Child Wellbeing, Schooling and Living Standards

REPORT ON TWO VILLAGES
OF
UTTAR PRADESH

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

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

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

Since its inception in 2003, the Foundation for Agrarian Studies has been engaged in multidisciplinary theoretical and empirical study of the rural economy and society of India. A defining feature of the Foundation's work is that it is conducted in association with social and political activists and members of mass organizations. From 2005, the Foundation has initiated a Project on Agrarian Relations in India (PARI) in order to study village economy and society in depth (see BOX). In every selected State, our practice is to survey two or three villages in different agro-ecological regions. To date, as part of the project, village surveys have been 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 Uttar Pradesh were surveyed in summer of 2006 as part of the Project on Agrarian Relations in India. A census-type survey was completed in the two villages of Harevli and Mahatwar. Harevli village is located in Najibabad block of Bijnor district in Western Uttar Pradesh. At the time of our survey, 115 households and 674 persons were resident in the village. Agriculture is the mainstay of the economy of Harevli. Mahatwar village belongs to Rasra block of Ballia district in Eastern Uttar Pradesh. At the time of our survey, there were 159 households and 1,114 persons resident in the village. Mahatwar is a multi-caste village with 10 different castes. Dalits (Chamar and Dusad) constituted the majority in the village. Non-agricultural occupations, within and outside the village, provided an important source of income to resident households.

Uttar Pradesh: Harevli Village

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1. *LOCATION AND INFRASTRUCTURE*

The revenue village of Harevli is located in the Najibabad block of Bijnor district in Uttar Pradesh. The block headquarter Najibabad is a municipality and an important railway junction. The town nearest to Harevli is Mandavli, four kilometres away. Maujampur is the nearest railway station, also four kilometres away. At the time of the survey in 2006, Harevli did not have a bus stop within the village nor did it have a metalled approach road. Harevli had one primary school with classes I to V, but no other school. The nearest primary health centre was at a distance of four kilometres from the village. There was neither a bank nor a post office in Harevli.

The total geographical area of Harevli is 505 hectares. Of this, 444 hectares were classified as 'area under cultivation'. Area irrigated amounted to 364 hectares or nearly 82 per cent of the area under cultivation. The major sources of irrigation in Harevli are government canals and private tubewells, both electrically operated and otherwise. The village belongs to the Bhabar and Tarai agro-ecological zone as per the NARP classification. Paddy is the kharif crop, while wheat and rapeseed are grown as winter (rabi) crops. Sugarcane is grown as an annual crop.

Table 1.1 *Location of the village, Harevli, 2006*

Village	Harevli
District	Bijnor
Block/Tehsil	Najibabad
Nearest town	Mandavli
Distance from nearest town	4 Km.
Nearest railway station	Maujampur
Distance from nearest railway station	4 Km.
Bus stop within the village	No
Metalled approach road	No

Table 1.2 *Description of village infrastructure and amenities, Harevli, 2006*

Item	Number/ description
Number of anganwadi centre within village	1
Number of primary schools (Std I-V) within village	1
Number of middle schools (up to Std VIII) within village	1
Nearest secondary schools (up to Std X) from village	1, at Kashi Rampur (10-11 Km.)
Nearest higher secondary schools (up to Std XII) from village	1, at Najibabad (16 Km.)
Distance from nearest PHC	4 Km.
Post office within the village	No

Table 1.3 *Land use and population, Harevli, 2001*

Village			Area (in hectares)	As % of geographical area
Geographical area			505	100.00
Land use (as % of geographical area)	Forest		0	0.00
	Area under cultivation	Irrigated	364	72.08
		Unirrigated	80	15.84
	Cultivable waste		0	0.00
	Area not available for cultivation		61	12.08

Source: Census of India, 2001

Table 1.4 *Agro-economic features of the village, Harevli, 2006*

Agro-ecological region (NARP classification)	Bhabar and Tarai zone
Major crops grown (by crop seasons)	Kharif: Paddy Rabi: Wheat, Rapeseed Annual crop: Sugarcane
Major sources of irrigation	Government canal, Tubewells with and without electric connection.

2. *DEMOGRAPHY*

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

Tables 2.1 and 2.2 provide data on the social composition of the population of Harevli in 2006.

Table 2.1 *Distribution of households, by social group, Harevli, 2006*

Social group	Total number of households	As percentage of all households
Scheduled Caste	41	36.6
OBC	25	22.3
Other Caste Hindu	32	28.6
Muslim	14	12.5
All	112	100.0

Harevli had a total population of 675 persons from 112 households at the time of the FAS survey in 2006. There were 312 females and 363 males, implying a sex ratio of 860.[1]

The Scheduled Castes form the single largest social group with 41 households (36.6 %) and 243 persons (36 %). The other social groups are Other Backward Classes (22.3 % of households and 23.1 % of the population), Other Caste Hindus (28.6 % and 30.1 %) and Muslims (12.5 % and 10.8 %).

Table 2.2 *Distribution of population by caste and sex, Harevli, 2006*

Social group	Number			As percentage of all households		
	Female	Male	Persons	Female	Male	Persons
Scheduled Caste	113	130	243	36.2	35.8	36.0
OBC	71	85	156	22.8	23.4	23.1
Other Caste Hindu	86	117	203	27.6	32.3	30.1
Muslim	42	31	73	13.4	8.5	10.8
All	312	363	675	100.0	100.0	100.0

Table 2.3 provides the age distribution of the population in Harevli by sex. The number of girls per 1000 boys in the age group of 0-6 years is very low at 758, much lower than

[1] The population sex ratio for the district of Bijnor as per 2001 census was 896 and for the state of Uttar Pradesh 898. These ratios have been reported as 913 and 908 respectively in the Census of 2011.

Table 2.3 *Distribution of population by age and sex, Harevli, 2006*

Age group	Population			As percentage of total population		
	Female	Male	Persons	Female	Male	Persons
0 to < 3 years	18	27	45	5.8	7.4	6.7
3 years to 6 years	29	35	64	9.3	9.6	9.5
7 years to 9 years	26	29	55	8.3	8.0	8.2
10 years to 14 years	51	45	96	16.4	12.4	14.2
15 years to 17 years	15	25	40	4.8	6.9	5.9
18 years to 24 years	41	36	77	13.1	9.9	11.4
25 years to 34 years	50	44	94	16.0	12.1	13.9
35 years to 49 years	37	57	94	11.9	15.7	13.9
50 years to 59 years	20	20	40	6.4	5.5	5.9
60 years to 69 years	17	25	42	5.5	6.9	6.2
≥ 70 years	8	20	28	2.5	5.6	4.2
All	312	363	675	100.0	100.0	100.0

Child sex ratio (0 to 6 years): 758. Population Sex Ratio: 860 0-17: 863 60+: 556

the district average of 905 as per 2001 Census. The population sex ratio, too, as mentioned earlier, is much lower at 860 compared to 896 for Bijnor district as per 2001 Census. The largest female deficit occurs in the age group of 35 to 49 years, possibly suggestive of high rates of maternal mortality in late conceptions. The sex ratio for the non-adult population at 863 is almost the same as that for the entire population. In contrast to most other populations, females are outnumbered by males in the age group 60 years or older in Harevli. Gender inequality seems to operate with severity here. Females outnumber males only in three age groups: 10 to 14 years, 18 to 24 years and 25 to 34 years. Even in these age groups, the male deficit is not very large.

Table 2.4 presents the distribution of households by size. Quite unlike the villages of South India, a significant proportion of the population in Harevli lives in large-sized households. More than 40 per cent of the population is to be found in households with 8 or more members each. Only 3 of the 15 largest households were nuclear. At the other end, households with four or fewer members account for just over one-fifth of the population of Harevli. The average household size is six. Average household size is much lower for households owning less than 5 acres of land, varying from 5.5 for landless households to 5.8 for those owning between 2.5 and 5 acres. Households owning 5 acres or more have an average household size of 7.8.

Table 2.4 *Distribution of households by household size, Harevli, 2006*

Household size	Number of households	As percentage of all households	Average size of the household	Cumulative No of Persons	Cumulative % of Population
1	6	5.3	1	6	< 1
2	7	6.3	2	20	3.0
3	7	6.3	3	41	6.1
4	9	8.0	4	77	11.4
5	20	17.9	5	177	26.2
6	24	21.4	6	321	47.6
7	11	9.8	7	398	59.0
≥ 8	28	25.0	9.9	675	100.0
All	112	100.0	6.0	675	100.0

Despite the large average size of households in Harevli, there are some households without any person below the age of 18 years, i.e., households without children. The details are presented in Table 2.5. More than one-fifth of all households have no children among their members. This proportion is much lower than is the case for South Indian villages where the proportion often exceeds one-third.[2] The pattern across social groups is similar to what has been observed elsewhere, with Other Caste Hindus reporting a much higher proportion of households without children than the Other Backward Classes and Scheduled Castes. Interestingly, Muslims also report a high percentage of households without children in Harevli.

Table 2.5 *Number and proportion of households without children, by social group, Harevli, 2006*

Social group	Number of households without children	Total number of households	Households without children as percentage of total households
Scheduled Caste	8	41	19.5
OBC	1	25	4.0
Other Caste Hindu	11	32	34.4
Muslim	5	14	35.7
All	25	112	22.3

Harevli is not far along the path of demographic transition. This is indicated by the data on the number of children per household, the distribution of which by household size is shown in Table 2.6.

[2] The proportion was 45 % in Ananthavaram in Andhra Pradesh, surveyed by FAS in 2005, with no social group reporting less than 30 %. It was 34.6 % and 36.3 % respectively in Bukkacherla and Kothapalle, the other two villages in Andhra Pradesh surveyed by FAS in 2005.

Table 2.6 *Average number of children by household size, Harevli, 2006*

Household size	Number of households	Average number of children
1	6	0.0
2	7	0.0
3	7	0.4
4	9	1.1
5	20	2.1
6	24	3.0
7	11	3.2
≥ 8	28	5.0
All	112	2.7
HHs with children	87	3.5

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

The average number of children per household is 2.7 and that for households with children much higher at 3.5. Both these numbers are much higher than the corresponding numbers for the Andhra Pradesh villages surveyed by FAS in 2005.[3] However, if the provisional population totals for Uttar Pradesh and Bijnor district from the Census of 2011 were to be taken as indicative, a demographic transition may well be under way in the state and its rural areas.[4]

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.

[3] The average number of children for all households and for those with children were, respectively, 0.9 and 1.7 for Ananthavaram. The figures were higher in Bukkacherla and Kothapalle, but not by very much.

[4] The inter-censal increase in population for Uttar Pradesh declined from 25.8 % between 1991 and 2001 to 20.1% between 2001 and 2011 according to the provisional figures of the 2011 Census. The corresponding figures for Bijnor district are 27.6 % and 17.6 %. For both the state of Uttar Pradesh and the district of Bijnor, the number of children below seven years of age has fallen in absolute terms between 2001 and 2011, the decline being 10.8 % for Bijnor. The proportion of children below seven years to the total population has come down for Bijnor district from 19.7 % in 2001 to 14.9 % in 2011. But the child sex ratio has worsened both in the state and in the district.

Table 2.7 *In whose home do children live? Harevli, 2006*

Children living in the same household with	Female	Male	Persons	Female	Male	Persons
Both parents	128	150	278	92.2	93.1	92.7
Mother, not father	2	7	9	1.4	4.4	3.0
Father, not mother	6	4	10	4.3	2.5	3.3
Neither parents but with other family member	2	0	2	1.4	0.0	0.7
Spouse/ spouse's parents	1	0	1	0.7	0.0	0.3
All	139	161	300	100.0	100.0	100.0

As would be expected, more than 90 per cent of all children live with both their parents in the same household. Only 2 out of the 300 children live with a family member other than either parent. There is one instance of a girl married off before reaching the legal minimum age of marriage and living with her in-laws along with her spouse.

Of the nine instances of a child living with the mother but not the father, three are on account of the father being dead, while the remaining ones are because of the father being away in Delhi to find a livelihood. *All nine instances relate to Scheduled Caste households.* Three of these households belong to asset quintile Q2 and the rest to asset quintile Q3.[5] In all the ten instances where the children stay with the father and not the mother, the reason is that the mother is deceased. Four of the concerned households belong to Q2 and the rest to Q3. *Again, all ten children belong to Scheduled Caste households.* It may be a coincidence but it is indeed striking that in all the 19 cases of children living with only one parent, the households concerned should turn out to belong to the Scheduled Castes.

The two instances where children live with neither parent fall in an altogether different category. Here, the children live with their grandparents. They come from Other Caste Hindu households, one from Q5 and the other from Q3, both thus non-poor.

2.2 Activity Status of Children

In India, there is a legal provision that children below the age of 14 completed years are not to be engaged in paid or unpaid work. Ideally, they should be enrolled in and attending an educational institution in order to acquire formal education and the skills thereof. However, in reality, not all children aged 14 years or younger are in school. This is true even in relatively more 'developed'

[5] See below for a description of the asset quintiles, designated Q1 to Q5 in ascending order of asset ownership. The details are presented in Table 2.10

states such as Tamil Nadu. What is the picture in Harevli in this regard? The relevant information is brought together in Tables 2.8 to 2.10.

There are, in all, 87 girls and 84 boys in the age group of 6 to 14 years. Of these, ten girls and ten boys are engaged in activities that constitute 'work' for the purposes of this Report. These activities include paid or unpaid work outside the household for an employer, work on household operational holding and work in any household enterprise other than that relating to animal resources. By the criteria employed here, more than 10 percent of children between six and fourteen years of age are working children. As we will see later, not all of these twenty children are out of school.

Table 2.8 *Children in the age group 6 to 14 years engaged in specific types of activities, by sex, Harevli, 2006*

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)	7	7	14	8.3	8.1	8.2
Work on household operational holding	2	2	4	2.4	2.3	2.3
Work in any household enterprise other than animal resources	1	1	2	1.2	1.2	1.2
All	10	10	20	11.9	11.5	11.7

The majority -14 out of 20 or 70 per cent, consisting of 7 girls and 7 boys - works for an employer outside the household. In terms of social composition, practically all-nineteen out of twenty, to be precise-belong to the Scheduled Caste, Other Backward Class and Muslim households. Of the 19, eight belong to Scheduled Caste, seven to Other Backward Class and four to Muslim households. There is just one boy from a non-Other Backward Class, non-Scheduled Caste Caste Hindu household who is working, and he works on the household's operational holding.

Table 2.9 *Boys in the age group 6 to 14 years engaged in specific types of activities, by social group, Harevli, 2006*

Social group	Number			As percentage of all children in age group		
	Work outside the household for an employer (paid or unpaid)	Work on household operational holding	Work in any household enterprise other than animal resources	Work outside the household for an employer (paid or unpaid)	Work on household operational holding	Work in any household enterprise other than animal resources
Scheduled Caste	3	0	0	7.7	0.0	0.0
OBC	3	1	0	14.3	4.8	0.0
Other Caste Hindu	0	1	0	0.0	5.0	0.0
Muslim	1	0	1	14.3	0.0	14.3
All	7	2	1	8.1	2.3	1.2

Table 2.10 *Girls in the age group 6 to 14 years engaged in specific types of activities, by social group, Harevli, 2006*

Social group	Number			As percentage of all children in age group		
	Work outside the household for an employer (paid or unpaid)	Work on household operational holding	Work in any household enterprise other than animal resources	Work outside the household for an employer (paid or unpaid)	Work on household operational holding	Work in any household enterprise other than animal resources
Scheduled Caste	3	1	1	7.1	2.4	2.4
OBC	2	1	0	10.0	5.0	0.0
Other Caste Hindu	0	0	0	0.0	0.0	0.0
Muslim	2	0	0	22.2	0.0	0.0
All	7	2	1	8.3	2.4	1.2

To get an idea of the economic status of households to which working children belong, we have categorized all households in Harevli into five quintiles based on the value of total assets owned.[6]

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

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), Harevli, 2006*

Asset quintile	Minimum	Maximum	Median	Mean
Q1	540	29,684	10,790	12,896
Q2	33,218	100,510	59,055	60,661
Q3	102,034	262,000	126,430	142,067
Q4	334,700	1402,280	847,905	834,709
Q5	1443,100	15824,175	2691,225	3715,328

The range of values of assets in the various asset quintiles brings out the poor and abysmal status of most households in Harevli with respect to asset ownership. The *maximum* asset value of the bottom two quintiles barely crosses one hundred thousand rupees! It is in fact only the top quintile that can be seen as demonstrably very 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 is also distinctly better off then the three quintiles below. One may note that the minimum asset value of Q4 is a good deal higher than the maximum of Q3 while the Q4 maximum is *more than five times* the Q3 maximum. 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? [7] This can be answered by referring to Table 2.10 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.

[7] 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.

