Child Wellbeing, Schooling and Living Standards

REPORT ON TWO VILLAGES OF MAHARASHTRA

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

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

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

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

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

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

About FAS PARI (Project on Agrarian Relations in India)

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

• Document and examine the pattern of schooling and educational attainment among children of different social groups
• Relate the observed deprivations/attainments to household socio-economic factors such as incomes, assets, occupations, to household living conditions and to individual factors such as mother's occupation and education.
• Examine the incidence of child labour and identify factors at the household level and village level associated with the persistence of child labour
• Examine deprivations suffered by children on account of lack of basic civic amenities within a household, including access to safe water, electricity, toilets and quality housing.
• Identify the types of government benefits obtained by children (e..g scholarships, participation in ICDS).

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

Two villages of Maharashtra were surveyed in May-June 2007 as part of the Project on Agrarian Relations in India. The two villages are Warwat Khanderao and Nimshirgaon. A census-type survey was conducted in Warwat Khanderao, a village from Buldhana district of the Vidarabha region of Maharashtra. Warwat Khanderao was an unirrigated cotton-growing village at the time of survey. The second village, Nimshirgaon, is located in Kolhapur district of western Maharashtra. A variety of crops were cultivated in Nimshirgaon including sugarcane, soyabean, pulses, millets, vegetables and fruit (grape in particular), drawing on irrigation from both the Krishna river system and groundwater sources.

Maharashtra: Warwat Khanderao Village

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1. *LOCATION AND INFRASTRUCTURE*

The revenue village of Warwat Khanderao (hereafter, Warwat) is located in the Sangrampur block of Buldhana district in the Vidarbha region of the state of Maharashtra. The town nearest to Warwat is Shegaon, located quite far away at a distance of 18 kilometers. Shegaon is also the railway station nearest to Warwat. At the time of the survey in 2007, the village did not have a metalled approach road, but there was a bus stop within the village. Warwat had one primary school with classes I to V, but no high or higher secondary school. The nearest primary health centre was at a distance of four kilometres from the village. A post office was located inside the village of Warwat and a branch of a Cooperative Bank just on the out skirts.

Warwat belongs to the agro-ecological zone known as Western Maharashtra Plain zone as per the NARP classification. Cotton (both Bt and non Bt varieties, and frequently intercropped with green gram and red gram) is the main kharif crop, while Jowar, Maize, Sesamum, Pulses and Black Gram are the other important crops in the kharif season. Wheat, groundnut and sunflower are the main rabi crops. There was no irrigation in the village in 2006-07.

Table 1.1 *Location of the village, Warawt Khanderao, 2007*

Village	Warwat Khanderao
District	Buldhana
Block/Tehsil	Sangrampur
Nearest town	Shegaon
Distance from nearest town	18 Km.
Nearest railway station	Shegaon
Distance from nearest railway station	18 Km.
Bus stop within the village	Yes
Metalled approach road	No

Table 1.2 *Description of village infrastructure and amenities, Warwat Khanderao, 2007*

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*	0
Number of secondary schools (upto Std X) within village	0
Number of higher secondary schools (upto Std XII) within village*	0
Distance from nearest PHC	4 Km.
Distance from nearest health sub center	4 Km. (Paturda)
Post office within the village	Yes
Bank within the village	Yes (Co-operative Bank)

*The nearest middle school is located at Phata (1 Km.) and the nearest higher secondary school is located at Paturda (4 Km.).

1.3 *Agro-economic features of the village, Warwat Khanderao, 2007*

Agro-ecological region (NARP classification)	Western Maharastra Plain zone
Major crops grown (by crop seasons)	Kharif: Cotton (both Bt and non Bt varieties, and sometimes intercropped mainly with green gram and red gram), Jowar, Maize, Sesamum, Pulses and Black Gram Rabi: Wheat, Groundnut and Sunflower
Major sources of irrigation*	-

**Note:* Expansion of irrigation through installation of tubewells has taken place over the last four years.

2. *DEMOGRAPHY*

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

The census of India 2001 gives 1447 as the figure for the population of Warwat Khanderao in 2001. The FAS census survey in 2007 found that there were a total of 250 households in the village, with a total population of 1308 persons. Tables 2.1 and 2.2 provide data on the social composition of the population of Warwat Khanderao in 2007 as per the FAS survey.

The Other Backward classes make up nearly half of all households. Muslims and the Nomadic Tribes account for around one-fifth each while the Scheduled Castes accounted for the remaining one-tenth. The category of Other Caste Hindus is entirely absent in this village.

Table 2.1 *Distribution of households, by social groups, Warwat Khanderao, 2007*

Social group	Number of households	As percentage of all households
Scheduled Caste	25	10.0
OBC	122	48.8
Muslim	53	21.2
Nomadic Tribes	50	20.0
All	250	100.0

The picture with respect to population as distinct from households is not very different. The Other Backward Classes contribute to the population in almost exactly the same percentage as they do with regard to households while the share of Muslims in the population at 24.5 per cent is distinctly higher than their share of households at 21.2 per cent. The Scheduled Castes and the Nomadic Tribes have a smaller share of the population than they do of households.[1]

[1] It is interesting to note from Census data that the share of Scheduled Castes and Nomadic Tribes in the population of Warwat Khanderao rose from 2.0 per cent in 1961 to 8.6 per cent in 1981, but declined to 5.8 per cent in 1991 before rising again to 7.3 per cent in 2001.

Table 2.2 *Distribution of population by caste and sex, Warwat Khanderao, 2007*

Social group	Number			Percentage		
	Female	Male	Persons	Female	Male	Persons
Scheduled Caste	57	57	114	8.7	8.7	8.7
OBC	308	325	633	47.2	49.5	48.4
Muslim	163	158	321	25.0	24.1	24.5
Nomadic Tribes	124	116	240	19.0	17.7	18.3
All	652	656	1308	100.0	100.0	100.0

The overall sex ratio is 994, much higher than the figures of 922 for the state of Maharashtra and 946 for Buldhana district as per the 2001 census.[2] If we look at the sex ratios caste-wise, only the Other Backward Classes show a deficit of females at 948 females to 1000 males. The Scheduled Castes have an equal number of females and males while both Muslims and Nomadic Tribes have more females than males.

Table 2.3 provides the age distribution of the population in Warwat by sex.

Table 2.3 *Distribution of population by age and sex, Warwat Khanderao, 2007*

Age group	Population			As percentage of total population		
	Female	Male	Persons	Female	Male	Persons
0 to < 3 years	28	31	59	4.3	4.7	4.5
3 years to 6 years	52	55	107	8.0	8.4	8.2
7 years to 9 years	34	33	67	5.2	5.0	5.1
10 years to 14 years	78	73	151	12.0	11.1	11.5
15 years to 17 years	64	50	114	9.8	7.6	8.7
18 years to 24 years	76	94	170	11.7	14.3	13.0
25 years to 34 years	90	85	175	13.8	13.0	13.4
35 years to 49 years	130	122	252	19.9	18.6	19.3
50 years to 59 years	41	46	87	6.3	7.0	6.7
60 years to 69 years	40	49	89	6.1	7.5	6.8
≥ 70 years	19	18	37	2.9	2.7	2.8
All	652	656	1308	100.0	100.0	100.0

[2] As per the provisional figures from the 2011 Census, the corresponding numbers for Maharashtra and Buldhana are 946 and 928 respectively. While this reverses the positions of the district and the state as compared to the 2001 figures, the sex ratio for Warwat in 2007 remains comfortably higher.

Warwat's population is relatively young. Fifty-one percent of the population is younger than 25 years and 38.1 per cent is less than 18 years of age.

Unlike the state of Mahrashtra as well as the district of Buldhana and many villages and towns in Maharashtra, Warwat Khanderao village has a healthy female to male ratio across age groups. The sex ratio for the population six years or younger - the child sex ratio or CSR – is 930, higher than the figures of 913 for Maharashtra and 908 for Buldhana in 2001.[3] In practically all the other age groups between 7 and 49 years, the number of females exceeds the number of males, the only exception being the age group of 18 to 24 years. However, among persons fifty years or older, the sex ratio falls to 885. While the numbers are too small for any definitive conclusion, they are suggestive of a lower life span for females as compared to males.

Let us turn now to the issue of household size. Table 2.4 presents the distribution of households in Warwat by size.

Table 2.4 *Distribution of households by household size, Warwat Khanderao, 2007*

Household size	Number of households	As percentage of all households	Average size of the household
1	11	4.4	1
2	16	6.4	2
3	18	7.2	3
4	40	16	4
5	67	26.8	5
6	50	20.0	6
7	24	9.6	7
≥ 8	24	9.6	10.3
All	250	100	5.2

The average household size at 5.2 is close to the average size of household of 5.0 for rural India thrown up by the 59th round of the National Sample Survey conducted in 2003, but significantly higher than the household size of 4.6 for rural India from the sixty-sixth round of the NSS for 2009-10.[4] Slightly over three-fifths - 60.8 per cent, to be precise – of all households had a household size

[3] As per the provisional population totals from the Census of 2011, the CSR for Maharashtra has gone down to 883 and that for Buldhana district even more steeply to 842.

[4] See article entitled '*Average household size declines*.' in **Business Standard**, April 6, 2005, accessed at *http://www.business-standard.com/india/news/average-sizerural-households-declines/206954/*

of 5 or less. At the other end, close to one-fifth of all households had a size of 7 or more.[5] Across social groups, the household size varied from a maximum of 6.06 for Muslims to 4.56 for the Scheduled Castes. The Nomadic Tribes have an average household size of 4.8, close to that of the Scheduled Castes, while the average household size for Other Backward Classes at 5.19 is practically the same as the overall average of 5.2. It is the case that the richer, landed households have larger household sizes than the poorer ones with little or no land. Thus, the three landlord households had an average size of 14.3 and the corresponding figure for the eleven rich peasant households was 8.5. By contrast, poor peasant and manual worker households as well as salaried households had household sizes close to, but slightly below, the overall average of 5.2.

In the various villages surveyed by the FAS, we have found that some proportion of households have no person below the age of 18 years. The proportion has varied, with an apparent North-South divide. The proportions were relatively high in the villages surveyed in Andhra Pradesh and much lower in the villages surveyed by FAS in Uttar Pradesh. The details of distribution of such households without children in Warwat by social group is shown in Table 2.5.

Table 2.5 *Number and proportion of households without children, by social group, Warwat Khanderao, 2007*

Social group	Number of households without children	Total number of households	Households without children as percentage of total households
Scheduled Caste	7	25	28.0
OBC	25	122	20.5
Muslim	8	53	15.1
Nomadic Tribe	10	50	20.0
All	50	250	20.0

One-fifth of all households in Warwat have no member below the age of 18 years. The proportion varies across social groups from a low of 15 per cent for Muslims to a high of 28 per cent for Scheduled Castes. The average is higher than that for Mahatwar in eastern UP, but close to the figure for Harevli, a village in western UP. Both the latter villages had been surveyed by FAS in 2006. The averages in the villages of Andhra Pradesh surveyed by FAS were much higher.

While some households had no children at all, there were others with a few. Table 2.6 shows the distribution of households by the average number of children in them and by size of household.

[5] Of the 24 households with 8 or more members, 19 consisted of joint families and one was a nuclear family.

Table 2.6 *Average number of children per household by household size, Warwat Khanderao, 2007*

Household size	Number of households	Average number of children
1	11	0.0
2	16	1.0
3	18	1.1
4	40	1.7
5	67	2.2
6	50	2.7
7	24	3.0
≥ 8	24	4.0
All	250	2.5

About a third of all households in Warwat, those with a household size of 4 or less, have fewer than two children on the average On the other hand, a little less than one-tenth of all households, those with eight or more members, have four children on the average. Overall, the average number of children per household in Warwat is 2.5, distinctly lower than the figure of 3.5 for both Harevli and Mahatwar, but much higher than those for the villages of Ananthavaram, Bukkacherla and Kothapalle in Andhra Pradesh. Among the villages surveyed by FAS, Warwat is somewhere between the Andhra and the UP villages in demographic terms.

We turn now to the question of whether children live with their parents as is generally assumed or elsewhere, on account of various factors including the non-residence of one of the parents on account of migration, divorce or separation of parents, 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? Warwat Khanderao, 2007*

Children living in the same household with	Female	Male	Persons	Female	Male	Persons
Both parents	243	237	480	94.9	97.9	96.4
Mother, not father	9	4	13	3.5	1.7	2.6
Father, not mother	2	0	2	0.8	0.0	0.4
Neither parents but with other family members	1	1	2	0.4	0.4	0.4
No relative	1	0	1	0.4	0.0	0.2
All	256	242	498	100.0	100.0	100.0

As would be expected, the overwhelming majority of persons below 18 years of age live with both their parents. However, there are a few who live with one parent, and there are three instances of a child living with neither parent. There are 13 instances-relating to 4 boys and 9 girls-of children living with only the mother and not the father. In 11 of these cases- relating to 4 boys and 7 girls- the father is not alive. One girl lives with her mother who is separated from her husband and the other girl lives with her divorced mother. Of the 11 cases where the father is no more, five belong to Scheduled Caste households, although the share of Scheduled Castes in all households is only 10 per cent. There are only two instances of children living with the father and not the mother, both relating to girls. In both instances, the mother is dead. Both belong to Scheduled Caste households. Of the three who live with neither parent, one is an orphan, a physically handicapped Muslim girl. The other two, a boy and a girl, both belonging to two Other Backward Class households from the richest wealth quintile, live with their grandparents.

Though the numbers involved are small, the fact that seven of the fifteen instances of children living with one parent because the other parent is no more relate to Scheduled Caste households, while Scheduled Castes account for less than one tenth of the population, is suggestive of Scheduled Castes having a lower lifespan than the other social groups.

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 as a matter of right. However, in reality, several decades after the Constitutional deadline for ensuring 'eight years of free and compulsory education' for all children, not all children aged 14 years or younger are in school.[6] This is true even in relatively more 'developed' states such as Tamil Nadu. What is the picture in Warwat Khanderao with regard to children and work? The relevant information is brought together in Tables 2.8 to 2.10.

[6] The passing of the Right to Education Act in 2009 is unlikely to alter this reality significantly.

Table 2.8 *Children in the age group 6 to 14 years engaged in specific types of activities, by sex, Warwat Khanderao, 2007*

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)	10	2	12	8.1	1.6	4.9
Work on household operational holding	5	4	9	4.1	3.3	3.7
All	15	6	21	12.2	4.9	8.6

There are, in all, 123 girls and 122 boys in the age group of 6 to 14 years in Warwat Khanderao. As many as 15 girls and 6 boys, constituting respectively 12.2 per cent and 4.9 per cent of the respective age group population of girls and boys, are engaged in some kind of labour.[7] Two-thirds of the girls and one-third of the boys thus engaged are working for an employer outside the household, while the rest are working on household operational holdings. These numbers remind us of the persistence of child labour in our villages, notwithstanding pious policy declarations of commitment to eliminate child labour.

What is the social composition of these child workers? Both the boys working for an outside employer come from Nomadic Tribe households. In the case of girls working for an employer outside the household, they are distributed fairly evenly across Other Backward Class, Muslim and Nomadic Tribe households. When it comes to children working on household operational holding, the boys come from Scheduled Caste, Other Backward Class and Muslim households while the girls come from Other Backward Class, Muslim and Nomadic Tribe households. Interestingly, *girls aged between 6 and 14 years from Scheduled Caste households are not engaged in work as specified,* though it is possible that they do domestic chores in their households. No boy from the Nomadic Tribe works on household operational holdings.

[7] We have excluded work with animal resources from our list of specified activities. However, in the case of Warwat, there is only one girl aged between 6 and 18 years engaged in work with animal resources. So, the exclusion makes practically no difference.

Table 2.9 *Boys in the age group 6 to 14 years engaged in specific types of activities, by social group, Warwat Khanderao, 2007*

Social group	Number		As percentage of all boys in age group	
	Work outside the household for an employer (paid or unpaid)	Work on household operational holding	Work outside the household for an employer (paid or unpaid)	Work on household operational holding
Scheduled Caste	0	1	0.0	5.6
OBC	0	2	0.0	4.3
Muslim	0	1	0.0	2.9
Nomadic Tribe	2	0	9.1	0.0
All	2	4	1.6	3.3

Table 2.10 *Girls in the age group 6 to 14 years engaged in specific types of activities, by social group, Warwat Khanderao, 2007*

Social group	Number		As percentage of all girls in age group	
	Work outside the household for an employer (paid or unpaid)	Work on household operational holding	Work outside the household for an employer (paid or unpaid)	Work on household operational holding
Scheduled Caste	0	0	0.0	0.0
OBC	3	1	5.9	2.0
Muslim	3	2	8.1	5.4
Nomadic Tribe	4	2	16.7	8.3
All	10	5	8.1	4.1

Of the fifteen girls reported working, as many as 9 girls - 5 from Nomadic Tribes and two each from Muslim and Other Backward Class households – do not go to school. Of the six working boys, two- one each from Other Backward Class and Nomadic Tribe categories - do not go to school. Thus 11 of the 21 working children between the ages of 6 and 14 years are not in school. Note that there may be other children out of school, but not categorized as 'working'.

While the distribution of working children by social group is of interest to analysts and policy makers, so is their distribution by economic status. To get an idea of the economic status of households to which working children belong, we have categorized all households in Warwat into

five quintiles based on the value of total assets owned.[8] The maximum, minimum, median and mean asset values of each asset quintile in are presented in Table 2.11.

Table 2.11 *Details of asset quintile (in Rupees), Warwat Khanderao, 2007*

Asset quintile	Minimum	Maximum	Median	Average
Q1	160	51,890	32,100	28,686
Q2	55,650	137,350	97,050	98,574
Q3	138,442	289,500	187,148	198,548
Q4	290,200	608,600	372,027	411,990
Q5	640,147	16931,300	1288,600	2353,652

The range of values of assets in the various asset quintiles brings out both the huge inequality in asset ownership across households and the poor and abysmal asset status of a majority of households in Warwat. The ratio of the *maximum* household asset value to that of the *minimum* is 16931300 divided by 160, or 1, 05, 820! In other words, the richest household in terms of assets is more than a hundred thousand times as rich as the poorest! Three-fifths of all households in Warwat have assets valued at less than 3 lakh rupees each.[9] It is in fact only the top quintile that can be seen as demonstrably rich in its entirety. *It is also the quintile with the highest intra-quintile inequality, with the median asset value being significantly lower than the mean.* The top quintile is clearly a class apart, though the next quintile-especially the set of households in the upper end of this quintile- is also distinctly better off than the three quintiles below. For most practical purposes, the third quintile can be regarded as not especially "rich", while the bottom two would qualify as asset-poor.

What is the extent of correlation between the social status of households as indicated by the social group to which they belong and their asset status as indicated by the asset quintile to which they belong?[10] This can be answered by referring to Table 2.12 which shows both the household distribution across asset quintiles for each social group and the composition of each asset quintile in terms of the social groups to which the households in the quintile belong.

[8] 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.

[9] Even at a generous rate of interest of 10 per cent per annum, this will not fetch the household even 2500 rupees a month.

[10] Obviously, 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. Thus, household income in any given year may be rather imperfectly correlated with asset status.

Table 2.12 *Distribution of households by social group and asset quintile, Warwat Khanderao, 2007*

Social group	Number of households *(percentage of all households in the asset quintile)*						Percentage of all households in the social group					
	Q1	Q2	Q3	Q4	Q5	All	Q1	Q2	Q3	Q4	Q5	All
Scheduled Caste	8 *(16.0)*	9 *(18.0)*	5 *(10.0)*	2 *(4.0)*	1 *(2.0)*	25 *(10.0)*	32.0	36.0	20.0	8.0	4.0	100.0
OBC	17 *(34.0)*	18 *(36.0)*	23 *(46.0)*	27 *(54.0)*	37 *(74.0)*	122 *(48.8)*	13.9	14.8	18.9	22.1	30.3	100.0
Muslim	11 *(22.0)*	12 *(24.0)*	13 *(26.0)*	14 *(28.0)*	3 *(6.0)*	53 *(21.2)*	20.8	22.6	24.5	26.4	5.7	100.0
Nomadic Tribe	14 *(28.0)*	11 *(22.0)*	9 *(18.0)*	7 *(14.0)*	9 *(18.0)*	50 *(20.0)*	28.0	22.0	18.0	14.0	18.0	100.0
All	50 *(100.0)*	50 *(100.0)*	50 *(100.0)*	50 *(100.0)*	50 *(100.0)*	250 *(100.0)*	20.0	20.0	20.0	20.0	20.0	100.0

It is clear from Table 2.12 that Scheduled Caste households are generally asset-poor. Nearly ninety per cent of Scheduled Caste households belong to the bottom three asset quintiles, and more than two-thirds are in the bottom two quintiles. Though Scheduled Castes form 10 per cent of all households in Warwat, they account for only 2 per cent of households in the top asset quintile. Muslims too are not too well off, though better placed than Scheduled Castes. Over two-thirds of Muslim and Nomadic Tribe households are found in the bottom three quintiles. While Muslims account for over one-fifth of all households in Warwat, they account for only 6 per cent of households in Q5. Similarly, only 5.7 per cent of Muslim households are in Q5.The Nomadic Tribes are present in the top quintile roughly in proportion to their share in households. Other Backward Classes are disproportionately represented in Q5, constituting slightly less than half of all households but nearly three quarters of Q5. But there is no simple congruence between social group and asset category. Nearly half of all Other Backward Class households are in the bottom three asset quintiles and can therefore hardly be regarded as well-to-do. Nevertheless, there is some clear, though imperfect, correlation between social group and asset status.

Let us now ask the question: From which asset quintiles do our child workers come? Tables 2.13 and 2.14 provide the relevant information for boys and girls separately.

Of the 21 child workers, only one comes from a Q5 household. This is a boy from an Other Backward Class household with 8 acres of land. He attends school while also working on own operational holding. There are three child workers - a boy and two girls - from Q4 households. The boy is from a Muslim household with 2 acres of land. He works on the household operational

holding and attends school. Of the two girls, one is from a Nomadic Tribe household with 3.5 acres of land. The girl works on the household operational holding, and also goes for agricultural wage employment. *She does not go to school.* The other girl, also from a Nomadic Tribe, is working as an agricultural wage labourer. She also does some work on the household operational holding. *She also does not attend school.*

Table 2.13 *Boys in the age group 6 to 14 years engaged in specific types of activities, by asset quintile, Warwat Khanderao, 2007*

Asset quintile	Number		As percentage of all boys in age group	
	Work outside the household for an employer (paid or unpaid)	Work on household operational holding	Work outside the household for an employer (paid or unpaid)	Work on household operational holding
Q1	2	0	6.3	0.0
Q2	0	1	0.0	3.6
Q3	0	1	0.0	3.3
Q4	0	1	0.0	9.1
Q5	0	1	0.0	4.8
All	2	4	1.6	3.3

Table 2.14 *Girls in the age group 6 to 14 years engaged in specific types of activities, by asset quintile, Warwat Khanderao, 2007*

Asset quintile	Number		As percentage of all girls in age group	
	Work outside the household for an employer (paid or unpaid)	Work on household operational holding	Work outside the household for an employer (paid or unpaid)	Work on household operational holding
Q1	4	1	13.3	3.3
Q2	4	2	15.4	7.7
Q3	1	1	5.3	5.3
Q4	1	1	3.8	3.8
Q5	0	0	0.0	0.0
All	10	5	8.1	4.1

Two of the child workers come from Q3 households, and this makes the total for Q3 to Q5 six. As one would expect, the bulk of the child workers – 15 out of 21 - come from the bottom two asset quintiles. It is also in line with expectations that more girls (15) than boys (6) in the age group of 6 to

14 years are child workers. What is worth noting is that even in the top two asset quintiles, we have children working. *Note also that both the working girls from Q4 are not attending school.*

2.3 *Age at Marriage*

Before we conclude this section on demography and turn to the picture in Warwat in respect of education, let us take a look at how Warwat fares in respect of the issue of the observance of the law on the legal age of 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 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. In Warwat, among the females aged below 18 years and the males aged below 21 years at the time of the FAS survey in 2007, *no one was married.* Considering the general backwardness of the village and the region, one would have to recognize this fact as encouraging!

Note, however, that we have not investigated the age at marriage of all the married members of the population in Warwat, and cannot say anything about the larger issue of how widespread the practice of marriage before attainment of the legal minimum age may be. However, the fact that we found no married male under 21 years of age and no married female under 18 years of age does suggest that the practice of marriage before attainment of the legal minimum age may be on its way out.

3. *EDUCATION*

3.1 *School Attendance*

It hardly needs reiteration that all three aspects of the challenge of universal school education- enrolment, retention and achievement with regard to learning outcomes- continue to remain unmet in India. In the more backward parts of the country, universal enrolment and attendance constitute the primary challenges. The data on school attendance presented in Table 3.1 and that on gross enrolment ratios presented in Table 3.2 show that Warwat Khanderao is yet to achieve universal school enrolment and attendance.

Table 3.1 *Number and proportion of children attending school, by age group, by sex, Warwat Khanderao, 2007*

Age Group	Number of children			As percentage of all children		
	Female	Male	Persons	Female	Male	Persons
6 to 10 years	56	55	111	91.8	84.6	88.1
11 to 14 years	53	54	107	85.5	94.7	89.9
15 to 16 years	26	24	50	60.5	70.6	64.9
17 to 18 years	15	18	33	40.5	52.9	46.5
6 to 18 years	150	151	301	73.9	79.4	76.5

Figure 3.1 *Proportion of children attending school, by age group, by sex, Warwat Khanderao, 2007*

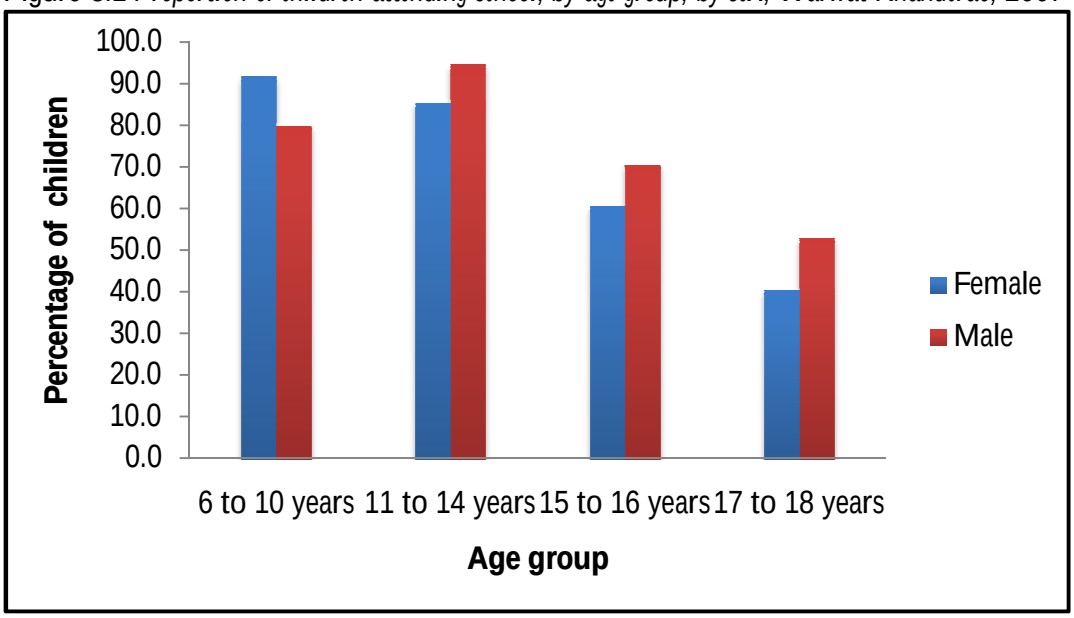


Table 3.2 Gross enrolment ratio of children, by level of schooling, by sex, *Warwat Khanderao, 2007*

School level	Number enrolled			GER		
	Female	Male	Persons	Female	Male	Persons
Standard I to V	62	72	134	86.1	91.1	88.7
Standard VI to VIII	42	31	73	67.7	54.4	61.3
Standard IX to X	24	24	48	40.7	47.1	43.6
Standard XI to XII	13	16	29	21.3	32.0	26.1

NOTE 1: 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

There are a total of 203 girls and 190 boys in Warwat in the age group of 6 to 18 years. From Table 3.1, we see that more than a quarter of the girls of this age group are not in school. Nearly 20 per cent of the boys in this age group are also not in school. Even in the age group of 6 to14 years, 14 out of 123 girls and 13 out of 122 boys are not in school. There is little difference between boys and girls in school attendance rates in the age group of 6 to 14 years. About 11 percent of children in this age group are out of school in Warwat.

