS in Madhya Pradesh in 2008, Badhar and Gharsondi, are quite different from each other. Badhar, located in Anuppur block of Anuppur district, is a predominantly tribal village, with 118 households. Of these, 88 belonged to the scheduled tribes, 25 to OBCs and the remaining two to Scheduled Castes. Gharsondi, located in Bhitwar tehsil of Gwalior district in western Madhya Pradesh, is a bigger village with Scheduled Castes, Scheduled Tribes, Muslims, Other Backward Classes and Other Caste Hindus, with Other Backward Classes being dominant in numerical, economic and social terms. There are differences in agro-climatic conditions and cropping and activity patterns between the two villages. The transport and social infrastructure of Badhar is much worse than of Gharsondi, but even in the latter a significant proportion of the population suffers from deprivation in terms of assets, education and amenities.

Assets

In the predominantly tribal village of Badhar, almost all households are poor in terms of asset ownership, but there is not a massive degree of inequality among them. In Gharsondi, one finds a huge degree of inequality in asset ownership though the bulk of the population is asset-poor as in Badhar. *The ratio between the value of assets of the richest and the poorest households in Gharsondi is more than twelve thousand.* Even within the top asset quintile, assets are highly unequally distributed, with the mean value of assets per household being more than twice the median in this quintile. There is a clear social dimension to asset inequality. Most Scheduled Castes, Scheduled Tribes, Muslims and a number of Other Backward Classes are in the bottom three quintiles. The top quintile is dominated by Jat Sikhs and a handful of other caste Hindus, though some Other Backward Classes are also to be found in this quintile.

Education

Concerning education in Badhar, one can only say that the levels of deprivation are unbelievable. This is true for males and for females. It is true for both Other Backward Classes and Scheduled Tribes. *Nearly two-thirds of all households with children in Badhar have no literate adult.* Among the 92 households with children in Badhar in 2008, there was only one

male graduate and only one female who had passed the tenth class. Perhaps the only element of surprise is that the Scheduled Tribes do marginally better than the Other Backward Classes, which is not the case in most of rural India.

In Gharsondi, too, the overall picture that emerges is one of massive deprivation in terms of access to and achievements in education. Among children aged 6 to 18 years, 75 girls out of a total of 257 and 61 boys out of a total of 319 are out of school. Second, the literacy rates of the 7 plus population at 41.3 per cent for females and 66 per cent for males should be considered quite low overall and especially low for females. Third, the literacy rates among Scheduled Tribes and Muslims for both males and females are very low. The same pattern generally holds with respect to most of the other indicators of educational achievement or deprivation. Fourth, there is a large gap between the social category of 'Other caste Hindus' and the others in respect of educational achievement, both among males and among females, with the former much better off. Fifth, the bottom two asset quintiles face huge deprivation in respect of every measure of educational achievement and participation as compared to the top two quintiles. Females do more poorly than males in respect of all the indicators, and the gender gap is generally substantial.

Working Children

Overall, 37.2 per cent of all children in Badhar, approximately three-eighths, were working in 2008. A smaller proportion - 20 per cent - was out of school. The percentages are roughly the same for boys and girls. However, we must note that fifteen girls, recorded as not working, were engaged in housework, not counted as work as defined in this report. Seven boys and a girl engaged in cattle tending are also reported as not working because of the definition of work adopted in the FAS survey. All this implies considerable incidence of child work.

In Gharsondi, 23.2 per cent of all children aged between 6 and 18 years were not attending school in 2008. The figure was 19.1 per cent in the case of boys and 28.1 per cent in the case of girls. The proportions of *working children* aged 6 to 18 years were 28.8 per cent for boys, 17.2 per cent for girls and 23.5 per cent overall. Even these are under-estimates, given our narrow definition of work and the fact that many girls (and a few boys) engaged in domestic chores and sibling care or other care functions in the household are regarded as not working. 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

Around half of all the female children aged 3 to 6 years among Scheduled Tribes were going to an *anganwadi* in Badhar in 2008. Among Scheduled Tribe boys, the proportion was about one-fourth. Except for one boy from an Other Backward Class household, all children going to an *anganwadi* were from the Scheduled Tribes. This situation highlights the importance of an *anganwadi* for tribal women to go to work, besides their desire for educating their children. Interestingly, some children of Badhar were enrolled in a nursery school. It is also interesting that the number of girls sent to a nursery school is about the same as the number of boys. Considering that children are normally not sent to a nursery before they are at least two years old, the proportions of children in the relevant age group in the nursery schools should be considered significant.

Pre-school education through the *anganwadi* was practically non-existent in Gharsondi in 2008. There are 293 children in the age group of 0 to 6 years. There is only one female child from a tribal household in the age group of 3 to six years that attends the *anganwadi* in the village. In sharp contrast to the extremely poor utilization of the *anganwadi* system, children were being sent to nursery schools. As many as 5 girls and 17 boys six years or younger were attending a nursery school. This amounted to 7.5 per cent of all children aged 6 years or younger. For boys, the proportion was a little higher than one-tenth. The failure of the State to provide appropriate care and preschool education for children below six years is providing the space for expensive private pre-schools of uncertain and unmonitored quality.

Amenities

The conditions of housing were very poor in Badhar in 2008, with only one household living in a pucca shelter. No household had electricity connection. More than half of all households did not get water from a closed (safe) source. The overwhelming majority had to travel a good distance to fetch water. Not a single household in Badhar had access to a

lavatory of any kind in 2008. Open defecation was the rule. Summing up, the situation in Badhar in 2008 with respect to amenities could only be described as deplorable.

There was a high degree of inequality in respect of shelter in Gharsondi village. More than four-fifths of Scheduled Tribe and close to one-half of Muslim households with children lived in non-pucca houses. More than three-fourths of those in the lowest asset quintile and more than half of those in Q2 also lived in non-pucca shelters. Only around a fourth of households lived in single room shelters, as did those in Q1. Again, only around a fourth of all households with children had access to a source of drinking water within the homestead or just outside. More than half of all households with children in Gharsondi and more than three-fourths of Scheduled Caste, Scheduled Tribe and Muslim households lacked access to a lavatory.

Policy Implications

It is worthwhile flagging some issues that emerge from the findings of the FAS surveys in Badhar and Gharsondi.

An important lesson that emerges is 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, where 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. Thirdly, it is clear that wealth alone will not take reduce all child deprivations.

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 better utilization of anganwadi facilities in Badhar 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.

The issue of the special educational needs of children with disabilities is currently not on the policy radar. The creation of a cadre of professional special educators through massive expansion in the required educational and training facilities and their recruitment into rural schools is an urgent necessity.

It is striking, in the context of the rhetoric of 'inclusive growth', how miserable and deprived rural Scheduled Tribe, Scheduled Caste and Muslim households continue to be, as seen from the two villages surveyed by FAS in Madhya Pradesh. Clearly, provision of child-friendly rural housing, and ensuring public provisioning of basic amenities with a focus on Scheduled Castes, Scheduled Tribes and Muslims, 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. Special and immediate attention is imperative in respect of tribal villages like Badhar, ensuring land rights, decent employment and provision of basic infrastructure for health and education.

The situation with regard to amenities in general and sanitation in particular in Badhar and Gharsondi in 2008 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.

Lastly, women's work participation is much higher in Badhar than in Gharsondi, with almost all adult women participating in cultivation on their own fields. Nevertheless, since the tribal families barely eke out a living from their cultivation, there are no specific income gains to women.