Table 2.12 *Distribution of households by social group and asset quintile, Harevli, 2006*

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	13	17	8	2	1	41	31.7	41.5	19.5	4.9	2.4	100
Caste	*(56.5)*	*(73.9)*	*(34.7)*	*(9.1)*	*(4.8)*	*(36.6)*						
OBC	2	4	13	4	2	25	8.0	16.0	52.0	16.0	8.0	100
	(8.7)	*(17.4)*	*(56.5)*	*(18.2)*	*(9.5)*	*(22.3)*						
Other Caste	1	0	1	12	18	32	3.1	0.0	3.1	37.5	56.3	100
Hindu	*(4.4)*	*(0.0)*	*(4.4)*	*(54.6)*	*(85.7)*	*(28.6)*						
Muslim	7	2	1	4	0	14	50.0	14.3	7.1	28.6	0.0	100
	(30.4)	*(8.7)*	*(4.4)*	*(18.2)*	*(0.0)*	*(12.5)*						
All	23	23	23	22	21	112	20.5	20.5	20.5	19.6	18.8	100
	(100.0)	*(100.0)*	*(100.0)*	*(100.0)*	*(100.0)*	*(100.0)*						

It is immediately obvious that the Scheduled Caste and Muslim households are predominantly asset-poor. Over 68 per cent of Scheduled Caste and 57 per cent of Muslim households belong to the bottom two asset quintiles. At the other end, except for one household, all the caste Hindu households are to be found in the top two asset quintiles. In fact, nearly 60 per cent of these households are in the top quintile. Other Backward Class households seem to occupy the middle space, with close to half the Other Backward Class households in the third asset quintile and the rest divided more or less equally between the bottom two and the top two asset quintiles. Not surprisingly, more than 80 per cent of all households in the bottom two quintiles are either SC or Muslim while the Other Caste Hindus account for nearly all the households (18 out of 21) in the top quintile and more than half of all households in the next quintile.

Let us now turn to the variation in the incidence of working children by asset quintile in Harevli. The data are presented in Tables 2.13 and 2.14.

Table 2.13 *Boys in the age group 6 to 14 years engaged in specific types of activities, by asset quintile, Harevli 2006*

Asset quintile	Number			As percentage of all boys in the age group		
	Work out side the household for an employer (paid or unpaid)	Work on household operational holding	Work in any household enterprise other than those involving animal resources	Work out side the household for an employer (paid or unpaid)	Work on household operational holding	Work in any household enterprise other than those involving animal resources
Q1	1	0	0	6.3	0.0	0.0
Q2	3	0	0	18.8	0.0	0.0
Q3	3	0	0	13.6	0.0	0.0
Q4	0	1	1	0.0	10.0	10.0
Q5	0	1	0	0.0	4.4	0.0
All	7	2	1	8.1	2.3	1.2

Table 2.14 *Girls in the age group 6 to 14 years engaged in specific types of activities, by asset quintile, Harevli 2006Harevli, 2006*

Asset quintile	Number			As percentage of all girls in age group		
	Work out side the household for an employer (paid or unpaid)	Work on household operational holding	Work in any household enterprise other than those involving animal resources	Work out side the household for an employer (paid or unpaid)	Work on household operational holding	Work in any household enterprise other than those involving animal resources
Q1	2	0	0	12.5	0.0	0.0
Q2	2	1	0	11.1	5.6	0.0
Q3	3	0	1	13.0	0.0	4.4
Q4	0	1	0	0.0	10.0	0.0
Q5	0	0	0	0.0	0.0	0.0
All	7	2	1	8.3	2.4	1.2

Of the 20 working children, 16 come from households in the bottom three quintiles. The remaining four, consisting of three (2 boys and a girl) from Q4 and one boy from Q5, were all reported to be

working within the household.[8] It needs to be kept in mind that not all Q4 households are exceptionally wealthy in absolute terms.

2.3 *Age at Marriage*

Before we conclude this section on demography and turn to the picture in Harevli in respect of education, let us take a brief look at how Harevli fares in respect of the issue of age at marriage. The legal age at marriage in India is 21 years for males and 18 years for females. There is a general perception that girls, in particular, continue to get married before reaching the legal minimum age in rural India. However, it is also recognized that the frequency of occurrence of this phenomenon has been declining. In Harevli, we found one instance of a married girl below 18 years of age (for an Other Backward Class household) and one instance of a married male who was below the age of 21 years (from a Muslim household).[9] We have not investigated the age at marriage of all the married persons in the population in Harevli, 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 only one married male under 21 years of age and one married female under 18 years of age does suggest that the practice of marriage before attainment of the legal minimum age may be rather infrequent.

[8] The Q5 household that reports a boy aged between 6 and 14 years as working on own operational holding owns 7.4 acres of land. This is a puzzle. Of the three Q4 households reporting working children in the 6-14 age group, one is a Muslim household with 3 acres of land and an own shop where the child, a boy, works. The other two are Other Backward Class households, with 1.2 and 0.6 acres of land.

[9] There were three girls aged 18 and married. These might be marginal cases of marriage at or near the legal minimum age of 18 years. We do not know whether they were married before they turned 18.

3. *EDUCATION*

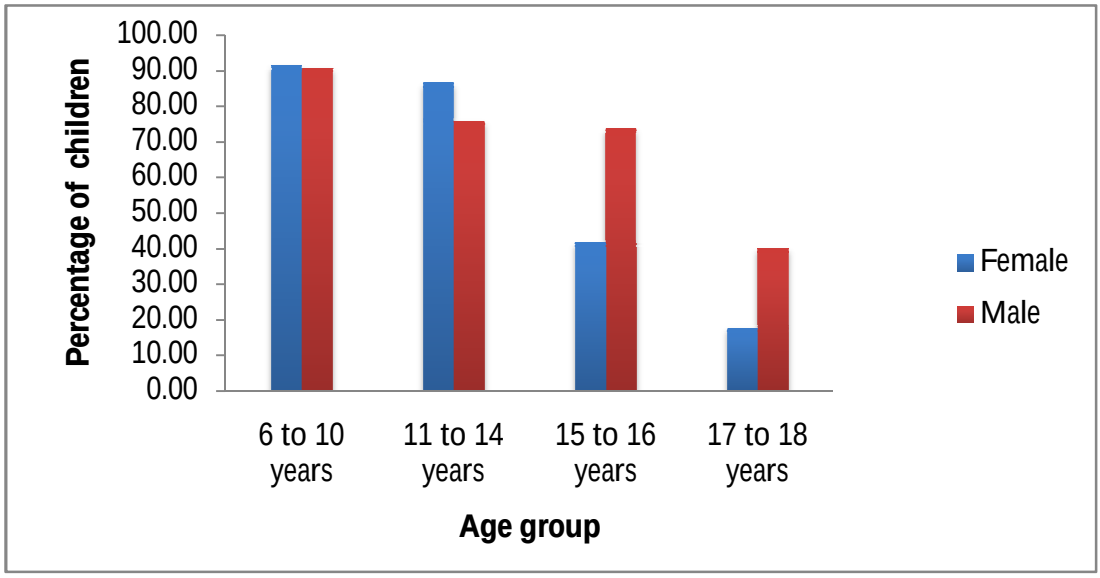
3.1 *School Attendance*

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

Table 3.1 *Number and proportion attending school, by age group, by sex, Harevli, 2006*

Age group	Number			As percentage of all in the age group specified		
	Female	Male	Persons	Female	Male	Persons
6 to 10 years	43	49	92	91.5	90.7	91.1
11 to 14 years	32	25	57	86.5	75.8	81.4
15 to 16 years	5	14	19	41.7	73.7	61.3
17 to 18 years	3	6	9	17.7	40.0	28.1
6 to 18 years	83	94	177	73.5	77.7	75.6

Figure 3.1 *Proportion of persons attending school, by age group, by sex, Harevli, 2006*



Out of 113 girls in the age group of 6 to 18 years, 83 were attending school and 30 were out of school. In other words, more than one-fourth of the girls were out of school. Even in the age group

of 5 to 14 years, only 75 girls were in school and 9 were out of school, meaning that more than 10 per cent of the girls were out of school at the elementary school level itself.

Did boys fare much better? The answer is negative. Out of 87 boys in the age group of 6 to 14 years, 13 boys or about 15 per cent were out of school. Out of 121 boys in the age group of 6 to 18 years, as many as 27 boys or over 22 per cent were out of school. While these are average proportions for boys and girls out of school, they conceal the disparities in this regard across social groups and across asset quintiles, a point to which we shall soon return.

Looking at gross enrolment ratios, one can see that girls tend to drop out of school after class VIII. The gross enrolment ratio for girls exceeds 100 per cent in the primary school classes because they are often brought to school at a later age than boys, but from class I to class VIII taken together, there is not much of a difference in the gross enrolment ratios between boys and girls. But girls nearly disappear from school after class VIII. There is no girl in Harevli in higher secondary classes. In the case of boys, a significant drop in the gross enrolment ratio occurs after class X.

Table 3.2 *Gross enrolment ratio by level of schooling, by sex, Harevli, 2006*

School level	Number enrolled			GER		
	Female	Male	Persons	Female	Male	Persons
Standard I to V	59	58	117	111.3	93.6	101.7
Standard VI to VIII	19	18	37	51.4	54.6	52.9
Standard IX to X	4	13	17	16.7	54.2	35.4
Standard XI to XII	0	8	8	0.0	32.0	16.7

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*

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

Table 3.3 *Persons attending school, by age group, by social group, Harevli, 2006*

Age group	Scheduled Caste		OBC		Other Caste Hindu		Muslim	
	Number	Percentage	Number	Percentage	Number	Percentage	Number	Percentage
6 to 10 years	39	83.0	25	100.0	20	100.0	8	88.9
11 to 14 years	27	79.4	13	81.3	13	100.0	4	57.1
15 to 16 years	8	61.5	4	44.4	6	100.0	1	33.3
17 to 18 years	4	36.4	1	8.3	4	66.7	0	0.0
6 to 18 years	78	74.3	43	69.4	43	95.6	13	59.1

In the age group of 6 to 10 years, Other Backward Class and Other Caste Hindu households report 100 per cent school attendance while eight out of 47 Scheduled Caste children and one Muslim child are out of school. In the age group of 11 to 14 years, out of 70 children, as many as thirteen -seven Scheduled Caste, three Other Backward Class and three Muslim children- are out of school. On the other hand, all children in the age group of 6 to 14 years belonging to Other Caste Hindu households are in school. Attendance ratios fall sharply for Scheduled Castes and Other Backward Classes in the age group of 15 to 18 years, with only 12 out of 24 Scheduled Caste children and 5 out of 21 Other Backward Class children in school. Here again, the Other Caste Hindus fare much better, with 10 out of 12 children in school.

Is there significant variation as between boys and girls in this regard? It does seem that boys do worse than girls among Scheduled Castes in the 6 to 14 years age group, and especially in the 11 to 14 age group. Out of 40 Scheduled Caste girls aged 6 to 14 years, 37 are in school as against 29 out of 39 boys in the same age group. However, the position is sharply reversed in the age group of 15 to 18 years: 12 out of 15 Scheduled Caste boys in this age group are in school as against two girls out of eight.

Table 3.4 *Males attending school, by age group, by social group, Harevli, 2006*

Age group	Scheduled Caste		OBC		Other Caste Hindu		Muslim	
	Number	Percentage	Number	Percentage	Number	Percentage	Number	Percentage
6 to 10 years	21	80.8	14	100.0	11	100.0	3	100.0
11 to 14 years	8	61.5	6	85.7	9	100.0	2	50.0
15 to 16 years	7	77.8	3	60.0	4	100.0	0	0.0
17 to 18 years	3	50.0	0	0.0	3	60.0	NA	NA
6 to 18 years	39	72.2	23	76.7	27	93.1	5	62.5

Table 3.5 *Females attending school, by age group, by social group, Harevli, 2006*

Age group	Scheduled Caste		OBC		Other Caste Hindu		Muslim	
	Number	Percentage	Number	Percentage	Number	Percentage	Number	Percentage
6 to 10 years	18	85.7	11	100.0	9	100.0	5	83.3
11 to 14 years	19	90.5	7	77.8	4	100.0	2	66.7
15 to 16 years	1	25.0	1	25.0	2	100.0	1	50.0
17 to 18 years	1	20.0	1	12.5	1	100.0	0	0.0
6 to 18 years	39	76.5	20	62.5	16	100.0	8	57.1

Figure 3.2 *Proportion of males attending school, by age group, by social group, Harevli, 2006*

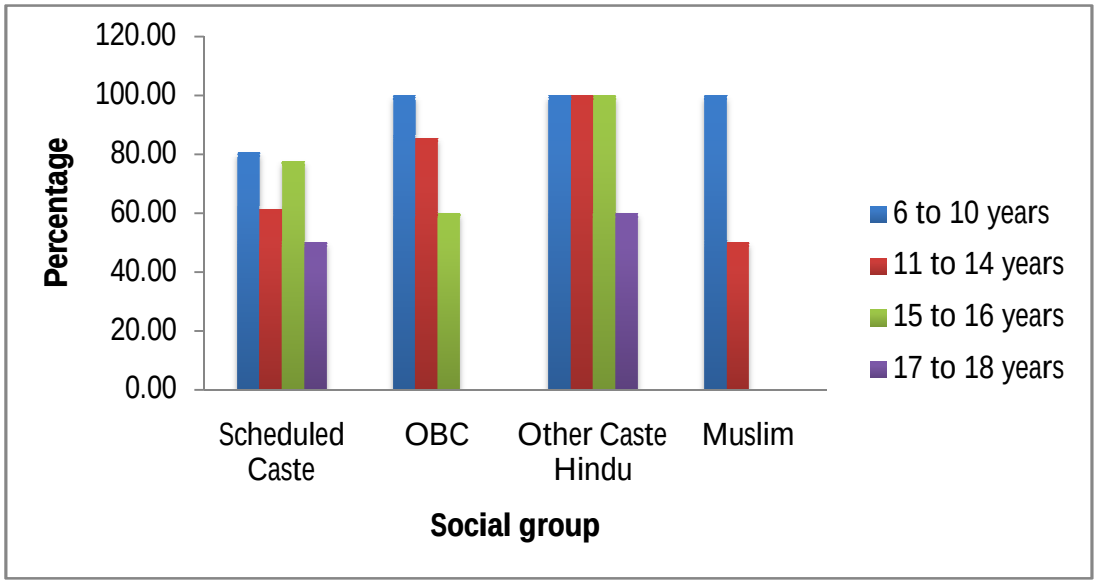
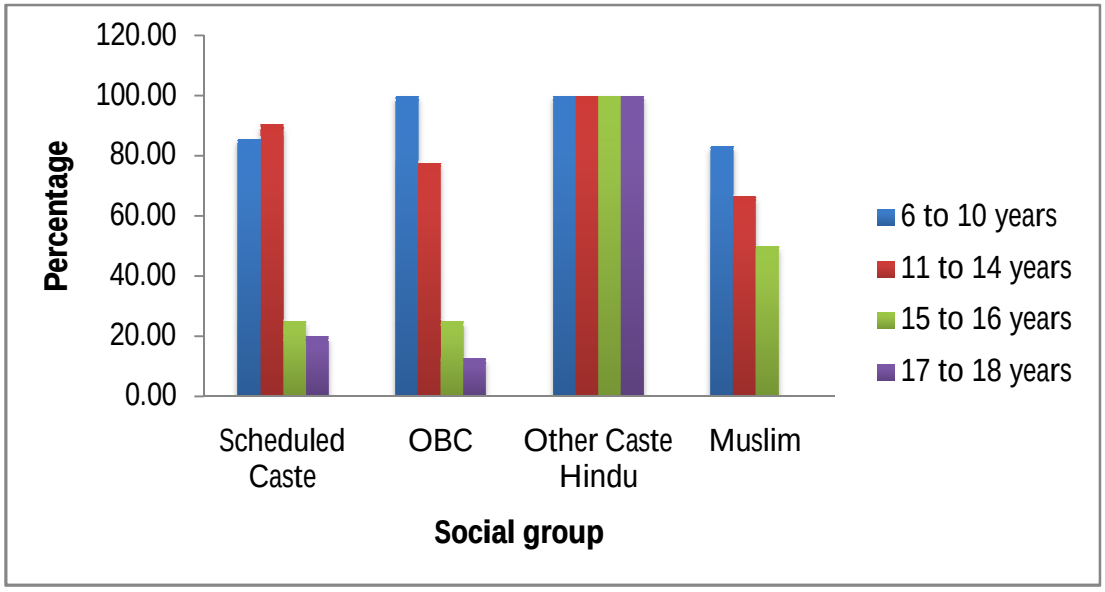


Figure 3.3 *Proportion of females attending school, by age group, by social group, Harevli, 2006*



Among the Muslims and Other Backward Classes, girls fare marginally worse than boys. Among the Other Caste Hindus, practically all boys and girls in the age group of 6 to 18 years are in school. The only exceptions are two boys out of school in the age group of 17 to 18 years

How do attendance ratios vary across asset quintiles? The relevant data are presented in Tables 3.6 to 3.8. The top asset quintile Q5 records 100 per cent school attendance in the age group of 6 to 18 years. One may recall the large overlap between Q5 and the social group of 'Other Caste Hindus' (OCH). The performances of Q5 and that of Other Caste Hindu are nearly identical.