Even in the age group of 15 to 18 years, there is not much of a difference between boys and girls in terms of the absolute numbers attending school. 42 boys and 41 girls are in school in this age interval. The percentage of boys of this age group in school is, however, distinctly higher than that of girls. There is thus some gender inequality in school attendance beyond age 14 or class eight.

3.2 *School Attendance by Social Group and Asset Quintile*

As noted earlier, there is considerable disparity in the rates of school attendance in Warwat across social groups and asset quintiles. The variation across social groups is brought out in Tables 3.3 to 3.5.

Table 3.3 shows that, in the age group of 6 to 14 years, Scheduled Castes, Other Backward Class and Muslims have pretty similar school attendance percentages. The Nomadic Tribes have a distinctly lower percentage. However, school attendance rates fall sharply for Scheduled Caste, Muslim and Nomadic Tribe households in the age group of 15 to 18 years.

Table 3.3 *Children attending school, by age group, by social group, Warwat Khanderao, 2007*

Age group	Scheduled Caste		OBC		Muslim		Nomadic tribe	
	Number	Percentage	Number	Percentage	Number	Percentage	Number	Percentage
6 to 10 years	14	87.5	42	89.3	36	94.7	19	76.0
11 to 14 years	13	100.0	47	92.2	30	88.2	17	81.0
15 to 16 years	2	33.3	32	86.5	7	41.2	9	52.9
17 to 18 years	1	25.0	24	66.7	4	23.5	4	28.6
6 to 18 years	30	76.9	145	84.8	77	72.6	49	63.6

Table 3.4 *Boys attending school, by age group, by social group, Warwat Khanderao, 2007*

Age group	Scheduled Caste		OBC		Muslim		Nomadic Tribe	
	Number	Percentage	Number	Percentage	Number	Percentage	Number	Percentage
6 to 10 years	10	90.9	19	82.6	19	95.0	7	63.6
11 to 14 years	7	100.0	22	91.7	15	100.0	10	90.9
15 to 16 years	1	50.0	18	85.7	1	20.0	4	66.7
17 to 18 years	1	33.3	11	68.8	3	42.9	3	37.5
6 to 18 years	19	82.6	70	83.3	38	80.9	24	66.7

With respect to boys, the school attendance rates do not vary much across social groups in the 6 to 14 age group except that Nomadic Tribes have lower rates than the others, though this may perhaps reflect the fact that they send boys to school a little later than others do.

Table 3.5 *Girls attending school, by age group, by social group, Warwat Khanderao, 2007*

Age group	Scheduled Caste		OBC		Muslim		Nomadic Tribe	
	Number	Percentage	Number	Percentage	Number	Percentage	Number	Percentage
6 to 10 years	4	80.0	23	95.8	17	94.4	12	85.7
11 to 14 years	6	100.0	25	92.6	15	78.9	7	70.0
15 to 16 years	1	25.0	14	87.5	6	50.0	5	45.5
17 to 18 years	0	0.0	13	65.0	1	10.0	1	16.7
6 to 18 years	11	68.8	75	86.2	39	66.1	25	61.0

Figure 3.2 *Proportion of boys attending school, by age group, by social group, Warwat Khanderao, 2007*

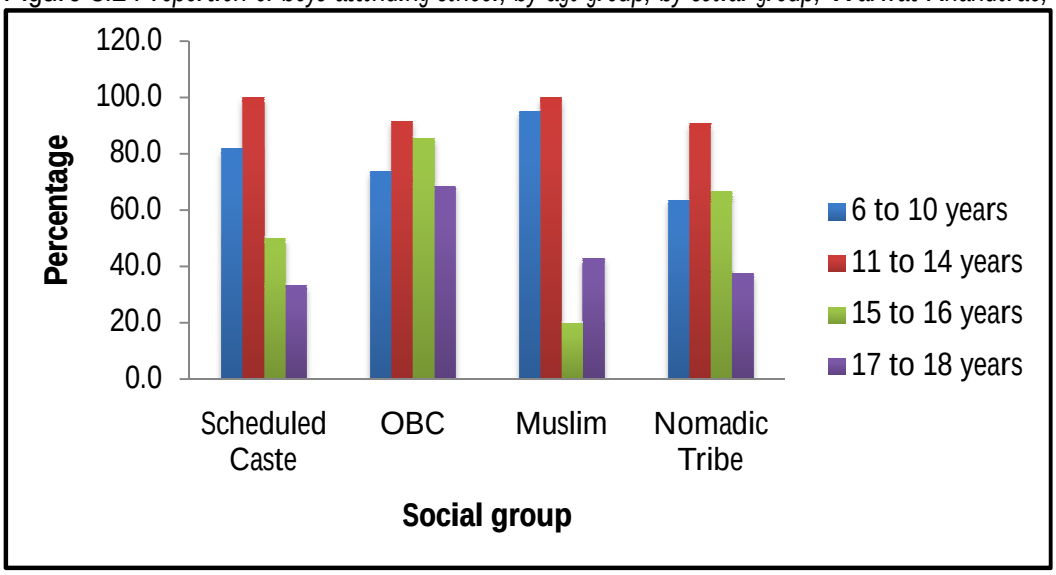
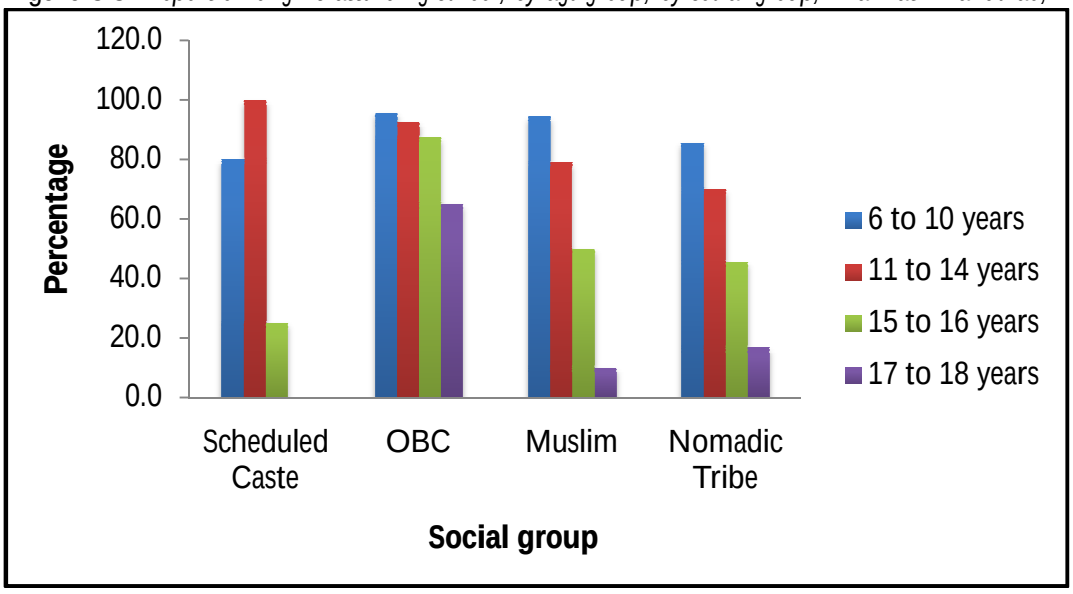


Figure 3.3 *Proportion of girls attending school, by age group, by social group, Warwat Khanderao, 2007*



Among girls, attendance rates for both Muslims and Nomadic Tribes are lower than for Scheduled Castes and Other Backward Classes in the age group of 11 to 14 years. Beyond the age of 14 years, Other Backward Classes outperform the other social groups by a large margin, in respect of both girls and boys.

How do attendance rates vary across asset quintiles in Warwat? The relevant data is brought together in Tables 3.6 to 3.8.

Table 3.6 *Children attending school, by age group, by asset quintile, Warwat Khanderao, 2007* (number and per cent)

Age group	Q1		Q2		Q3		Q4		Q5	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
6 to 10 years	26	83.9	26	76.5	20	90.9	18	100.0	21	100.0
11 to 14 years	23	74.2	19	95.0	26	96.3	18	94.7	21	95.5
15 to 16 years	3	23.1	6	50.0	16	80.0	13	72.2	12	85.7
17 to 18 years	3	30.0	2	28.6	6	31.6	7	46.7	15	75.0
6 to 18 years	55	64.7	53	72.6	68	77.3	56	80.0	69	89.6

The divide across asset quintiles is clear. The bottom two quintiles Q1 and Q2 taken together display distinctly lower rates of school attendance than the rest in every age group. The top quintile Q5 is a class apart in every age group and especially so when it comes to the age group of 15 to 18 years. There is not much of a difference in school attendance rates between Q3 and Q4.

Table 3.7 *Boys attending school, by age group, by asset quintile, Warwat Khanderao, 2007* (number and per cent)

Age group	Q1		Q2		Q3		Q4		Q5	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
6 to 10 years	11	73.3	16	80.0	11	84.6	7	100.0	10	100.0
11 to 14 years	15	88.2	8	100.0	16	94.1	4	100.0	11	100.0
15 to 16 years	1	20.0	2	40.0	4	66.7	9	90.0	8	100.0
17 to 18 years	1	20.0	1	33.3	4	36.4	3	75.0	9	81.8
6 to 18 years	28	66.7	27	75.0	35	74.5	23	92.0	38	95.0

Table 3.8 *Girls attending school, by age group, by asset quintile, Warwat Khanderao, 2007*(number and per cent)

Age group	Q1		Q2		Q3		Q4		Q5	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
6 to 10 years	15	93.8	10	71.4	9	100.0	11	100.0	11	100.0
11 to 14 years	8	57.1	11	91.7	10	100.0	14	93.3	10	90.9
15 to 16 years	2	25.0	4	57.1	12	85.7	4	50.0	4	66.7
17 to 18 years	2	40.0	1	25.0	2	25.0	4	36.4	6	66.7
6 to 18 years	27	62.8	26	70.3	33	80.5	33	73.3	31	83.8

Figure 3.4 *Proportion of boys attending school, by age group, by asset quintile, Warwat Khanderao, 2007*

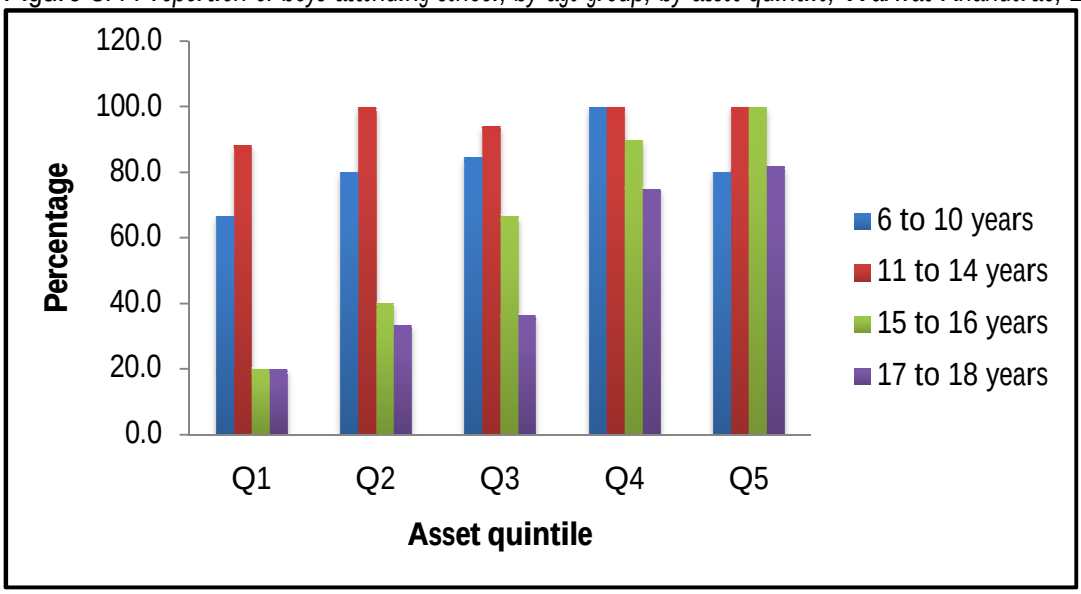
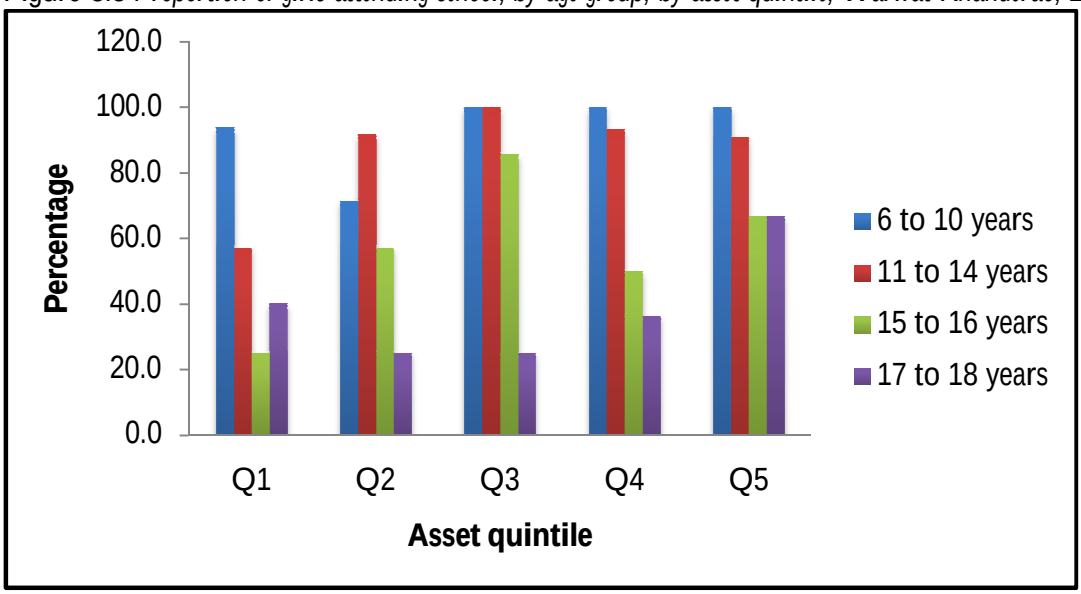


Figure 3.5 *Proportion of girls attending school, by age group, by asset quintile, Warwat Khanderao, 2007*



The picture across asset quintiles is broadly similar for both boys and girls in the sense that the top quintile is the best performer and the bottom two are the most deprived. Interestingly, however, when it comes to the age group of 15 to 18 years, the gender differential in school attendance percentages is large and uniformly in favour of boys in respect of the top two quintiles. The picture is one of relatively less inequality in school attendance rates between boys and girls in this age group among the three bottom asset quintiles.

It is worth noting that, while Q5 stands apart, there are children in Q5 who are not in school. While all boys aged 6 to 16 years from Q5 households are in school, one girl aged between 11 and 14 years and two girls aged between 15 and 16 years who are out of school in Q5. There are two boys and three girls from Q5 households aged 17 to 18 years who are not in school.

3.3 *School Attendance and Work*

In our earlier discussion in Section 2.2 on the activity status of children aged 6 to 14 years in Warwat, we had noted that fifteen girls and six boys in this age group were engaged in specified activities that constitute child labour. What is the picture in the age group of 6 to 18 years? How does the fact of children working impact on school attendance? Table 3.9 presents the data on school attendance among those aged 6 to18 years by sex and work status in Warwat.

Table 3.9 *School attendance among children aged 6 to 18 years, by sex and work status, Warwat Khanderao, 2007* (number and percent)

Children	Not attending school				Attending school			
	Not working		Working		Not working		Working	
	Number	Percentage	Number	Percentage	Number	Percentage	Number	Percentage
Girls	19	35.8	34	64.2	136	90.7	14	9.3
Boys	16	41.0	23	59.0	138	91.4	13	8.6
All	35	38.1	57	61.9	274	91.0	27	9.0

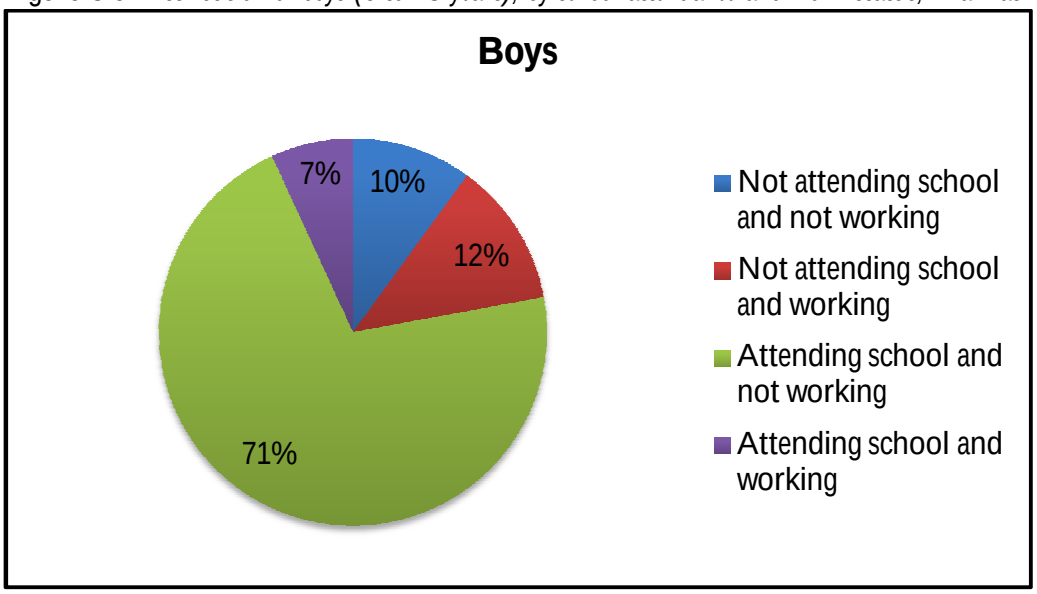
NOTE 2: Work (in all references in this document) is defined as three specific types of activities:
a. Work outside the household for an employer (paid and unpaid)
b. Work on household operational holding
c. Work in any household enterprise other than animal resources.
Any person 18 years or below engaged in any of the three activities above is considered to be "working".

It can be seen from Table 3.9 that 53 out of 203 girls and 39 out of 190 boys in the age group of 6 to 18 years in Warwat are out of school. This is over one-fifth of all the children in this age group. On the other hand, 48 out of 203 girls and 36 out of 190 boys are working in specified activities, either on own operational holdings or for an employer outside the household. This, again, is over one-fifth of all children in the village aged 6 to 18 years. Of the 16 boys and 19 girls listed as not working and not attending school, eleven children - four girls and seven boys - are only six years of age. It may not be unreasonable to assume that they were about to enter school. Two boys were handicapped, one mentally and the other physically. If we include all children out of school except

these 13 children as being engaged in work of some sort or another, including domestic chores, care functions and so on, the number of working children comes to 106, consisting of 63 girls and 43 boys.[11] This is 27 per cent of all children. Clearly, child labour of one sort or another is far from being eliminated in Warwat and access to formal education is being denied for a significant share of the child population in Warwat.

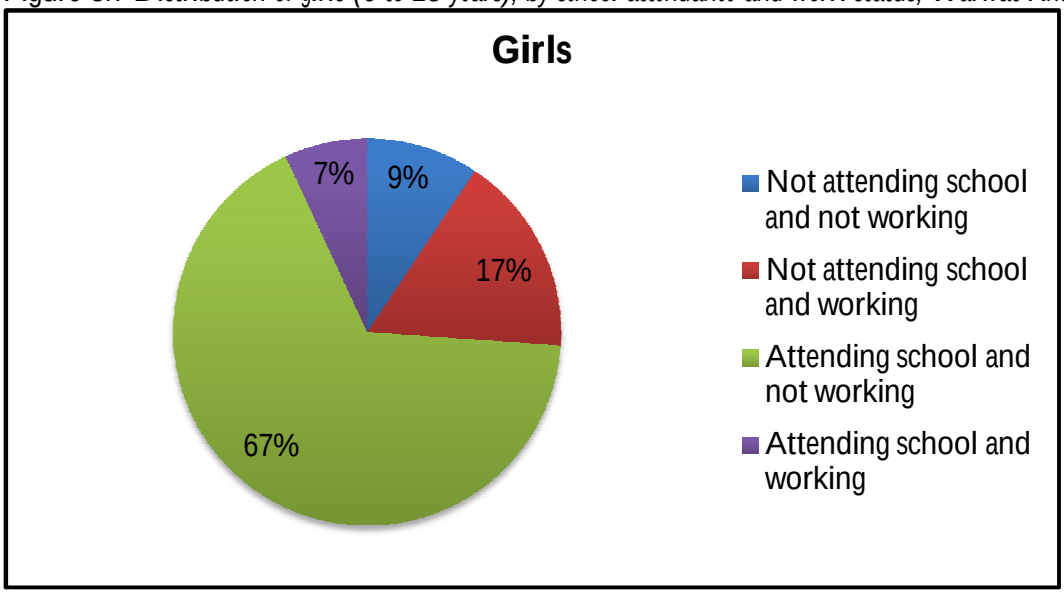
What were the children out of school and not working doing? Of the 19 girls in this category, four were, as noted above, only 6 years old. Twelve were listed as doing housework. Of the remaining three, one aged 11 years belonged to a Q5 Other Backward Class household, one aged 12 belonged to a Q1 Muslim household and the third aged 16 belonged to a Q3 Nomadic Tribe household. Of the 16 boys, seven were aged six years. As noted earlier, one boy aged 18 was mentally handicapped and another aged 16 was physically handicapped. For the rest, we have no information on their activity. But it is not unreasonable to assume that they were doing some work or the other around the household, though their activities did not meet the definition of work adopted in our survey.

Figure 3.6 *Distribution of boys (6 to 18 years), by school attendance and work status, Warwat Khanderao, 2007*



[11] In fact, most of the girls listed as not attending school and not working are listed as doing housework.

Figure 3.7 *Distribution of girls (6 to 18 years), by school attendance and work status, Warwat Khanderao, 2007*



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.

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. How does Warwat fare in this regard?

Table 3.10 presents the number and proportion of children aged 3 to 6 years going to an anganwadi. It must be clarified that though the anganwadi scheme also caters to children below three years of age, no child in Warwat below the age of three years went to an anganwadi centre.

Unlike in the case of the villages surveyed by FAS in Andhra Pradesh and Uttar Pradesh, one finds that there are quite a number of children in the anganwadi centre in Warwat. It is also clear that,

except for Muslims, the other social groups do send a significant proportion of their children aged 3 to 6 years to the anganwadi, the percentage being the highest in the case of Scheduled Caste households.

Table 3.10 *Proportion of children aged 3 to 6 years going to Anganwadi centers, by social group, by sex, Warwat Khanderao, 2007*

Social group	Female		Male		Persons	
	Number	Percentage	Number	Percentage	Number	Percentage
Scheduled Caste	3	50.0	2	28.6	5	38.5
OBC	5	31.3	6	28.6	11	29.7
Muslim	1	6.7	2	12.5	3	9.7
Nomadic Tribe	5	33.3	1	9.1	6	23.1
All	14	26.9	11	20.0	25	23.4

The percentage of male children being sent to an anganwadi is distinctly lower than is the case with girl children, except in the case of Muslims, where only one girl child out of 15 aged 3 to 6 years was sent to an anganwadi. The experience of Warwat is thus encouraging in so far as it shows that there is a demand for preschool education or at least a willingness to send children to an anganwadi centre if it is available in the village. Some of the Muslim children went to the Madrasa.

There are also children in Warwat being sent to a nursery school. Six boys and one girl below the age of six are attending a nursery school.

During a re visit in 2011, on the day of the visit, there was one Anganwadi Sevika and one helper present and 13 of the total 60 enrolled children were present.

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

Table 3.11 *Distribution of population (7 years and above), by literacy level, by sex, Warwat Khanderao, 2007*

Literacy rate	Female		Male		Persons	
	Number	Percentage	Number	Percentage	Number	Percentage
Cannot read and write	167	29.2	68	11.9	235	20.6
Can only sign name	16	2.8	18	3.2	34	3.0
Can read and write	375	65.6	476	83.5	851	74.5
Can read but cannot write	12	2.1	7	1.2	19	1.7
Unspecified	2	0.3	1	0.2	3	0.3
All	572	100.0	570	100.0	1142	100.0

The literacy rate, measured as the percentage of the relevant population *that can both read and write*, was 74.5 per cent overall in 2007, with female literacy rate at 65.6 per cent being much lower than male literacy rate at 83.5 per cent.[12] The 2001 census put the literacy rate for Warwat at 66.5 per cent, with the male literacy rate at 73.8 per cent and the female rate at 58.8 per cent. Given that Census of India figures, if anything, are likely to overstate literacy rates, it would appear that there has been some progress in literacy in Warwat since 2001.

Table 3.12 presents the variation in 7 plus literacy rates across social groups in Warwat.

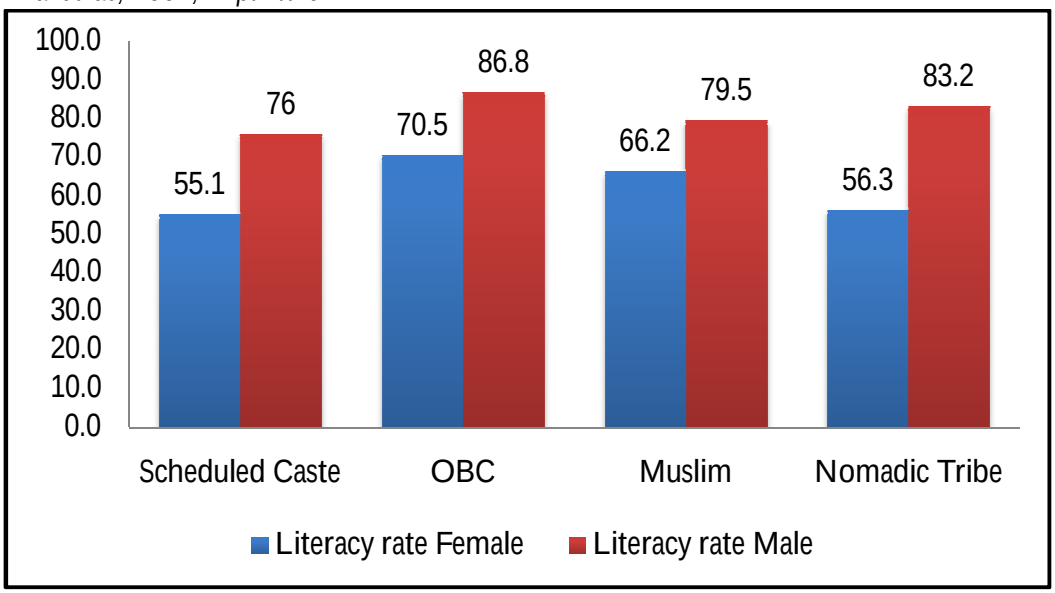
The Scheduled Castes have the lowest literacy rates, among both males and females. The Other Backward Classes have the highest literacy rates, both among females and among males. But there are differences in the pattern of variation in literacy rates across social groups as between males and females. Both Scheduled Castes and the Nomadic Tribes exhibit low female literacy rates. Somewhat surprisingly, the female literacy rate among Muslims is much higher than the rates for Scheduled Castes and Nomadic Tribes. It is in fact quite close to that for Other Backward Classes. On the other hand, the male literacy rate for Nomadic Tribes is higher than that for Muslims and Scheduled Castes, and is in fact close to the figure for Other Backward Classes. The gender differential in literacy rate is, again somewhat surprisingly, lowest among Muslims. It is the highest among the Nomadic Tribes, followed by Scheduled Castes and then Other Backward Classes.

[12] The literacy rates in rural Maharashtra were 58.40 per cent for females and 81.93 per cent for males. In 2011, the corresponding figures were 67.38 per cent and 86.39 per cent respectively. The literacy rate for Buldhana district, to which Warwat belongs, was 75.8 per cent (Male 86.9 per cent, Female 64. 1 per cent) as per the Census of 2001 and 82.1 per cent (Male 90.7 per cent, Female 73 per cent) as per the 2011 Census.