Table 3.6 *Persons attending school, by age group, by asset quintile, Harevli, 2006* (number and per cent)

Age group	Q1		Q2		Q3		Q4		Q5	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
6 to 10 years	21	87.5	17	81.0	22	95.7	8	88.9	24	100.0
11 to 14 years	7	87.5	10	76.9	15	68.2	9	81.8	16	100.0
15 to 16 years	1	100.0	5	50.0	2	33.3	5	62.5	6	100.0
17 to 18 years	0	0.0	1	16.7	1	7.7	3	37.5	4	100.0
6 to 18 years	29	85.3	33	66.0	40	62.5	25	69.4	50	100.0

There is not much variation across asset quintiles in the age group of 6 to 14 years, though Q1 and Q2 fare less well than Q3 and Q4, and the bottom four quintiles fare much more poorly than Q5. The number of children in the age group of 15 to 18 years in each asset quintile is quite small, making it difficult to say much. However, one can see that Q5 performs the best, and Q4 does much

better than the Q2 and Q3. While 8 out of 16 children from households in Q4 in the age group of 15 to 18 years are in school, the corresponding figures for Q3 and Q2 are 3 out of 19 and 6 out of 16 respectively, Q3 is dominated by Other Backward Classes who participate physically in cultivation operations, and this may partly explain why it does even more poorly than Q2, dominated by Scheduled Castes who may not be involved in own cultivation to the same extent.

Is there much variation as between boys and girls in each asset quintile in terms of attendance ratios? The figures are shown in Tables 3.7 and 3.8.

Table 3.7 *Males attending school, by age group, by asset quintile, Harevli, 2006* (number and per cent)

Age group	Q1		Q2		Q3		Q4		Q5	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
6 to 10 years	11	84.6	9	75.0	12	100.0	3	100.0	14	100.0
11 to 14 years	2	66.7	2	50.0	7	70.0	5	71.4	9	100.0
15 to 16 years	0	NA	4	66.7	2	50.0	4	80.0	4	100.0
17 to 18 years	0	NA	1	33.3	1	20.0	2	40.0	2	100.0
6 to 18 years	13	81.3	16	64.0	22	71.0	14	70.0	29	100.0

Girls do better than boys in Q1 and Q2 in the age group of 6 to 14 years. In Q3 and Q4, there is not much of a difference, though boys do marginally better. In the age group of 15 to 18 years, however, the attendance ratios for boys is distinctly higher in every asset quintile except the highest where it is 100 per cent for both boys and girls. It is clear that, except in the case of the top asset quintile, girls get sent to school up to their early teens, but do not get to go to school beyond those years on par with boys in the village.

Table 3.8 *Females attending school, by age group, by asset quintile, Harevli, 2006* (number and per cent)

Age group	Q1		Q2		Q3		Q4		Q5	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
6 to 10 years	10	90.9	8	88.9	10	90.9	5	83.3	10	100.0
11 to 14 years	5	100.0	8	88.9	8	66.7	4	100.0	7	100.0
15 to 16 years	1	100.0	1	25.0	0	0.0	1	33.3	2	100.0
17 to 18 years	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0	1	33.3	2	100.0
6 to 18 years	16	88.9	17	68.0	18	54.6	11	68.8	21	100.0

Figure 3.4 *Proportion of males attending school, by age group, by asset quintile, Harevli, 2006*

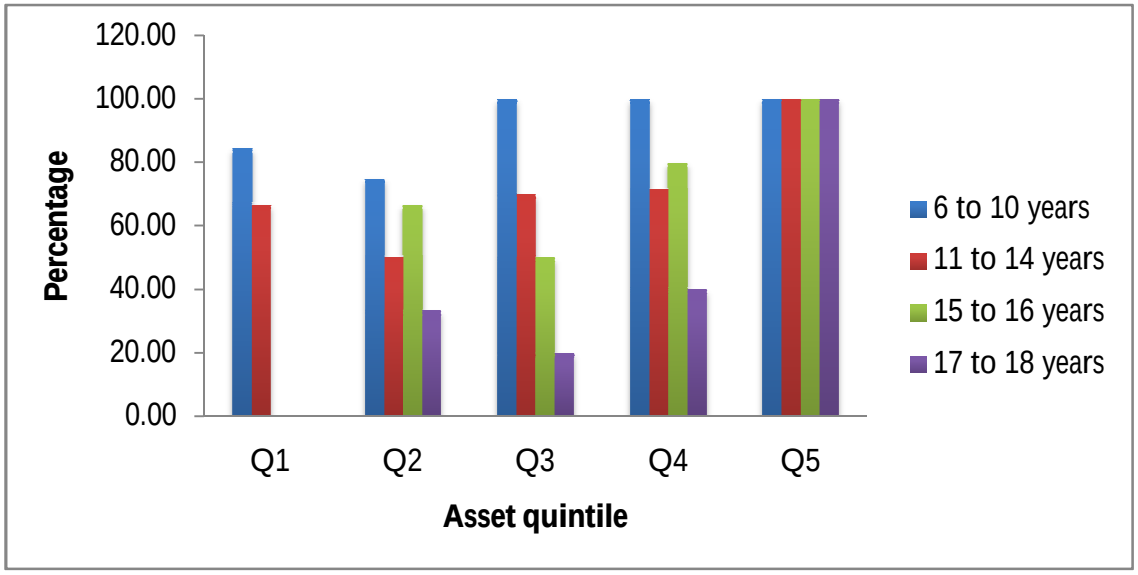
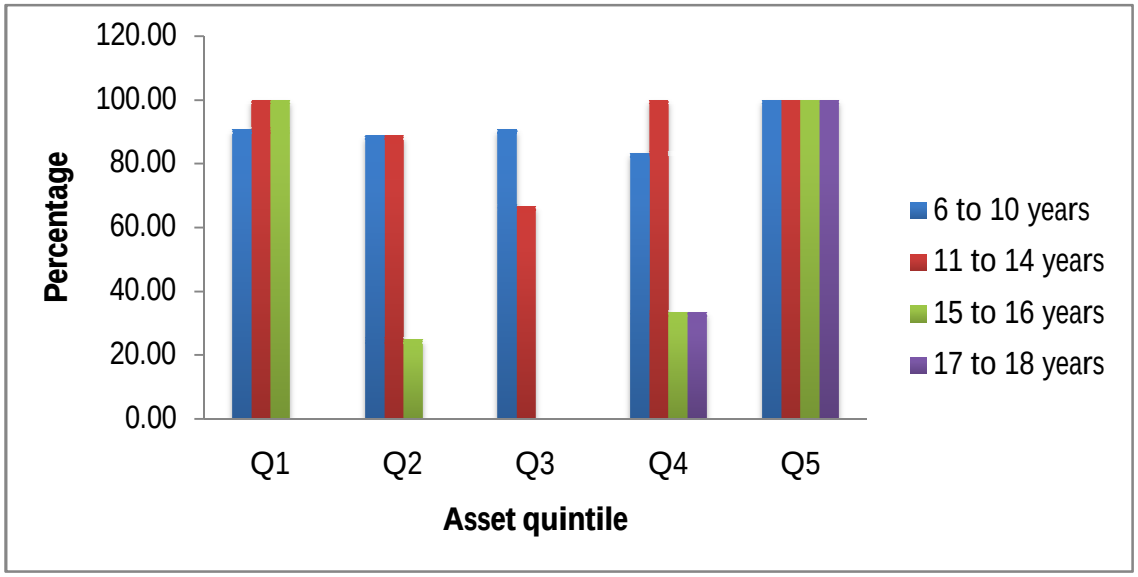


Figure 3.5 *Proportion of females attending school, by age group, by asset quintile, Harevli, 2006*



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 Harveli, we had noted that ten girls and ten 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 to 18 years by sex and work status in Harevli.

Of a total of 113 girls in this age group, 83 are in school while 30 are not. Of the 83 in school, ten are working and attending school. However, of the 30 girls out of school, only 11 are reported as 'working', in terms of the criteria specified. Even if one were to add those girl children working in the household enterprise with animal resources (shown in Table 3.9a), this would make the number 14, leaving 16 girls as 'nowhere' children-neither in school nor 'working'. It seems reasonable to assume that at least some of these 16 girls were involved in domestic chores or care functions not included in the definition of work adopted here.

Of the 121 boys in the 6 to 18 years age group, 94 are in school including ten who are working. Of the 27 boys out of school, 16 are reported as 'working'. If we take into account the one boy engaged in animal tending, this still leaves 10 boys as 'nowhere' children.

Table 3.9 *School attendance among those aged 6 to 18 years, by sex and work status, Harevli, 2006* (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	16.8	11	9.7	73	64.6	10	8.9
Boys	11	9.1	16	13.2	84	69.4	10	8.3
All	30	12.8	27	11.5	157	67.1	20	8.6

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".

Table 3.10 *Number of children out of school and reported to be involved in animal tending, Harevli, 2006*

Children	Number	Percentage
Girls	3	2.7
Boys	1	0.8
All	4	1.7

Of 19 girls who are neither attending school nor working, three are engaged in animal tending. Including these three, 17 out of the 19 girls are working within the household, carrying out various household chores. For two girls, we have no information. In terms of social composition, seven each are from Other Backward Class and Scheduled Caste households and the remaining five are

from Muslim households. Nine of the concerned households belong to asset quintile Q3, five to Q4, three to Q2 and two to Q1. There is no girl from the top asset quintile in this category of 'nowhere' children.

Of the eleven boys out of school and not working, one boy is in animal tending, another boy is sick with a liver problem and unable to work. We have no information on the other eight boys. In terms of social composition, ten out of the eleven boys come from Scheduled Caste households and one from an Other Backward Class household. Six of the eleven concerned households are from the second asset quintile, two each from the first and the third, and one from the fourth quintile. Again, as with girls, there is none from the top asset quintile. *In other words, neither the top asset quintile nor the Other Caste Hindus report a single instance of children out of school and not working.*

What about the twenty seven children-11 girls and 16 boys- not attending school but working? The main occupation of nine of the eleven girls is agricultural wage labour. Of the remaining three, one reports shop-keeping as her main occupation and housework as the secondary occupation. The remaining two report house work as the main occupation, but also report agricultural wage labour and own farm work as their respective secondary occupations. Other Backward Class and Scheduled Caste households account for five girls each while the remaining girl is a Muslim. In terms of asset quintiles, five of the girls are from Q2 households and six from Q3.

There is greater diversification of occupations among the boys out of school and working. Of the sixteen working and out-of-school boys, eight work mainly as agricultural wage labourers, two are working on own farm, while the remaining six are working outside of agriculture. These include construction, transport, trade, tailoring and 'menial' work. Predictably, none of the boys report housework as primary or secondary occupation. Two of the boys working primarily as agricultural wage labourers report non-agricultural wage labour as a secondary occupation. Six of the boys come from Other Backward Class, five from Scheduled Caste, three from Muslim and two from Other Caste Hindu households. In terms of asset quintiles, seven are from households in Q3, five from those in Q4, three from those in Q2 and one from a Q1 household. No household in the top asset quintile has a child out of school and working. The two Other Caste Hindu households who do belong to Q4.

In an overall perspective, it is a matter of concern that 57 children out of 234 in the school going age group of 6 to 18 years, nearly a quarter, are out of school. It must also be noted that, at a minimum, 47 children are *working* children. If one were to consider the 'nowhere' children as working for the household in some manner, the number of working children is 77, amounting to over one-third of all children aged 6 to 18 years.

Figure 3.6 *Distribution of boys (6 to 18 years), by school attendance and work status, Harevli, 2006*

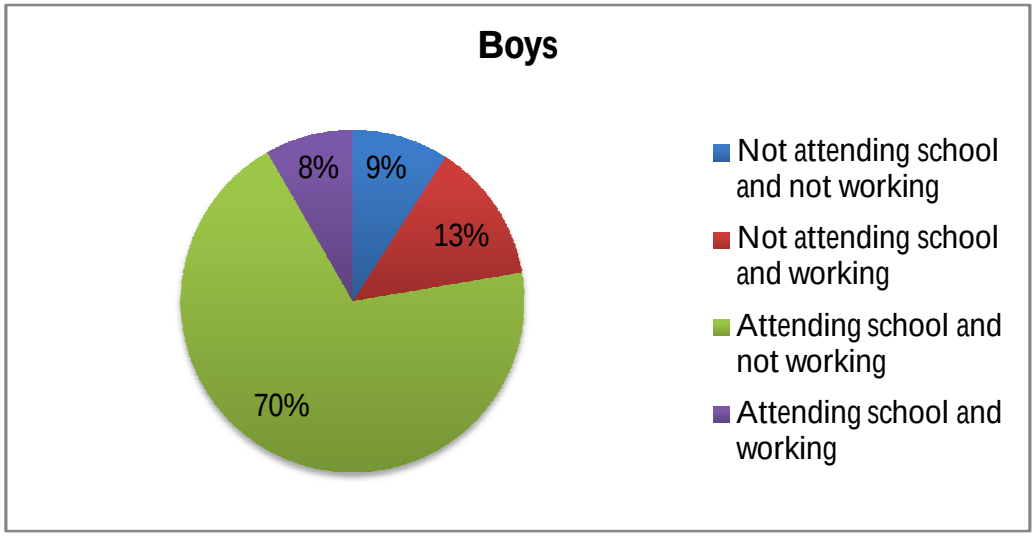
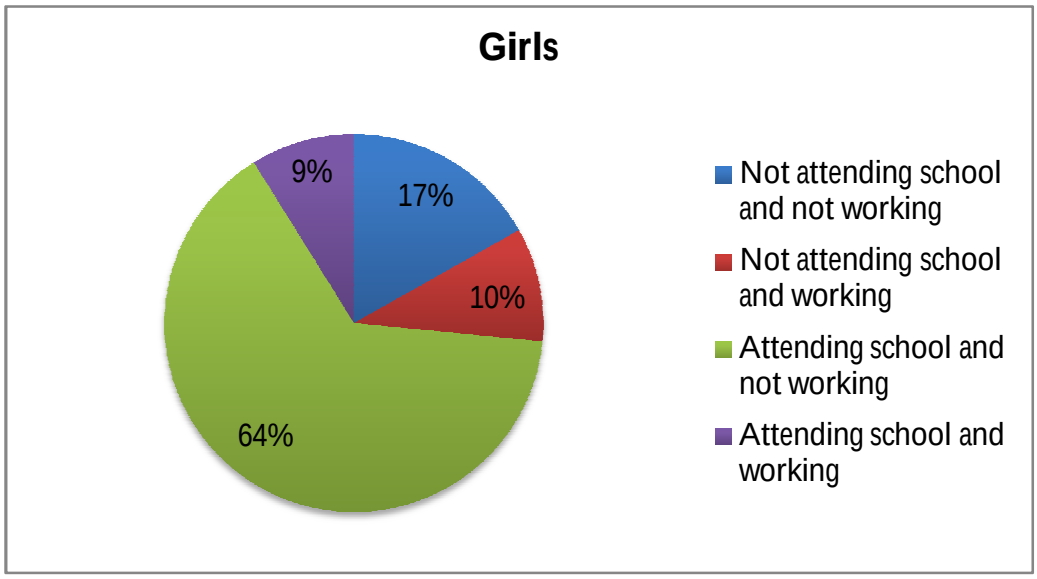


Figure 3.7 *Distribution of girls (6 to 18 years), by school attendance and work status, Harevli, 2006*



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 Harevli fare in this regard?

Next, we examine the proportion of children aged less than 6 completed years attending an *anganwadi*, by social group and sex. It is clear that there are few takers for *anganwadis* in Harevli. One girl from an Other Caste Hindu household and one boy from a Muslim household both aged between three and six years, are the only two children in the eligible age group attending an *anganwadi.* In contrast, Table 3.10a tells us that a total of four children from Harevli - two boys and two girls - are enrolled in a nursery school (two children were from Scheduled Caste families in Q2 and the other two were from wealthier families). No child below the age of three years goes to the *anganwadi*. This is indeed poor utilization.

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 Harveli aged 7 years and above by sex and literacy level. The literacy rate, measured as the percentage of the relevant population *that can both read and write*, was 57.7 per cent overall in 2006,with female literacy rate at 49.8 per cent being much lower than male literacy rate at 64.8 per cent. These figures are not very different from the literacy rates for Bijnor district as per the Census of 2001.[10]

[10] The literacy rate for Uttar Pradesh (rural) in 2001 was 52.5 % overall, 66.6 % for males and 36.9 % for females. The corresponding rates for Bijnor were 57.0 %, 69.3 % and43.3 %. As per the provisional figures for 2011 Census, the literacy rates for Bijnor district (rural plus urban) are 70.4 %, 78.7 % and 61.5 % for persons, males and females respectively. It must be noted, however, that Census literacy rates are often found to have a significant upward bias.

Table 3.11 *Distribution of population (7 years and above), by literacy level, by sex, Harevli, 2006*

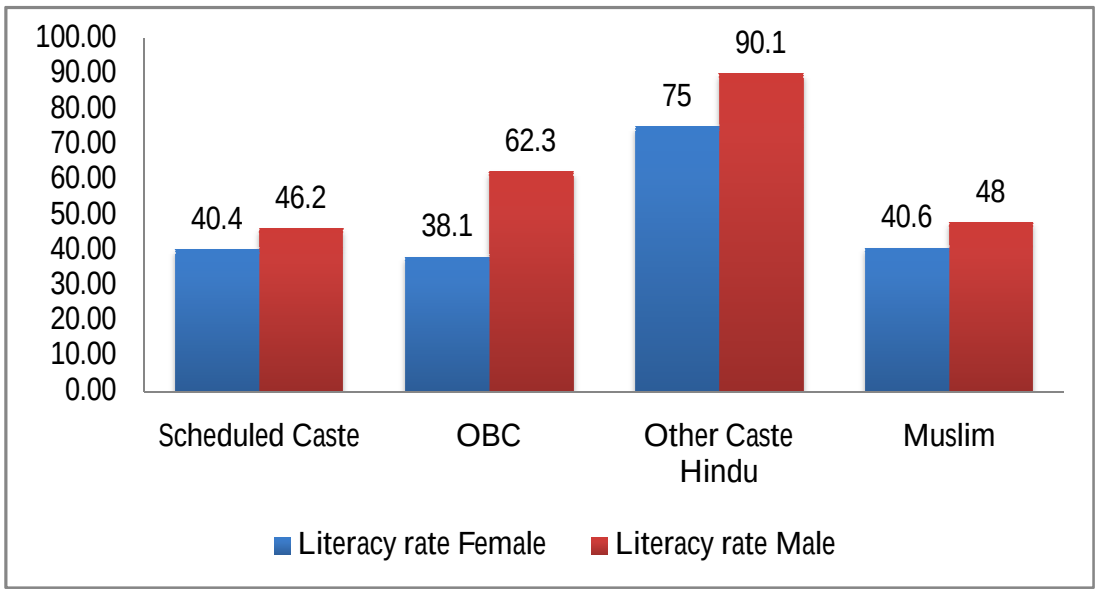
Literacy level	Female		Male		Persons	
	Number	Percentage	Number	Percentage	Number	Percentage
Cannot read and write	95	35.9	64	21.2	159	28.1
Can only sign name	29	10.9	37	12.3	66	11.7
Can read but cannot write	9	3.4	5	1.7	14	2.5
Can read and write	132	49.8	195	64.8	327	57.7
All	265	100.0	301	100.0	566	100.0

Table 3.12 shows the variation in literacy rates by social group.

Table 3.12 *Proportion of population (7 years and above) who can read and write, by social group, by sex, Harevli, 2006*

Social group	Number			Literacy rate		
	Female	Male	Persons	Female	Male	Persons
Scheduled Caste	38	49	87	40.4	46.2	43.5
OBC	24	43	67	38.1	62.3	50.8
Other Caste Hindu	57	91	148	75.0	90.1	83.6
Muslim	13	12	25	40.6	48.0	43.9
All	132	195	327	49.8	64.8	57.7

Figure 3.8 *Literacy rate of the population in the age group 7 years and above, by sex, by social group, Harevli, 2006, in per cent*



Muslims and Scheduled Castes show low literacy rates for both males and females, and the sex differentials are therefore small. The Other Caste Hindus report the highest literacy rates by far, for

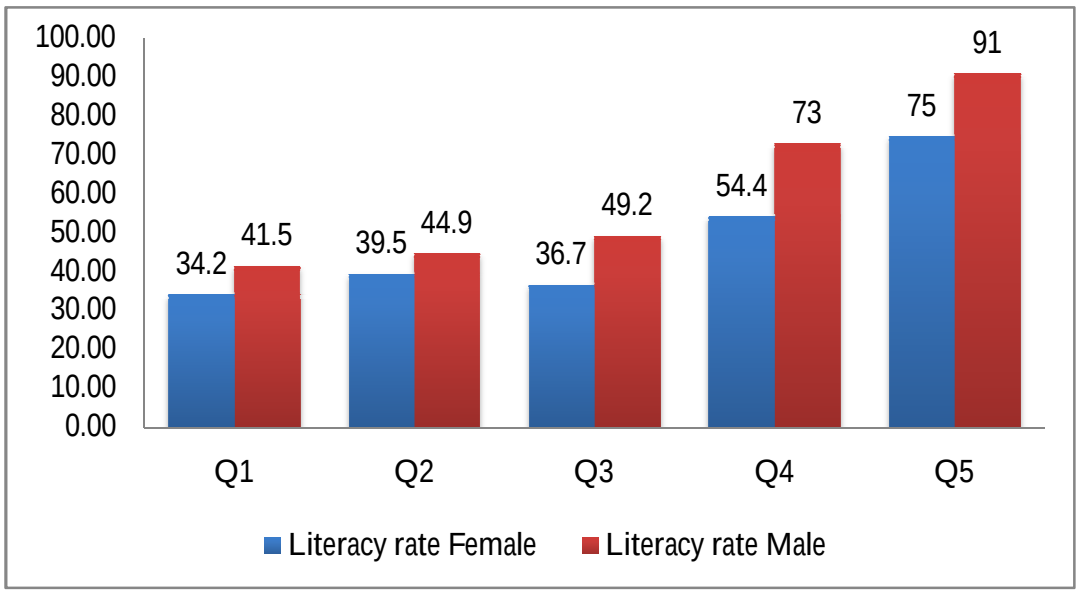
both males and females. However, the male-female difference in the literacy rate is also large. But it is the Other Backward Classes that exhibit the largest sex differential in literacy rates. In fact, the lowest female literacy rate is among the Other Backward Classes at 38.1 per cent, below that for Scheduled Castes and Muslims, and more than ten percentage points below the female literacy rate for the 7 plus population of Harevli.

How do literacy rates vary across asset quintiles? The data are presented in Table 3.13.

Table 3.13 *Proportion of population (7 years and above), who can read and write by asset quintile, by sex, Harevli, 2006*

Asset quintile	Number			Literacy rate		
	Female	Male	Persons	Female	Male	Persons
Q1	14	17	31	34.2	41.5	37.8
Q2	17	22	39	39.5	44.9	42.4
Q3	22	29	51	36.7	49.2	42.9
Q4	31	46	77	54.4	73.0	64.2
Q5	48	81	129	75.0	91.0	84.3
All	132	195	327	49.8	64.8	57.7

Figure 3.9 *Literacy rate of the population in the age group 7 years and above, by sex, by asset quintile, Harevli, 2006, in per cent*



There is little ambiguity here. The literacy rates are positively related to asset status. The top quintile is clearly a class apart in terms of literacy rates, though it exhibits a sizeable sex differential in literacy

rates. It is followed, but at quite some distance, by Q4. The bottom three quintiles show considerable deprivation in terms of possession of literacy. This is true for both males and females, and the sex differentials in literacy rates are low in the bottom three asset quintiles.

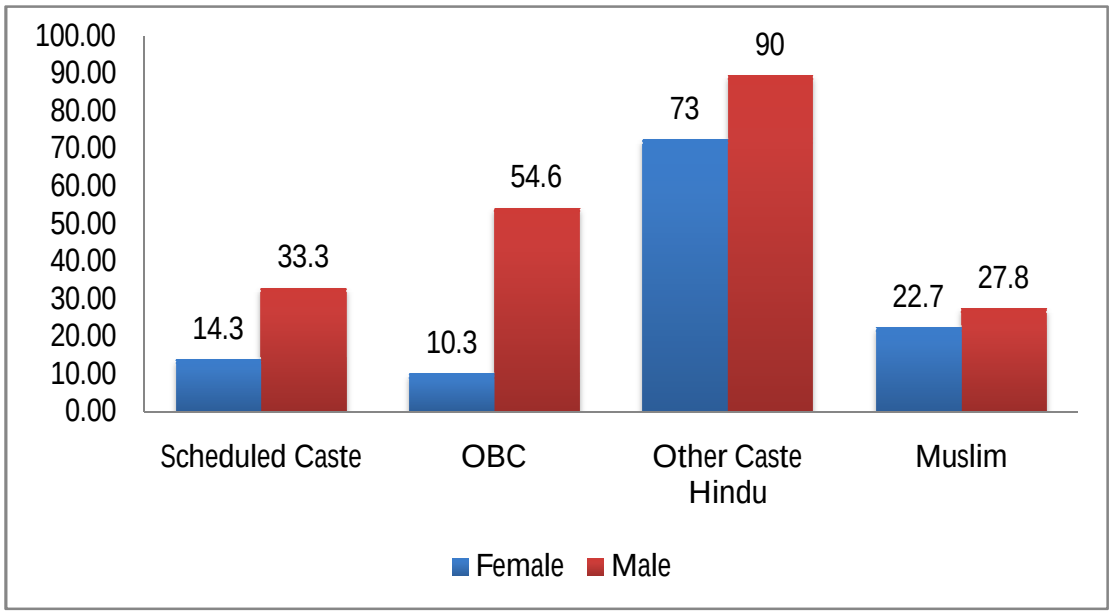
Let us now turn to the issue of adult literacy. Tables 3.14 and 3.15 present the sex-specific numbers and proportions of population in Harevli aged 18 years and above that can read and write by social group and asset quintile respectively.

The pattern across social groups is similar to that for the 7 plus population. As with literacy rates among the population aged 7 and above, here too the Other Caste Hindu has the best performance, and is followed at considerable distance by the Other Backward Class in respect of overall as well as male literacy rates. Again, the Other Backward Class has the lowest adult female literacy rate, while the Scheduled Caste and Muslim social groups have low literacy rates for both females and males. However, the differential in literacy achievement, when one compares adult and 7 plus literacy rates, is practically nil for Other Caste Hindu, since they have had high literacy rates for a long period now. The differential between adult and 7 plus literacy rates is the largest in overall terms for Scheduled Castes, followed by Muslims and then Other Backward Classes. In the case of female literacy rates, the largest differential is for the Other Backward Classes, followed by Scheduled Castes. In terms of male literacy rates, the largest differentials occur in the case of Muslim households, followed by Scheduled Castes. In terms of gender, it is clear that the differential between adult and 7 plus literacy rates is much larger for females than males. This follows, in part, from the fact that males have had greater access to formal education than females for a long time now, and also because both changes in social values and the expansion in availability of formal schooling in more recent times have helped girls and women access literacy to a greater extent than before, thus closing a part of the gender gap. However, given that gender differentials in literacy rates for the 7 plus population remain large for every social group, there is no room at all for complacency. If anything, it is scandalous that we have such large gender differentials in literacy achievement.

Table 3.14 *Proportion of population (18 years and above), who can read and write by social group, by sex, Harevli, 2006*

Social group	Number			Adult literacy rate		
	Female	Male	Persons	Female	Male	Persons
Scheduled Caste	7	20	27	14.3	33.3	24.8
OBC	4	24	28	10.3	54.6	33.7
Other Caste Hindu	46	72	118	73.0	90.0	82.5
Muslim	5	5	10	22.7	27.8	25.0
All	62	121	183	35.8	59.9	48.8

Figure 3.10 *Literacy rate of population (18 years and above), by sex by social group, Harevli, 2006, in per cent*

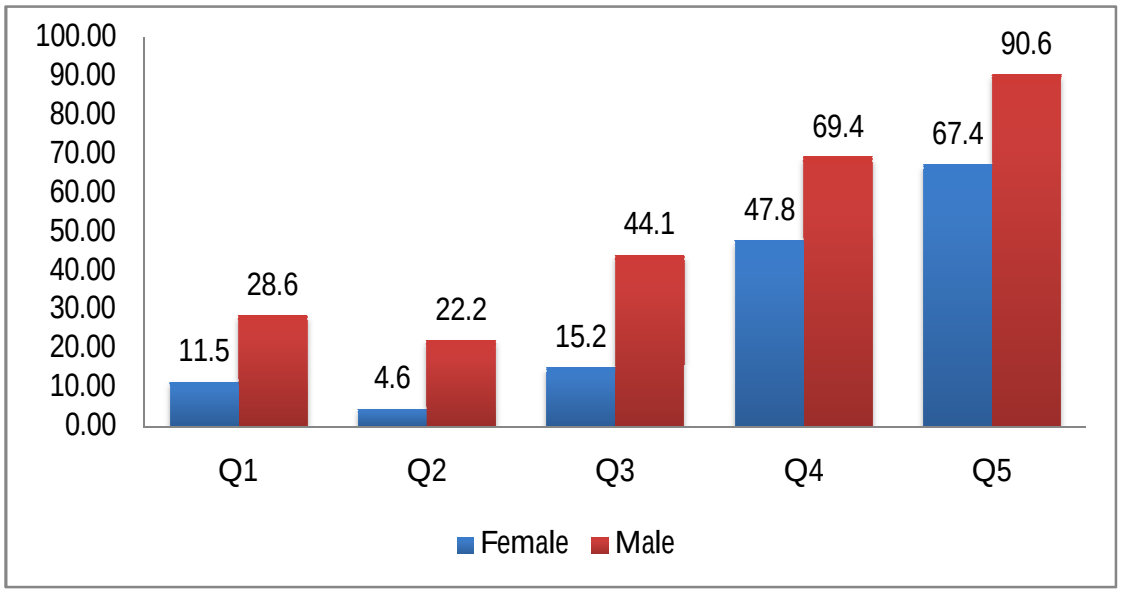


How do adult literacy rates in Harevli vary across asset quintiles? The pattern is similar to that in the case of 7 plus literacy rates. The top quintile shows the highest adult literacy rates, rates which are not very different from those for the 7 plus population of this quintile. Q4 follows at some distance, while the bottom three asset quintiles bring up the rear. The literacy rate differentials between the 7 plus population and the adult population is very low for Q5 and Q4, reflecting the fact that persons in these quintiles have had access to formal schooling for much longer than those in the poorer asset quintiles. The literacy rate differential between the 7 plus and the adult population is the largest in the case of males for Q1 and Q2 households, but marginal for the other three quintiles. The largest differential in respect of female literacy rates occurs in the case of Q2, followed by both Q1 and Q3. The differential is modest in the case of Q4 and Q5.

Table 3.15 *Proportion of population (18 years and above), who can read and write, by asset quintile by sex, Harevli, 2006*

Asset quintile	Number			Adult literacy rate		
	Female	Male	Persons	Female	Male	Persons
Q1	3	8	11	11.5	28.6	20.4
Q2	1	6	7	4.6	22.2	14.3
Q3	5	15	20	15.2	44.1	29.9
Q4	22	34	56	47.8	69.4	59.0
Q5	31	58	89	67.4	90.6	80.9
All	62	121	183	35.8	59.9	48.8

Figure 3.11 *Literacy rate of population (18 years and above), by sex by asset quintile, Harevli, 2006, in per cent*



Continuing with literacy, let us look at literacy rates for age groups specified in greater detail. Table 3.16 presents the literacy rates of females, males and persons in Harevli 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 *Proportion of population who can read and write, by age cohorts, by sex, Harevli, 2006*

Age group	Number			Literacy rate		
	Female	Male	Persons	Female	Male	Persons
6 to 17 years	72	77	149	72.7	68.8	70.6
18 to 34 years	43	52	95	47.3	65.0	55.6
35 to 49 years	13	37	50	35.1	64.9	53.2
50 to 65 years	6	18	24	17.7	42.9	31.6
> 65 years	0	14	14	0.0	60.9	41.2
All	134	198	332	49.3	63.1	56.7

The rates are naturally the highest in the 6 to 17 age group. But the interesting point is that, if one compares this group with the next one, the biggest difference is in female literacy rates. There is a rise in the male literacy rate as well, but this rise is quite small. The big jump in male literacy rates occurs when we move from the 50 to 65 years age group to the 35 to 49 years age group.[11] In other words, improvement in schooling and therefore literacy has occurred for males in our patriarchal society much earlier than it has for females. 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 toward the lower age groups, and it is only when one moves from the 35 to 49 years group to the next lower one that the gender gap falls. 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. The sex differential in literacy rates comes down dramatically in the age group of 6 to 17 years. Considerable progress in enrolment and attendance in schools of girls in the school-going age groups in recent times-over the last three decades or so-has contributed to a progressive decline in the gender differentials in literacy rates. It needs to be reiterated, however, that in absolute terms, current literacy rates are not far short of being scandalous, especially for girls, and more so among the socially and economically deprived segments of the population such as Muslims, Scheduled Castes, Backward Classes and the asset-poor.

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 3.17 and 3.18.

[11] The higher literacy rate for males aged above 65 years may well reflect a positive association between literacy and survival, but this proposition, while plausible, remains speculative. The numbers involved are quite small as well.

The level of educational deprivation of the population of Harevli aged above 16 years, with the exception of Other Caste Hindu males, is massive. That this is likely to be the situation in much of rural Uttar Pradesh is little comfort to the people of Harevli. Half or more of all 16 plus females from Scheduled Caste, Other Backward Class and Muslim households have not had any formal schooling. The situation for Muslim males is the same as that for Muslim females, and Scheduled Caste males fare hardly any better than Scheduled Caste females. It is only among the Other Caste Hindu males aged 16 years or more that the median years of schooling looks somewhat respectable, though still short of the minimum of ten completed years of schooling that may be considered a reasonable norm. Other Backward Class males fare about the same as Other Caste Hindu females.