Table 3.12 *Population (7 years and above) who can read and write, by social group, by sex, Warwat Khanderao, 2007*

Social Group	Number			Literacy rate		
	Female	Male	Persons	Female	Male	Persons
Scheduled Caste	27	38	65	55.1	76.0	65.7
OBC	196	249	445	70.5	86.8	78.8
Muslim	94	105	199	66.2	79.5	72.6
Nomadic Tribe	58	84	142	56.3	83.2	69.6
All	375	476	851	65.6	83.5	74.5

Figure 3.8 *Literacy rate of the population in the age group 7 years and above, by sex, by social group, Warwat Khanderao, 2007, in per cent*

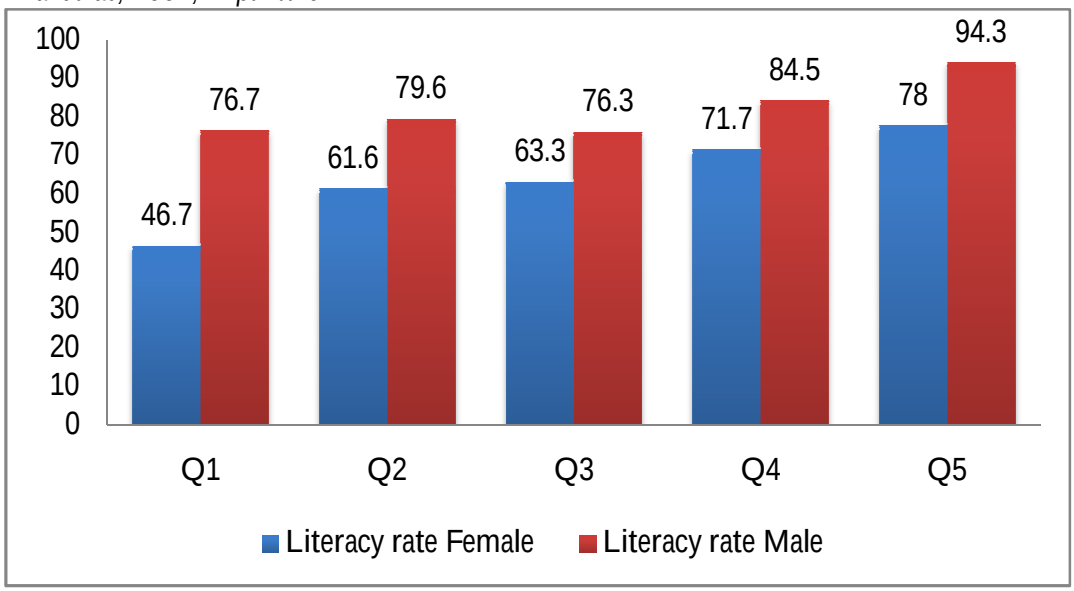


How do literacy rates for the population aged 7 years and above vary across asset quintiles? Table 3.13 brings together the relevant data. The top quintile, as one would expect, shows the highest rate of literacy for both males and females. But the range of variation in male literacy rate across quintiles is relatively much smaller than that for females. The bottom quintile clearly marks itself out as the poorest performer in respect of the female literacy rate. There is little difference among the bottom three quintiles with respect to the male literacy rate. The fourth quintile is roughly half way between the third and the top quintiles in terms of literacy rates. The second and third quintiles perform more or less equally. Gender differentials in the literacy rates remain large for all asset quintiles, but are especially large in the poorest quintile.

Table 3.13 *Population (7 years and above), who can read and write by asset quintile, by sex, Warwat Khanderao, 2007*

Asset quintile	Number			Literacy rate		
	Female	Male	Persons	Female	Male	Persons
Q1	49	66	115	46.7	76.7	60.2
Q2	61	82	143	61.6	79.6	70.8
Q3	62	87	149	63.3	76.3	70.3
Q4	86	93	179	71.7	84.5	77.8
Q5	117	148	265	78.0	94.3	86.3
All	375	476	851	65.6	83.5	74.5

Figure 3.9 *Literacy rate of the population in the age group 7 years and above, by sex, by asset quintile, Warwat Khanderao, 2007, in per cent*

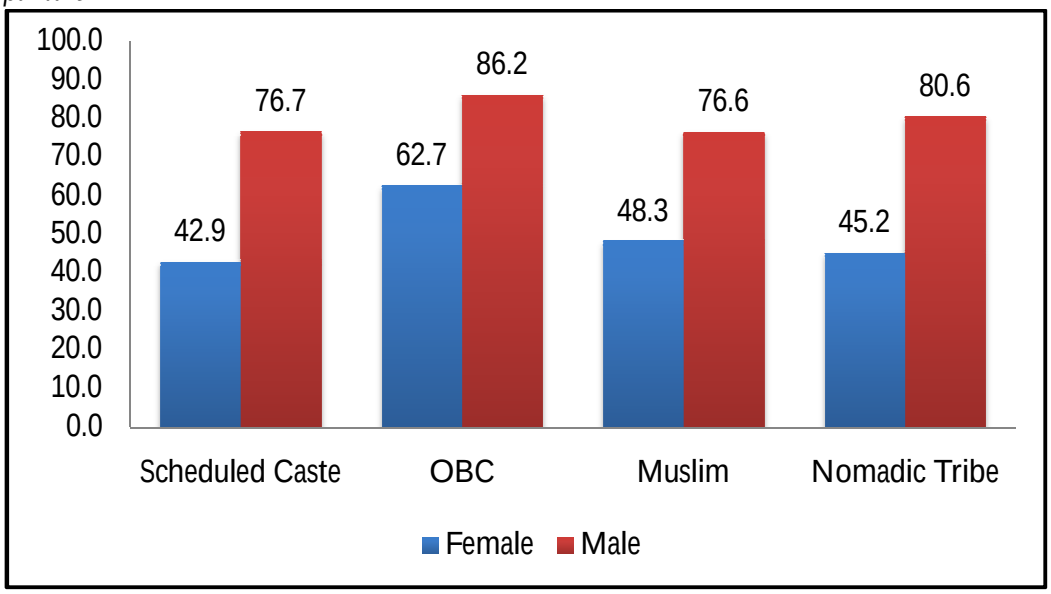


Let us turn now to the issue of adult literacy, i.e., the literacy picture among persons 18 years and older. Table 3.14 presents the numbers and percentages of adult literates in Warwat by sex and social group.

Table 3.14 P*opulation (18 years and above), who can read and write, by social group, by sex, Warwat Khanderao, 2007*

Social Group	Number			Adult literacy rate		
	Female	Male	Persons	Female	Male	Persons
Scheduled Caste	15	23	38	42.9	76.7	58.5
OBC	126	188	314	62.7	86.2	74.9
Muslim	42	72	114	48.3	76.6	63.0
Nomadic Tribe	33	58	91	45.2	80.6	62.8
All	216	341	557	54.5	82.4	68.8

Figure 3.10 *Litrracy rate of population (18 years and above), by sex, by social group, Warwat Khanderao, 2007, in per cent*



The comparative picture across social groups is similar to that in the case of 7 plus literacy rates. Other Backward Classes have the highest rates for both males and females; in respect of female literacy rates, Scheduled Castes have the lowest rate with the Nomadic Tribes are just ahead of them. Scheduled Castes and Muslims have the lowest literacy rates among males, while Nomadic Tribes are behind the Other Backward Classes but ahead of the Scheduled Castes and Muslims. Gender differentials remain large in all social groups, but they are relatively smaller among Other Backward Classes.

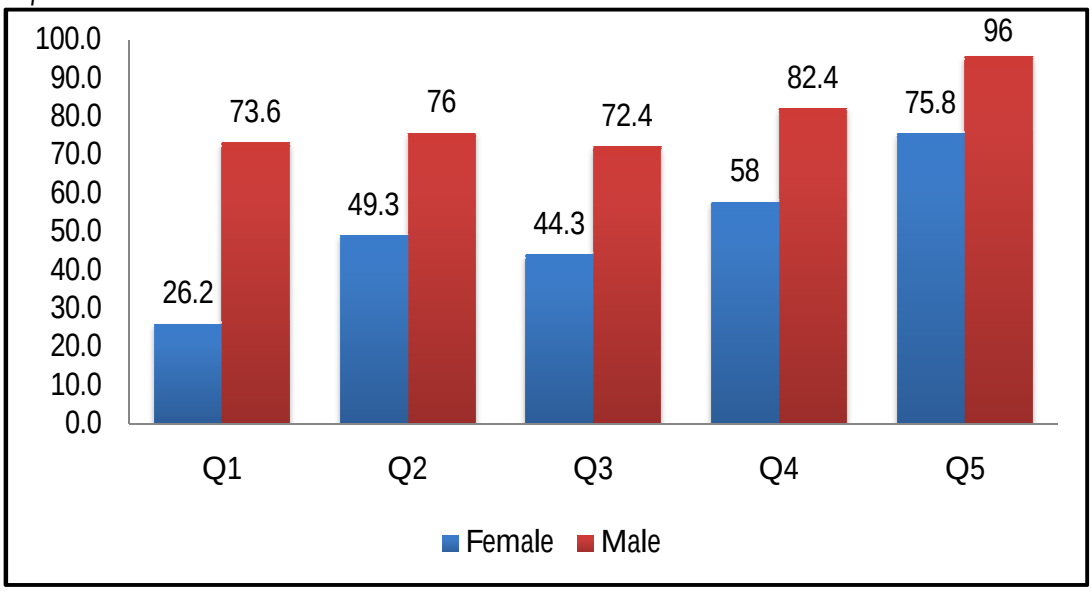
A comparison of the 7 plus literacy rates of Table 3.12 with the 18 plus literacy rates of Table 3.14 shows that there is hardly any difference in the two rates for males overall and for every social group. By contrast, female literacy rates for 7 plus population are significantly higher than the 18 + rates both overall and for every social group. The difference is lowest at 7.8 percentage points for Other Backward Classes and highest at 17.9 percentage points for Muslims. It suggests that the enrolment and attendance of girls in school have improved rapidly in the last decade or so, while the increase in school enrolment and attendance occurred for boys much earlier. Evidently, the improvement in school enrolment and attendance of girls was greater for Muslims and Scheduled Castes as compared to Other Backward Classes in the recent period, signifying a process of catching up, which is of course far from complete.

Let us now look at adult literacy rates by asset quintile. The data is presented in Table 3.15.

Table 3.15 *Population (18 years and above), who can read and write, by asset quintile by sex, Warwat Khanderao, 2007*

Asset quintile	Number			Adult literacy rate		
	Female	Male	Persons	Female	Male	Persons
Q1	17	39	56	26.2	73.6	47.5
Q2	34	57	91	49.3	76.0	63.2
Q3	27	55	82	44.3	72.4	59.9
Q4	47	70	117	58.0	82.4	70.5
Q5	91	120	211	75.8	96.0	86.1
All	216	341	557	54.5	82.4	68.8

Figure 3.11 *Litrracy rate of population (18 years and above), by sex, by asset quintile, Warwat Khanderao, 2007, in per cent*



The top asset quintile is a class apart in respect of adult literacy rates as well. While there is not much difference in adult male literacy rates among the bottom three quintiles, the poorest quintile has a much lower female adult literacy rate than Q2 and Q3. As with 7 plus literacy rates, Q4 occupies a position between Q5 above and Q2 and Q3 below. Gender differentials remain large for all asset quintiles, with the differential being the lowest for Q5 and highest for Q1.

How do adult literacy rates compare with literacy for 7 plus across asset quintiles? In the top quintile, adult literacy rates differ little from those for the 7 plus population. This is also true for male literacy rates across all asset quintiles. Males across practically the entire population and males and females in the top quintile have had better access (though with males from higher asset quintiles having greater access than other males) to formal education and literacy for much longer than the

others. However, when it comes to female literacy, except for Q5, 7 plus literacy rates are much higher than adult literacy rates. The largest differential between adult and 7 plus literacy rates is 20.5 percentage points for Q1, implying that the biggest improvements in school enrolment and attendance in recent times have occurred in the case of the poorest households. This is not surprising, since they were the most poorly off to begin with, and expansion in public provisioning of school education that has taken place under such programmes as *Sarva Shiksha Abhiyan* over the last decade or so , though constrained by neoliberal policies, is likely o have had the maximum impact on this segment of the population. For some reason, the improvement is almost identical in terms of percentage points for Q2 and Q4, but much higher for Q3.

Continuing with literacy, let us look at literacy rates by specified age cohorts. Table 3.16 presents the literacy rates of females, males and persons in Warwat for five age groups in sequence. A steady rise in literacy rates can be discerned as we move toward the lower age groups.

Table 3.16 *Population who can read and write, by age cohorts, by sex, Warwat Khanderao, 2007*

Age Group	Number			Literacy rate		
	Female	Male	Persons	Female	Male	Persons
6 to 17 years	159	137	296	85.0	79.7	82.5
18 to 34 years	132	167	299	79.5	93.3	86.7
35 to 49 years	62	103	165	47.7	84.4	65.5
50 to 65 years	19	58	77	24.1	65.9	46.1
> 65 years	3	13	16	14.3	52.0	34.8
All	375	478	853	64.3	81.6	73.0

It is obvious that literacy rates in Warwat rise steadily as one moves from older age cohorts to younger ones.[13] This is particularly the case with female literacy rates. Male literacy rates rise more modestly as one moves to younger cohorts because the male literacy rate for the 65 plus age group itself is 52 per cent. But the rate for females in this age group is only 14.3 per cent, and it rises more quickly than male rates do, to reach 85 per cent in the age group of 6 to 17 years. The largest percentage point increase in female literacy occurs as we move from the age group of 35 to 49 years

[13] The one instance of this observation being contradicted is that of male literacy rate for the 6 to 17 years cohort being significantly lower than that for the next higher age cohort of 18 to 34 years. This is on account of many children aged 6 to 8 years not reported as being able to read and write. In turn, this is connected with some households - especially among the nomadic tribes - sending their children to school later than at 6 years of age. It may also reflect girls acquiring literacy skills more quickly than boys in the early years of schooling, but that is not something that can be easily demonstrated.

to that of 18 to 34 years. This reflects the rapid expansion of schooling for girls over the last twenty-five years. Most of the expansion in male schooling occurred even earlier.

It may be noted that the sex differential in literacy rates increases initially as one moves from the age group of 65 years and above to the age group of 50 to 65 years, though not by much, but falls when we move to the age group of 35 to 49 years. It then continues to fall. This reflects the fact that when educational opportunities expand, men access it more quickly because of their relative social advantage as compared to women, and women catch up only later. Broadly, though, we can say that sex differentials in literacy rates decline as we move to the younger age groups. Too much should not be made, however, of the figures for the age group of 6 to 17 years, for reasons stated in footnote 13.

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 aged above 16 years by social group are presented in Tables 3.17and 3.18.

Table 3.17 *Median number of completed years of schooling for population above 16 years, by social group, by sex, Warwat Khanderao, 2007*

Social group	Female	Male	Persons
Schedule Caste	0	8	4.5
OBC	6	9	7
Muslim	3	8	6
Nomadic Tribe	3	8	5.5
All	4	9	7

Table 3.18 *Average number of completed years of schooling for population above 16 years, by social group, by sex, Warwat Khanderao, 2007*

Social Group	Female	Male	Persons
Scheduled Caste	3	7	5
OBC	5	8	7
Muslim	4	7	5
Nomadic Tribe	4	7	6
All	5	7	6

Several features come out clearly from the data in Tables 3.17 and 3.18. One is that the duration of schooling in Warwat is low for males and even more so for females, like in much of rural India. The

second is the striking inequality between males and females within a situation of general deprivation in education. Differences in median years of schooling across social groups are relatively small in the case of males. The same is true for mean years of education as well. However, it is also clear that Other Backward Classes do better than the other social groups. In the case of females, the difference between Other Backward Classes and the other social groups is large with regard to median years of schooling and, even if a little less, significant with regard to mean years of schooling as well. The most deprived are the females from Scheduled Caste households. Half or more of them have not had even one year of formal schooling. On the average, the Scheduled Caste women have had only three years of schooling. The Muslims and Nomadic Tribes, while faring better than the Scheduled Castes in respect of years of schooling for females, still lag far behind the Other Backward Classes, whose attainments are also modest.

The variation in mean and median years of schooling for females and males above 16 years of age by asset quintile is shown in Tables 3.19 and 3.20.

Table 3.19 *Median number of completed years of schooling for population above 16 years, by asset quintile, by sex, Warwat Khanderao, 2007*

Asset quintile	Female	Male	Persons
Q1	0	6	3
Q2	4	8	5
Q3	1	7	4
Q4	5	9	7
Q5	7	10	9
All	4	9	7

In general, higher asset quintiles report higher median and mean years of schooling for both females and males. The highest asset quintile stands apart, with 10 and 7 median years of schooling respectively for males and females aged above 16 years. At the other end, the poorest quintile reports 6 and 0 median years of schooling for males and females. However, between these two, Q2 does better than Q3. Q4 occupies a position between Q5 and the two asset quintiles below it, namely Q3 and Q2. A similar pattern is seen with regard to mean years of schooling as well.

Table 3.20 *Average number of completed years of schooling for population above 16 years, by asset quintile, by sex, Warwat Khanderao, 2007*

Asset quintile	Female	Male	Persons
Q1	2	5	4
Q2	4	7	5
Q3	3	6	5
Q4	5	8	6
Q5	7	9	8
All	5	7	6

While the situation with regard to median and mean years of schooling among males across all asset groups hardly warrants celebration, the situation with regard to females is positively scandalous. In the case of adult members of the bottom three quintiles, even completing elementary education seems an uphill task for males and almost out of question for females. The overall situation is 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 top asset quintile, and, to an extent, the males of Q4.

3.7 *Educational Achievements*

Let us now turn to educational achievements of the population across various social groups and asset classes in Warwat. We begin with the number of persons who have obtained a degree, which requires, at a minimum, fifteen completed years of education. We confine ourselves to the population aged 25 years or older. Table 3.21 provides the distribution of the number and percentage of graduates in the population aged 25 years and older by social group. Table 3.22 provides corresponding data by asset quintile.

Table 3.21 *Graduates in the age group 25 years and above, by social group, by sex, Warwat Khanderao, 2007*

Social Group	Number of graduate			As percentage of total population (25 years and above)		
	Female	Male	Persons	Female	Male	Persons
Scheduled Caste	0	0	0	0.0	0.0	0.0
OBC	1	6	7	0.6	3.6	2.1
Muslim	0	5	5	0.0	7.1	3.5
Nomadic Tribe	2	2	4	3.5	3.4	3.4
All	3	13	16	0.9	4.1	2.5

NOTE 3: 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 3.22 *Graduates in the age group 25 years and above, by asset quintile, by sex, Warwat Khanderao, 2007*

Asset quintile	Number of graduates			As percentage of total population (25 years and above)		
	Female	Male	Persons	Female	Male	Persons
Q1	0	0	0	0.0	0.0	0.0
Q2	0	0	0	0.0	0.0	0.0
Q3	0	1	1	0.0	1.9	0.9
Q4	0	3	3	0.0	4.3	2.3
Q5	3	9	12	3.3	9.5	6.5
All	3	13	16	0.9	4.1	2.5

The overall levels of achievement are indeed very modest. Only thirteen males out of 320 males aged 25 years or above in Warwat are graduates. For females, the figures are even worse: 3 out of 320. Even among males in the highest asset quintile, the proportion of graduates in the population aged 25 years and above does not quite reach 10 per cent. Interestingly, in respect of females, the Nomadic Tribe females do just about as well as the top asset quintile females. The surprise is that Muslim males have a distinctly higher percentage of graduates in the 25 plus age group than do Other Backward Classes, who do just about the same as Nomadic Tribes in respect of males and are outperformed by Nomadic Tribes in respect of females. However, the number of graduates is small in all categories. What is clear is that, among the social groups, the Scheduled Castes come out the most deprived: there are no graduates among the Scheduled Castes, male or female.

A more modest, and by implication, more doable, educational achievement than graduation would be completing twelve years of formal schooling. How does the population of Warwat fare in this regard? Table 3.23 provides the numbers and the percentages of males and females 25 years or older who have completed twelve years of formal schooling, by social group. The distribution by asset quintiles is shown in Table 3.24.

Table 3.23 *Population in the age group 25 years and above who have completed 12 years of formal education, by social group, by sex, Warwat Khanderao, 2007*

Social Group	Number			As percentage of total population (25 years and above)		
	Female	Male	Persons	Female	Male	Persons
Scheduled Caste	0	2	2	0.0	8.3	3.8
OBC	6	24	30	3.7	14.4	9.1
Muslim	0	16	16	0.0	22.9	11.2
Nomadic Tribe	3	6	9	5.3	10.2	7.8
All	9	48	57	2.8	15.0	8.9

Once again, the overall achievements are modest: 48 out of 320 males and a mere 9 out of 320 females in the specified age group in Warwat have completed twelve years of formal schooling.

Table 3.24 *Population in the age group 25 years and above who have completed 12 years of formal education, by asset quintile, by sex Warwat Khanderao, 2007*

Asset quintile	Number			As percentage of total population (25 years and above)		
	Female	Male	Persons	Female	Male	Persons
Q1	0	1	1	0.0	2.3	1.0
Q2	1	7	8	1.8	11.9	7.0
Q3	0	2	2	0.0	3.7	1.9
Q4	1	11	12	1.6	15.9	9.2
Q5	7	27	34	7.7	28.4	18.3
All	9	48	57	2.8	15.0	8.9

Not a single female from among the Scheduled Castes and the Muslims aged 25 years or older has been able to complete twelve years of formal schooling. Even among males, there are only two from among 24 Scheduled Caste males and six from among 59 Nomadic Tribe males. While Other Backward Classes account for the largest number, in respect of both females and males with twelve completed years of formal education, the proportions in the population at 3.4 per cent and 14.4 per cent are quite unimpressive. The highest achievement rate is among Muslim males, with 16 out of 70 males completing 12 years of formal schooling. Putting together the data on graduates and those completing class 12 by social group, we can see that only 4 out of 24 Other Backward Class males who pass class 12 go on to acquire a graduate degree. The proportion for Muslim males is 5 out of 16 and for Nomadic Tribe males, 2 out of 6. As for females, the proportions are 1 out of 6 for Other Backward Classes and 2 out of 3 for Nomadic Tribes.

The variation across asset quintiles is as one would expect, except that, once again, Q2 does better than Q3. Males on the top quintile have the highest proportion of persons completing twelve years of school at 28.4 per cent. The Q4 males are second, but a long way behind, with 15.9 per cent. The bottom three, taken together, have only eleven males out of a total of 156 completing twelve years of education. The picture in respect of females is poor even in the highest asset quintile. The 'conversion rates' are also quite small. Of 48 males completing twelve years of schooling, only 13 go on to graduate, roughly one in four. The proportion is a little higher at one-third for Q5: 9 out of 27. For females, it is 3 out of 9 or one in three. All three are from Q5, which has a conversion proportion of 3 out of 7.

Finally, in our discussion of educational achievement, let us look at the number of males and females completing ten years of schooling among all those 25 years or older. Table 3.25 presents the information by social group and Table 3.26 by asset quintile.

Table 3.25 *Population in the age group 25 years and above who have completed 10 years of formal education, by social group, by sex, Warwat Khanderao, 2007*

Social Group	Number			As percentage of total population (25 years and above)		
	Female	Male	Persons	Female	Male	Persons
Scheduled Caste	0	5	5	0.0	20.8	9.6
OBC	20	51	71	12.3	30.5	21.6
Muslim	3	21	24	4.1	30.0	16.8
Nomadic Tribe	6	17	23	10.5	28.8	19.8
All	29	94	123	9.1	29.4	19.2

At least among males, the proportions completing ten years of schooling look a little more respectable than those pertaining to completing twelfth standard and to acquiring a degree. The Scheduled Castes have the lowest proportion of males completing ten years of schooling at 20.8 per cent. The percentage for each of the other three social groups is close to 30 per cent. When it comes to females, however, the percentage of females completing ten years of schooling among those aged 25 years or above does not even reach ten per cent. There is no Scheduled Caste female with even this level of educational attainment. The number is only three among 73 Muslim females. The Other Backward Classes and the Nomadic Tribes do better, but even here, the percentage barely crosses ten per cent.

The variation across asset quintiles follows the pattern already seen in respect of the other indicators of educational attainment. Q5 does the best and Q1 is most poorly off. Even among males, the Q1 proportion for those completing ten years of schooling does not reach 10 per cent. Again, Q2 does better than Q3 with respect to both males and females. Males from Q4 rank second behind those of Q5, but by a long distance. With regard to females, the proportion for Q4 is in fact *lower* than that for Q2. Despite the apparently 'impressive' proportion of nearly half of all males 25 years or older completing ten years of formal education in Warwat, the fact that less than one-fourth of females do so indicates the huge gender differential in this regard.

Table 3.26 *Population in the age group 25 years and above who have completed 10 years of formal education, by asset quintile, by sex, Warwat Khanderao, 2007*

Asset quintile	Number			As percentage of total population (25 years and above)		
	Female	Male	Persons	Female	Male	Persons
Q1	0	4	4	0.0	9.3	3.8
Q2	4	14	18	7.3	23.7	15.8
Q3	0	6	6	0.0	11.1	5.7
Q4	4	24	28	6.6	34.8	21.5
Q5	21	46	67	23.1	48.4	36.0
All	29	94	123	9.1	29.4	19.2

It should be noted further that, out of 46 males from Q5 completing ten years of schooling, 27 or nearly three-fifths go on to complete class 12. However, this happens with only 7 out of 21 females, i.e., a third, from Q5. Gender discrimination is thus strong in the highest asset quintile.

3.8 *Households with Children*

The presence or absence of literate adults in a household may not only influence the decision to send children to school but the learning environment in the home as well. In this sub-section, we look at the distribution of *households with children* by the presence or absence of adults with specified levels of education. Table 3.27 provides the distribution of *households with children* without literate adults in Warwat by social group. Table 3.28 provides the same with respect to asset quintiles.

Table 3.27 *Distribution of households with children by absence of adult literates, by social groups, Warwat Khanderao, 2007*

Social Group	Without female literate		Without male literate		Without any adult literate	
	Number	Percentage	Number	Percentage	Number	Percentage
Scheduled Caste	9	50.0	5	27.8	3	16.7
OBC	25	25.8	6	6.2	2	2.1
Muslim	21	46.7	9	20.0	7	15.6
Nomadic Tribe	20	50.0	5	12.5	4	10.0
All	75	37.5	25	12.5	16	8.0

All social groups have some households with children but without a literate adult male, though the percentage of such households is generally much lower than the percentage of households with children but without a literate adult female. Muslims and Scheduled Castes are most deprived in this regard as far as the absence of a literate adult male is concerned. The Other Backward Classes are

the least deprived. With regard to the absence of a literate adult female, again Scheduled Castes and Muslims are badly off, but so are the Nomadic Tribes, with half or nearly half of all households with children from these social groups not having any literate adult female in the household. Even in the case of Other Backward Classes, one-fourth of the households with children are without a literate adult female. In every social group, we also have households with children without *any* adult literate. Scheduled Castes are the most deprived because *only one* out of eighteen Scheduled Caste households has at least one adult male literate *and* one adult female literate. Muslims too are badly off, with the corresponding number being 8 out of 45. Eleven out of 40 Nomadic Tribe households and 64 out of 97 Other Backward Class households with children do have at least one male and one female adult literate each.

In the top asset quintile, there are no households with children but without a literate adult male. In the case of Q4 households with children, there are two households out of 40 that do not have a literate male adult. The proportion of households with children but without a literate male adult, however, exceeds ten per cent in the case of the bottom three asset quintiles, and is as high as 27.5 per cent in the case of the poorest quintile.

Table 3.28 *Distribution of households with children, by absence of adult literates, by asset quintile, Warwat Khanderao, 2007*[14]

Asset quintile	Without female literate		Without male literate		Without any adult literate	
	Number	Percentage	Number	Percentage	Number	Percentage
Q1	27	67.5	11	27.5	10	25.0
Q2	16	40.0	5	12.5	3	7.5
Q3	18	45.0	7	17.5	3	7.5
Q4	10	25.0	2	5.0	0	0.0
Q5	4	10.0	0	0.0	0	0.0
All	75	37.5	25	12.5	16	8.0

The situation is much worse when it comes to the proportion of households with children but without a literate adult female. More than two-thirds of Q1 households and two-fifths or more of those from Q2 and Q3 are in such a situation. In the case of households in Q4, the proportion is as high as one-fourth. *Even among households in the top quintile, 4 out of 40 households without children do not have a literate adult female.*

[14] The asset quintiles here have been constructed separately for the 200 households with children.

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 3.29 and 3.30 present data on the number and percentage of households with children in Warwat with at least one male graduate, by social group and asset quintile respectively.

Table 3.29 *Households with children with at least one male graduate, by social group, Warwat Khanderao, 2007*

Social group	Number	As percentage of all households with children within the social group
Schedule Caste	0	0.0
OBC	5	5.2
Muslim	3	6.7
Nomadic Tribe	2	5.0
All	10	5.0

Out of 200 households with children, only ten have at least one male graduate. Half of these are Other Backward Class households. As may be expected, there is no Scheduled Caste household with children that has a male graduate. The proportions for the other three social groups are low and similar.