The average or mean years of schooling do not look impressive either. Muslims have the lowest mean years of education among both males and females, though the Other Backward Class females are practically as deprived as the Muslim females. Scheduled Castes fare almost as poorly as Muslims do in terms of mean years of schooling while Other Backward Class males fare better. However, it's the Other Caste Hindu who report the highest average years of schooling for both males and females, with Other Caste Hindu females doing better than Other Backward Class males in this regard.

Table 3.17 *Median number of completed years of schooling for population above 16 years, by social group, by sex, Harevli, 2006*

Social group	Female	Male	Persons
Scheduled Caste	0	0.5	0
OBC	0	4	2
Other Caste Hindu	5	9	8
Muslim	0	0	0
All	1	4	2

Table 3.18 *Average number of completed years of schooling for population above 16 years, by social group, by sex, Harevli, 2006*

Social group	Female	Male	Persons
Scheduled Caste	1.2	3.2	2.3
OBC	0.9	5.3	3.2
Other Caste Hindu	7.0	8.9	8.0
Muslim	1.2	1.7	1.4
All	3.2	5.7	4.6

How do the median and mean years of schooling vary across the asset quintiles?

The data is brought together in Tables 3.19 and 3.20. The bottom two quintiles stay at the bottom with respect to both median and mean years of schooling, in the case of both males and females. Half or more of females and males who are aged above 16 years and whose households belong to Q1 and Q2 have had no formal schooling. This is also true for females of the age group in Q3, while the corresponding females in Q4 fare hardly any better. It is only the females from households in the top asset quintile who have had some access-not much- to formal schooling. Educational deprivation as measured by median years of schooling is thus especially severe for females older than 16 years across all but the richest households.

Table 3.19 *Median number of completed years of schooling for population above 16 years, by asset quintile, by sex, Harevli, 2006*

Asset quintile	Female	Male	Persons
Q1	0	0	0
Q2	0	0	0
Q3	0	3	2
Q4	0.5	5.5	4
Q5	5	9	7.5
All	1	4	2

Table 3.20 *Average number of completed years of schooling for population above 16 years, by asset quintile, by sex, Harevli, 2006*

Asset quintile	Female	Male	Persons
Q1	0.8	1.9	1.4
Q2	0.7	2.3	1.6
Q3	1.2	4.1	2.7
Q4	3.9	6.3	5.1
Q5	6.6	9.4	8.2
All	3.2	5.7	4.6

Only among males from the top asset quintile aged more than 16 years does the median years of schooling reach a relatively respectable figure of nine years. On the average, males of Q4 do marginally better than females of Q5, but are well behind males of Q5. Males of Q3 do marginally better than females of Q4 and of course much better than females of Q3.

The overall situation is thus one of massive deprivation in access to formal schooling, practically across the board, and for both females and males, except for the males of the richest asset quintile.

3.7 *Educational Achievements*

Let us now turn to educational achievements of the population across various social groups and asset classes in Harevli. 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 3.22 provides corresponding data by asset quintile.

Table 3.21 *Graduates in the age group 25 years and above, by social group, by sex, Harevli, 2006*

Social group	Number of graduate			As percentage of total population (25 years and above)		
	Female	Male	Persons	Female	Male	Persons
Scheduled Caste	0	2	2	0.0	4.1	2.2
OBC	0	0	0	0.0	0.0	0.0
Other Caste Hindu	4	15	19	8.2	22.4	16.4
Muslim	0	0	0	0.0	0.0	0.0
All	4	17	21	3.0	10.3	7.1

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.

There are only 4 graduates among the 132 females aged 25 years or older in Harevli, and all of them come from Other Caste Hindu households. The number of male graduates in the same age group is 17, more than four times the figure for females, but hardly impressive as a proportion of the 25 plus male population of Harevli which is 166. All but two of the male graduates come from Other Caste Hindu households. The remaining two are from Scheduled Caste households (One is a teacher with asset level of Q3 and one is a salaried govt. employee with asset level of Q5). There are no graduates among Other Backward Classes and Muslims aged 25 years or older. Becoming a graduate has remained a distant dream for most persons in Harevli aged 25 years or older.

Table 3.22 *Graduates in the age group 25 years and above, by asset quintile, by sex, Harevli, 2006*

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	3.9	2.0
Q4	2	2	4	6.5	5.1	5.7
Q5	2	14	16	5.1	26.4	17.4
All	4	17	21	3.0	10.2	7.1

Of the four female graduates, two belong to the top asset quintile Q5 and two to the next quintile Q4. There are no graduates among the females of Harevli aged 25 years or older belonging to households from the bottom three asset quintiles. Of the 17 male graduates, 14 belong to Q5, two to Q4 and one to Q3. Among persons aged 25 years or older belonging to households from the bottom two asset quintiles, there are no graduates, male or female.

Overall, there are only 21 graduates in a population of 298 persons aged 25 years or older in Harevli. Almost all of them are from the richest households in terms of asset ownership and the Other Caste Hindus in terms of social category. All but four of them are males.

Let us now look at the situation with regard to a slightly lower level of educational achievement, namely completion of twelve years of formal education, for persons 25 years and older. The data, sex-wise and across social groups, is presented in Table 3.23. The distribution by asset quintile is given 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, Harevli, 2006*

Social group	Number			As percentage of total population (25 years and above)		
	Female	Male	Persons	Female	Male	Persons
Scheduled Caste	0	4	4	0.0	8.2	4.4
OBC	0	2	2	0.0	5.7	3.2
Other Caste Hindu	10	23	33	20.4	34.3	28.5
Muslim	0	0	0	0.0	0.0	0.0
All	10	29	39	7.6	17.5	13.1

There is not a single female aged 25 years and above from the Other Backward Class, Scheduled Caste and Muslim households who has completed twelve years of formal education. There are just 10 females out of 166 in this age group who have completed twelve years of formal education and *all of them are from the Other Caste Hindu households.* There are 29 males aged 25 years and above who have completed twelve years of formal education and 23 of them come from Other Caste Hindu households. Only four come from Scheduled Caste and only two from Other Backward Class households. No Muslim male in Harevli aged 25 years or older has completed twelve years of formal education.

How do things look across asset quintiles?

Not a single female aged 25 years or more, and from the households in the lowest three asset quintiles in Harevli, has completed twelve years of formal education. Six of the ten females who have done so belong to households in the top asset quintile and the remaining four are from Q4.

What about the males aged 25 years or older? Of the 29 males in this age group in Harevli who have completed twelve years of formal education 26 come from households in Q4 and Q5, two come from Q3, one from Q2 and none from Q1. Educational achievement is clearly very closely related to the asset status of the household.

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, Harevli, 2006*

Asset quintile	Number			As percentage of total population (25 years and above)		
	Female	Male	Persons	Female	Male	Persons
Q1	0	0	0	0.0	0.0	0.0
Q2	0	1	1	0.0	4.0	2.3
Q3	0	2	2	0.0	7.7	4.0
Q4	4	6	10	12.9	15.4	14.3
Q5	6	20	26	15.4	37.7	28.3
All	10	29	39	7.6	17.5	13.1

Continuing our discussion of the variation in educational achievement by social group and asset status, let us take a look at the picture, across social groups and asset quintiles, of the achievement of completion of at least ten years of formal education among those aged 25 years or older. The variation by social group is shown in Table 3.25.

Looking at the educational achievement of females, only 13 females out of 132 - slightly under 10 per cent - in the relevant age group have completed ten years of formal education. All of them belong to Other Caste Hindu households. In a depressing pattern, not a single female aged 25 years or older from the Other Backward Class, Scheduled Caste and Muslim households of Harevli has completed ten years of formal education. The position is somewhat better in respect of males. While a total of 50 males in the specified age group –slightly more than 30 per cent - have completed 10 years of formal education, and more than three-quarters of them are from Other Caste Hindu households, twelve males from other social groups-5 from Scheduled Caste and 7 from Other Backward Class households – have also done so. It still remains true that in proportional terms, the Scheduled Castes and Other Backward Classes, with only one-tenth and one-fifth of the males in the specified age group completing ten years of formal education, are far behind the Other Caste Hindu with a corresponding figure of 57per cent. Sadly, not a single Muslim male or female aged 25 years or older has completed ten years of formal education in Harevli.

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, Harevli, 2006*

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	10.2	5.5
OBC	0	7	7	0.0	20.0	11.1
Other Caste Hindu	13	38	51	26.5	56.7	44.0
Muslim	0	0	0	0.0	0.0	0.0
All	13	50	63	9.9	30.1	21.1

In terms of educational achievement patterns by sex across asset quintiles as measured by the number and proportion of persons completing ten years of formal education, there is again considerable variation. The top two quintiles account for 59 of the 63 persons who have completed ten years of formal education, with only four persons-three from the third quintile and one from the second-being the others to do so. In the case of females, all 19 achievers are from Q5 and Q4, with none from the other three quintiles. Clearly, the asset-poor have been largely excluded from opportunities for educational achievement until at least fairly recently.

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, Harevli, 2006*

Asset quintile	Number			As percentage of total population (25 years and above)		
	Female	Male	Persons	Female	Male	Persons
Q1	0	0	0	0.0	0.0	0.0
Q2	0	1	1	0.0	4.0	2.3
Q3	0	3	3	0.0	11.5	6.0
Q4	4	12	16	12.9	30.8	22.9
Q5	9	34	43	23.1	64.2	46.7
All	13	50	63	9.9	30.1	21.1

Before concluding this discussion of educational achievements, an interesting point can be made. Among the Other Caste Hindu, out of 38 males who completed ten years of formal education, 23 went on to complete 12 years of education and 15 went on to become graduates. But of 7 Other Backward Class males who complete ten years of formal education, only 2 went on to complete 12 and *none* went on to graduate. The Scheduled Caste males fared slightly better than Other Backward Class males. Of five Scheduled Caste males who completed 10 years of formal education, 4 went on to complete 12 and 2 became graduates. For the Other Caste Hindu females, who were the only females to be in the picture at all as far as formal educational achievements go, 13 completed ten years of education. Of them, 10 went on to finish 12 years of formal education and 4 went on to become graduates.

As for the picture in respect of asset quintiles, out of 43 persons from Q5 who completed ten years of formal education, 26 went on to complete 12 years and 16 went on to become graduates, thus showing the best 'conversion' rates. In the case of Q4, out of 16 completing ten years of formal education, 10 went on to complete 12 and 4 became graduates. The corresponding numbers for Q3 were 3, 2 and 1, while they were 1, 1 and 0 for Q2. The households of Q1 were of course nowhere in the picture. A higher asset status clearly provides a greater chance to go further up the educational ladder.

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 Harevli 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, Harevli, 2006*

Social group	Without female literate		Without male literate		Without any adult literate	
	Number	Percentage	Number	Percentage	Number	Percentage
Scheduled Caste	27	81.8	20	60.6	19	57.6
OBC	21	87.5	8	33.3	8	33.3
Other Caste Hindu	1	4.8	0	0.0	0	0.0
Muslim	6	66.7	6	66.7	4	44.4
All	55	63.2	34	39.1	31	35.6

A majority of Scheduled Caste households with children have no literate adult. Most Scheduled Caste and Other Backward Class households and two-thirds of the Muslim households have no adult female literate. The Other Caste Hindu households are in an entirely different situation, with only one household reporting no adult female literate. In all Other Caste Hindu households, there is at least one literate adult female and one literate adult male.

Table 3.28 *Distribution of households with children, by absence of adult literates, by asset quintile, Harevli, 2006*

Asset quintile	Without female literate		Without male literate		Without any adult literate	
	Number	Percentage	Number	Percentage	Number	Percentage
Q1	16	88.9	11	61.1	11	61.1
Q2	16	94.1	12	70.6	12	70.6
Q3	15	83.3	8	44.4	7	38.9
Q4	6	35.3	3	17.7	1	5.9
Q5	2	11.8	0	0.0	0	0.0
All	55	63.2	34	39.1	31	35.6

The picture with respect to asset quintiles is also unsurprising, with the top quintile much better placed, except for the fact that, even in the top asset quintile, there are two households with children without a literate adult female and one without a literate adult male. Most households with children in the bottom three asset quintiles have no literate adult female, and a majority have no literate adult male.

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 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, Harevli, 2006*

Social group	Number	As percentage of all households with children within the social group
Scheduled Caste	2	6.1
OBC	0	0.0
Other Caste Hindu	7	33.3
Muslim	0	0.0
All	9	10.3

Only the Other Caste Hindu households with children show significant achievement, with a third of them reporting at least one male graduate.

In terms of performance across asset quintiles, only the top quintile does well, with a little more than two-fifths of the Q5 households with children reporting at least one male graduate.

Table 3.30 *Households with children with at least one male graduate, by asset quintile, Harevli, 2006*

Asset quintile	Number	As percentage of all households with children within the asset quintile
Q1	0	0.0
Q2	0	0.0
Q3	1	5.6
Q4	1	5.9
Q5	7	41.2
All	9	10.3

Finally, let us look at the picture in relation to a more modest requirement: the presence of at least one female who has passed the tenth class. The relevant information is presented for social groups in Table 3.31 and for asset quintiles in Table 3.32

Table 3.31 *Households with children with at least one female 10th pass by social group, Harevli, 2006*

Social group	Number	As percentage of all households with children within the social group
Scheduled Caste	1	3.0
OBC	1	4.2
Other Caste Hindu	12	57.1
Muslim	0	0.0
All	14	16.1

A majority of Other Caste Hindu households with children have at least one female member who has passed the tenth class. All other social groups have little to show in this regard.

With regard to the distribution across asset quintiles, nearly half the households with children in the top quintile have at least one female member who has passed the tenth class. Besides, more than a third of such households in the fourth quintile also have at least one female who has passed the tenth class. The bottom three asset quintiles draw a complete blank, highlighting the enormous educational deprivation that characterises all but the very rich and rich households.[12]

Table 3.32 *Households with children with at least one female 10th pass by asset quintile, Harevli, 2006*

Asset quintile	Number	As percentage of all households with children within the asset quintile
Q1	0	0.0
Q2	0	0.0
Q3	0	0.0
Q4	6	35.3
Q5	8	47.1
All	14	16.1

This brings to a close our analysis of the state of formal educational achievements and deprivation of the people of Harevli. Our analysis has covered school attendance, children and work, literacy among the general population and among adults, educational achievements and some characteristics of households with children that have a bearing on the household environment for the education of children. The overall picture that emerges is one of massive deprivation in terms of access to and achievements in education. To begin with, not all children aged 6 to 18 years-or even 6 to 14 years-are attending school. Among children aged 6 to 18 years, 30 girls out of a total of 113 and 27 boys

[12] The median value of assets is nearly Rs.2.7 million for Q5 and Rs.0.85 million for Q4, while it is below 0.13 million for Q3 and much less for Q2 and Q1.

out of a total of 121 are out of school. Second, the literacy rates of the 7 plus population at just under 50 per cent for females and 65 per cent for males should be considered quite low overall and especially low for females. Third, the literacy rates among Scheduled Castes and Muslims for both males and females, and that for females among Other Backward Classes are especially low. The same pattern generally holds with respect to most of the other indicators of educational achievement or deprivation. Fourth, there is a large gap between the social category of 'Other Caste Hindus' and the rest in respect of educational achievement, both among males and among females, with Other Caste Hindus much better off. Fifth, the gender gap is smaller among the bottom two asset quintiles as compared to the top three for most of the indicators. Sixth, the gender gap is the highest among Other Backward Classes, followed by the Other Caste Hindus, in respect of almost all indicators.

The educational achievement levels are very poor among the overwhelming majority of households. Even for Other Caste Hindus and for the highest asset quintile, the educational achievements are quite modest. The Other Backward Classes do especially poorly in terms of the education of females.

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. Interestingly, the literacy rate for females in the age cohort of 6 to 17 years is higher than that for males. However, the overall levels of educational deprivation remain huge and needs to be tackled urgently. The fact that Harevli has only one primary school and no middle or high school is a serious impediment for girls wishing to study beyond the primary level. The fact that very few children in the age group of 0 to 6 years attend the anganwadi is striking, especially against the fact that four children in this age group go to a private nursery school. The sizeable incidence of child labour in the village is a matter of serious concern.