Table 3.30 *Households with children with at least one male graduate, by asset quintile, Warwat Khanderao, 2007*

Asset quintile	Number	As percentage of all households (with children) within the asset quintile
Q1	0	0.0
Q2	0	0.0
Q3	1	2.5
Q4	4	10.0
Q5	5	12.5
All	10	5.0

Predictably, half of the ten households with children and with at least one male graduate belong to the top quintile. The bottom two quintiles have none and the third just one. The top two asset quintiles account for nine of the ten households with children that have at least one male graduate. The educational environment for children at home is clearly correlated with asset status.

Let us now see what the picture looks like when we use the indicator of households with children with at least one female who has passed the tenth class. The data by social group is shown in Table 3.31 and that by asset quintile in Table 3.32.

Table 3.31 *Households with children with at least one female 10th pass by social group, Warwat Khanderao, 2007*

Social Group	Number	As percentage of all households with children within the social group
Scheduled Caste	2	11.1
OBC	39	40.2
Muslim	6	13.3
Nomadic Tribe	11	27.5
All	58	29.0

Table 3.32 *Households with children with at least one female 10th pass by asset quintile, Warwat Khanderao, 2007*

Asset quintile	Number	As percentage of all households (with children) within the asset quintile
Q1	5	12.5
Q2	6	15.0
Q3	4	10.0
Q4	14	35.0
Q5	29	72.5
All	58	29.0

Across social groups, the Other Backward Classes fare the best, with two-fifths of households reporting at least one female member with a tenth class pass. Scheduled Castes and Muslims fare most poorly while more than one-fourth of Nomadic Tribe households do have a female member who has passed the tenth class.

The bottom three asset quintiles, which also account for a large share of the Scheduled Castes, Muslims and Nomadic Tribes and the poorer Other Backward Classes, have a total of only 15 households out of 120 possessing a female who has passed the tenth class. On the other hand, nearly three-quarters of the households in the top asset quintile and over a third of the households in the second highest asset quintile have a female who has passed the tenth class. The picture across asset quintiles thus shows the clear correlation between this indicator of the home environment for education and the asset status of the household.

With this, we conclude our analysis of the state of formal educational achievements and deprivation of the people of Warwat. 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 considerable 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, 53 girls out of a total of 203 and 39 boys out of a total of 190 are out of school. Second, the literacy rates of the 7 plus population at 65.6 per cent for females and 83.5 per cent for males, while above the average levels in the more backward rural areas of the country, should be considered far from adequate in the case of males and unacceptably low in the case of females. Third, the literacy rates for females aged 7 years and above at 55.1 per cent for Scheduled Castes and 56.3 per cent for Nomadic Tribes are really low and those for males among Scheduled Castes and Muslims well below the average. The same pattern generally holds with respect to most of the other indicators of educational achievement or deprivation. Fourth, there is a clear correlation between asset status and levels of educational achievement in general and especially so with respect to females, with the top asset quintile being a class apart. Households in the bottom three asset quintiles are poorly off in respect of most indicators of educational attainments and the home environment for children's education. Fifth, the gender gap is persistent across asset quintiles and social groups, but is especially large among Nomadic Tribes and Scheduled Castes across social groups and in the bottom asset quintile. It appears that poor Scheduled Caste and Nomadic Tribe women are thrice deprived: in terms of class, caste and gender.

The educational achievement levels are very poor among the majority of households. Even among the relatively better placed Other Backward Classes and the population in the highest asset quintile, the educational achievements are quite modest. A matter of concern is the large numbers of children at work in the age group of 6 to 18 years: at a minimum count, 48 out of 203 girls and 36 out of 190 boys.

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 the adult population. However, the overall levels of educational deprivation remain considerable and need to be tackled urgently. The fact that Warwat has only one primary school and no middle or high school is a serious impediment for girls wishing to study beyond the primary level.

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

4. *AMENITIES*

4.1 *Housing*

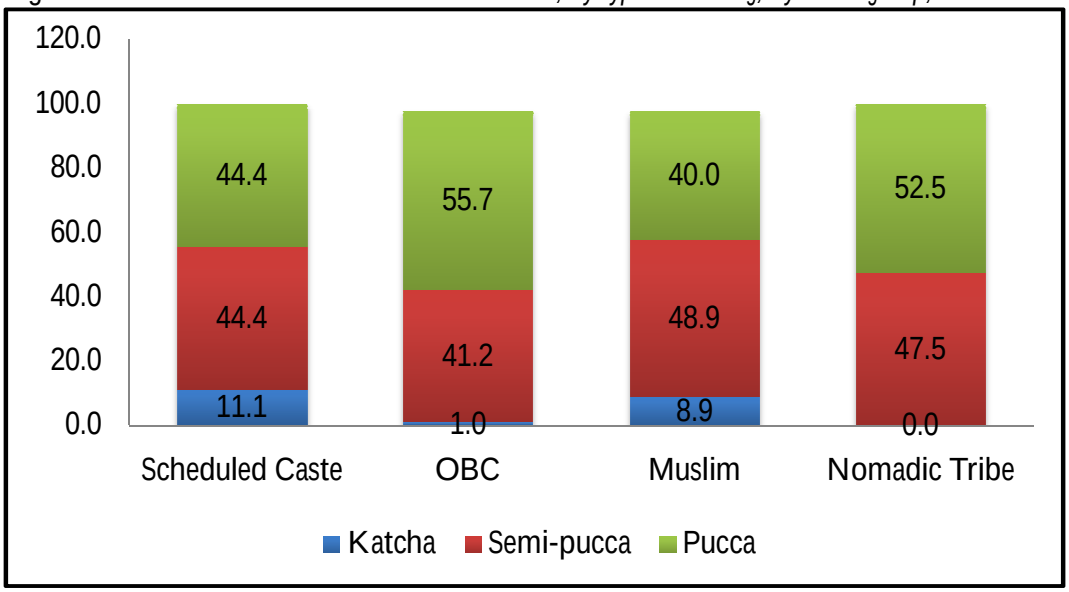
Our discussion of amenities relating to households with children will cover the conditions of housing, the access to electricity for domestic consumption, access to drinking water and provisions relating to sanitation. We begin with a discussion of the state of shelter pertaining to households with children in Warwat.

Table 4.1*Distribution of households with children, by type of housing, by social group, Warwat Khanderao, 2007* (in per cent)

Social group	Katcha	Semi-pucca	Pucca	Information Missing	All
Scheduled Caste	11.1	44.4	44.4	-	100.0
OBC	1.0	41.2	55.7	2.1	100.0
Muslim	8.9	48.9	40.0	2.2	100.0
Nomadic Tribe	0.0	47.5	52.5	-	100.0
All	3.5	44.5	50.5	1.5	100.0

NOTE 4: 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).

Figure 4.1 *Distribution of households with children, by type of housing, by social group, Warwat Khanderao, 2007*



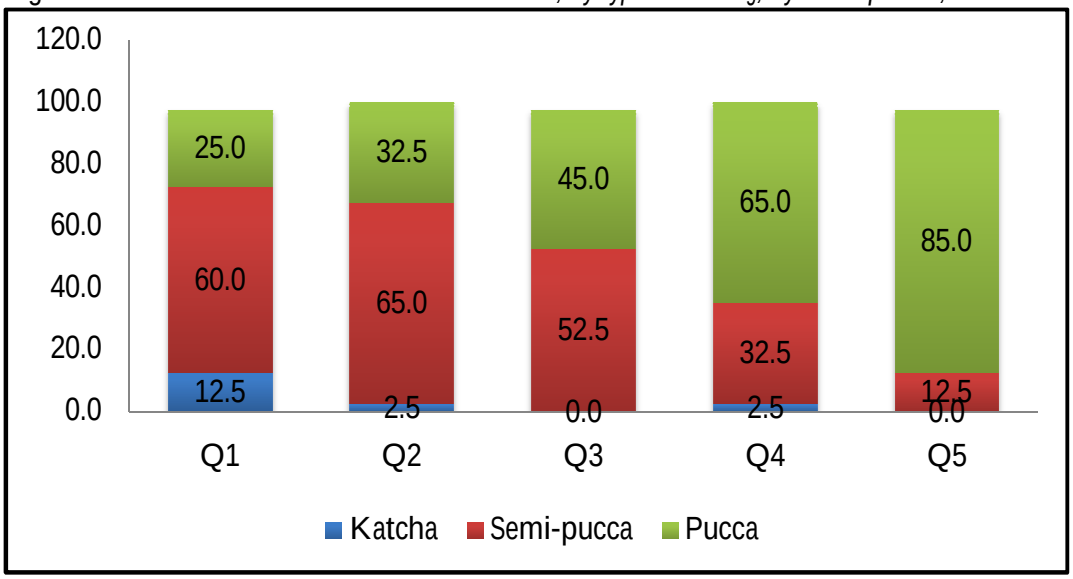
Less than half of Scheduled Caste and Muslim households live in pucca housing. The situation is better in respect of Other Backward Class and Nomadic Tribe households, but not by very much. In fact, roughly half the households in Warwat do not live in pucca housing.

How do housing types vary across asset quintiles? The data in this regard are presented in Table 4.2.

Table 4.2 *Distribution of households with children, by type of housing, by asset quintile, Warwat Khanderao, 2007* (in per cent)

Asset quintile	Katcha	Semi-pucca	Pucca	Information Missing	All
Q1	12.5	60.0	25.0	2.5	100.0
Q2	2.5	65.0	32.5	-	100.0
Q3	0.0	52.5	45.0	2.5	100.0
Q4	2.5	32.5	65.0	-	100.0
Q5	0.0	12.5	85.0	2.5	100.0
All	3.5	44.5	50.5	1.5	100.0

Figure 4.2 *Distribution of households with children, by type of housing, by asset quintile, Warwat Khanderao, 2007*



The asset divide in respect of access to pucca housing is clear and unambiguous. In the top asset quintile, seven eighths of all households have access to pucca housing, and no household lives in a katcha house. The proportion having access to pucca housing decreases progressively as one moves towards lower asset quintiles. Only one-fourth of households in the bottom asset quintile have access to pucca housing.

An important indicator of the quality of conditions of shelter is the number of rooms in a dwelling unit. This is important especially for children and their education. Table 4.3 presents the distribution of households across social groups with children by the number living in single room dwellings.

Table 4.3 *Number of households with children living in single room houses by social group, Warwat Khanderao, 2007*

Social group	Number of households	As percentage of all households
Scheduled Caste	8	44.4
OBC	24	24.7
Muslim	9	20.0
Nomadic Tribe	10	25.0
All	51	25.5

NOTE 5: A room indicates a separate living quarter. Kitchen and covered verandah are not considered as rooms.

About one fourth of all households with children in Warwat lived in single room houses in 2007. The proportion was the lowest for Muslims at one-fifth and around the overall average for Other Backward Classes and Nomadic Tribes. The Scheduled Castes are the most deprived in this regard, with nearly 45 per cent living in single-room houses.

The distribution of households with children in Warwat living in single room dwellings by asset quintiles is shown in Table 4.4.

Table 4.4 *Number of households with children living in single room houses by asset quintile, Warwat Khanderao, 2007*

Asset quintile	Number of households	As percentage of all households
Q1	18	45.0
Q2	13	32.5
Q3	11	27.5
Q4	8	20.0
Q5	1	2.5
All	51	25.5

As with the type of dwelling, there is a clear relationship between the asset quintile to which a household belongs and the likelihood of the household living in a single room dwelling. There is just one household among the 40 in the top asset quintile that lives in a single room. The percentage of

households living in a single room dwelling goes up steadily as one moves towards lower asset quintiles, reaching 45 per cent among Q1 households.

4.2 *Access to Electricity for Domestic Use*

The provision of electricity to a household for domestic consumption is of particular significance for the education of the children in that household. Table 4.5 presents the percentage distribution of households with children in Warwat with access to electricity for domestic consumption by social group. Table 4.6 presents the same information by asset quintile.

Table 4.5 *Households with children with electric connection for domestic use, by social group, Warwat Khanderao, 2007*

Social group	Number of households	As percentage of all households
Scheduled Caste	13	72.2
OBC	79	81.4
Muslim	39	86.7
Nomadic Tribe	27	67.5
All	158	79.0

The Nomadic Tribes and the Scheduled Castes have distinctly poorer access than the Other Backward Classes and Muslims. But the range of variation is not very large, with the average at four-fifths and the lowest at two-thirds.

The variation across asset quintiles is somewhat wider, with the poorest asset quintile Q1 having the lowest proportion of 50 percent and the top quintile the highest proportion of 100 per cent. The proportion generally is positively correlated with asset status, except that Q2 has distinctly better access than Q3.

Table 4.6 *Households with children with electric connection for domestic use, by asset quintile, Warwat Khanderao, 2007*

Asset quintile	Number of households	As percentage of all households
Q1	20	50.0
Q2	33	82.5
Q3	30	75.0
Q4	35	87.5
Q5	40	100.0
All	158	79.0

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 Warwat. Table 4.7 gives the distribution of households by source of drinking water. More than nine-tenths of all households get drinking water from a tap fed by an overhead tank.

Table 4.7 *Distribution of households with children by primary source of drinking water, Warwat Khanderao, 2007*

Source	Number of households	As percentage of all households with children
Tap/tank	183	91.5
Handpump	1	0.5
Borewell	1	0.5
Well	2	1.0
Pond/tank	11	5.5
Unspecified	2	1.0
All	200	100.0

Note: there are 2 Other Backward Class households with children for which we do not have any data on water

Table 4.8 shows the distribution of households with children by access to a covered source of drinking water across social groups. Table 4.9 shows the distribution across asset quintiles.

Table 4.8 *Households with children with access to covered source of drinking water, by social group, Warwat Khanderao, 2007*

Social group	Number of households	As percentage of all households with children
Scheduled Caste	18	100.0
OBC	89	91.8
Muslim	39	86.7
Nomadic Tribe	39	97.5
All	185	92.5

Note: The 2 households for which we do not have any data on source of drinking water belong to "Other Backward Class" category.

Given that more than 90 percent of all households have access to a covered source of drinking water, it is no surprise that there is not much variation across social groups or across asset quintiles.

Table 4.9 *Households with children with access to covered source of drinking water, by asset quintile, Warwat Khanderao, 2007*

Asset quintile	Number of households	As percentage of all households
Q1	37	92.5
Q2	36	90.0
Q3	38	95.0
Q4	39	97.5
Q5	35	87.5
All	185	92.5

Note: The 2 households for which we do not have any data on source of access to drinking water belong to asset quintile Q5.

Access to a covered source of drinking water need not always imply access to *safe* drinking water. This needs to be kept in mind. Further, an important aspect of access to water is not just the source, but also the distance of the source from the homestead. This has both gender and caste dimensions. For oppressed castes, accessing water from a location outside their homestead can involve problems of caste discrimination. For women who are often saddled with the responsibility of ensuring that the household has drinking water, a distant source implies costs in terms of toil and time. Table 4.10 presents the distribution of households with children in Warwat by distance of drinking water source from the homestead and by social group. Table 4.11 presents the corresponding distribution by asset quintile.

Table 4.10 *Number of households with children by distance from source of drinking water, by social group, Warwat Khanderao, 2007*

Social group	Within homestead or just out side	≤ 500 metres	> 500 metres	Unspecified
Scheduled Caste	2	10	0	6
OBC	8	72	1	16
Muslim	1	40	1	3
Nomadic Tribe	4	31	0	5
All	15	153	2	30

It is clear that only a small number of households with children – 15 out of 200 – have a source of drinking water within or just outside the homestead. Regardless of social group, most have to fetch drinking water from outside.

Table 4.11 *Number of households with children, by distance from the source of drinking water, by asset quintile, Warwat Khanderao, 2007*

Asset quintile	Within homestead or just out side	≤ 500 metres	> 500 metres	Unspecified
Q1	3	27	0	10
Q2	1	30	1	8
Q3	2	33	1	4
Q4	4	35	0	1
Q5	5	28	0	7
All	15	153	2	30

There is also not much of systematic variation across asset quintiles in this regard. The reason for this observation is that all households use water provided by the Panchayat through water tanks.

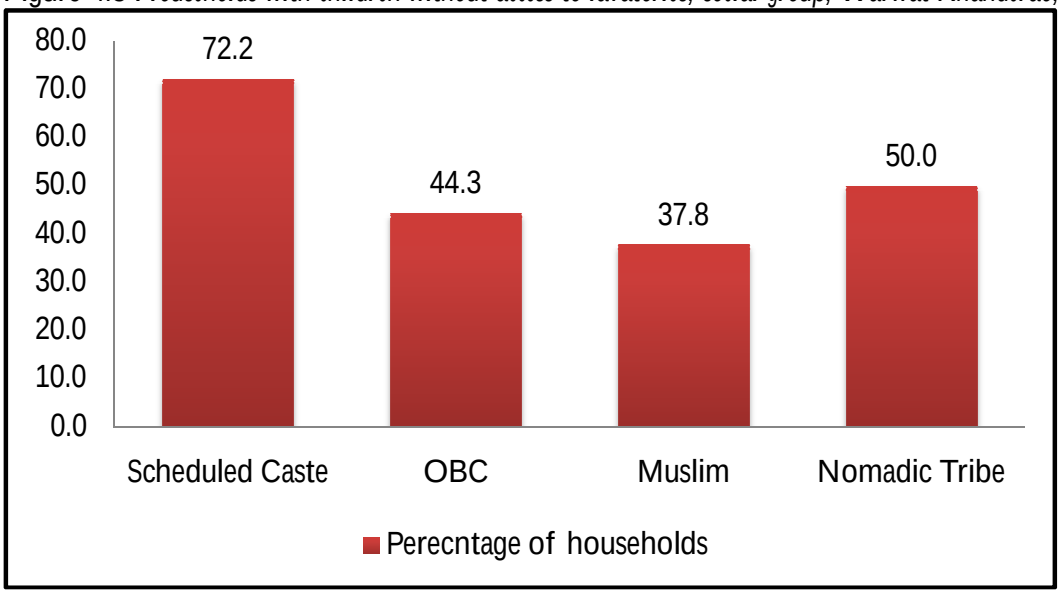
4.4 *Lavatories*

A crucial 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 households. How does Warwat fare in this regard? Table 4.12 shows the distribution of households with children in Warwat by lack of access to lavatories and social group. Table 4.13 provides the corresponding distribution by asset quintile.

Table 4.12 *Households with children without access to lavatories, by social group, Warwat Khanderao, 2007*

Social group	Number of households	As percentage of all households
Scheduled Caste	13	72.2
OBC	43	44.3
Muslim	17	37.8
Nomadic Tribe	20	50.0
All	93	46.5

Figure 4.3 *Households with children without access to lavatories, social group, Warwat Khanderao, 2007*



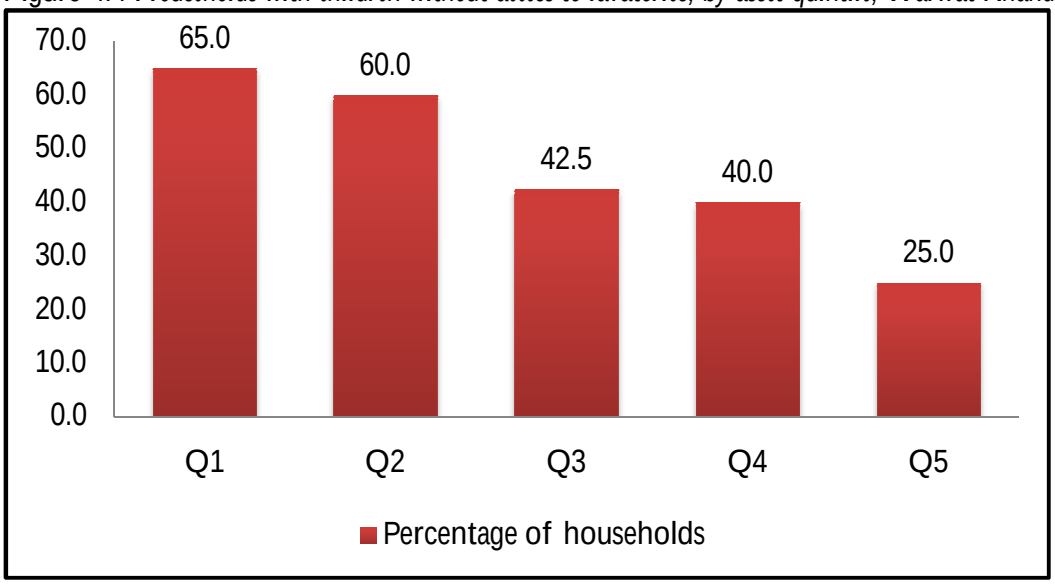
Among the various social groups, the most deprived are the Scheduled Castes, followed at some distance by Nomadic Tribes. However, even in the case of the social group reporting the lowest percentage of households without access to lavatories, the Muslims, the percentage is as high as three-eighths.

The variation across asset quintiles is clear-cut. The households in the bottom two quintiles are very poorly placed, with three-fifths or more not having access to a lavatory. The proportion is closer to a little over two-fifths for households in Q3 and Q4 taken together. Even in the top asset quintile, one-fourth of all households with children do not have access to a lavatory. Overall, nearly half of all Warwat households with children do not have access to a lavatory. This speaks of a very poor situation with respect to sanitation and hence with respect to nutritional outcomes. Further, this has serious gender implications, the lack of privacy resulting from non-access to a lavatory rendering women of all ages vulnerable.

Table 4.13 *Households with children without access to lavatories, by asset quintile, Warwat Khanderao, 2007*

Asset quintile	Number of households	As percentage of all households
Q1	26	65.0
Q2	24	60.0
Q3	17	42.5
Q4	16	40.0
Q5	10	25.0
All	93	46.5

Figure 4.4 *Households with children without access to lavatories, by asset quintile, Warwat Khanderao, 2007*



Summing up the situation with regard to shelter and amenities, we find that around half of all households with children in Warwat live in non-pucca shelters. One-fourth lives in single room shelters. One-fifth lack access to electricity for domestic consumption. More than nine-tenths do not have access to drinking water within the homestead or just outside. The most disturbing feature, with respect to the lack of amenities, has been in respect of providing the village and households with lavatories. The vast majority of the population has to defecate in open spaces, an affront to human dignity, a hazard to human health and hugely problematic for women in a patriarchal culture in terms of the lack of privacy. Within the general picture of inadequate provision or worse, the poorer households and the Scheduled Castes face even greater deprivation.

Since our survey, the elected Sarpanch of the village has been active in getting funds to the village for construction of toilets.

We now turn to the final section which deals with some aspects of the economic situation of women in Warwat.

5. *ECONOMIC SITUATION OF WOMEN*

5.1 *Marital Status*

Table 5.1 shows the marital status of women aged 18 years and above in Warwat as per the FAS survey of 2007. Table 5.2 provides the age distribution of widows in Warwat.

Table 5.1 *Distribution of women (18 years and above) by current marital status, Warwat Khanderao, 2007*

Marital status	Number of women	As percentage of all women
Never married	32	8.1
Currently married	303	76.5
Widowed	50	12.6
Separated/divorced	11	2.8
All	396	100.0

About one-eighth of the adult women of Warwat were widows in 2007. This is distinctly lower than in the villages surveyed by FAS in Andhra Pradesh. It is, on the other hand, higher than the proportion of 7.5 per cent that one finds in the village of Harevli in western Uttar Pradesh surveyed by FAS in 2006.[15]

Table 5.2 *Age distribution of widowed women (18 years and above), Warwat Khanderao, 2007*[16]

Age group	Number	As percentage of all women within the age group
35 years to 49 years	9	6.9
50 years to 59 years	7	17.1
60 years to 69 years	18	45.0
≥ 70 years	16	84.2
All	50	12.6

[15] Interestingly, the percentage of adult women who are widows is 12 per cent in Mahatwar, a village in eastern Uttar Pradesh surveyed by FAS in 2006.

[16] According to Census 1981, 64 per cent women in the age group 60 years and above and 80 per cent in the age group 70 years and above were widows. According to NFHS-2 (1998-99), widows comprised 58 percent of the female population in the age group 60 years and above. According to NFHS-3 (2005-06), 3.2 per cent of women in the age group of 15-49 years were widows.

5.2 *Women in the Workforce*

An important determinant of the status of women in society is the extent of their participation in the work force. Table 5.3 presents data on the number and percentage of working adults to the total adult population by social group and sex in Warwat.

Table 5.3 *Proportion of working population (18 years and above), by sex, by social group, Warwat Khanderao, 2007*

Social group	Female		Male		Persons	
	Number	Percentage	Number	Percentage	Number	Percentage
Scheduled Caste	29	82.9	29	96.7	58	89.2
OBC	140	69.7	196	89.9	336	80.2
Muslim	55	63.2	80	85.1	135	74.6
Nomadic Tribe	54	74.0	67	93.1	121	83.4
All	278	70.2	372	89.9	650	80.2

In general, the percentage of adult population recorded as working is high in Warwat. However, as is usually the case, the proportion of females recorded as working is lower than that of males so recorded. Among the social groups, the percentage of adult population working, for both males and females, is highest for the Scheduled Castes, followed by the Nomadic Tribes. Muslims register the lowest proportions, followed by Other Backward Classes.

Table 5.4 shows the number of adult women working and workforce participation rate (WPR) by marital status. The lowest rates pertain to widows and unmarried women. Of the 11 women who are divorced or separated, nine are working. This category has the highest WPR and is closely followed in this regard by the category of 'married women'.

Table 5.4 *Work participation rate of women (18 years and above), by marital status, Warawat Khanderao, 2007*

Marital status	Number	WPR
Never married	15	46.9
Currently married	231	76.2
Widowed	23	46.0
Divorced/separated	9	81.8
All	278	70.2

What are the activities that adult working women in Warwat engaged in? Table 5.5 shows the activity profile of adult women reported working.

Table 5.5 *Activity profile of women (18 years and above), Warwat Khanderao, 2007*

Occupation	Number of women participating in the activity	As percentage of all women
Cultivation	206	52.0
Agricultural wage employment	159	40.2
Animal husbandry	2	0.5
Non-agricultural wage employment	11	2.8
Non-agricultural self-employment	14	3.5
Salaried employment	3	0.8
Other	2	0.5

The activity most frequently reported is cultivation, followed by agricultural wage employment. Of the 278 adult women reported as working, 206 reported that they were engaged in cultivation. This amounts to a little over half of all the 397 adult women in the village. Similarly, over two-fifths of the working women reported working as wage labourers in agriculture. Only a small number and percentage of working women are found engaged in non-agricultural employment. This picture is pretty much typical of much of rural India.

5.3 *Women as Head of Households*

A question of some interest is that of female-headed households. This has often cropped up in discussions of entitlement. The answer to the question 'Who is the head of a household?' is not always obvious. In the FAS survey, the respondent's word has been taken in this regard. Table 5.6 shows the distribution of heads of households in Warwat by sex. Only a little over 6 per cent of all households report a female as the head. The proportion is the highest for Scheduled Castes at 12 per cent and lowest for Other Backward Classes at 3.3 per cent, with Muslims and Nomadic Tribes occupying an intermediate position.

Table 5.6 *Distribution of head of the household, by sex, by social group, Warwat Khanderao, 2007*

Social group	Number		Percentage	
	Female	Male	Female	Male
Scheduled Caste	3	22	12.0	88.0
OBC	4	118	3.3	96.7
Muslim	5	48	9.4	90.6
Nomadic Tribe	4	46	8.0	92.0
All	16	234	6.4	93.6

How do the proportions vary across asset quintiles? Table 5.7 provides the relevant data.

Table 5.7 *Distribution of head of the household, by sex, by asset quintile, Warwat Khanderao, 2007*

Asset quintile	Number		Percentage	
	Female	Male	Female	Male
Q1	10	40	20.0	80.0
Q2	3	47	6.0	94.0
Q3	1	49	2.0	98.0
Q4	1	49	2.0	98.0
Q5	1	49	2.0	98.0
All	16	234	6.4	93.6

There is a clear concentration of female-headed households at the bottom quintile. Three-fifths of female headed households are in Q1 as compared to a little over one-sixth of the male- headed ones. Only one of the 16 female headed households is found in Q5.

Tables 5.8 and 5.9 provide the distribution of heads of households by specified age groups for female and male heads respectively.

Table 5.8 *Distribution of female heads of households, by age group, Warawat Khanderao, 2007*

Age group	Number	Percentage
up to 34 years	2	12.5
35 to 49 years	8	50.0
50 to 60 years	4	25.0
Above 60 years	2	12.5
All	16	100.0

There is no significant difference in the pattern of age distribution of heads as between male-headed and female-headed households in Warwat, but it must be kept in mind that the number of female-headed households is very small. One would, in general, expect female heads of households to be distributed more among the older age groups and the male heads to be fairly uniformly distributed across the adult age segments.

Table 5.9 *Distribution of male heads of households, by age group, Warawat Khanderao, 2007*

Age group	Number	Percentage
up to 34 years	32	13.7
35 to 49 years	99	42.3
50 to 60 years	56	23.9
Above 60 years	47	20.1
All	234	100.0

Under what circumstances do females get recognized as heads of households? Table 5.8 shows the distribution of the sixteen female headed households by the marital status of the head.

Table 5.10 *Distribution of female head of households, by marital status, Warwat Khanderao, 2007*

Marital status	Number	Percentage
Never married	1	6.3
Currently married	2	12.5
Widowed	11	68.8
Divorced/separated	2	12.5
All	16	100.0

Eleven out of the sixteen are widows, two are separated or divorced and one is unmarried. Only two currently married females figure among the female heads. The data reflect the fact that if her spouse is a member of a household, it is almost always the case that a female member will not be seen as the head. Widowhood is, of course, a far from sufficient condition for a woman to be recognized as the head. Of the 23 widows in Warwat, only 11 are heads of households.

Often, a female is head of a household by default. In most cases of females being heads of households, either it is a single person household or there are no adult male members. Table 5.11 shows the distribution of single person households by sex and marital status.

Table 5.11 *Number of single person households, by sex of the household head, by marital status, Warwat Khanderao, 2007*

Marital status	Number		Percentage	
	Female	Male	Female	Male
Never married	1	1	16.7	20.0
Currently married	0	1	0.0	20.0
Widowed	4	3	66.7	60.0
Divorced/separated	1	0	16.7	0.0
All	6	5	100.0	100.0

Six out of the 16 female headed households are in fact single person households as against only five out of 234 male headed households!

Our brief examination in this section of some aspects of the status of women in Warwat Khanderao with respect to marital status, work participation rates, activity profile, and some characteristics of male and female heads of households demonstrate clearly the extremely unequal status of women in rural India and their multiple deprivations.

Maharashtra: Nimshirgaon Village

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1. *LOCATION AND INFRASTRUCTURE*

Nimshirgaon is a village in Shirol taluk of Kolhapur district in the sugarcane-growing region of western Maharashtra. It is connected by an all-weather road to the highway. The railway station bearing the same name as the village is 1 km away and the nearest town is 10 km away. Tables 1.1 and 1.2 provide some details of the location and infrastructure of Nimshirgaon.

The village has a post office, ration shop, public telephones, two pharmacies, an office of the Kolhapur District Central Cooperative bank, and two cooperative societies. The nearest Primary Health Centre is at a distance of 4 km at Danoli. There is a registered medical practitioner practising in the village. The village has two primary schools, a middle school and one secondary school. There is a bus stop within the village. Nimshirgaon belongs, in terms of NARP classification, to the agro-ecological region of the Western Maharashtra Plain zone. Agriculture in Kolhapur is relatively modern and dynamic. Sugarcane is the major crop. Soyabean, pulses and millets are also cultivated, as are a variety of vegetables and fruits (including grape and mango). Irrigation is from a water supply system linked to the Krishna River. There are also hundreds of privately-owned open wells, borewells and tubewells in the fields.

Table 1.1 *Location of the village, Nimshirgaon, 2007*

Village	Nimshirgaon
District	Kolhapur
Block/Tehsil	Shirol
Nearest town	Jaysingpur
Distance from nearest town	10 Km.
Nearest railway station	Nimshirgaon
Distance from nearest railway station	1 Km.
Bus stop within the village	Yes
Metalled approach road	Yes

Table 1.2 *Description of village infrastructure and amenities, Nimshirgaon, 2007*

Item	Number / description
Number of anganwadi centre within village	-
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
Distance from nearest PHC	4 Km.
Post office within the village	Yes
Bank within the village	Yes

Table 1.3 *Land use and population, Nimshirgaon 2001*

Village			Area (in hectares)	As percentage of geographical area
Geographical area			1064.29	100.0
Land use (as per cent of geographical area)	Forest		125.75	11.8
	Area under cultivation	Irrigated	321.64	30.2
		Unirrigated	387.53	36.4
	Cultivable waste		67.57	6.4
	Area not available for cultivation		161.80	15.2

1.4 Agro-economic features of the village, Nimshirgaon, 2007

Agro-ecological region (NARP classification)	Western Maharashtra Plain zone
Major crops grown (by crop seasons)	Kharif: Soyabean, Pulses. Annual crop: Sugarcane. Perennial crop: Fruits (including Grape and Mango).
Major sources of irrigation	A water supply system linked to Krishna River

2. *DEMOGRAPHY*

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

Before proceeding with the analysis in quantitative terms, we must clarify that the FAS did not carry out a census type survey in Nimshirgaon, as the very large size of the village made that a very difficult proposition in terms of logistics, time and resource constraints. Instead, we have surveyed a stratified sample of households, and arrived at population estimates through applying appropriate weights. Our sample consists of 138 households. In what follows, we base ourselves on population estimates.

Table 2.1 shows the estimated distribution of households in Nimshirgaon by social group while Table 2.2 shows the corresponding distribution of the population by sex.

Table 2.1 *Distribution of households, by social group, Nimshirgaon, 2007*

Social group	Total number of households	As percentage of all households
Scheduled Caste	247	32.6
OBC	60	7.9
Muslim	47	6.2
Nomadic Tribe	39	5.3
All Other*	364	48.0
All	757	100.0

*includes "Jain" and "Other" social groups.

Table 2.2 *Distribution of population by caste and sex, Nimshirgaon, 2007*

Social group	Number			Percentage		
	Female	Male	Persons	Female	Male	Persons
Scheduled Caste	592	708	1300	33.9	34.7	34.3
OBC	103	159	262	5.9	7.8	6.9
Muslim	112	77	189	6.4	3.8	5.0
Nomadic Tribe	77	97	174	4.4	4.8	4.6
Jain	516	683	1199	29.5	33.5	31.7
Other	347	314	661	19.9	15.4	17.5
All	1747	2038	3785	100.0	100.0	100.0

The Scheduled Castes form nearly one-third of all households in the village, and the next largest group comprises Jain households. In the later discussion, we have combined Jain with Other castes and refer to this group as "All Others".

The distribution of the population of Nimshirgaon by age and sex is shown in Table 2.3.

Table 2.3 *Distribution of population by age and sex, Nimshirgaon, 2007*

Age group	Population			As percentage of total population		
	Female	Male	Persons	Female	Male	Persons
0 to < 3 years	24	85	109	1.4	4.2	2.9
3 years to 6 years	115	85	200	6.6	4.2	5.3
7 years to 9 years	44	87	131	2.5	4.3	3.5
10 years to 14 years	188	158	346	10.8	7.7	9.1
15 years to 17 years	68	143	211	3.9	7.0	5.6
18 years to 24 years	173	398	571	9.9	19.5	15.1
25 years to 34 years	290	229	519	16.6	11.2	13.7
35 years to 49 years	428	417	845	24.5	20.5	22.3
50 years to 59 years	148	183	331	8.5	9.0	8.7
60 years to 69 years	134	108	242	7.6	5.3	6.4
≥ 70 years	135	145	280	7.7	7.1	7.4
All	1747	2038	3785	100.0	100.0	100.0

Note: Sex ratio: 0 to 6 years: 813, 0 to 17 years: 785, 18 to 49 years: 854, 60 years and above: 1747, All: 857.

The population sex ratio of 857 for Nimshirgaon and the even more disturbing child sex ratio of 813 reflect the degree of gender bias in the village. Males outnumber females in all age groups except the age group of 60 years and above. The population sex ratio is below 850 for all social groups except Muslims and Others.

Turning to the issue of household size, Table 2.4 presents the distribution of households in Nimshirgaon by household size.

Table 2.4 *Distribution of households by household size, Nimshirgaon, 2007*

Household size	Number of households	As percentage of all households	Average of size of the household
1	10	1.3	1
2	23	3.0	2
3	96	12.7	3
4	210	27.7	4
5	183	24.3	5
6	109	14.4	6
7	69	9.1	7
≥ 8	57	7.5	9.9
All	757	100.0	5.2

More than two-fifths of the households have less than 5 members each. At the other end, about one-sixth of the households have seven or more members each. The average household size at 5.2 is significantly larger than in the villages of Andhra Pradesh surveyed by the FAS in 2005, but is the same as in Warwat Kanderao in Maharastra. It is; however, lower than the average household size of 7.2 in Mahatwar and 6.0 in Harevli, two U.P. villages surveyed by FAS in 2006.

An aspect of demographic interest is the incidence of households without children, with children being defined in this report as all persons who have not completed eighteen years of age. Table 2.5 presents the details of the numbers and proportions of households without children by social group.

Table 2.5 *Number and proportion of households without children, by social group, Nimshirgaon, 2007*[17]

Social group	Number of households without children	Total number of households	Households without children as percentage of total households
Scheduled Caste	67	247	27.1
OBC	37	60	61.7
Muslim	10	47	21.3
Nomadic Tribe	0	39	0.0
All Other*	132	364	36.3
All	246	757	32.4

*includes "Jain" and "Other" caste groups.

Almost a third of households in Nimshirgaon have no children. However, the average masks substantial variations across social groups. Among the Nomadic Tribes, there is no household without children. At the other end, more than three-fifths of the Other Backward Class households are without children as members. The average is pretty much determined by the two most populous social groups in Nimshirgaon, the Scheduled Castes and the All Others.

The proportion of Scheduled Caste households without children is below the average for the village, but not by much. Likewise, the corresponding proportion for the All Others is above the village average, but not by much. Among the villages surveyed by the FAS in 2005, 2006 and 2007, the overall proportion in Nimshirgaon is distinctly higher than those for Mahatwar and Harevli in Uttar

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

Pradesh and Warwat Kanderao in Mahrashtra. It is fairly close to the proportions observed in the FAS surveys of Bukkacherla and Kothapalle in Andhra Pradesh, but much lower than the atypically high figure of 45 per cent found in Ananthavaram in the same state. There are other respects in which Nimshirgaon has more of a resemblance to the relatively more modernised villages of Andhra Pradesh than to its more 'rural' counterparts in Maharashtra and U.P.

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

Households with size seven or less account for more than nine tenths of all households in Nimshirgaon. They have, on the average, fewer than two children. The average number of children per household in households of size four or less is less than one. The average number of children per household in Nimshirgaon is 1.3 as against 2.5 in Warwat Kanderao, 2.7 in Harevli and 3.5 in Mahatwar. Again, the Nimshirgaon figure is the same as the figure for Kothapalle and Bukkacherla, with the figure for Ananthavaram being lower at 0.9.

Table 2.6 *Average number of children by household size, Nimshirgaon, 2007*

Household size	Number of households	Average number of children
1	10	0.0
2	23	0.0
3	96	0.3
4	210	1.1
5	183	1.3
6	109	1.8
7	69	1.9
≥ 8	57	3.0
All	757	1.3

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

We turn now to the question of whether children live with their parents as is generally assumed or elsewhere, on account of various factors including the non-residence of one of the parents on account of migration, divorce or separation of parents, 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? Nimshirgaon, 2007*

Children living in the same household with	Number of children			As percentage of all children		
	Female	Male	Persons	Female	Male	Persons
Both parents	401	525	926	91.4	94.1	92.9
Mother, not father	32	23	55	7.3	4.1	5.5
Father, not mother	5	10	15	1.1	1.8	1.5
Neither parents but with other family member	1	0	1	0.2	0.0	0.1
All	439	558	997	100.0	100.0	100.0

As one would expect, in most instances, children live in a household of which both parents are members. However, 66 out of 997 children in Nimshirgaon do not fall in this category. 55 children, consisting of 23 boys and 32 girls, live with the mother and not the father. In all instances of boys living with the mother and not the father, it turned out that the father was no more. Out of the 23 boys, *20 belong to Scheduled Caste households*. Three belong to All Other households. All the boys are attending school. In 20 cases, we found that mother of the child worked as an agricultural wage labourer to sustain the household. In the other three cases, the mother and the children were in the natal households of the mother.

Out of the 32 girls, 20 belong to Scheduled Caste households, nine to Muslim households and three to All Other households". In 23 cases, we found that father is not alive. In nine cases, we found that the mother had been abandoned by the child's father for another woman. In thirteen cases, we found that the mother of the child does only housework. In each of the other 19 cases, we found that the mother of the child worked as an agricultural wage labourer.

In the fifteen instances of children – ten boys and five girls - living with the father and not the mother, it turned out that the mother had died. In what appears striking, all fifteen instances relate to poor Scheduled Caste households

There is one child living with neither of her parents, but with a relative. The child's mother is a sister of the head of the household where the child lives. Apparently, this child does not go to school, but looks after the daughter of the household head.

Once again, as in Warwat Kanderao, children from Scheduled Castes form an extraordinarily high proportion of children living with one parent. In all, there were 70 children who lived with one

parent in Nimshirgaon. 55 of these children – nearly 80 per cent - came from Scheduled Caste households. This is a phenomenon that seems to recur, and reflects the extent of vulnerability, and in particular, relative survival disadvantage, that Scheduled Castes face, in rural India.

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 as a matter of right. However, in reality, several decades after the Constitutional deadline for ensuring 'eight years of free and compulsory education' for all children, not all children aged 14 years or younger are in school.[18] This is true even in relatively more 'developed' states such as Tamil Nadu. What is the picture in Nimshirgaon with regard to children and work? The relevant information is brought together in Tables 2.8 to 2.10. The details by sex and social group are shown in Tables 2.9 and 2.10.

There are a total of 244 girls and 278 boys in the age group of 6 to 14 years in Nimshirgaon. A total of 29 children aged between 6 and 14 years, consisting of ten boys and 19 girls, are engaged in work on household operational holdings. No child in this age group is working for an employer outside the household or in any household enterprise other than animal resources.

Table 2.8 *Children in the age group 6 to 14 years engaged in specific types of activities, by sex, Nimshirgaon, 2007*

Type of activity	Number			As percentage of all children in the age group		
	Girls	Boys	Total	Girls	Boys	Total
Work outside the household for an employer (paid or unpaid)	0	0	0	0.0	0.0	0.0
Work on household operational holding	19	10	29	7.8	3.6	5.6
Work in any household enterprise other than animal resources	0	0	0	0.0	0.0	0.0
All	19	10	29	7.8	3.6	5.6

There are a total of 244 girls and 278 boys in the age group of 6 to 14 years in Nimshirgaon. A total of 29 children aged between 6 and 14 years, consisting of ten boys and 19 girls, are engaged in work

[18] The passing of the Right to Education Act in 2009 is unlikely to alter this reality significantly.

on household operational holdings. No child in this age group is working for an employer outside the household or in any household enterprise other than animal resources.

Table 2.9 *Boys in the age group 6 to 14 years engaged in specific types of activities, by social group, Nimshirgaon, 2007*[19]

Social group	Work on household operational holding	
	Number	As percentage of all boys in age group
Scheduled Caste	0	0.0
OBC	0	0.0
Nomadic Tribe	0	0.0
All Other	10	7.1
All	10	3.6

The ten boys engaged in work on household operational holdings are all from land-owning peasant families, and belong to the Maratha caste. Ten of the nineteen girls working on household operational holdings belong to the Maratha caste and the rest are Scheduled Castes, but again, all are from peasant families. The incidence of working children aged between 6 and 14 years is thus higher for girls than for boys. In the case of both boys and girls, the incidence is highest the caste group All Others. In contrast to Warwat Khanderao, where girls below 14 years from Scheduled Caste households were not engaged in work as specified, nearly one-tenth of girls from Scheduled Caste households are so engaged in Nimshirgaon.

Table 2.10 *Girls in the age group 6 to 14 years engaged in specific types of activities, by social group, Nimshirgaon, 2007*

Social group	Work on household operational holding	
	Number	As percentage of all girls in age group
Scheduled Caste	9	8.6
OBC	0	0.0
Muslim	0	0.0
Nomadic Tribe	0	0.0
All Other	10	11.1
All	19	7.8

A point to be noted is that all the 29 children reported as working in the age group of 6 to 14 years are also in school. This is, therefore, different from the 'classic' case of child labour implying denial

[19] There is no Muslim boy in the age group.

of schooling, at least for this age group. We must also note, however, that 21 children (10 boys, 11 girls) in this age group are out of school, though none of them is reported as 'working'.

While the distribution of working children by social group is of interest to analysts and policy makers, so is their distribution by economic status. To get an idea of the economic status of households to which working children belong, we have categorized all households in Nimshirgaon into five quintiles based on the value of total assets owned.[20] The maximum, minimum, median and mean asset values of each asset quintile in are presented in Table 2.11.

Table 2.11 *Details of asset quintile (in Rupees), Nimshirgaon, 2007*

Asset quintile	Minimum	Maximum	Median	Mean
Q1	200	63,910	42,060	35,043
Q2	65,672	212,500	142,908	137,902
Q3	215,000	514,400	330,430	341,569
Q4	535,755	1599,760	838,187	1001,648
Q5	1642,750	35275,850	2660,600	3752,142

The range of values of assets in the various asset quintiles brings out both the huge inequality in asset ownership across households and the poor and abysmal asset status of a majority of households in Nimshirgaon. The ratio of the *maximum* household asset value to that of the *minimum* is 35275,850 divided by 200, or 176,379! In other words, the richest household in terms of assets is nearly two hundred thousand times as rich as the poorest! Two-fifths of all households in Nimshirgaon have assets valued at less than 2.13 lakh rupees each.[21] It is in fact only the top quintile that can be seen as demonstrably rich in its entirety. *It is also the quintile with the highest intra-quintile inequality, with the median asset value being significantly lower than the mean.* The top quintile is clearly a class apart, though the next quintile-especially the set of households in the upper end of this quintile- is also distinctly better off than the three quintiles below. For most practical purposes, the third quintile can be regarded as not especially "rich", while the bottom two would qualify as asset-poor.

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

[21] Even at a generous rate of interest of 10 per cent per annum, this will not fetch the richest household in this category even 1800 rupees a month.

What is the extent of correlation between the social status of households as indicated by the social group to which they belong and their asset status as indicated by the asset quintile to which they belong? [22] This can be answered by referring to Table 2.12 which shows both the household distribution across asset quintiles for each social group and the composition of each asset quintile in terms of the social groups to which the households in the quintile belong.

Table 2.12 *Distribution of households by social group and asset quintile, Nimshirgaon, 2007*

Social group	Number of households (and 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	81 *(51.6)*	93 *(62.0)*	41 *(27.5)*	19 *(12.6)*	13 *(8.7)*	247 *(32.6)*	32.7	37.7	16.6	7.7	5.3	100
OBC	13 *(8.3)*	3 *(2.0)*	24 *(16.1)*	20 *(13.2)*	0 *(0.0)*	60 *(7.9)*	21.7	5.0	40.0	33.3	0	100
Muslim	20 *(12.7)*	8 *(5.3)*	9 *(6.0)*	10 *(6.6)*	0 *(0.0)*	47 *(6.2)*	42.6	17.0	19.1	21.3	0	100
Nomadic Tribe	0 *(0.0)*	10 *(6.7)*	15 *(10.1)*	5 *(3.3)*	9 *(6.0)*	39 *(5.2)*	0.0	25.6	38.5	12.8	23.1	100
All Other	43 *(27.4)*	36 *(24.0)*	60 *(40.3)*	97 *(64.2)*	128 *(85.3)*	364 *(48.1)*	11.8	9.9	16.5	26.7	35.1	100
All	157 *(100)*	150 *(100)*	149 *(100)*	151 *(100)*	150 *(100)*	757 *(100)*	20.7	19.8	19.7	20.0	19.8	100

It is clear from Table 2.12 that the Scheduled Caste households are generally asset-poor. Nearly seven-eighths - 87 per cent - of Scheduled Caste households belong to the bottom three asset quintiles, and more than two-thirds - 70.4 per cent - are in the bottom two quintiles. Though Scheduled Castes form nearly one-third of all households in Nimshirgaon, they account for less than 9 per cent of households in the top asset quintile. Muslims and Nomadic Tribes too are not too well off, though marginally better placed than Scheduled Castes. Nearly four-fifths of Muslim and 64.1 per cent of Nomadic Tribe households are found in the bottom three quintiles. Nearly two-thirds of Other Backward Classes are to be found in the bottom three quintiles. While they constitute eight per cent of all households in Nimshirgaon, they are absent from Q5 while slightly 'over-represented' in Q4.

[22] Obviously, 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. Thus, household income in any given year may be rather imperfectly correlated with asset status.

There is no simple congruence between social group and asset category. For instance, while All Other households dominate both Q4 and Q5 – the latter overwhelmingly - and one may be therefore tempted to regard the caste as well-to-do, 38.2 per cent of All Other households belong to the bottom three asset quintiles. Nevertheless, there is some clear, though imperfect, correlation between social group and asset status.

Now, we are in a position to ask the question: From which asset quintiles do our child workers come? Tables 2.13 and 2.14 provide the relevant information for boys and girls separately.

Table 2.13 *Boys in the age group 6 to 14 years engaged in specific types of activities, by asset quintile, Nimshirgaon, 2007*

Asset quintile	Work on household operational holding	
	Number	As percentage of all boys in age group
Q1	0	0.0
Q2	0	0.0
Q3	10	13.7
Q4	0	0.0
Q5	0	0.0
All	10	3.6

Table 2.14 *Girls in the age group 6 to 14 years engaged in specific types of activities, by asset quintile, Nimshirgaon, 2007*

Asset quintile	Work on household operational holding	
	Number	As percentage of all girls in age group
Q1	0	0.0
Q2	0	0.0
Q3	10	16.4
Q4	9	27.6
Q5	0	0.0
All	19	7.8

Of 29 working children aged between 6 and 14 years, all the ten boys come from Q3 households. Recall that they all come from All Other households as well. Of the nineteen working girl children, ten come again from Q3 and All Other households while the remaining nine come from Q4 and Scheduled Caste households. The point to be noted is that child labour is not found among the poorest households in this village.

2.3 *Age at Marriage*

Before we conclude this section on demography and turn to the picture in Nimshirgaon in respect of education, let us take a look at how Nimshirgaon fares in respect of the issue of the observance of the law on the legal age of 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 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. In Nimshirgaon, among the females aged below 18 years at the time of the FAS survey in 2007, *no one was married.* However, among males under 21 years of age, our estimate is that five persons, all from Scheduled Caste households, were married.

Note, however, that we have not investigated the age at marriage of all the married members of the population in Nimshirgaon, and cannot say anything about the larger issue of how widespread the practice of marriage before attainment of the legal minimum age may be. However, the fact that we found no married female less than 18 years of age does suggest that the practice of marriage before attainment of the legal minimum age may be on its way out.

3. *EDUCATION*

3.1 *School Attendance*

It hardly needs reiteration that 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 on gross enrolment ratios presented in Table 3.2 show that Nimshirgaon is yet to achieve universal school enrolment and attendance, even in the age group of 6 to 14 years.

The percentage of children attending school in the age group of 6 to 14 years does not differ significantly as between boys and girls. However, the percentage of girls in school falls sharply in the age group of 15 to 16 years, and even more steeply thereafter. For boys, the fall is quite significant in the age group of 17 to 18 years, though the proportion of boys in school is much higher than is the case with girls.

Table 3.1 *Number and proportion of children attending school, by age group, by sex, Nimshirgaon, 2007*

Age group	Number			As percentage of all children in the age group specified		
	Female	Male	Persons	Female	Male	Persons
6 to 10 years	101	122	223	90.2	92.5	91.4
11 to 14 years	132	137	269	100.0	100.0	100.0
15 to 16 years	33	105	138	76.9	91.4	87.4
17 to 18 years	23	57	80	28.1	55.5	43.4
6 to 18 years	289	421	710	78.5	86.6	83.1

Figure 3.1 *Proportion of children attending school, by age group, by sex, Nimshirgaon, 2007*

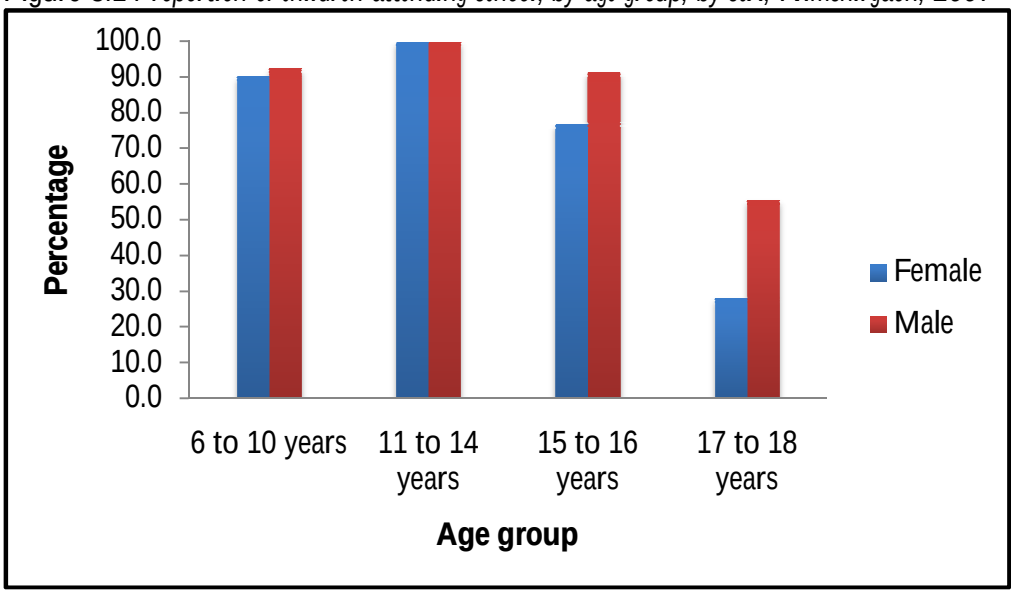


Table 3.2 *Gross enrolment ratio by level of schooling, by sex, Nimshirgaon, 2007*

School level	Number enrolled			GER		
	Female	Male	Persons	Female	Male	Persons
Standard I to V	134	148	282	103.1	105.7	104.4
Standard VI to VIII	106	94	200	80.3	68.6	74.3
Standard IX to X	34	137	172	32.1	83.5	63.7
Standard XI to XII	13	47	60	13.4	28.3	22.8

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*

Taking the age group of 6 to 18 years as a whole, out of 368 girls, only 289 are in school. Out of 486 boys, only 421 were in school. This means an estimated 144 children were out of school out of a total of 794 children aged between 6 and 18 years. What were the children out of school doing?

Were they working? Did some of the children in school also work? We will turn to these questions a little later, but first let us take a look at variation in school attendance ratios across social groups and across asset quintiles.

Tables 3.3 to 3.5 provide the data on variation in school attendance ratios across social groups for all children, for boys and for girls.