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

4. *AMENITIES*

Access to basic amenities, such as decent shelter, safe drinking water, toilets and electricity, have important implications for the well being of children. In this subsection, in order to focus on the state of amenities as they relate to children, we present and discuss data on amenities *for households with children.*

4.1 *Housing*

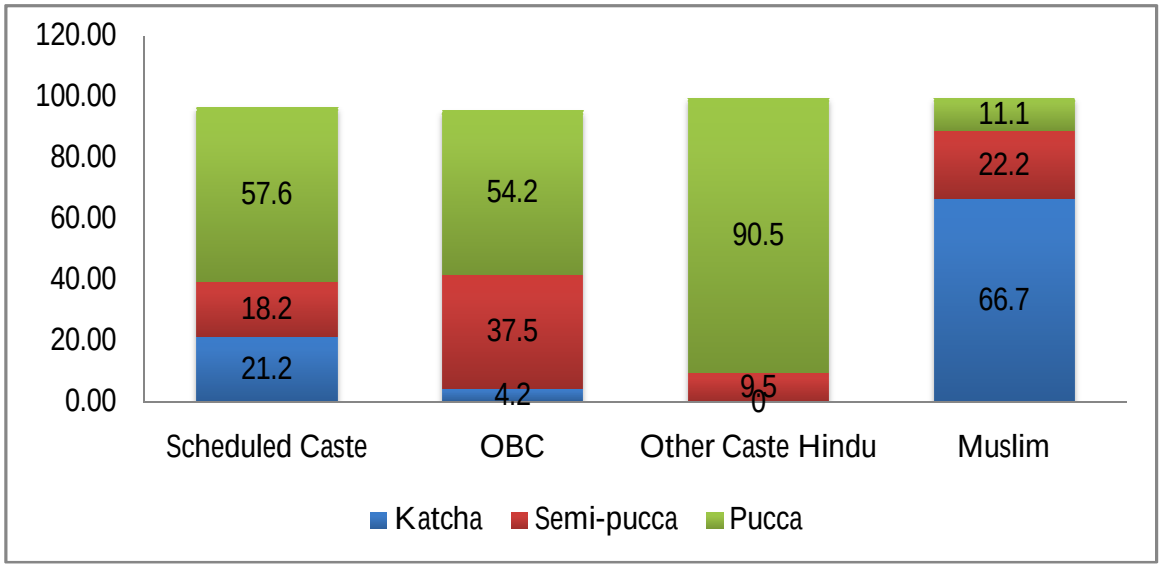
Table 4.1 presents data on the distribution of households with children by social group and type of housing.

Table 4.1 *Distribution of households with children, by type of housing, by social group, Harevli, 2006* (in percent)

Social group	Katcha	Semi-pucca	Pucca	Unspecified	All
Scheduled Caste	21.2	18.2	57.6	3.0	100.0
OBC	4.2	37.5	54.2	4.1	100.0
Other Caste Hindu	0.0	9.5	90.5	0.0	100.0
Muslim	66.7	22.2	11.1	0.0	100.0
All	16.1	21.8	59.8	2.3	100.0

NOTE 5: Pucca houses are houses with both roof and walls constructed of permanent materials. Katcha houses are houses with both roof and walls constructed of temporary materials. Semi-pucca houses are those with either roof or walls constructed of permanent materials. (This is the standard definition followed by the Census of India and the National Sample Survey Organisation, Government of India).

Figure 4.1 *Distribution of households with children, by type of housing, by social group, Harevli, 2006*

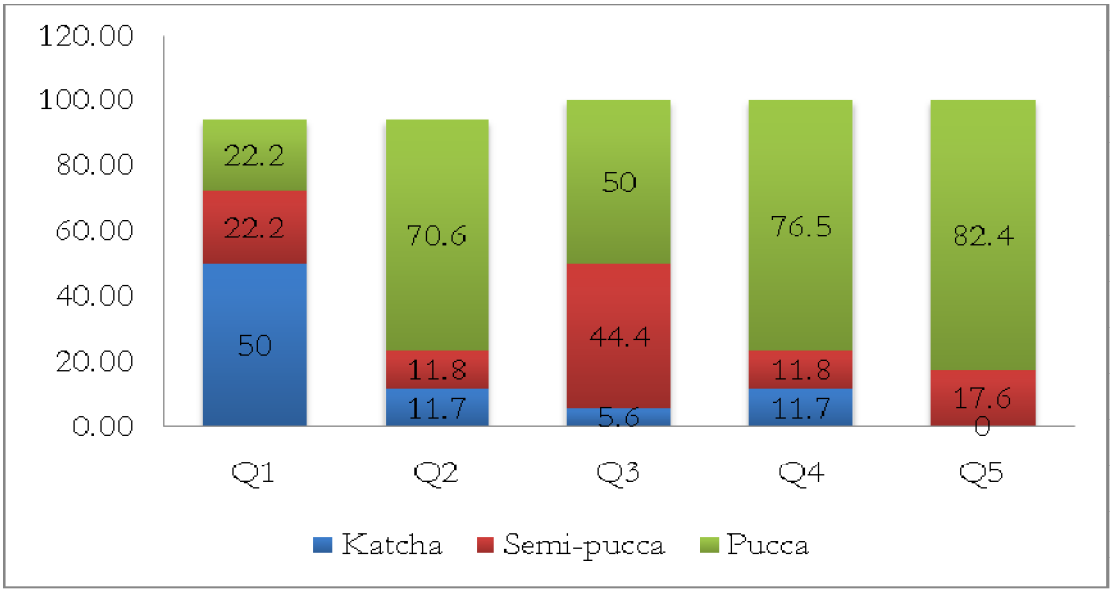


Predictably, Other Caste Hindu households enjoy the best housing conditions, with over 90 per cent living in pucca houses. Muslims are most poorly off, with nearly two-thirds living in katcha houses and only one-ninth living in pucca houses. A majority of Scheduled Caste and Other Backward Class households live in pucca houses, with Scheduled Castes doing marginally better than Other Backward Classes. However, while slightly over one-fifth of the Scheduled Castes live in katcha houses, the corresponding proportion for Other Backward Classes is a little less than one in twenty. Table 4.2 shows the distribution of households with children by type of housing for each of the asset quintiles.

Table 4.2 *Distribution of households with children, by type of housing, by asset quintile, Harevli, 2006* (in per cent)

Asset quintile	Katcha	Semi-pucca	Pucca	Unspecified	All
Q1	50.0	22.2	22.2	5.6	100.0
Q2	11.7	11.8	70.6	5.9	100.0
Q3	5.6	44.4	50.0	0.0	100.0
Q4	11.7	11.8	76.5	0.0	100.0
Q5	0.00	17.6	82.4	0.0	100.0
All	16.1	21.8	59.8	2.3	100.0

Figure 4.2 *Distribution of households with children, by type of housing, by asset quintile, Harevli, 2006*



The divide across asset quintiles is sharpest in the case of the bottom quintile where half the households live in katcha houses. While the households in the top two asset quintiles predictably

enjoy the best housing conditions, households in the second asset quintile fare better on the average than those in the third. Since nearly three-fourths of the households in Q2 are Scheduled Castes as against only 50 per cent among Q3 households, this outcome could be on account of housing schemes specifically for Scheduled Castes availed by those in the second asset quintile.

However, the categorization of house types into katcha, pucca and semi-pucca, relates only to one aspect of the quality of shelter. Of importance in assessing the quality of shelter would also be other aspects such as the number of rooms. Tables 4.3 present the distribution of households with children living in one room houses by social group. Table 4.4 presents the same distribution by asset quintile.

The pattern is somewhat different from that for type of housing. As with the type of housing, the Other Caste Hindus fare the best, with only one household living in a house with a single room. But, unlike with the distribution by type of housing where the Scheduled Castes had a marginally higher proportion living in pucca houses than the Other Backward Classes, the Other Backward Classes have a far lower proportion - one in five - living in single room houses. The Scheduled Castes and Muslims fare most poorly, with more than two-thirds of Muslim households and over three-fifths of Scheduled Caste households living in houses with one room. Overall, while the proportion of households living in katcha houses is one-sixth, that living in single room houses is much higher at nearly three-eighths.

Table 4.3 *Number of households with children living in single room houses by social groups, Harevli, 2006*

Social group	Number of households	As percentage of all households with children
Scheduled Caste	20	60.6
OBC	5	20.8
Other Caste Hindu	1	4.8
Muslim	6	66.7
All	32	36.8

The picture with respect to asset quintiles is unambiguous. The top two quintiles are the best placed, with only one household in the fourth quintile and none from Q5 living in a single room house. A majority of the households in the bottom three quintiles live in single room houses. The proportion goes up to nearly three-fourth for the bottom quintile.

Table 4.4 *Number of households with children living in single room houses by asset quintile, Harevli, 2006*

Asset quintile	Number of households	As percentage of all households
Q1	13	72.2
Q2	12	70.6
Q3	6	33.3
Q4	1	5.9
Q5	0	0.0
All	32	36.8

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

4.2 *Access to electricity for domestic use*

A key household amenity with implications for children's education is electricity. Data on the distribution of households with children by access to electric connection for domestic use by social group and by asset quintile are presented in Tables 4.5 and 4.6 respectively. The scale of deprivation is striking. It is only among the Other Caste Hindu households that access to electric connection for domestic use is high, with only three out of 21 not having access. The situation is very dismal for all other social groups, with the Scheduled Castes being the worst off.

Table 4.5 *Households with children with electric connection for domestic use, by social group, Harevli, 2006*

Social groups	Number of households	As percentage of all households with children
Scheduled Caste	4	12.1
OBC	6	25.0
Other Caste Hindu	18	85.7
Muslim	3	33.3
All	31	35.6

Across asset quintiles, only the top quintile has a high degree of access, though even there three out of seventeen do not have access to an electric connection for domestic use. A little over half of all Q4 households with children have access to an electric connection for domestic use. Only a few households in the bottom three quintiles, less than one-sixth in proportional terms, have access to an electric connection for domestic use.

Table 4.6 *Households with children with electric connection for domestic use, by asset quintile, Harevli, 2006*

Asset quintile	Number of households	As percentage of all households
Q1	2	11.1
Q2	2	11.8
Q3	4	22.2
Q4	8	47.1
Q5	15	88.2
All	31	35.6

The existence of an electricity connection is of course only a necessary and not a sufficient condition for obtaining electricity! The latter depends, among other things, on the availability and supply of power by the service provider. Given the inequalities in housing in terms of the number of rooms and their sizes as also the variation in ownership of electrically operated devices such as fans, there is bound to be significant inequality in household electricity consumption across social groups as well as across asset quintiles.

4.3 *Drinking Water*

Access to drinking water, especially safe drinking water, is critical to daily existence. It is well known that this is a need significantly underserved in rural India. While official definitions of safe drinking water are unsatisfactory, even data on household access to drinking water by source is not especially reliable. However, we have good quality data from the FAS census of Harevli on access to drinking water for households, disaggregated by social category and by asset quintile. The distribution of households with children by primary source of drinking water for the various social groups is shown in Table 4.7. The distribution by access to a covered source of drinking water and social group is shown in Table 4.8. The corresponding distribution by asset quintiles is shown in Table 4.9.

Table 4.7 *Distribution of households with children by primary source of drinking water, Harevli, 2006*

Source	Number of households	As percentage of all households with children
Hand pump	76	87.3
Powered tubewell	1	1.2
Tap	10	11.5
All	87	100.0

The data suggest that all households in Harevli have access to a covered source of drinking water - which qualifies officially as 'safe' drinking water – and that the hand pump is the primary source of drinking water for nearly nine-tenth of the people.

A relevant question that arises is whether the source of drinking water is within the house, and if not, at what distance is it from the house. This has a gender dimension, since it is often the women of a household who fetch water for domestic use. Table 4.8 presents the distribution of households in Harevli with children by distance from source of drinking water, by social group. Table 4.9 presents the corresponding distribution, by asset quintile in place of social group.

Overall, 72 out of 85 households with children - nearly 85 per cent - have a drinking water source within the homestead. Such a situation is practically universal among all social groups except the Scheduled Castes. Among Scheduled Castes, however, 10 out of 33 households – 30 per cent - do not have a source of drinking water within the homestead or just outside.

Table 4.8 *Number of households with children, by distance from source of drinking water, by social group, Harevli, 2006*

Social group	Within homestead or just outside	≤ 500 metres	> 500 metres	Unspecified
Scheduled Caste	23	10	0	0
OBC	22	1	0	1
Other Caste Hindu	19	1	0	1
Muslim	8	1	0	0
All	72	13	0	2

The distribution by asset quintile shows that practically all households in the top three asset quintiles have a source of drinking water within the homestead or just outside. The situation is very different with poor households. In the bottom asset quintile, nearly 40 per cent have to fetch water from well outside the homestead. In the second quintile, the corresponding figure is a little over 23 per cent. So, poorer households are less advantageously placed in respect of the distance from where they have to fetch drinking water.[13]

[13] Access to a source of drinking water does not tell us much about the quantity or the quality of water, in relation to the needs of the household. This, too, needs to be kept in mind.

Table 4.9 *Number of households with children, by distance from source of drinking water, by asset quintile, Harevli, 2006*

Asset quintile	Within homestead or just outside	≤ 500 metres	> 500 metres	Unspecified
Q1	11	7	0	0
Q2	13	4	0	0
Q3	17	1	0	0
Q4	15	1	0	1
Q5	16	0	0	1
All	72	13	0	2

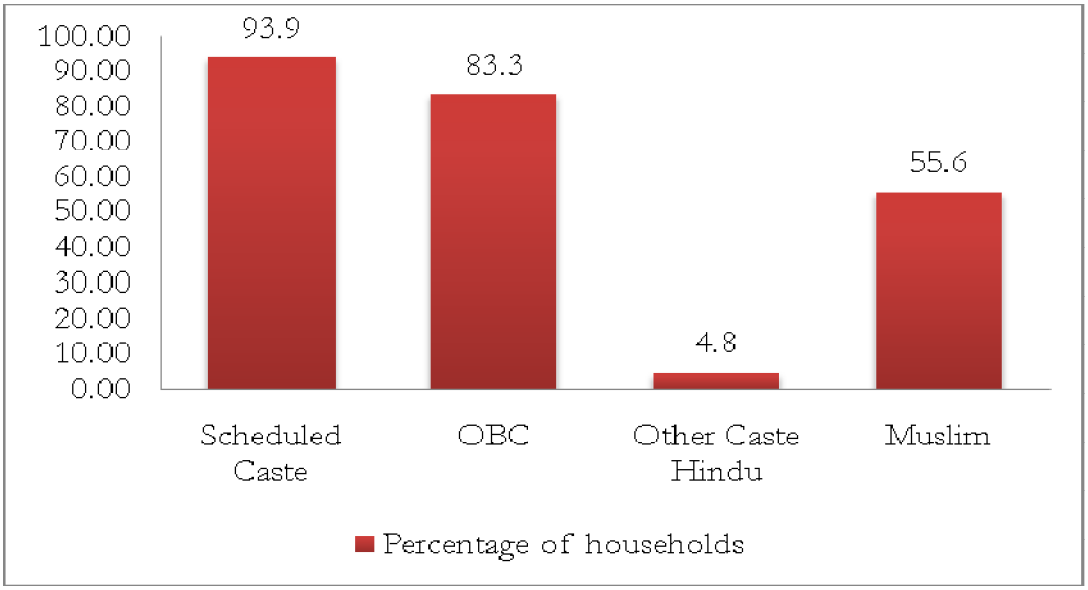
4.4 *Lavatories*

Sanitation is an important factor in preventive health care. Provision of adequate facilities in this regard is an essential part of public health policy. The extent of access of the members of a population to lavatories is an important dimension in any discussion of amenities. Tables 4.10 and 4.11 present the distribution of households with children without access to a lavatory, by social group and asset quintile respectively.

Table 4.10 *Households with children without access to lavatories, by social group, Harevli, 2006*

Social group	Number of households	As percentage of all households with children
Scheduled Caste	31	93.9
OBC	20	83.3
Other Caste Hindu	1	4.8
Muslim	5	55.6
All	57	65.5

Figure 4.3 *Households with children without access to lavatories, by social group, Harevli, 2006*

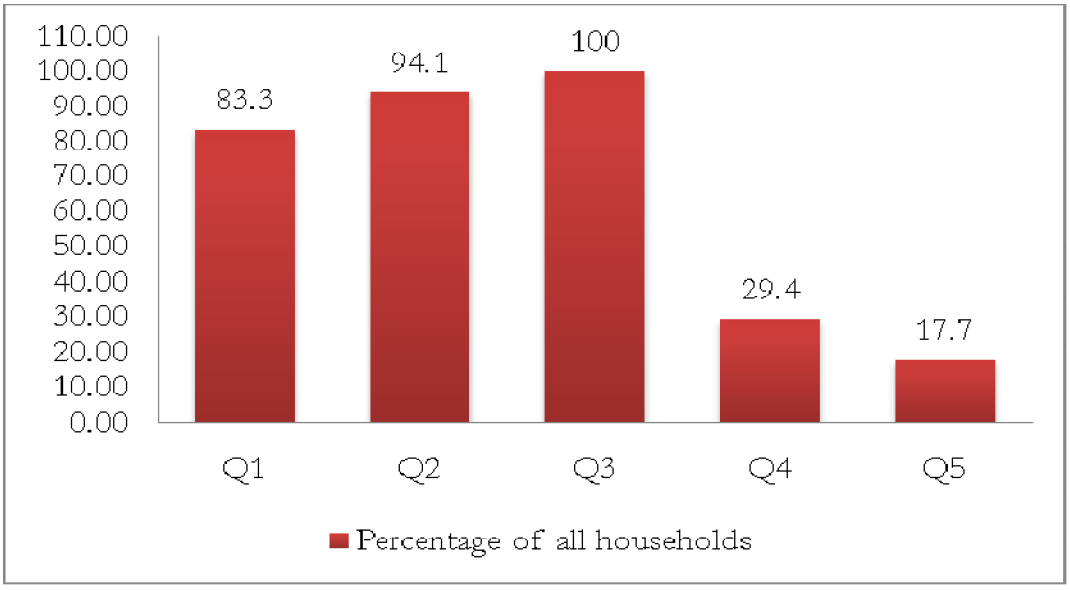


Most of the Other Backward Class and Scheduled Caste households with children do not have access to lavatories. In contrast, only one Other Caste Hindu household lacks access to a lavatory. Interestingly, and somewhat surprisingly, four out of the nine Muslim households with children do have access to a lavatory.