Table 3.3 *Children attending school, by age group, by social group, Nimshirgaon, 2007*

Age group	Scheduled Caste		OBC		Muslim		Nomadic Tribe		All Other	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
6 to 10 years	76	100.0	8	100.0	19	100.0	14	59.1	104	90.5
11 to 14 years	114	100.0	13	100.0	NA	NA	34	100.0	109	100.0
15 to 16 years	60	80.1	10	100.0	NA	NA	5	100.0	63	92.7
17 to 18 years	40	54.9	1	2.7	0	0.0	5	100.0	33	56.8
All	290	85.9	31	47.0	19	65.8	58	85.4	310	88.2

Table 3.4 *Boys attending school, by age group, by social group, Nimshirgaon, 2007*

Age group	Scheduled Caste		OBC		Nomadic Tribe		All Other	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
6 to 10 years	43	100.0	5	100.0	5	33.6	69	100.0
11 to 14 years	40	100.0	10	100.0	19	100.0	68	100.0
15 to 16 years	54	84.5	10	100.0	NA	NA	41	100.0
17 to 18 years	35	81.5	1	6.3	5	100.0	16	55.3
All	171	90.6	25	63.1	29	74.8	194	93.8

Table 3.5 *Girls attending school, by age group, by social group, Nimshirgaon, 2007*

Age group	Scheduled Caste		OBC		Muslim		Nomadic Tribe		All Other	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
6 to 10 years	34	100.0	3	100.0	19	100.0	9	100.0	36	76.6
11 to 14 years	75	100.0	3	100.0	0	NA	14	100.0	40	100.0
15 to 16 years	6	54.5	0	NA	0	NA	5	100.0	22	81.7
17 to 18 years	5	16.7	0	0.0	0	NA	0	NA	18	58.2
6 to 18 years	120	79.9	6	22.6	19	100.0	28	100.0	116	80.2

Figure 3.2 *Proportion of boys attending school, by age group, by social group, Nimshirgaon, 2007*

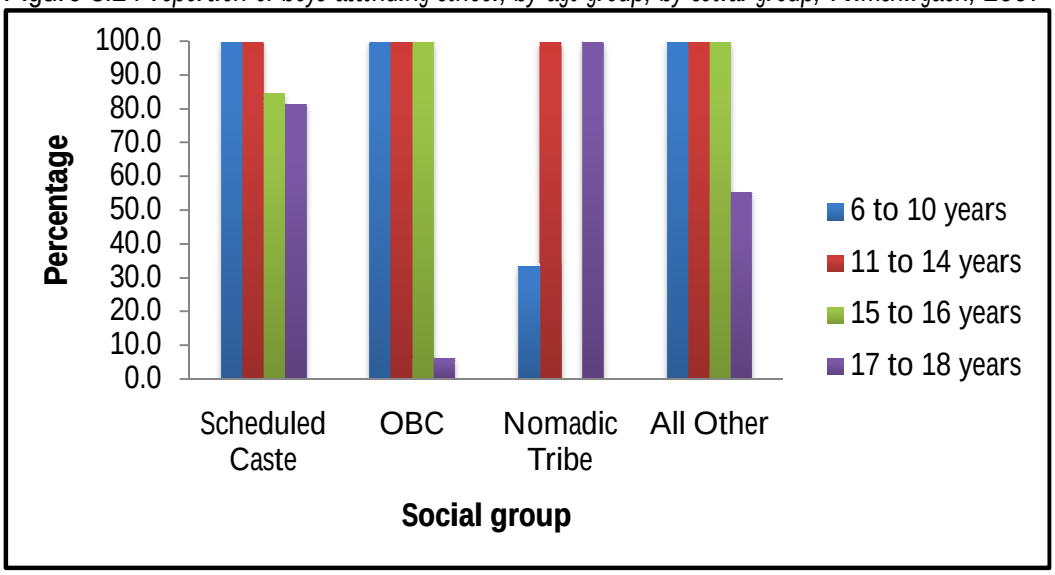
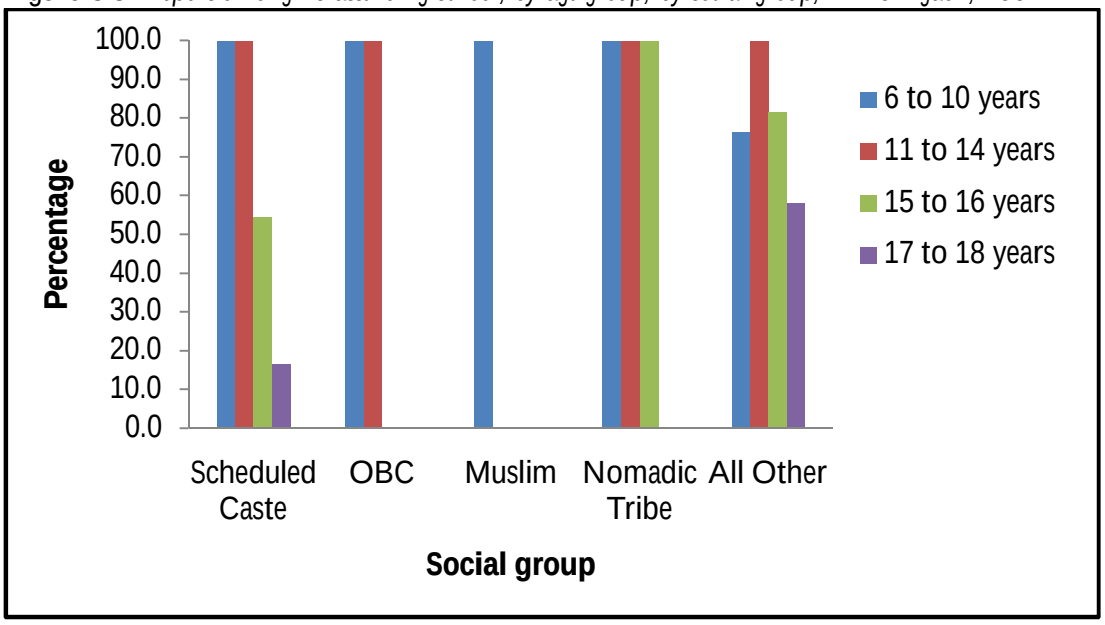


Figure 3.3 *Proportion of girls attending school, by age group, by social group, Nimshirgaon, 2007*



There is not much variation across social groups in attendance ratios in the age group of 6 to 14 years or even beyond that, if we keep in mind that the numbers relating to children from Other Backward Class, Muslim and Nomadic Tribe households are quite small. However, when it comes to girls, there is a distinct difference between the All Others and the Scheduled Castes in the age group of 15 to 18 years. The distinctive feature here is that the gender differential in school attendance ratios is much smaller among the All Others than is the case for Scheduled Castes. Overall, there is not much difference, either in relation to boys or in relation to girls between the All Others and the

Scheduled Castes. The Nomadic Tribes have much better school attendance ratios than do Other Backward Classes and Muslims, but the numbers involved are small.

How do the attendance ratios vary across asset quintiles? Tables 3.6 to 3.8 provide the relevant information.

Table 3.6 *Children attending school, by age group, by asset quintile, Nimshirgaon, 2007*

Age group	Q1		Q2		Q3		Q4		Q5	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
6 to 10 years	56	98.2	37	65.0	54	100.0	43	100.0	33	100.0
11 to 14 years	70	100.0	50	100.0	75	100.0	29	100.0	45	100.0
15 to 16 years	23	69.5	35	78.4	20	100.0	43	100.0	17	100.0
17 to 18 years	26	50.1	15	53.5	10	32.9	15	33.4	14	47.2
6 to 18 years	175	82.4	137	76.3	159	88.9	130	81.6	109	87.4

It is interesting to note from table 3.6 that there is not a great deal of variation across asset quintiles with respect to overall attendance ratios in the age group of 6 to 14 years. The same is the case for the age group of 6 to 18 years as well. The numbers in the age group of 15 to 18 years are rather small, but even here, there is no dramatic or consistent variation, except for the particularly poor performance of Q3 and Q4 in the age group of 17 to 18 years. Interestingly, there is little difference between Q1, Q2 and Q5 with respect to attendance ratios.

Table 3.7 *Boys attending school, by age group, by asset quintile, Nimshirgaon, 2007*

Age group	Q1		Q2		Q3		Q4		Q5	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
6 to 10 years	34	100.0	16	61.7	35	100.0	24	100.0	13	100.0
11 to 14 years	36	100.0	21	100.0	35	100.0	15	100.0	30	100.0
15 to 16 years	15	100.0	34	77.9	10	100.0	39	100.0	7	100.0
17 to 18 years	21	51.4	15	83.6	0	0.0	15	100.0	6	32.1
6 to 18 years	106	84.1	86	79.2	80	89.1	93	100.0	56	81.4

Table 3.8 *Girls attending school, by age group, by asset quintile, Nimshirgaon, 2007*

Age group	Q1		Q2		Q3		Q4		Q5	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
6 to 10 years	22	95.4	21	67.8	19	100.0	19	100.0	20	100.0
11 to 14 years	34	100.0	29	100.0	40	100.0	14	100.0	15	100.0
15 to 16 years	8	44.2	1	100.0	10	100.0	4	100.0	10	100.0
17 to 18 years	5	45.5	0	0.0	10	49.5	0	0.0	8	72.7
6 to 18 years	69	79.9	51	71.8	79	88.8	37	56.9	53	94.7

Among the boys, the picture is the same as overall, with the very poor performance of Q3 and Q5 in the age group of 17 to 18 years being striking, though one must not forget the small numbers involved. However, when it comes to girls, the worst performers are households in Q2 and Q4. in the age group of 17 to 18 years.

Figure 3.4 *Proportion of boys attending school, by age group, by asset quintile, Nimshirgaon, 2007*

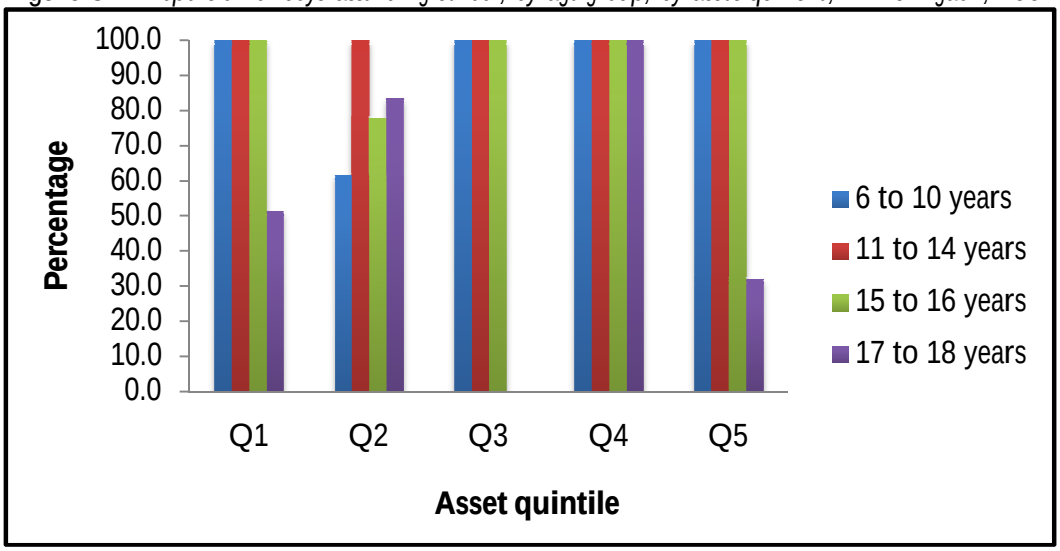
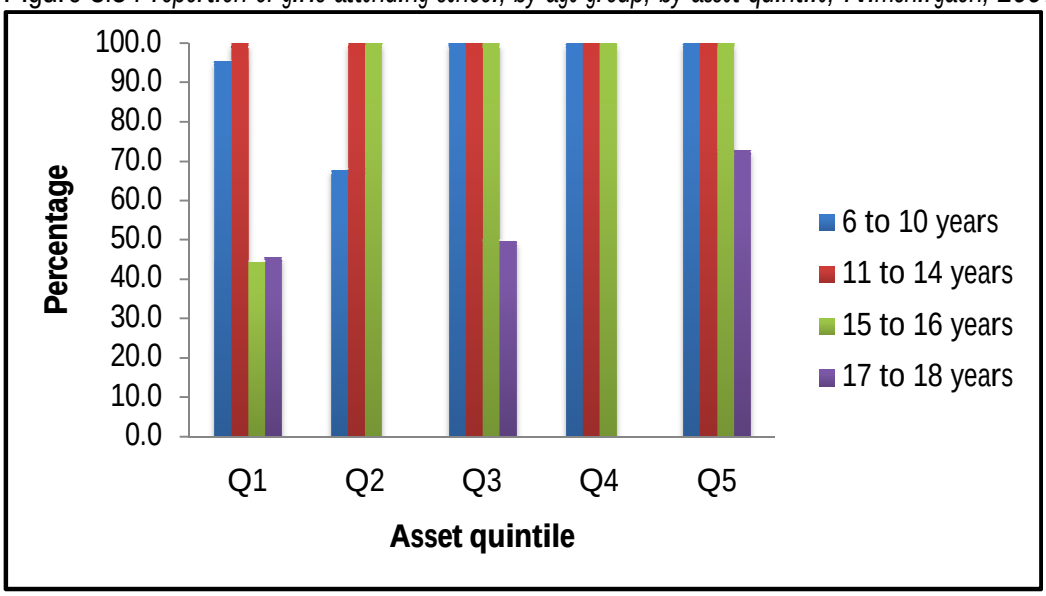


Figure 3.5 *Proportion of girls attending school, by age group, by asset quintile, Nimshirgaon, 2007*



A possible reason for the relatively better attendance ratios in the asset quintile Q1 could be that this quintile consists mainly of landless labour households that do not need their children to work on the household operational holding. By the same token, the poorer performance of Q3 with respect to

boys may be on account of this quintile consisting mainly of peasant households inclined to use children as family labour on the household operational holding. [23]

3.3 *School Attendance and Work*

In our earlier discussion on the activity status of children aged 6 to 14 years in Nimshirgaon, we had noted that 10 boys and 19 girls in this age group were engaged in specified activities that constitute child labour. What is the picture in the age group of 6 to 18 years? How does the fact of children working impact on school attendance? We had raised some of these questions in Section 3.1 above. Table 3.9 presents the data on school attendance among those aged 6 to18 years by sex and work status in Nimshirgaon.

Table 3.9 *School attendance among those aged 6 to 18 years, by sex and work status, Nimshirgaon, 2007*

Children	Not attending school				Attending school			
	Not working		Working		Not working		Working	
	Number	Percentage	Number	Percentage	Number	Percentage	Number	Percentage
Girls	47	59.2	32	40.8	260	90.1	29	9.9
Boys	10	15.2	55	84.8	381	90.8	39	9.2
All	57	39.3	87	60.7	641	90.5	68	9.5

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".

[23] Of the 149 households in Q3, 67 are small peasant households, which use family labour (especially male) in own cultivation.

Figure 3.6 *Distribution of boys (6 to 18 years), by school attendance and work status, Nimshirgaon, 2007*

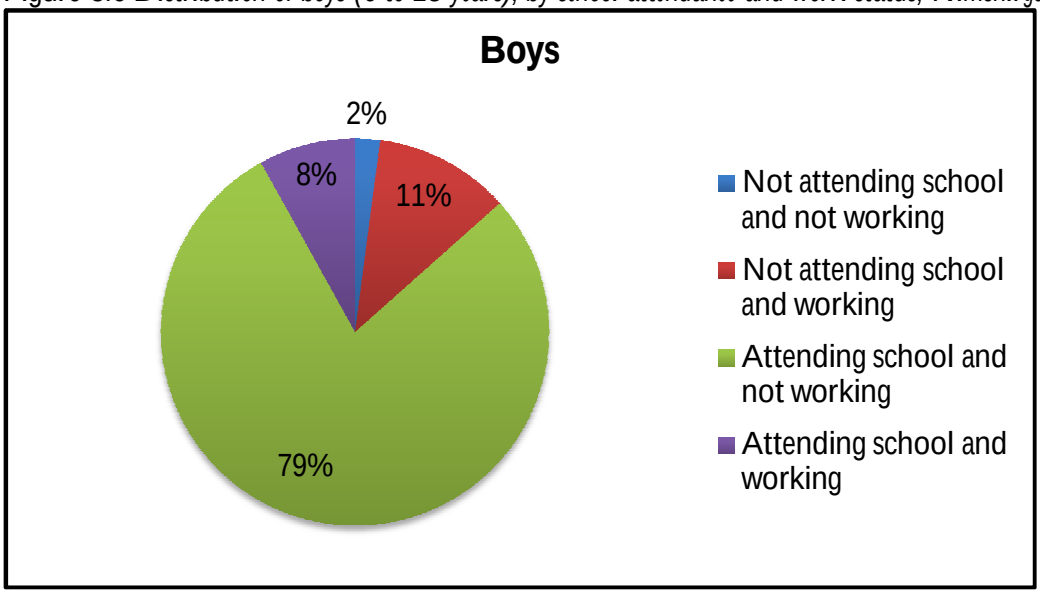
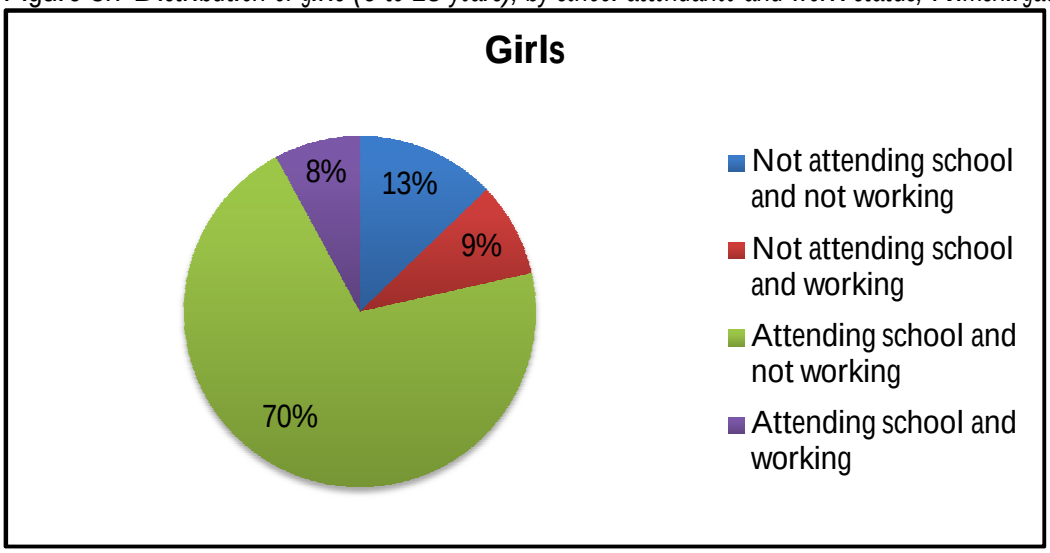


Figure 3.7 *Distribution of girls (6 to 18 years), by school attendance and work status, Nimshirgaon, 2007*



It is estimated that 79 girls and 65 boys in the age group of 6 to 18 years were out of school in Nimshirgaon in 2007. The proportions out of school – 79 out of 368 in the case of girls and 65 out of 485 in the case of boys – are quite significant at 21.5 per cent for girls and 13.4 per cent for boys. Also, the number of working children even as per our restricted definition of work at 61 girls and 94 boys – constituting 16.6 per cent and 19.4 per cent respectively of girls and boys in the age group of 6 to 18 years – is quite alarming. If we take the view, as many scholars do, that the "nowhere children" - neither in school nor regarded as 'working' by specific definitions – should also be

regarded as working, as indeed most of them are in domestic chores or care functions, the proportions of working girls and boys go up to 108 out of 368 for girls and 104 out of 485 for boys.[24]

An aspect that was mentioned earlier and needs to be kept in mind is that, though there are 29 children in the age group of 6 to 14 years (19 girls and 10 boy) who worked on the household operational holding, all 29 children were also attending school. However, the important point is that, when child labour should be simply unacceptable, even after more than two decades of high rates of GDP growth, FAS surveys in village after village throw up disturbing numbers of working children.

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.

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. How does the village of Nimshirgaon fare in this regard?

Table 3.10 provides information, by sex and social group on children in Nimshirgaon going to *anganwadi* centres. None of the children below are enrolled in an *anganwadi*, though the scheme is intended to cater to them as well. Among children 3 to 6 years of age, while the numbers are small, it appears that the scheme serves a felt need for Scheduled Castes and Other Backward Classes.

[24] It is estimated that 29 boys in the age group of 6 to 18 years are involved in animal tending. Some of them may be in school, and others not. All of them are excluded from the definition of working children in this report.

Table 3.10 *Percentage of children 6 years and below going to Anganwadi centres, Nimshirgaon, 2007*[25]

Social group	Female	Male	Person
Scheduled Caste	75.0	75.0	75.0
OBC	100.0	NA	100.0
Muslim	40.0	NA	40.0
Nomadic Tribe	0.0	0.0	0.0
All Other	30.8	30.0	30.4
All	41.7	40.0	41.0

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

Table 3.11 *Distribution of population (7 years and above), by literacy level, by sex, Nimshirgaon, 2007*

Literacy level	Female		Male		Persons	
	Number	Percentage	Number	Percentage	Number	Percentage
Cannot read and write	504	31.3	183	9.8	687	19.8
Can only sign name	36	2.2	59	3.2	95	2.7
Can read but cannot write	13	0.8	8	0.4	21	0.6
Can read and write	1057	65.7	1619	86.6	2676	76.9
All	1610	100.0	1869	100.0	3479	100.0

The literacy rates in Nimshirgaon - considering only those that can read and write as literate - are not very different from those in Warwat Khanderao, another village in Maharashtra surveyed by FAS in 2007.[26] The rates are also close to those for rural Maharashtra as per the Census of 2011 at 67.38 per cent for female and 86.39 per cent for males. However, the literacy rates for Nimshirgaon as per the FAS survey of 2007 are lower than those for Kolhapur district as per 2011 Census at 69.42 per cent for females and 89.61 per cent for males. The Census of India 2001 reports female and male literacy rates for Nimshirgaon at 68.4 per cent for females and 81.6 per cent for males, suggestive of

[25] It is estimated that one girl and 10 boys are being sent to a private nursery school.

[26] The female and male literacy rates for the 7+ population in Warwat in 2007 were 65.6 per cent and 83.6 per cent respectively.

some degree of over-reporting of the female literacy rate, but generally consistent with FAS estimates, especially given that the latter relate to 2007.

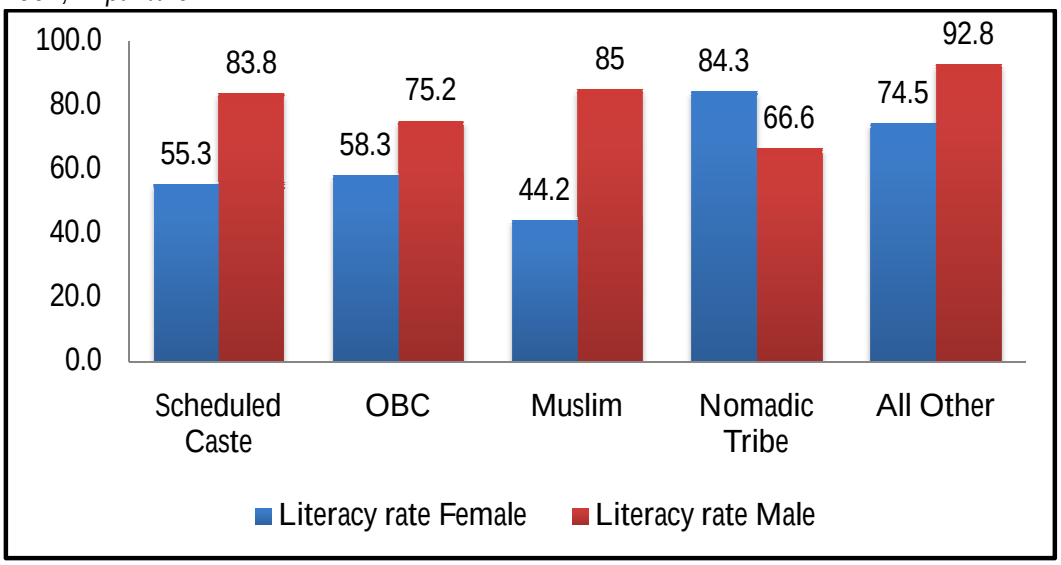
Table 3.12 presents the variation in seven plus literacy rates by social group.

Among males, the All Others have the highest estimated literacy rate, but the range of variation across social groups is modest, especially if we keep in mind that the Nomadic Tribes, Muslims and Other Backward Classes constitute a small part of the population in Nimshirgaon. Among females, the Nomadic Tribes have the highest literacy rate, followed by the All Others. As between the two numerically important castes in the village, the Scheduled Castes are well behind the All Others, and especially so in relation to female literacy. Muslims show the highest gender differential in literacy rate, followed by the Scheduled Castes. Of course, the gender differential is high for all social groups, the lowest figure being 18.3 percentage points in the case of All Others.

Table 3.12 *Population (7 years and above), who can read and write, by social group, Nimshirgaon, 2007*

Social group	Number			Literacy rate		
	Female	Male	Persons	Female	Male	Persons
Scheduled Caste	311	549	860	55.3	83.8	70.6
OBC	60	121	181	58.3	75.2	68.6
Muslim	37	62	99	44.2	85.0	63.2
Nomadic Tribe	59	59	118	84.3	66.6	74.3
All Other	590	828	1418	74.5	92.8	84.2
All	1057	1619	2677	65.7	86.6	76.9

Figure 3.8 *Literacy rate of the population in the age group 7 years and above, by sex, by social group, Nimshirgaon, 2007, in per cent*

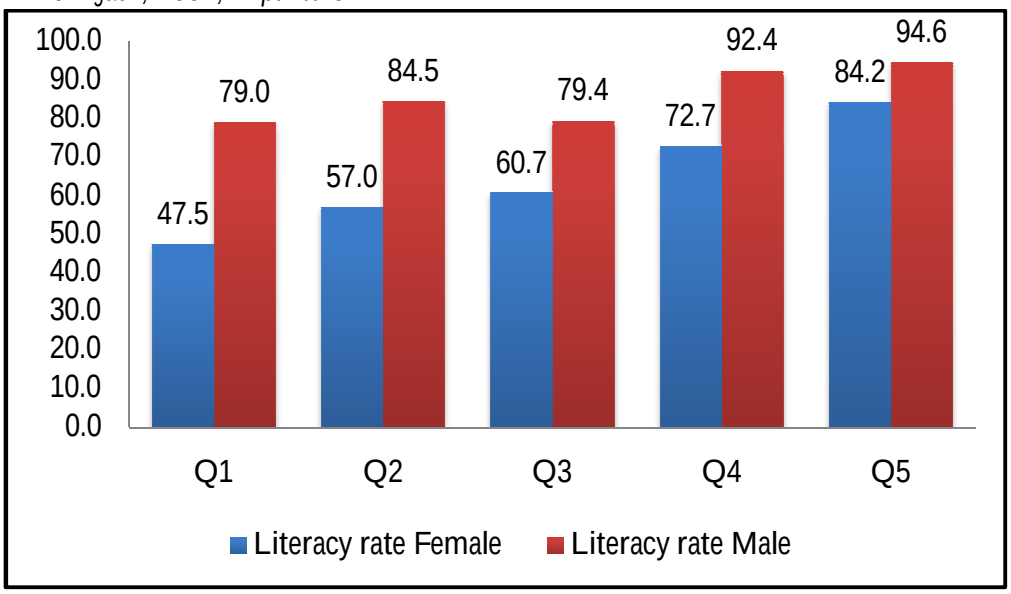


What is the picture with respect to variation in literacy rates across asset quintiles? Table 3.13 presents the relevant data.

Table 3.13: *Population (7 years and above), who can read and write, by asset quintile, Nimshirgaon, 2007*

Asset quintile	Number			Literacy rate		
	Female	Male	Persons	Female	Male	Persons
Q1	136	261	397	47.5	79.0	64.4
Q2	170	293	463	57.0	84.5	71.8
Q3	198	264	462	60.7	79.4	70.1
Q4	226	374	600	72.7	92.4	83.8
Q5	323	423	746	84.2	94.6	89.8
All	1057	1619	2676	65.7	86.6	76.9

Figure 3.9 *Literacy rate of the population in the age group 7 years and above, by sex, by asset quintile, Nimshirgaon, 2007, in per cent*



The variation across asset quintiles is along expected lines, with the bottom asset quintile having the lowest literacy rates for females and males, and the top asset quintile having the highest rates. There is in fact a broad divide between the bottom three quintiles taken together on the one side and the top two quintiles taken together on the other. It may also be noted that the gender differentials are much higher for the bottom two quintiles than for the top quintile, while the third and fourth quintiles show an intermediate level of difference between male and female literacy rates.

Let us turn now to the issue of adult literacy rates in Nimshirgaon. The adult literacy picture as it varies across social groups is presented in Table 3. 14.

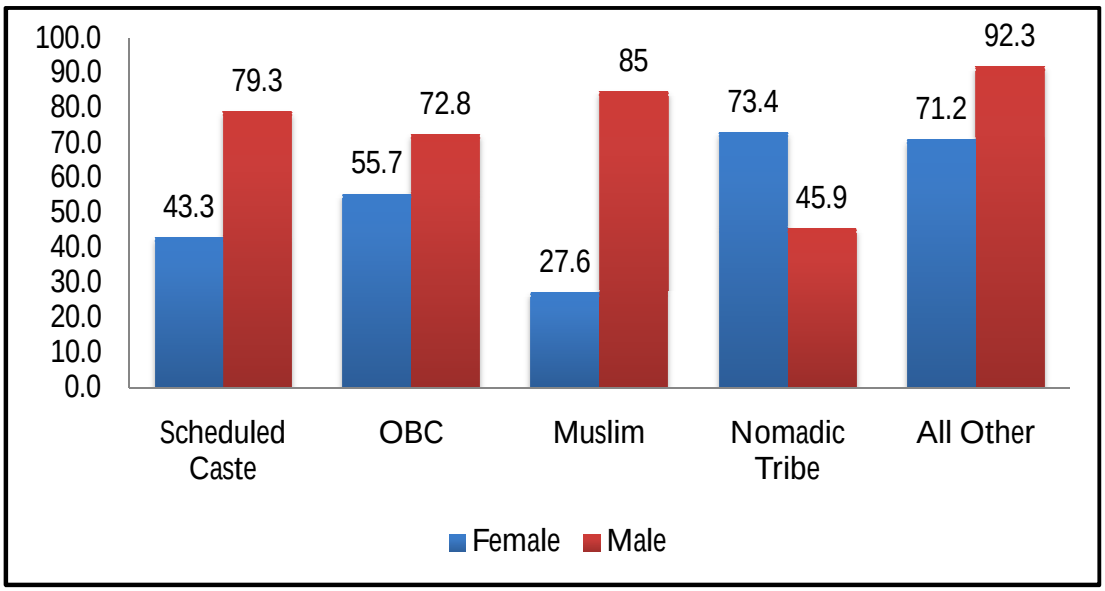
A comparison of the figures relating to 7 plus and adult literacy rates shows that the overall increase in the former over the latter is significant in the case of females and marginal in the case of males. This reflects the improved rates of school attendance among girls in recent years.[27] Considering the two major castes in the village - Scheduled Castes and 'All Others' – the impact of recent improvements in school attendance ratios is evident in the case of Scheduled Castes.

[27] While this is a positive development, it must also be noted that there is no guarantee that the literacy skills obtained from a few years of formal schooling will prove durable and not fragile.

Table 3.14: P*opulation (18 years and above) who can read and write by social group, Nimshirgaon, 2007*

Social group	Number			Adult literacy rate		
	Female	Male	Persons	Female	Male	Persons
Scheduled Caste	188	389	577	43.3	79.3	62.4
OBC	54	99	153	55.7	72.8	65.4
Muslim	18	62	80	27.6	85.0	58.1
Nomadic Tribe	30	25	55	73.4	45.9	57.6
All Other	479	671	1150	71.2	92.3	82.1
All	769	1246	2015	58.7	84.1	72.2

Figure 3.10 *Litrracy rate of population (18 years and above), by sex, by social group, Nimshirgaon, 2007, in per cent*



The difference between seven plus and adult literacy rates for Scheduled Castes is 12 percentage points in respect of females and a more modest 4.5 percentage points in respect of males, reflecting the existence of higher attendance ratios among males for a longer period than is the case for females. By contrast, there is practically no difference between seven plus and adult literacy rates, for females as well as males, in the case of the All Others, reflecting the much longer duration of existence of higher rates of school attendance among them as compared to other social groups. While rising school attendance ratios in recent years, especially in the case of females, have helped improve literacy rates among the Scheduled Castes, it is still the case that both in relation to adult literacy and in relation to seven plus literacy, the All Others are much better off. The historically inherited differentials across social groups have been reduced only marginally. A much greater focus

on ensuring the right to education of the socially oppressed and disadvantaged is needed to reduce significantly and ultimately eliminate these differentials.

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

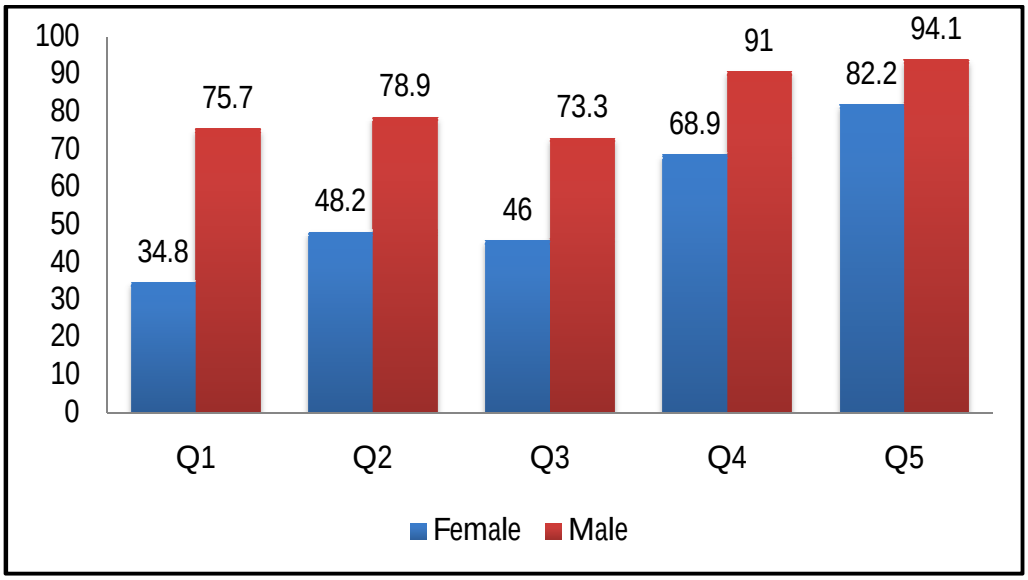
As one may expect, seven plus literacy rates are much higher than adult rates in respect of the poorer asset quintiles, especially in the case of females. Thus, in the case of Q1, the respective rates are 43.3 per cent and 34.8 per cent in the case of females. The difference is more modest at 3.3 percentage points in the case of males. For the top asset quintile, there is practically no difference between the seven plus and adult literacy rates.

There is a modest difference in female literacy rates as between seven plus and adult populations in the case of Q4 households, but practically none when it comes to males. In the case of the bottom three asset quintiles, the seven plus rates for females are significantly higher than adult rates, while the differences between these two rates are modest for males.

Table 3.15 *Population (18 years and above), who can read and write, by asset quintile, Nimshirgaon, 2007*

Asset quintile	Number			Adult literacy rate		
	Female	Male	Persons	Female	Male	Persons
Q1	74	177	251	34.8	75.7	56.2
Q2	119	201	320	48.2	78.9	63.8
Q3	109	185	294	46.0	73.3	60.1
Q4	187	311	498	68.9	91.0	81.2
Q5	276	368	644	82.2	94.1	88.6
All	769	1246	2015	58.7	84.1	72.2

Figure 3.11 *Litrracy rate of population (18 years and above), by sex, by asset quintile, Nimshirgaon, 2007, in per cent*



As noted in relation to similar improvements among the socially disadvantaged groups, these improvements among the poorer quintiles households remain fragile, and programmes to stabilise, consolidate and improve literacy skills among these sections are urgently needed.

Continuing with literacy, let us look at literacy rates by specified age cohorts. Table 3.16 presents the literacy rates of females, males and persons in Nimshirgaon for five age groups in sequence.

Table 3.16: P*opulation who can read and write, by age cohorts, by sex, Nimshirgaon, 2007*

Age group	Number			Literacy rate		
	Female	Male	Persons	Female	Male	Persons
6 to 17 years	289	383	672	92.7	93.2	93.0
18 to 34 years	401	613	1014	86.7	97.6	93.0
35 to 49 years	266	325	591	62.3	78.0	70.0
50 to 65 years	86	221	307	30.9	81.1	55.8
> 65 years	15	87	102	10.4	53.1	33.4
All	1057	1629	2686	65.2	86.1	76.5

A steady rise in literacy rates can be discerned as we move toward the lower age groups. This is especially true for females. For males, the rise is more modest, especially if we leave out the 65 years and above cohort. As school enrolment and attendance ratios have steadily raised for females from abysmally low levels in recent decades, while the male ratios, much higher than those for females to

begin with, have tended to rise rather more slowly, the gender differential in literacy rates naturally comes down as we move to younger age cohorts. There is hardly any difference between male and female literacy rates in the age group of 6 to 17 years. The apparent decline in male literacy rates as we move from the age group of 18-34 years to that of 6 to 17 years appears to be related to late entry into school as well as kids in the first or second year of formal schooling not being reported as literate. A similar decline does not occur in the case of females since female enrolment rates are still increasing significantly, although it can be noted that even for females, the rise in literacy rate comes down sharply in the younger age groups. The close correspondence in literacy rates in the age cohorts of 6 to 17 years and 18 to 34 years is encouraging, as it suggests that several years of formal education do contribute significantly to robust as opposed to fragile literacy.[28]

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 in Nimshirgaon aged above 16 years, by social group, are presented in Tables 3.17and 3.18.

Table 3.17 *Median years of schooling for population above 16 years, Nimshirgaon, 2007*

Social group	Female	Male	Persons
Scheduled Caste	2	8	5
OBC	5	9	9
Muslim	0	7	3
Nomadic Tribe	5	2	5
All Other	7	9	7
All	5	8	7

Table 3.18 *Mean years of schooling for population above 16 years, Nimshirgaon, 2007*

Social group	Female	Male	Persons
Scheduled Caste	4	6	5
OBC	5	7	6
Muslim	2	6	4
Nomadic Tribe	5	4	4
All Other	6	8	7
All	5	7	6

[28] However, literacy, though crucial, is at best a very modest attainment. As later material in this monograph will show, the number of years of schooling remains abysmally low in this village as in most of rural India, and especially so for females.

As is immediately obvious, the picture is not pretty. Even among the males of the relatively better-off category of 'All Others', the mean for years of schooling is only eight. Among females, neither the mean nor the median years of schooling exceed 5 except for the All Others. The median is zero for Muslims and two for Scheduled Castes, while the corresponding means are 2 and 4 years respectively. Nimshirgaon may be doing marginally better than some of the other villages surveyed by FAS – such as Harevli in U.P., for instance - with regard to Scheduled Castes and Muslims, but that is hardly a consolation. Within this abysmal scenario, females are even more severely deprived than males across most of the social groups. The only social group where females have higher median and mean years of schooling than males is that of Nomadic Tribes, but the numbers involved are quite small, making generalizations and drawing of inferences hazardous.

The variation in mean and median years of schooling for females and males above 16 years of age by asset quintile is shown in Tables 3.19 and 3.20.

Table 3.19 *Median years of schooling for population above 16 years, by asset quintile, Nimshirgaon, 2007*

Asset quintile	Female	Male	Persons
Q1	0	7	4
Q2	2	8	6
Q3	4	4	4
Q4	7	9	7
Q5	7	10	9
All	5	8	7

Table 3.20 *Mean years of schooling for population above 16 years, by asset quintile, Nimshirgaon, 2007*

Asset quintile	Female	Male	Persons
Q1	3	6	5
Q2	4	6	5
Q3	4	6	5
Q4	5	7	7
Q5	7	9	8
All	5	7	6

The variation across asset quintiles is more clear-cut and less ambiguous. The top two quintiles – especially the top quintile - are clearly much better off than the others. The bottom three quintiles are poorly off. The variation in median years of schooling among males across asset quintiles is less dramatic than in the case of females. The gender differential in median as well as mean years of

schooling is highest for Q1. The third asset quintile Q3 of which small farmers form a significant share, does especially poorly in respect of median years of schooling for males.[29] While the situation with regard to median and mean years of schooling among males across all asset groups hardly warrants celebration, the situation with regard to females is much worse. In the case of the bottom three quintiles, even completing primary education seems an uphill task for females. The overall situation is one of massive deprivation in access to formal schooling, practically across the board, especially for females. Even in the top asset quintile, more than half the females aged 16 and above, fail to complete elementary schooling. Notwithstanding the coming into being of the Right to Education Act, eight years of free and compulsory schooling, promised in the Directive Principles of State Policy in the Constitution of India, looks destined to remain just a promise in much of rural India, unless a major shift in policy occurs.

3.7 *Educational Achievements*

Let us now turn to educational achievements of the population across various social groups and asset quintiles in Nimshirgaon. We begin with the number of persons who have obtained a degree, which requires, at a minimum, fifteen completed years of schooling. We confine ourselves to the population aged 25 years or older. Table 3.21 provides the distribution of the number and percentage of graduates in the population aged 25 years and older by social group.

Table 3.21 *Graduates in the age group 25 years and above, by social group, Nimshirgaon, 2007*

Social group	Number of graduate			As percentage of total population (25 years and above)		
	Female	Male	Persons	Female	Male	Persons
Scheduled Caste	13	23	36	3.5	6.3	4.9
OBC	3	0	3	4.0	0.0	2.1
Muslim	0	0	0	0.0	0.0	0.0
Nomadic Tribe	0	1	1	0.0	2.0	1.1
All Other	39	88	127	6.6	15.5	10.9
All	55	112	167	4.8	10.3	7.5

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.

[29] This provides further confirmation of the point noted at the end of section 3.2 above and footnote 8.

The males in the All Others stand out from the rest. However, even in their case, slightly less than one-sixth of those aged 25 years or older are graduates. All other social groups perform rather poorly in this regard. The percentage of female graduates in the specified age group is generally much less than that for males, leaving aside the Other Backward Classes whose numbers are quite small. Females belonging to the category of All Others do better than the rest.

Table 3.22 *Graduates in the age group 25 years and above, by asset quintile, Nimshirgaon, 2007*

Asset quintile	Number of graduate			As percentage of total population (25 years and above)		
	Female	Male	Persons	Female	Male	Persons
Q1	0	5	5	0.0	2.9	1.3
Q2	3	10	13	1.5	5.3	3.4
Q3	0	0	0	0.0	0.0	0.0
Q4	10	22	32	4.2	8.9	6.6
Q5	42	74	116	14.6	27.0	20.6
All	55	112	167	4.8	10.3	7.5

Table 3.22 shows the numbers and percentages of graduates in Nimshirgaon aged 25 years or older by asset quintiles. The picture follows the expected pattern, with the top quintile clearly a class apart. The top quintile is way ahead of others with respect to both males and females. However, even in the top quintile, only one-seventh of females and slightly over one-fourth of males in the age group of 25 years or older are graduates. In all quintiles, the percentage of graduates in the population in the specified age group is less than the corresponding percentage for males. The apparently odd result is that there are no graduates in Q3, but as we have noted earlier, this may reflect the largely small peasant composition of households in Q3.

Next, let us look at how Nimshirgaon fares with regard to the percentage of males and females aged 25 years or older with at least 12 completed years of schooling. Table 3.23 presents the distribution by social group in this regard.

Table 3.23 *Population in the age group 25 years and above who have completed 12 years of formal education, by social group, Nimshirgaon, 2007*

Social group	Number			As percentage of total population (25 years and above)		
	Female	Male	Persons	Female	Male	Persons
Scheduled Caste	13	63	76	3.5	17.5	10.4
OBC	3	15	18	4.1	22.1	12.6
Muslim	0	0	0	0.0	0.0	0.0
Nomadic Tribe	0	6	6	0.0	12.0	6.7
All Other	60	118	178	10.2	20.8	15.4
All	76	202	278	6.7	18.6	12.5

The percentage for males is distinctly higher than that for females in every social group, leaving aside the numerically small group of Muslim households. Once again, the All Others have a higher percentage of persons with twelve or more completed years of formal schooling, if we ignore the marginally higher percentage among males for the numerically small group of Other Backward Classes. Once again, we must note that even in the best performing social group, the All Others, only around a fifth of males and one-tenth of females aged 25 years or older had completed twelve years of formal education. The picture of general educational under-achievement remains.

Table 3.24 shows the variation in the percentages of persons aged 25 years and above in Nimshirgaon with at last twelve completed years of formal schooling by asset quintile and sex.

Table 3.24 *Population in the age group 25 years and above who have completed 12 years of formal education, by asset quintile, Nimshirgaon, 2007*

Asset quintile	Number			As percentage of total population (25 years and above)		
	Female	Male	Persons	Female	Male	Persons
Q1	5	31	36	2.5	17.8	9.6
Q2	3	24	27	1.5	12.7	7.0
Q3	0	19	19	0.0	9.7	4.6
Q4	20	29	49	8.4	11.7	10.1
Q5	48	98	146	17.0	35.8	26.2
All	76	202	278	6.7	18.6	12.5

Once again, the top asset quintile is way ahead of all other quintiles, with more than a third of the males and around one-sixth of females in the specified age group with twelve or more completed years of formal schooling. While these proportions are by no means particularly impressive, the

other quintiles fare much worse. The proportion of females aged 25 years or older with at least twelve completed years of formal schooling is much less than the corresponding proportion for males in every asset quintile. The third asset quintile fares more poorly than even Q1 and Q2, for reasons that we have already noted. While the fourth quintile is much better off than the ones below it, its achievement levels are much lower than those of Q5
in the case of both females and males.

Finally, let us turn to a third, more modest educational achievement: the proportion of those aged 25 years and above with at lest ten completed years of schooling. Table 3.25 presents the distribution across social groups in Nimshirgaon in this regard. Table 3.26 shows the corresponding distribution across asset quintiles.

Table 3.25 *Population in the age group 25 years and above who have completed 10 years of formal education, by social group, Nimshirgaon, 2007*

Social group	Number			As percentage of total population (25 years and above)		
	Female	Male	Persons	Female	Male	Persons
Scheduled Caste	32	95	127	8.7	26.7	17.6
OBC	13	24	37	17.6	35.3	25.9
Muslim	5	10	15	8.2	24.1	14.5
Nomadic Tribe	0	6	6	0.0	12.0	6.7
All Other	116	267	383	19.6	47.0	33.0
All	166	402	568	14.6	37.1	25.6

The numbers look a little more respectable than with regard to the earlier measures of educational achievement, but are still far from satisfactory. Overall, close to three-eighths of males and one-seventh of females in the age group of 25 years and above in Nimshirgaon had completed ten years of formal schooling in 2007. Among females, the proportions varied from a low of zero for Nomadic Tribes to a high of 19.6 per cent for All Others. The proportion was not even one-twelfth for the numerically important Scheduled Castes. The percentages were predictably somewhat better for males, being nearly half for All Others, more than a third for Other Backward Classes and around one-fourth for Scheduled Castes and Muslims. Nomadic Tribes did rather poorly even with respect to males.

Table 3.26 *Population in the age group 25 years and above who have completed 10 years of formal education, by asset quintile, Nimshirgaon, 2007*

Asset quintile	Number			As percentage of total population (25 years and above)		
	Female	Male	Persons	Female	Male	Persons
Q1	5	41	46	2.5	24.1	12.5
Q2	28	50	78	14.2	26.5	20.2
Q3	10	32	42	4.5	16.1	10.0
Q4	29	113	142	12.4	46.2	29.7
Q5	94	165	259	33.0	60.3	46.3
All	166	402	568	14.6	37.1	25.6

Except for the Q3 with its preponderance of small peasant households, the proportions vary positively with the asset quintiles. In the top quintile, three-fifths of males and one-third of females aged 25 years or older had ten completed years of formal schooling. The proportion remains low for females in all the other asset quintiles, with Q1 and Q3 doing very poorly. Even in the case of males, the figures for Q1 to Q3 are far from being impressive. The fact that, overall, only about a quarter of all persons aged 25 years and above in Nimshirgaon had completed ten years of formal schooling in 2007.

3.8 *Households with Children*

The presence or absence of literate adults in a household may not only influence the decision to send children to school but the learning environment in the home as well. In this sub-section, we look at the distribution of households with children in Nimshirgaon by the presence or absence of adults with specified levels of education. Table 3.27 provides the distribution of households with children without literate adults in Nimshirgaon by social group. Table 3.28 provides the same with respect to asset quintiles.

Table 3.27 *Distribution of households with children by absence of literate adults, Nimshirgaon, 2007*

Social group	Without female literate		Without male literate		Without any adult literate	
	Number	Percentage	Number	Percentage	Number	Percentage
Scheduled Caste	62	34.1	32	17.7	31	17.1
OBC	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0
Muslim	19	52.1	19	52.1	19	52.1
Nomadic Tribe	10	24.8	20	49.1	10	24.8
All Other	20	8.5	13	5.5	12	5.1
All	111	21.5	84	16.2	72	14.0

Overall, more than one-fifth of all households with children in Nimshirgaon do not have a literate female adult. Around one-sixth have no literate male adult. More than half of the Muslim households do not have any literate adult member while half of all Nomadic Tribe households have no literate male adult. More than a third of Scheduled Caste households with children have no literate female adult member. All Others do better than all the other social groups, but even in this social group, one-twelfth of all households with children do not have a literate female adult. Only among Jain households, all families with children had at least one literate male and female.

Table 3.28 *Distribution of households with children by absence of literate adults, by asset quintile, Nimshirgaon, 2007*

Asset quintile	Without female literate		Without male literate		Without any adult litearte	
	Number	Percentage	Number	Percentage	Number	Percentage
Q1	49	47.2	25	24.1	23	22.2
Q2	25	24.0	15	14.4	15	14.4
Q3	34	34.3	44	44.1	34	34.3
Q4	3	3.0	0	0.0	0	0.0
Q5	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0
All	111	21.5	84	16.2	72	14.0

The distribution across asset quintiles brings out the clear divide. In the top two asset quintiles, no household with children is without a literate male adult. But the bottom three quintiles, especially Q1 and Q3, have a significant proportion of households with children without any literate adult. Children of poor households are thus doubly deprived, both on account of poverty per se, and on account of a poor learning ambience at home.

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 3.29 and 3.30 present data on the number and percentage of households with children in Nimshirgaon with at least one male graduate, by social group and asset quintile respectively.

Table 3.29 *Households with children with at least one male graduate, by social group, Nimshirgaon, 2007*

Social group	Number	As percentage of all households with children within the social group
Scheduled Caste	28	15.3
OBC	0	0.0
Muslim	0	0.0
Nomadic Tribe	1	2.5
All Other	72	31.1
All	101	19.6

The numerically smaller social groups – the Other Backward Classes, Muslims and Nomadic Tribes – have hardly any presence in their households of male graduates. On the other hand, nearly a third of households with children from All Others have a male graduate as a member, indicating a potentially supportive educational environment at home for the children. The corresponding proportion for Scheduled Castes is less than one-sixth.

Table 3.30 *Households with children with at least one male graduate, by asset quintile, Nimshirgaon, 2007*

Asset quintile	Number	As percentage of all households with children within the asset quintile
Q1	5	4.8
Q2	15	14.4
Q3	0	0.0
Q4	20	19.8
Q5	60	55.9
All	101	19.6

The variation across asset quintiles is clear, with the bottom three quintiles well below the overall average, the fourth quintile at around the average and the children of the fifth quintile relatively enormously advantaged in this regard.

As a second indicator of a favourable educational environment, let us look at the proportion of households with children in Nimshirgaon with at least one female member who has passed the tenth standard. Table 3.31 provides the distribution of the proportions by social group and Table 3.32 the same by asset quintile.

Table 3.31 *Households with children with at least one female member who has passed the 10th class, by social group, Nimshirgaon, 2007*

Social group	Number	As percentage of all households with children within the social group
Scheduled Caste	49	27.0
OBC	23	92.2
Muslim	5	13.6
Nomadic Tribe	6	15.1
All Other	93	40.1
All	176	34.1

Nearly all the Other Backward Class households with children – only a small number, it must be noted – have a female member who has passed the tenth standard, a fairly unusual occurrence. Overall, the proportion is one-third while it is two-fifths for the All Others and slightly more than a third for Scheduled Castes. Except for the performance of the Other Backward Classes, there are no surprises here.

Table 3.32 *Households with children with at least one female member who has passed the 10th class, by asset quintile, Nimshirgaon, 2007*

Asset quintile	Number	As percentage of all households with children within the asset quintile
Q1	5	4.8
Q2	40	38.6
Q3	10	10.0
Q4	53	53.4
Q5	67	61.8
All	176	34.1

The bottom three asset quintiles taken together, as one may expect, have far lower proportions of females who have successfully completed ten years of schooling, though the second quintile has a better-than average proportion. In the top two quintiles, more than half the households with children have a female member who has passed the tenth class, marking the clear association between wealth status and educational achievement and environment.

Before moving on to the question of provision of amenities in Nimshirgaon from the standpoint of child welfare, let u briefly sum up the results of our analysis of the state of formal educational achievements and deprivation of the people of Nimshirgaon. 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 considerable 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, 79 out of 368 in the case of girls and 65 out of 485 in the case of boys – are quite significant at 21.5 per cent for girls and 13.4 per cent for boys. Second, the literacy rates of the seven plus population at 65.7 per cent for females and 86.6 per cent for males, while above the average levels in the more backward rural areas of the country should be considered far from adequate in the case of males and unacceptably low in the case of females. Third, the literacy rates vary across social groups, being higher for the category of 'All Others' and significantly lower for Other Backward Classes and Nomadic Tribes among males and Muslims, Scheduled Castes and Other Backward Classes among females. The same pattern generally holds with respect to most of the other indicators of educational achievement or deprivation. Fourth, there is a clear correlation between asset status and levels of educational achievement in general and especially so with respect to females, with the top asset quintile being a class apart. Households in the bottom three asset quintiles are poorly off in respect of most indicators of educational attainments and the home environment for children's education. A particular feature of Nimshirgaon is the fact that the third quintile, with a preponderance of small peasant households, does especially poorly. Fifth, the gender gap is persistent across asset quintiles and social groups, but is especially large among Muslims and Scheduled Castes. Dalit women are thus deprived three times over: as women, as dalits and as asset-poor.

The educational achievement levels are very poor among the majority of households. Even among the relatively better placed All Others and the population in the highest asset quintile, the educational achievements are quite modest. A matter of concern is the large numbers of children at work in the age group of 6 to 18 years: 61 girls and 94 boys – constituting 16.6 per cent and 19.4 per cent respectively of girls and boys in the age group of 6 to 18 years - at a minimum count, not including the 'nowhere' children.

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 the adult population. However, the overall levels of educational deprivation remain considerable and need to be tackled urgently.

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

4. *AMENITIES*

4.1 *Housing*

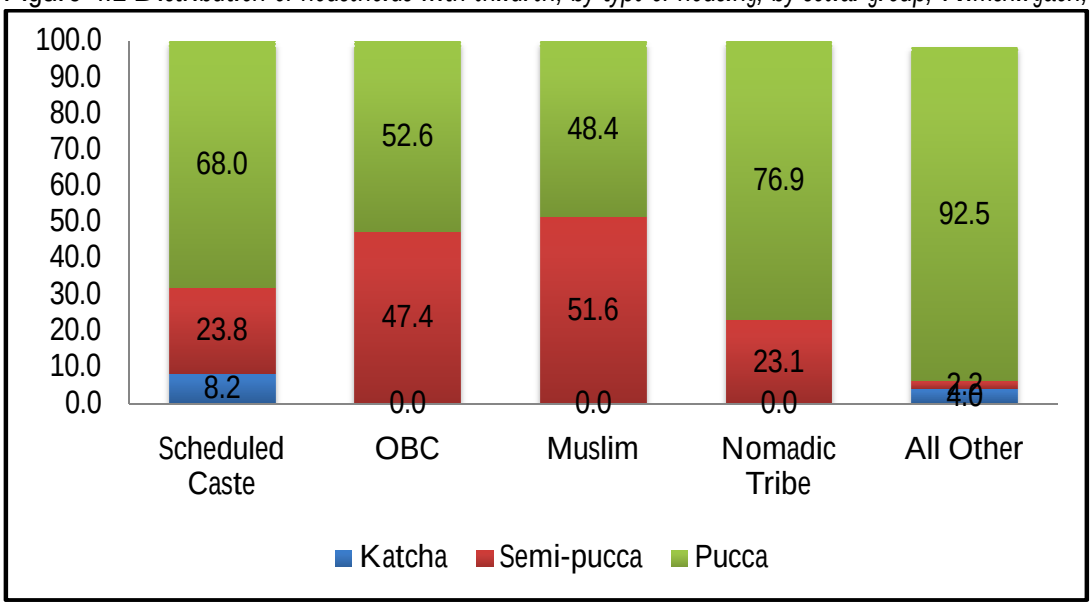
Our discussion of amenities relating to households with children will cover the conditions of housing, the access to electricity for domestic consumption, access to drinking water and provisions relating to sanitation. We begin with a discussion of the state of shelter pertaining to households with children in Nimshirgaon.