Table 4.11 *Households with children without access to lavatories, by asset quintile, Harevli, 2006*

Asset quintile	Number of households	As percentage of all households
Q1	15	83.3
Q2	16	94.1
Q3	18	100.0
Q4	5	29.4
Q5	3	17.7
All	57	65.5

Figure 4.4 *Households with children without access to lavatories, by asset quintile, Harevli, 2006*



The divide between the rich and the rest in respect of access to lavatories comes out clearly from Table 4.13. Most of the households in the bottom three asset quintiles lack access to lavatories. In contrast, only three households in the top quintile lack such access. Around 70 per cent of households in Q4 have access to lavatories.

Overall, the situation with respect to sanitation by way of access to lavatories is quite poor. Nearly two-thirds of all households lack access to lavatories. And there is great inequality in access as between Other Caste Hindu households and Other Backward Class households. Similarly, there is a clear rich-poor divide.

TWO CASE STUDIES

Living conditions of a Tyagi household

A typical rich Tyagi house in Harevli is a fully pucca structure constructed on a large plot of homestead land in the central part of the village, an area which is high land and safe from flooding. The area in which Tyagi houses are situated has pucca streets with drainage facility, street lights installed by individual households, a few open spaces, and provision for the supply of drinking water. The village temple and ration shop are also located in this area.

Consider the house of Prabhu Dayal Tyagi. It is constructed with pucca or permanent materials: the walls are constructed with brick and cement with cement plaster on them, the roof is made of brick and concrete and the floor is made of stone and cement in all the rooms. The structure is double-storeyed with a total of four rooms, three on the ground floor and one on the first floor. The house has a separate kitchen and a store room too. The house premises includes a big courtyard and open space. The open space is used for multiple activities including social gatherings, drying grain in the sunlight, drying clothes, as a play area for children and a place to sleep during the hot summers. There are a total of five members in Prabhu Dayal Tyagi's household of whom two are school going children and three are adults. The household has an electricity connection for domestic use and they own several electrical appliances. As the electricity supply is erratic and unreliable the house has an inverter. The dwelling place has provision for a separate bathing place and a flush toilet which is used by all the members throughout the year. The house has a public water supply connection and an individually installed handpump for its exclusive use within the compound. The public water supply is operated by the panchayat and water supply is not regular due to the irregularity of electricity supply. As a result the household uses water from the handpump for drinking and other domestic uses. This family has another site just a few meters away from the main dwelling on which they have constructed a cattle shed, a store room to keep animal fodder, and a room for men to meet and spend time with their guests. This room is also used by the head of the household as a bedroom.

Living conditions of a Dalit household

All the Dalit families of village live in houses located in a separate and segregated cluster away from the main village settlement. The basti is a lowland area which gets flooded during the monsoon season every year. The area does not have a pucca road, drainage, electricity or provision for water supply. This settlement is highly congested and as a result lack open spaces, private as well as common spaces.

Chhote Lal is a landless agricultural labourer living in a katcha single-room structure in this settlement. There is a cattle shed adjacent to his house. There are five persons in the household including two school going children (out of three children one dropped out from school). Walls of the structure are made of mud and unburnt bricks and polythene, bamboo and thatch have been used for the roof. The floor of the hut is of mud. The roof needs repair before every rainy season, but even then it sometimes leaks if there is heavy rain. The household uses a kerosene oil lamp for lighting and the children study with the lamp light. The household does not have a proper bathing place nor access to a toilet facility. Female members of the household take a bath in the room when no one is at home. All members of the household go to the fields for defecation: the women have to go either early in the morning or after sunset to avoid the embarrassment attached to this practice. The household fetches water for drinking as well as other domestic purposes from a public hand pump, which is almost two hundred meters away. Around twenty households of this settlement are dependent on this source of water.

Source: Shamsher Singh.

Overall, how does Harevli fare with respect to household amenities? Our examination of the endowments of households with children in respect of certain basic household amenities-*domestic electricity connections, pucca houses with more than just a shanty room in which to live, safe water sources within households and access to latrines*-shows that the general picture was one of highly inadequate achievement for the majority, and some degree of inequality across social groups and asset classes. Persons in the top asset quintile and in the social group of Other Caste Hindus are much better provided for than the rest. The most disturbing feature, with respect to the provision or lack thereof 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.

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

5. *ECONOMIC SITUATION OF WOMEN*

5.1 *Marital Status*

Table 5.1 shows the marital status of women aged 18 years and above in Harevli as per the FAS survey of 2006. Table 5.1a provides the age distribution of widows in Harevli.

Table 5.1 *Distribution of women (18 years and above) by current marital status, Harevli, 2006*

Current marital status	Number of women	As percentage of all women
Never married	26	15.0
Currently married	134	77.5
Widowed	13	7.5
All	173	100.0

Table 5.2 *Age distribution of widowed women (18 years and above), Harevli, 2006*

Age group	Number	As percentage of all women within the age group
18 years to 49 years	0	0.0
50 years to 59 years	4	20.0
60 years to 69 years	5	29.4
≥ 70 years	4	50.0
All	13	7.5

Note:
1. According to Census 1981, widows form 64 per cent of the women in the age group 60 years and above.
2. According to Census 1981, widows account for 80 per cent of women in the age group 70 years and above.
3. According to NFHS-2 (1998-99), widows account for 58per cent of women aged 60 years and above.
4. According to NFHS-3 (2005-06), 3.2per cent of women in the age group 15-49 years are widows.

Widows form 7.5 per cent of all women aged 18 years and above. There are no widows below the age of 50. In the age group of 70 years and above, half of all women are widows.[14] In all, there are 25 women aged 60 years and above, of whom 9 are widows. Thus, the proportion of widows in the age group of women 60 years and older is 36 per cent, much lower than the figure of 58 per cent reported in NFHS-2.

[14] The Census of India 1981 gives a figure of 80 % for the proportion of widows to all females in the age group 70 years and older.

5.2 *Women in the workforce*

An important aspect of the economic and social status of women in a society is the extent of their presence in the workforce. Table 5.3 provides the distribution of the proportions of working population among males and females 18 years and older by social group in Harevli. Table 5.4 provides the data on work participation rate of women aged 18 years and older by marital status. Table 5.4 presents a picture of the activity profile of women aged 18 years and older.

Table 5.3 *Proportion of working population (18 years and above), by sex, by social group, Harevli, 2006*

Social group	Female		Male		Persons	
	Number	Percentage	Number	Percentage	Number	Percentage
Scheduled Caste	30	61.2	54	90.0	84	77.1
OBC	18	46.2	42	95.5	60	72.3
Other Caste Hindu	5	7.9	71	88.8	76	53.2
Muslim	12	54.6	16	88.9	28	70.0
All	65	37.6	183	90.6	248	66.1

There is a striking contrast between Other Caste Hindus and other social groups when it comes to the proportion of women aged 18 and above in the working population. Scheduled Castes show the highest work force participation rate among adult women, followed by Muslims. The figure for Other Backward Class women is distinctly lower than that for Scheduled Castes, whereas among males Other Backward Classes have a higher work force participation rate than Scheduled Castes. This is of some interest, though we shall not pursue it here. Interestingly, as Table 5.5 shows, there is little variation in work force proportions of adult women by marital status.

Table 5.4 *Work participation rate of women (18 years and above), by marital status, Harevli, 2006*

Marital status	Number	WPR
Never married	10	38.5
Currently married	50	37.3
Widowed	5	38.5
All	65	37.6

Table 5.5 *Activity profile of women (18 years and above), Harevli, 2006*

Occupation	Number of women participating in the activity	As percentage of all women
Cultivation	13	7.5
Agricultural wage employment	37	21.4
Animal husbandry	25	14.5
Non-agricultural wage employment	3	1.7
Non-agricultural self employment	3	1.7
Salaried employment	2	1.2

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

Unsurprisingly, the number of females reporting agricultural wage employment as an activity exceeds the numbers reporting any other activity. It is also interesting to note that the number of women reporting animal husbandry as an activity is nearly double the number reporting cultivation as an activity. These three activities are the main ones in which adult women in the work force in Harevli are engaged in. Both self and wage employment outside of agriculture including crop and animal husbandry remain minuscule in the case of women in the work force in Harevli.

5.3 *Women as Heads of Households*

A question of some importance in an examination of the economic and social status of women in a village is the presence of women as heads of households. There were only five female-headed households in Harevli, distributed quite evenly.

It is generally the case in patriarchal India that women are reported as heads of households only when there is some specific circumstance, such as the previous male head being no more or not living in the household any more or of there being no earning adult male in the household and so on. The number of female headed households in Harevli is small, making it difficult to say anything significant. Nevertheless, three female heads were widowed and two were currently married.

Also in terms of family size, out of five female headed households, one is a single person household. In the case of the 107 male headed households, there are five single-person households. This is

consistent with the broader picture of a much higher proportion of female headed households being single person ones than is the case with male headed households.

A look at the age distribution of female and male heads of households is instructive. Table 5.6 presents the distribution of male and female heads of households by specified age groups. Four out of the five female heads are 50 years or older and the remaining one is aged between 35 and 50 years. There is no female head of household below 35 years of age. By contrast, there are 50 male heads out of a total of 107 who are under 50 years of age, and 14 of them are below 35 years of age. It is clear that, for the most part, it is almost a *necessary* condition that either the spouse must be dead or not living in the household for a woman to be recognized and reckoned as the head of a household. It is of course not a *sufficient* condition. For instance, in many cases, the eldest adult male off spring of the oldest woman in the household will often be perceived and reported as head of a household rather than the eldest woman member. Under the circumstances, it also follows that the average age of a female head of household will tend to be higher than that of a male head. In fact, often the household with a male head will have a female member older than the head, but the converse will rarely be the case.

Table 5.6 *Distribution of female and male head of households, by age group, Harevli, 2006*

Age group	Female		Male	
	Number	Percentage	Number	Percentage
up to 34 years	0	0.0	14	13.1
35 years to 49 years	1	20.0	36	33.6
50 years to 60 years	2	40.0	26	24.3
Above 60 years	2	40.0	31	29.0
All	5	100.0	107	100.0

The rather brief look we have taken in this section at some aspects of the status of women in Harevli with respect to marital status, work participation rates, activity profile, and some characteristics of male and female heads of households demonstrate clearly the unequal status of women in rural India and their multiple deprivations.

Uttar Pradesh: Mahatwar Village

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1. *LOCATION AND INFRASTRUCTURE*

Mahatwar village is in Rasra tehsil, Ballia district, eastern Uttar Pradesh.

Mahatwar is located on the side of the highway linking the towns of Rasra and Mau, and the people of the village have access to bus and jeep services to nearby towns as well as to larger cities such as Varanasi. Some basic information on its location and infrastructure is provided in Tables 1.1 and 1.2. The town nearest to Mahatwar, located at a distance of 2 kilometers, is Pakwainar. It is also the nearest railway station. The village has a primary school and an anganwadi centre. There are no other schools in Mahatwar. The nearest health sub centre is 6 km away. There is neither a bank branch nor a post office within the village.

Table 1.1 *Location of the village, Mahatwar, 2006*

Village	Mahatwar
District	Ballia
Block/Tehsil	Rasra
Nearest town	Pakwainar
Distance from nearest town	2 Km.
Nearest railway station	Rajimalpur/ Pakwainar
Distance from nearest railway station	2 Km.
Bus stop within the village	Yes
Metalled approach road	Yes (Only 1 Km.)

Mahatwar is a multi-caste village, with 10 different castes. Dalits accounted for 60 per cent of all households. The dominant land-owners were Brahmin and Rajput families. At the time of our survey, there were 156 households and 1,122 persons resident in the village. The village records report the entire geographical area of 148 hectares as being available for cultivation and all but two hectares of it as being irrigated. Irrigation is from groundwater, using tubewells energized by diesel or electricity. The major crops grown in Mahatwar are paddy during the kharif season and wheat (sometimes inter-cropped with mustard) during the rabi season.

Table 1.2 *Description of village infrastructure and amenities, Mahatwar, 2006*

Item	Number / description
Number of anganwadi centre within village	1
Number of primary schools (Std I-V) within village	1
Number of middle schools (up to Std VIII) within village*	0
Number of secondary schools (up to Std X) within village*	0
Number of higher secondary schools (up to Std XII) within village*	0
Distance from nearest PHC	2 Km.
Distance from nearest health sub centre	6 Km.
Post office within the village	No
Bank within the village	No

*There is a middle school at Rasulpur which is not a part of Mahatwar village but comes under Mahatwar Panchyat. The nearest secondary as well as higher secondary school is located at Pakwainar, which is at a distance of 2 km. from the village.

Land distribution in the village is characterised by the prevalence of very small holdings. Our survey shows that 20 per cent of the households in the village did not own agricultural land, and about 71 per cent owned less than 1 acre each. Non-agricultural occupations, within and outside the village, provided an important source of income to resident households.

Table 1.3 *Land use and population, Mahatwar, 2001*

Village			Area (in hectares)	As percentage of geographical area
Geographical area			148	100.00
Land use (as percentage of geographical area)	Area under cultivation	Irrigated	146	98.65
		Unirrigated	2	1.35

Source: Census of India 2001

Table 1.4 *Agro-economic features of the village, Mahatwar, 2006*

Agro-ecological region (National Agricultural Research Project classification)	Eastern Plain zone
Major crops grown (by crop seasons)	Kharif: Paddy Rabi: Wheat (sometimes intercropped with Mustard), Rapeseed
Major sources of irrigation	Government canal, Ground water (using tubewells energized by diesel or electricity)

2. *DEMOGRAPHY*

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

Tables 2.1 and 2.2 provide data on the social composition of the population of Mahatwar in 2006.

Table 2.1 *Distribution of households, by social group, Mahatwar, 2006*

Social group	Total number of households	As percentage of all households
Scheduled Caste	94	60.3
OBC	50	32.0
Other Castes	12	7.7
All	156	100.0

Table 2.2 *Distribution of population by caste and sex, Mahatwar, 2006*

	Number			As percentage of all households		
Social group	Female	Male	Persons	Female	Male	Persons
Scheduled Caste	314	324	638	56.2	57.5	56.9
OBC	185	188	373	33.1	33.4	33.2
Other Castes	60	51	111	10.7	9.1	9.9
All	559	563	1122	100.0	100.0	100.0

We have grouped the population into three broad social categories: Scheduled Castes (SCs), Other Backward Classes (OBCs) and Other Castes (OC). There are no Scheduled Tribe or non-Hindu households in Mahatwar. Scheduled Castes form 60 per cent of all households and a slightly smaller share of the population. Other Backward Classes account for almost one-third and Other Castes for one-tenth of the population. The average household size was the highest for Other Castes at 9.2. The Scheduled Castes had the lowest average household size, itself a high 6.8, while the figure for Other Backward Classes was 7.3. While being numerically relatively small part of the population, the Other Castes constitute the socially and economically dominant social group in Mahatwar. The population sex ratio for Mahtawar is 993 as per the FAS survey, a good deal higher than the 2001 census figure of 953 and the 2011 census figure of 933 for the district of Ballia to which Mahatawar belongs. It is also much higher than the figures for the state of Uttar Pradesh at 898 in 2001 and 908 in 2011. It may be tempting to ascribe this to the high proportion of Scheduled Castes in the population, but that would be quite wrong. If anything, the Scheduled Castes have the lowest sex ratio among the three major social groups at 969, closely followed by the Other Backward Classes at 984. The sex ratio for Other Castes, on the other hand, slightly less than 1200! Again, not much

should be read into these numbers since they are quite small in the context of arriving at robust values for a parameter such as the sex ratio which is reckoned as females per 1000 males.

Table 2.3 presents the distribution of the population of Mahatwar in 2006 by age group.

Mahatwar has a strikingly young population. Persons below 18 years of age amount to 545 persons or nearly half the population. The child sex ratio at 1068 for the village is much higher than the national average at 927 in 2001 and 914 in 2011. It is of course very much higher than the figures for the state of Uttar Pradesh at 916 in 2001 and 899 in 2011.The child sex ratios for the district of Ballia at 942 in 2001 and 897 in 2011 are also much lower than that for Mahatwar. The caveat on the smallness of the numbers of course applies, with only 110 girls and 103 boys in the age groups of 0 to 5 years.

Table 2.3 *Distribution of population by age and sex, Mahatwar, 2006*

	Population			As percentage of total population		
Age group	Female	Male	Persons	Female	Male	Persons
0 to < 3 years	36	34	70	6.44	6.04	6.24
3 years to 6 years	74	69	143	13.24	12.26	12.75
7 years to 9 years	47	50	97	8.41	8.88	8.65
10 years to 14 years	82	72	154	14.67	12.79	13.73
15 years to 17 years	44	37	81	7.87	6.57	7.22
18 years to 24 years	63	73	136	11.27	12.97	12.12
25 years to 34 years	60	62	122	10.73	11.01	10.87
35 years to 49 years	79	82	161	14.13	14.56	14.35
50 years to 59 years	29	24	53	5.19	4.26	4.72
60 years to 69 years	30	43	73	5.37	7.64	6.51
$\geq$ 70 years	15	17	32	2.68	3.02	2.85
All	559	563	1122	100.00	100.00	100.00

Sex Ratios, defined as the number of females per 1000 males: (0 to 6 years): 1067.96;
0-17: 1080; 18-49: 931; 60+: 750; All: 993.