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

Table 4.1 *Distribution of households with children, by type of housing, Nimshirgaon, 2007* (in per cent)[30]

Social group	Katcha	Semi-pucca	Pucca	All
Scheduled Caste	8.2	23.8	68.0	100.0
OBC	0.0	47.4	52.6	100.0
Muslim	0.0	51.6	48.4	100.0
Nomadic Tribe	0.0	23.1	76.9	100.0
All Other	4.0	2.2	92.5	100.0
All	4.7	17.1	77.6	100.0

Figure 4.1 *Distribution of households with children, by type of housing, by social group, Nimshirgaon, 2007*



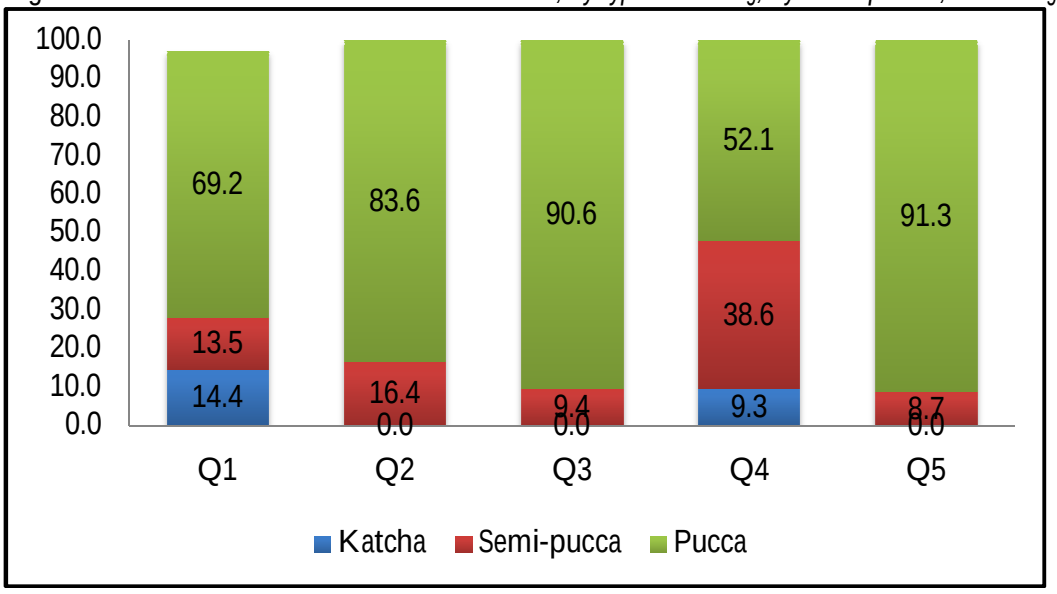
[30] Pucca houses are houses with both roof and walls constructed of permanent materials. Katcha houses are houses with both roof and walls constructed of temporary materials. Semi-pucca houses are those with either roof or walls constructed of permanent materials. (This is the standard definition followed by the Census of India and the National Sample Survey Organisation, Government of India).

Overall, housing conditions, as measured using official criteria, seem to be better in Nimshirgaon than in many others, such as, for instance, Warwat, also in Maharashtra, surveyed by FAS in 2007.[31] Nearly four-fifths of all households reported living in 'pucca' houses. Among Other Backward Classes and Muslims, however, the proportion of non-pucca houses is high at around half. All Others mostly live in pucca houses.

Table 4.2 *Distribution of households with children, by type of housing and asset quintile, Nimshirgaon, 2007*

Asset quintile	Katcha	Semi-pucca	Pucca	All
Q1	14.4	13.5	69.2	100.0
Q2	0.0	16.4	83.6	100.0
Q3	0.0	9.4	90.6	100.0
Q4	9.3	38.6	52.1	100.0
Q5	0.0	8.7	91.3	100.0
All	4.7	17.1	77.6	100.0

Figure 4.2 *Distribution of households with children, by type of housing, by asset quintile, Nimshirgaon, 2007*



In general, there is a positive relationship between asset status and the proportion of households with pucca housing. However, Q4 reports the highest proportion of non-pucca houses at close to half, though its percentage of katcha houses is much lower than that of Q1.

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

[31] Nearly 50 per cent of the houses in Warwat were found to be non-pucca in the FAS survey.

distribution in this regard by social group is presented in Table 4.3 while the same by asset quintiles is shown in Table 4.4.

Table 4.3 *Number of households with children living in single room houses by social group, Nimshirgaon, 2007*[32]

Social group	Number of households	As percentage of all households with children
Scheduled Caste	45	25.0
OBC	5	20.8
Muslim	10	27.0
Nomadic Tribe	0	0.0
All Other	61	26.4
All	121	23.6

Around one-fourth of all households with children in Nimshirgaon live in single room shelters. The variation in the proportion across social groups is quite small. All the Nomadic Tribe households - a small number – live in shelters with more than one room.

Table 4.4 *Number of households with children living in single room houses by asset quintile, Nimshirgaon, 2007*

Asset quintile	Number of households	As percentage of all households with children
Q1	52	50.5
Q2	39	37.9
Q3	20	20.2
Q4	10	10.0
Q5	0	0.0
All	121	23.6

The variation on the proportions of households living in single room shelter across asset quintiles is quite sharp. Half of all households in Q1 and over three-eighths of those in Q2 live in single room houses while no Q5 household does so.

4.2 *Access to Electricity for Domestic Use*

An amenity of importance from the viewpoint of children pursuing formal education is access to electricity. Table 4.5 shows 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.

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

Table 4.5 *Households with children with electric connection for domestic use, by social group, Nimshirgaon, 2007*

Social group	Number of households	As percentage of all households with children
Scheduled Caste	125	69.4
OBC	20	83.3
Muslim	18	48.6
Nomadic Tribe	39	100.0
All Other	189	81.8
All	391	76.4

Muslim households fare poorly, followed by Scheduled Castes. More than four-fifths of Other Backward Class and All Other households and all the Nomadic Tribes have a domestic electricity connection. The variation by asset quintile follows the same pattern as in respect of other indicators, with the bottom three quintiles faring more poorly. Even among the top quintile, however, we have about one-tenth of households without access to a domestic electricity connection.

Table 4.6 *Households with children with electric connection for domestic use, by asset quintile, Nimshirgaon, 2007*

Asset quintile	Number of households	As percentage of all households with children
Q1	66	64.1
Q2	67	65.1
Q3	70	70.7
Q4	90	90.0
Q5	98	91.6
All	391	76.5

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 Nimshirgaon. Table 4.7 gives the distribution of households by source of drinking water.

Table 4.7 *Distribution of households with children by primary source of drinking water, Nimshirgaon, 2007*

Source	Number of households	As percentage of all households with children
Tap	294	57.5
Powered tubewell	10	2.0
Borewell	23	4.5
Well	182	35.6
Unspecified	2	0.4
All	511	100.0

Unlike Warwat, where more than 90 per cent of households had water from a tap as their source, the corresponding figure in Nimshirgaon is only 57.5 per cent. More than a third of households are dependent on water from a well. The tap as the source of water is of course no guarantee of regular or adequate supply, since both taps and wells can run dry!

Table 4.8 shows the percentage distribution of households with children in Nimshirgaon 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, Nimshirgaon, 2007*

Social group	Number of households	As percentage of all households with children
Scheduled Caste	101	56.1
OBC	23	95.8
Muslim	11	29.7
Nomadic Tribe	20	50.0
All Other	173	74.8
All	328	64.2

Overall, less than two-thirds of all households with children in Nimshirgaon have access to a covered source of drinking water. The proportion is distinctly lower for Scheduled Castes and even worse for Nomadic Tribes and Muslims, but close to three-fourths for the All Others. Only the relatively small number of Other Backward Class households enjoy near universal access.

Table 4.9 *Households with children with access to covered source of drinking water, by asset quintile, Nimshirgaon, 2007*

Asset quintile	Number of households	As percentage of all households with children
Q1	69	67.0
Q2	61	59.2
Q3	50	50.5
Q4	68	68.0
Q5	80	74.8
All	328	64.2

The variation across asset quintiles follows a pattern somewhat different from those for most other indicators, though Q3 once again fares poorly and the top quintile has the best access on the average. Q1 and Q4 are not far behind, while Q2 is in between these two and Q3. The better performance of Q1 which has mostly landless households may be the result of some targeted provision.

An aspect of particular importance in relation to access to drinking water is the distance of the 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 falls.

Table 4.10 shows the distribution of households with children in Nimshirgaon 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 of source of drinking water from homestead, by social group, Nimshirgaon, 2007*

Social group	Within homestead or just outside	≤ 500 metres	> 500 metres	Unspecified
Scheduled Caste	93	82	1	4
OBC	13	11	0	0
Muslim	11	24	0	2
Nomadic Tribe	29	10	0	0
All Other	170	48	10	3
All	316	175	11	9

Overall, around three-fifths of all households with children in Nimshirgaon have access to a source of drinking water within or just outside the homestead. However, around a third must go some distance from the homestead to access drinking water. All Others are best placed in this regard.

Scheduled Castes are poorly placed, with nearly half of them not having access within the homestead.

Table 4.11 *Number of households with children, by distance of source of drinking water from homestead, by asset quintile, Nimshirgaon, 2007*

Asset quintile	Within homestead or just outside	≤ 500 metres	> 500 metres	Unspecified
Q1	54	48	1	0
Q2	60	36	0	7
Q3	49	40	10	0
Q4	68	29	0	2
Q5	85	22	0	0
All	316	175	11	9

Across asset quintiles, the bottom three are much worse off than the top two. However, even in the highest asset quintile, around one-fifth of the households have to go some distance to access drinking water.

Provision of drinking water in Nimshirgaon under the Jal Swaraj Yojana

At the time of our survey in June 2007, 262 households had tap water supplied to their houses and another 255 households used tap water from either public taps or from private connections in other houses. Households which had water connections in their own houses were required to pay a user fee of Rs. 270 per year. Households that used public taps did not pay any user fee though they had to occasionally contribute small sums of money for repair of these taps.

In August 2008, a water treatment and distribution project was initiated using support from NABARD under the Jal Swaraj Yojana. The total cost of the project, including the cost of construction of the water treatment plant, laying the distribution network and installation of the meters at the delivery points, was estimated to be Rs. 1.3 crores. NABARD provided 90 per cent of the funds as a subsidy for construction of the project. Conditions of the Jal Swaraj Yojana required that the remaining 10 per cent of the capital cost, and the entire operational and maintenance cost had to be raised from users.

By April 2010, the construction of the water treatment plant was completed and the distribution network was laid. The distribution network on the northern side of the railway line has not yet been connected to the main network because construction of this connection requires permission from the Railways. The southern part of the village has been connected to the new water treatment plant and is being supplied water from it.

It was estimated that the running cost of the project would be to the tune of Rs. 6 lakhs per annum. The most important issue with respect to implementation of the project was to plan for raising resources to meet this cost on an annual basis. In view of this, the water sub-committee of the panchayat proposed that: a) all public taps be disconnected and the number of paid (personal) connections be increased to about 700 connections, and b) introduce water charges on the basis of volume consumed in order to increase the average fee to about Rs. 1200 per connection. It was expected that this would provide adequate funds for operation and maintenance of the project.

Accordingly, all public taps have been disconnected. Users of public taps have thus been forced to either take individual connections or depend on use of water from open wells. Although meters have been procured, installation of the meters has not been completed. As a result, households continue to pay a water fee at a flat rate of Rs. 270 per connection. The panchayat raised about Rs. 2 lakhs per annum from these user fees, and has been mobilising other funds (mainly from other resources of the panchayat and through donations) for covering the remaining operational cost.

Thus, the implementation of the drinking water project as part of the Jal Swaraj Yojana has been associated with withdrawal of provision of water through public taps and a substantial increase in cost of provision of water to individual houses. This seems to have created a situation where some households have been forced to pay more for water while others, because they could not afford it, were forced to fetch water from open wells in the fields which are located farther away and are likely to be less clean than tap water.

SOURCE: VIKAS RAWAL (2011), based on a visit to Nimshirgaon in 2010.

4.4 *Lavatories*

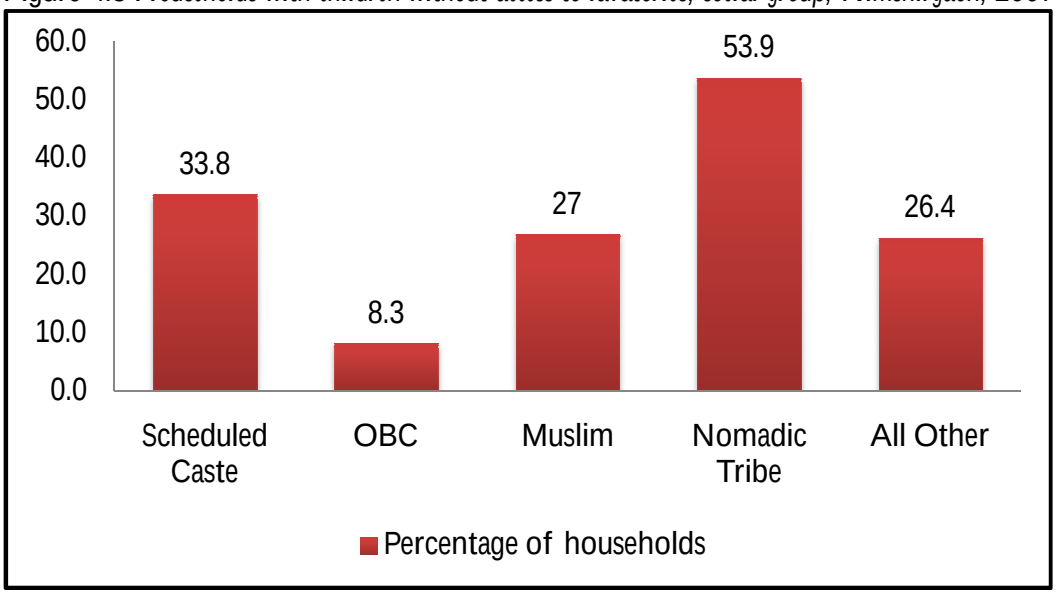
A crucial requirement from the standpoint of the health of children is decent sanitation. Access to a toilet is one of the most important means of ensuring some degree of improvement in the sanitation situation of rural (and urban) households. How does Nimshirgaon fare in this regard?

Table 4.12 shows the distribution of households with children in Nimshirgaon by lack of access to lavatories and social group. Table 4.13 provides the corresponding distribution by asset quintile.

Table 4.12 *Households with children without access to lavatories, by social group, Nimshirgaon, 2007*

Social group	Number of households	As percentage of all households with children
Scheduled Caste	61	33.8
OBC	2	8.3
Muslim	10	27.0
Nomadic Tribe	21	53.9
All Other	61	26.4
All	155	30.3

Figure 4.3 *Households with children without access to lavatories, social group, Nimshirgaon, 2007*

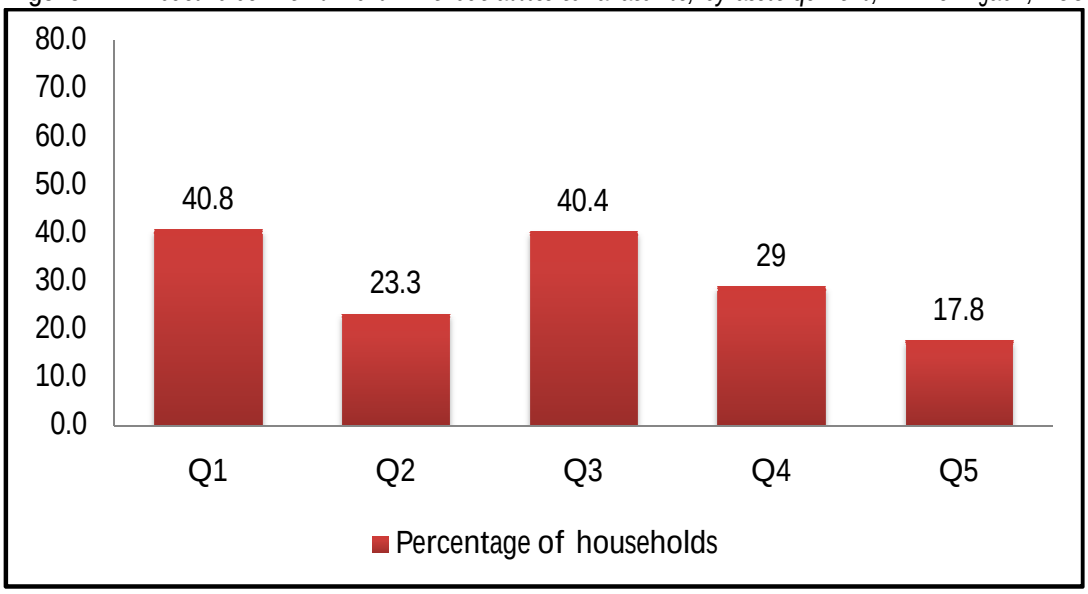


Overall, around 30 per cent of households with children in Nimshirgaon do not have access to a lavatory. The figure is lower at about one-fourth for the All Others, but marginally higher at one-third for the Scheduled Castes.

Table 4.13 *Households with children without access to lavatories, by asset quintile, Nimshirgaon, 2007*

Asset quintile	Number of households	As percentage of all households with children
Q1	42	40.8
Q2	24	23.3
Q3	40	40.4
Q4	29	29.0
Q5	19	17.8
All	155	30.3

Figure 4.4 *Households with children without access to lavatories, by asset quintile, Nimshirgaon, 2007*



The top asset quintile fares better than the others, but there is no clear-cut variation, with Q1 and Q3 performing more poorly than all the others.

Overall, this speaks of a poor situation with respect to sanitation and hence with respect to nutritional outcomes.[33] Further, this has serious gender implications, the lack of privacy resulting from non-access to a lavatory rendering women of all ages vulnerable.

[33] Nimshirgaon does better than Warwat where nearly half the households with children lack access to a lavatory.

CONSTRUCTION OF PUBLIC AND PRIVATE TOILETS

The rural poor, particularly those belonging to Dalit and adivasi communities, usually live in congested habitations in villages. Implementation of rural sanitation programmes in such habitations faces a specific constraint: lack of space for building toilets. The settlement in the central part of Nimshirgaon is a very congested habitation. Most households here belong to Dalit castes and depend primarily on manual labour in agriculture and in various non-agricultural occupations. An innovative intervention by the panchayat, as part of the Nirmal Gram Yojana, provided a solution to the problem of shortage of space for construction of toilets in these houses.

In 2006-07, the panchayat constructed 40 toilets on public land adjacent to this habitation using funds provided under the Nirmal Gram Yojana. Each toilet was assigned jointly to three households, thus covering a total of 120 households. The toilets were locked and the assigned households had keys to the toilet. The user households were responsible for regular cleanliness and minor repairs.

Between 2007 and 2009, Bank of India gave credit (Rs. 5500 per household) at low interest (7.5 per cent per annum) to 180 households in the village for the construction of personal toilets. By 2010, using credit from the Bank of India and their own funds, out of 120 households that earlier used public toilets, almost eighty households had built toilets either on their own homestead or, in some cases, on separate plots of land.

Source: Vikas Rawal

The remaining forty households that continued to use toilets constructed under the Nirmal Gram Yojana were those that did not have space within their homestead land where toilets could be constructed. However, since the number of these toilets was roughly equal to the number of households, in effect, each household had individual access to the public toilets.

SOURCE: VIKAS RAWAL (2011)

Summing up the situation with regard to shelter and amenities, we find that around one-fifth of all households with children in Nimshirgaon live in non-pucca shelters. Close to one-fourth lives in single room shelters. One-fourth lacks access to electricity for domestic consumption. One-third does not have access to drinking water within the homestead or just outside. The most disturbing feature, with respect to the lack of amenities, has been in respect of providing the village and households with lavatories, though Nimshirgaon does better than man other villages surveyed by FAS. The vast majority of the population has to defecate in open spaces, an affront to human dignity, a hazard to human health and hugely problematic for women in a patriarchal culture in terms of the lack of privacy. Within the general picture of inadequate provision or worse, the poorer households and the Scheduled Castes face even greater deprivation.

5. *ECONOMIC SITUATION OF WOMEN*

5.1 *Marital Status*

Table 5.1 shows the marital status of women aged 18 years and above in Nimshirgaon as per the FAS survey of 2007. Table 5.2 provides the age distribution of widows in Nimshirgaon.

Table 5.1 *Distribution of women (18 years and above) by marital status, Nimshirgaon, 2007*

Marital status	Number of women	As percentage of all women
Never married	96	7.3
Currently married	944	72.2
Widowed	256	19.6
Separated/divorced	12	0.9
All	1308	100.0

Around a fifth of all women 18 years or older in Nimshirgaon are widows. This is distinctly higher than the percentages for Warwat in Maharashtra and Harevli and Mahatwar in Uttar Pradesh.

Table 5.2 *Age distribution of widowed women (18 years and above), Nimshirgaon, 2007*

Age group	Number	As percentage of all women within the age group
18 years to 24 years	0	0.0
25 years to 34 years	8	2.8
35 years to 49 years	47	11.1
50 years to 59 years	53	35.5
60 years to 69 years	45	33.6
$\geq$ 70 years	103	76.3
All	256	19.6

The age distribution of widows shown in Table 5.2 is reasonably consistent with the proportions of widows in the specified age groups as available for the country as a whole from large scale data sources such as the Census and the NFHS.

5.2 *Women in the Workforce*

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

women at nearly half is much lower than that for Warwat, higher than that for Harevli and a little lower than that for Mahatwar. Across social groups, for females, the proportion for Scheduled Castes is close to the average for the village, a little lower for the All Others and higher for Other Backward Classes, Nomadic Tribes and Muslims. For males, the variation is within a narrow range, with the Scheduled Castes recording the lowest proportion of 73 per cent. This is somewhat different from the more common pattern of work participation rates being higher among Scheduled Castes than among Other Backward Classes and All Others.

Table 5.3 *Proportion of working population (18 years and above), by sex, by social group, Nimshirgaon, 2007*

Social group	Female		Male		Persons	
	Number	Percentage	Number	Percentage	Number	Percentage
Scheduled Caste	213	49.1	357	72.8	570	61.7
OBC	63	66.3	119	88.8	182	79.5
Muslim	50	78.2	71	97.4	121	88.4
Nomadic Tribe	34	85.3	48	90.9	82	88.5
All Other	287	42.5	682	93.6	969	69.0
All	647	49.5	1277	86.3	1924	69.0

Table 5.4 shows the variation in work participation rate of women aged 18 years and above by marital status. The rate is the highest for married women. The overall rate is close to 50 per cent.

Table 5.4 *Work participation rate of women (18 years and above), by marital status, Nimshirgaon, 2007*

Marital status	Number	WPR
Never married	22	23.4
Currently married	522	55.2
Widowed	93	36.4
Separated/ divorced	10	83.7
All	647	49.5

Table 5.5 shows the activity profile of women aged 18 years or older. Cultivation and agricultural wage labour are the two activities in which a sizeable proportion of women are engaged. Only a very small proportion of women report being engaged in non-agricultural activities.

Table 5.5 *Activity profile of women (18 years and above), Nimshirgaon, 2007*

Occupation	Number of women participating in the activity	As percentage of all women
Cultivation	382	29.3
Agricultural wage employment	236	18.0
Animal husbandry	28	2.1
Non-agricultural wage employment	15	1.2
Non-agricultural self-employment	23	1.8
Salaried employment	34	2.6
Other	5	0.4

5.3 *Women as Head of Households*

The distribution of heads of households by sex and social group is shown in Table 5.6.

Table 5.6 *Distribution of head of the household, by sex and social group, Nimshirgaon, 2007*

Social group	Number		Percentage	
	Female	Male	Female	Male
Scheduled Caste	35	213	14.0	86.0
OBC	1	59	1.7	98.3
Muslim	9	37	19.9	80.1
Nomadic Tribe	0	39	0.0	100.0
All Other	18	346	4.9	95.1
All	63	694	8.3	91.7

Among the numerically important castes in Nimshirgaon, the Scheduled Castes have a distinctly higher proportion of female-headed households than the All Others. The variation across asset quintiles does not suggest any systematic relationship between asset status and the share of female-headed households in the total.

Table 5.7 *Distribution of head of the household, by sex and asset quintile, Nimshirgaon, 2007*

Asset quintile	Number		Percentage	
	Female	Male	Female	Male
Q1	17	140	10.8	89.2
Q2	15	135	10.0	90.0
Q3	9	140	6.0	94.0
Q4	0	151	0.0	100.0
Q5	22	128	14.7	85.3
All	63	694	8.3	91.7

Table 5.8 shows the distribution of female heads of households by marital status. It is striking that widows make up practically the entire set of female heads of households, with 61 out of 63 female heads being widows. Widowhood seems to be almost a necessary – though clearly not a sufficient – condition for a female to be head of a household.[34] Further, ten of the 63 female headed households are single person households. By contrast, none of the 694 male headed households is a single person household.

Table 5.8 *Distribution of female head of households, by marital status, Nimshirgaon, 2007*

Marital status	Number	Percentage
Currently married	1	1.6
Widowed	61	96.8
Divorced/separated	1	1.6
All	63	100.0

Our brief examination in this section of some aspects of the status of women in Nimshirgaon with respect to marital status, work participation rates, activity profile, and some characteristics of male and female heads of households confirms the extremely unequal status of women in rural India and their multiple deprivations.

[34] The estimated number of widows in Nimshirgaon is 256 and only 61 of them are household heads.

Reflections on the Village Survey Results for Warwat Khanderao and Nimshirgaon

The two villages of Warwat Khanderao and Nimshirgaon differ considerably in terms of their locational features and infrastructure. Nimshirgaon is relatively better connected, with a railway station just a kilometer away, a metalled approach road, and a town ten kilometers away. Warwat Khanderao, on the other hand, has no metalled approach road, and the nearest town (which is also the nearest railway station) is eighteen kilometers away. Nimshirgaon has a significant share of irrigated area to total cultivated area and sugarcane is a major crop. Warwat Khanderao grows mostly dry crops, and has a small share of area cultivated under tubewell irrigation. Nimshirgaon has two primary schools, a middle school and a high school, but Warwat Khanderao is less well endowed in this regard. Yet, a majority of the people of both villages share a reality of considerable deprivation in respect of ownership of assets, the well being of children and women, education and elementary amenities. Let us briefly review each of these aspects.

Assets

More than sixty per cent of households in Warwat and nearly half of those in Nimshirgaon are households with less than three lakh rupees worth of assets each. In both villages, the top asset quintile is a class apart, not just in terms of possessing enormous wealth in relation to all other quintiles, but also in terms of access to education, amenities and other aspects of well being. There is also a social dimension to the highly unequal distribution of assets. Scheduled caste households are the ones with very low asset holdings. 90 per cent of SC households in Warwat belong to the bottom three quintiles. The corresponding figure for Nimshirgaon was 87 per cent. Though SCs constituted 10 per cent of all households in Warwat, they accounted for only 2 percent of those in the highest asset quintile. In Nimshirgaon, SCs constituting nearly a third of all households were very poorly represented in the highest asset quintile at just 5.8 % of the households in that quintile. Muslims fared only marginally better than SCs in both villages.

Children at work

105 children, consisting of 63 girls and 43 boys, were working children in Warwat, amounting to 27 per cent of all children. The corresponding numbers for Nimshirgaon were 108 girls and 104 boys, amounting to one-fourth of all children. Child labour, either on own operational holding or for an employer outside the household or in care and domestic work, is thus a far from insignificant

phenomenon in both villages, with attendant implications for child deprivation and lost childhoods. As with other variables, here too, caste and gender dimensions have to be kept in mind as well.

Education

Nearly one-fourth of the children of Warwat and one-sixth of those in Nimshirgaon were out of school. Literacy rates for the population 7 years and older were quite modest in both villages, and were poor in the case of women. The literacy rates for scheduled castes and Muslims were especially poor in both villages. A similar pattern holds in the case of most other indicators of educational achievement in both villages, with some variation across the villages. In both villages, there is a clear correlation between asset status and levels of educational achievement in general and especially so with respect to females, with the top asset quintile being a class apart. Households in the bottom three asset quintiles are poorly off in respect of most indicators of educational attainments and the home environment for children's education. The educational achievement levels are very poor among the majority of households. Even among the relatively better placed sections in terms of asset status or social group, the educational achievements are quite modest. This applies especially to median years of schooling, particularly among women where the picture is abysmal. While 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 the adult population in both villages, the overall levels of educational deprivation remain considerable and need to be tackled urgently.

Amenities

Around half of all households with children in Warwat live in non-pucca shelters. One-fourth lives in single room shelters. One-fifth lack access to electricity for domestic consumption. More than nine-tenths do not have access to drinking water within the homestead or just outside. Around one-fifth of all households with children in Nimshirgaon live in non-pucca shelters. Close to one-fourth lives in single room shelters. One-fourth lacks access to electricity for domestic consumption. One-third does not have access to drinking water within the homestead or just outside. The most disturbing feature, with respect to the lack of amenities, has been in respect of providing the village and households with lavatories. The vast majority of the population in both villages has to defecate in open spaces, an affront to human dignity, a hazard to human health and hugely problematic for women in a patriarchal culture in terms of the lack of privacy. Within the general picture of inadequate provision or worse, the poorer households and the scheduled castes fare even worse.

Policy Implications

While it would not be appropriate to generalize for all of Maharashtra or for India as a whole, it is worthwhile flagging some issues.

An important lesson that emerges is that household economic status being high in terms of asset ownership does not necessarily imply better outcomes for children. Even among households in the top two asset quintiles - especially in the fourth – 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. 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 care functions 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 fact of massive educational deprivation in the adult population has important implications for children's educational achievements. The fact that the majority of households with children do 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. While universal, free and compulsory education is absolutely necessary to eliminate educational deprivation, the issue of continuing or adult education is also 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.

Finally, provision of child-friendly rural housing, and ensuring public provisioning of basic amenities with a focus on SCs and STs and Muslims, should command urgent and serious policy attention. The provision of financial support by way of scholarships to enable labouring households to send their children to school instead of work should also be urgently considered.