Interestingly, there are far fewer women than men in the age group of 60 years and older, making for a sex ratio of 750 in this age group. While numbers are small, there are reasons to suggest that female longevity in this village and many others in the state of Uttar Pradesh is much lower than in many other states in the country and lower than that for men in Mahatwar. This, in turn, may have some links to the large differentials in literacy and other inputs relevant to survival between women and men, with women suffering greater deprivation than men. The female to male ratio is also low in the reproductive age group of 18 to 49 years at 931. More generally, females seem to have a

relative survival advantage prior to reaching adulthood, with a sex ratio at 1080 for the age group 0-17 years but lose it thereafter!

Turning to the question of household size, Table 2.4 presents the distribution of households by size. The average household size is 7.2, much higher than the average household sizes that were found in the villages surveyed by FAS in Andhra Pradesh. The average household size for Mahatwar is also distinctly higher than that for Harevli in western Uttar Pradesh at 6.0. At one end, 35.2 per cent of households have 8 or more. At the other end, 32 per cent have household sizes of 5 or less.

Table 2.5 shows the distribution of households without children by social group. In striking contrast to the villages surveyed in 2005 by the FAS in Andhra Pradesh, in each of which more than a third of all households had no children as members, only 7 out of 156 households in Mahatwar are without children.[15] Even in Harevli, which is in the western region of U.P., 25 out of 112 households have no children as members. The numbers for Mahatwar reflect a very young population with a long demographic transition ahead. Of the 55 households with 8 or more persons, only six were nuclear families. All the rest were joint or extended families.

Table 2.4 *Distribution of households by household size, Mahatwar, 2006*

Household size	Number of household	As percentage of all households	Average size of the household
2	6	3.8	2
3	6	3.8	3
4	21	13.5	4
5	17	10.9	5
6	27	17.3	6
7	24	15.4	7
8	17	10.9	8
9	10	6.4	9
≥10	28	17.9	13.1
All	156	100.0	7.2

[15] The proportion was 45 per cent in Ananthavaram in Andhra Pradesh, surveyed by FAS in 2005, with no social group reporting less than 30 per cent. It was 34.6 per cent and 36.3 per cent respectively in Bukkacherla and Kothapalle, the other two villages in Andhra Pradesh surveyed by FAS in 2005.

Table 2.5 *Number and proportion of households without children, by social group, Mahatwar, 2006*

Social Group	Number of households without children	Total Number of households	Households without children as percentage of total households
Scheduled Caste	3	94	3.2
OBC	3	50	6.1
Other Castes	1	12	7.7
All	7	156	4.5

Table 2.6 provides information on the distribution of average number of children per household by size of household. The average number of children per household is high at 3.5 when all households are considered. It is marginally higher at 3.6 when only households with children are considered. While this indicates that Mahatwar is well behind even Harevli in terms of a demographic transition, one must also recall that even in Eastern Uttar Pradesh-and more specifically, in Ballia district where Mahatwar is located-there has been an absolute decline in the number of children aged 6 or less between 2001 and 2011. Thus, going by the provisional figures of the 2011 Census, the number of children aged 6 years or less fell from 516976 in 2001 to 444884 in 2001 for Ballia district. This is a decline slightly in excess of 15 per cent.

Table 2.6 *Average number of children per household by household size, Mahatwar, 2006*

Household size	Number of households	Average number of children
1	0	0.0
2	6	0.5
3	6	0.7
4	21	1.7
5	17	2.4
6	27	2.9
7	24	3.9
8	17	4.0
9	10	4.8
≥10	28	6.2
All	156	3.5

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? Mahatwar, 2006*

Children living in the same household with	Number of children			As percentage of all children		
	Female	Male	Persons	Female	Male	Persons
Both parents	238	226	464	84.1	86.3	85.1
Mother, not father	30	23	53	10.6	8.8	9.7
Father, not mother	10	10	20	3.5	3.8	3.7
Neither parents but with other family members	2	3	5	0.7	1.1	0.9
Spouse/spouse's parents	3	0	3	1.1	0.0	0.6
All	283	262	545	100.0	100.0	100.0

The percentage of children living with both parents in the same household is somewhat smaller than in the case of Harevli in 2006 as well as of all the Andhra Pradesh villages surveyed by FAS in 2005. The proportion of children living with the mother, but not the father, is slightly under one-tenth while the reverse proportion is a little under 4 per cent.

In all, 53 children were living with the mother, but not the father. We found that in only 15 of these instances was the mother a widow. In the other 38 cases, the father had gone out of Mahatwar to earn a living. Most of these men had found employment in the cities of Delhi, Ahmedabad and Mumbai. Of these migrant fathers, 20 belonged to Scheduled Caste, 13 to Other Backward Class and 6 to Other Caste households. Twenty-four of the men came from households in the top two asset quintiles, and another twelve from the third quintile. Only two came from the second lowest asset quintile and none at all from the poorest quintile. It appears that men from households with some assets are mobile and do seek employment far away from Mahatwar.

Of the twenty children living with the father but not the mother, in 19 instances, the mother was not alive. In the remaining one instance, we have no information on the mother. Seventy per cent of these children came from Scheduled Caste households and 65 per cent from the poorest two quintiles. These children thus seem to belong to a somewhat different set of households in terms of asset class and social composition than the ones staying with the mother but not the father.

Unlike in Harevli where all the nineteen cases of children living with only one parent related to Scheduled Caste households, the social composition of households in Mahatwar where children live with only one of their parents is more diverse.

2.2 Activity Status of Children

In India, there is a legal provision that children below the age of 14 completed years are not to be engaged in paid or unpaid work. Ideally, they should be enrolled in and attending an educational institution in order to acquire formal education and the skills thereof. However, in reality, not all children aged 14 years or younger are in school. This is true even in relatively more 'developed' states such as Tamil Nadu. One may then expect that the situation in an eastern Uttar Pradesh village like Mahatwar is unlikely to be better.

Table 2.8 provides the distribution of children aged 6 to 14 years in Mahatwar engaged in specific types of activities. Tables 2.9 and 2.10 provide the distribution, respectively of boys and girls thus engaged, by social group.

A total of 29 children in the age group of 6 to 14 years are engaged in some type of 'work'. On the average, one in ten children in the age group is thus engaged. The proportion is slightly higher for girls at 11.5 per cent.

Table 2.8 *Children in the age group 6 to 14 years engaged in specific types of activities, by sex, Mahatwar, 2006*

Type of activity	Number			As percentage of all children in the age group		
	Girls	Boys	Persons	Girls	Boys	Persons
Work outside the household for an employer (paid or unpaid)	5	0	0	3.4	0.0	1.7
Work on household operational holding	9	10	19	6.1	7.2	6.6
Work in any household enterprise other than animal resources	3	2	5	2.0	1.4	1.7
All	17	12	29	11.5	8.6	10.1

Table 2.9 *Boys in the age group 6 to 14 years engaged in specific types of activities, by social group, Mahatwar, 2006*

Social group	Number		As percentage of all children in the age group	
	Work on household operational holding	Work in any household enterprise other than animal resources	Work on household operational holding	Work in any household enterprise other than animal resources
Scheduled Caste	3	1	3.4	1.1
OBC	6	1	13.3	2.2
Other Castes	1	0	16.7	0.0
All	10	2	7.2	1.4

Of the twelve boys aged between 6 and 14 years engaged in work as specified here, none works for an employer outside the household. Ten of the boys work on the household operational holding. The fact that six of them are from Other Backward Class households underlines the 'peasant' character of these households. The fact that fewer Scheduled Caste boys are similarly engaged despite the much higher number of Scheduled Caste children in the age group reflects the largely landless status of Scheduled Caste households. This fact is underlined by the nature of work among girls. Of the 17 girls who work, five worked for an employer outside the household. All five belong to Scheduled Caste households. On the other hand, five of the seven Other Backward Class girls who work are engaged in work on own operational holding. The fact that 6 out of 45 Other Backward Class boys and 5 out of 44 Other Backward Class girls aged 6 to 14 years are engaged in household economic activity as against 4 out of 88 Scheduled Caste boys and 4 out of 88 Scheduled Caste girls also reflects the proletarian character of Scheduled Castes and the peasant character of the Other Backward Classes in Mahatwar.

Table 2.10 *Girls in the age group 6 to 14 years engaged in specific types of activities, by social group, Mahatwar, 2006*

Social group	Number			As percentage of all children in age group		
	Work outside the house for an employer (paid or unpaid)	Work on household operational holding	Work in any household enterprise other than animal resources	Work outside the house for an employer (paid or unpaid)	Work on household operational holding	Work in any household enterprise other than animal resources
Scheduled Caste	5	3	1	5.7	3.4	1.1
OBC	0	5	2	0.0	11.4	4.6
Other Castes	0	1	0	0.0	5.9	0.0
All	5	9	3	3.4	6.1	2.0

To get an idea of the economic status of households to which working children belong, we have categorized all households in Mahatwar into five quintiles based on the value of total assets owned.[16]

Table 2.11 *Details of asset quintile (in Rupees), Mahatwar, 2006*

Asset quintile	Minimum	Maximum	Median	Mean
Q1	4,250	54,275	38,005	35,131
Q2	58,060	118,250	88,400	88,073
Q3	122,560	216,375	170,270	168,423
Q4	218,800	634,920	333,700	361,815
Q5	638,460	12445,328	1160,325	2271,112

The range of values of assets in the various asset quintiles brings out the very poor status of most households in Mahatwar with respect to asset ownership. The *maximum* asset value of the bottom three quintiles is only marginally higher than two hundred thousand rupees! 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. The second highest quintile is also distinctly better off than the three quintiles below, but the maximum asset value in this quintile at rupees 634,920 is no higher than would be the figure for a large proportion of urban 'middle class' households. One may note that

[16]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.

the minimum asset value of Q4 is about 70 per cent higher than the minimum of Q3 while the Q4 maximum is approximately *three times* the Q3 maximum. For most practical purposes, the third quintile can certainly *not* be regarded as "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?[17] This can be answered by referring to Table 2.12 which shows both the 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, Mahatwar, 2006*

	Number of households (as percentage of all households in the asset quintile)						*As percentage of all households in the group*					
Social group	Q1	Q2	Q3	Q4	Q5	All	Q1	Q2	Q3	Q4	Q5	All
Scheduled	26	28	22	14	4	94						
Caste	*(83.9)*	*(90.3)*	*(71.0)*	*(45.2)*	*(12.5)*	*(60.2)*	27.7	29.8	23.4	14.9	4.3	100.0
OBC	5	3	8	16	18	50						
	(16.1)	*(9.7)*	*(25.8)*	*(51.6)*	*(56.3)*	*(32.1)*	10.0	6.0	16.0	32.0	36.0	100.0
	0	0	1	1	10	12						
Other Castes	*(0.0)*	*(0.0)*	*(3.2)*	*(3.2)*	*(31.3)*	*(7.7)*	0.0	0.0	8.3	8.3	84.4	100.0
	31	31	31	31	32	156						
All	*(100.0)*	*(100.0)*	*(100.0)*	*(100.0)*	*(100.0)*	*(100.0)*	19.9	19.9	19.9	19.9	20.5	100.0

It is immediately clear that there is a fair degree of correspondence between the social group to which a household belongs and the asset quintile in which it is found. The lower asset quintiles are heavily populated by Scheduled Caste households while the top quintile is dominated by Other Backward Classes and Other Castes. More than 80 per cent of Scheduled Caste households are in the bottom three asset quintiles. Less than 5 per cent of all Scheduled Caste households make it to the top asset quintile Though 60 per cent of all households in Mahtawar are Scheduled Caste households, Scheduled Castes account only for one-eighth of the households in the top quintile. It is quite otherwise with the Other Castes. The Other Castes account for one-twelfth of all households but more than three tenths of those in the top quintile. More than three-quarters of Other Caste households are in the top asset quintile. All but one of the Other Castes are in the top two quintiles,

[17] 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.

and there are no Other Castes in the bottom two quintiles. On the average, Other Backward Class households do better in terms of assets than the Scheduled Castes, but come out poorer than the Other Caste households.

Let us now turn to the variation in the incidence of working children by asset quintile in Mahatwar. The data are presented in Tables 2.13 and 2.14.

Table 2.13 *Boys in the age group 6 to 14 years engaged in specific types of activities, by asset quintile, Mahatwar 2006*

Asset quintile	Number		As percentage of all boys in the age group	
	Work on household operational holding	Work in any household enterprise other than animal resources	Work on household operational holding	Work in any household enterprise other than animal resources
Q1	1	1	2.8	2.8
Q2	0	1	0.0	3.4
Q3	2	0	8.0	0.0
Q4	5	0	20.0	0.0
Q5	2	0	8.3	0.0
All	10	2	7.2	1.4

Among boys aged 6 to 14 years, we find even two boys from the highest asset quintile at work on the household operational holding. Eleven of the seventeen working girls are from the bottom three asset quintiles, but there are two girls from Q5 as well.

Table 2.14 *Girls in the age group 6 to 14 years engaged in specific types of activities, by asset quintile, Mahatwar, 2006*

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 in any household enterprise other than animal resources	Work outside the household for an employer (paid or unpaid)	Work on household operational holding	Work in any household enterprise other than animal resources
Q1	1	1	0	3.7	3.7	0.0
Q2	4	2	0	12.1	6.1	0.0
Q3	0	2	1	0.0	5.9	2.9
Q4	0	2	2	0.0	11.1	11.1
Q5	0	2	0	0.0	5.6	0.0
All	5	9	3	3.4	6.1	2.0

In all, of the 29 children working, 16 are from the bottom three asset quintiles. What may cause some surprise is that as many as13 working children are from the top two quintiles-9 from Q4 and 4 from Q5. To a large extent, this reflects the peasant character of the Other Backward Classes who dominate Q4 and from a majority of Q5 as well. It is also a reminder that a good proportion of even the fourth quintile households are not particularly wealthy and that they derive a share of their income from family labour.

2.3 *Age at Marriage*

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

Table 2.15 shows the number of girls aged below 18 years and married as well as the number of boys below 21 years of age and married.

Table 2.15 *Persons currently married in the age group below 18 years for women and below 21 years for men, by sex and social group, Mahatwar, 2006*

Social group	Female		Male	
	Number married	As percentage of all females below 18 years in social group	Number married	As percentage of all males below 21 years in social group
Scheduled Caste	3	1.8	5	2.8
OBC	1	1.1	1	0.9
Other Castes	0	0.0	0	0.0
All	4	1.4	6	2.0

There is no case of marriage below the legal age among the Other Castes. Among the Other Backward Classes there is one instance each of a girl and a boy below the legal age of marriage at the time of the FAS survey and married. However, among the Scheduled Castes, there are three girls below 18 years of age and married. There are also 5 Scheduled Caste boys below 21years of age and married. Both in absolute terms and as a percentage of the relevant population group, the incidence of marriage below the legal age appears high among Scheduled Castes. It is certainly higher than in the villages of Andhra Pradesh surveyed by FAS in 2005 and in Harevli in Uttar Pradesh surveyed in 2006[18].

[18] We must clarify that we have not investigated the age at marriage of all the married members of the population in Mahatwar, and cannot say anything about the larger issue of how widespread the practice of marriage before attainment of the legal minimum age may be.

3. *EDUCATION*

3.1 *School Attendance*

The challenge of universal school education, in terms of its key aspects of enrolment, retention and achievement with regard to learning outcomes, continues to remain unmet in India, reflecting the lack of a sense of urgency on a fundamental issue of popular democracy. 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 Mahatwar has some distance to go to achieve universal school enrolment and attendance.

Table 3.1 shows the following: Even in the age group of 6 to 14 years, 6 girls out of 148 and 4 boys out of 139 are not in school. The attendance ratio drops sharply for the age group of 15-16 years, especially for girls. Eleven out of 36 girls and four out of 27 boys are out of school in this age group. In the age group of 17 to 18 years, 15 out of 23 girls and 9 out of 35 boys are out of school.

Table 3.1 *Number and proportion of children attending school, by age group, by sex, Mahatwar, 2006*

	Number of children			As percentage of all children		
Age group	Female	Male	Persons	Female	Male	Persons
6 to 10 years	91	82	173	96.8	98.8	97.7
11 to 14 years	51	53	104	94.4	94.6	94.5
15 to 16 years	25	23	48	69.4	85.2	76.2
17 to 18 years	8	26	34	34.8	74.3	58.6
6 to 18 years	175	184	359	84.5	91.5	88.0

Gross enrolment ratios drop sharply for boys even at the upper primary level. Thereafter, they decline steeply for girls and, to a lesser extent, for boys as well.

Figure 3.1 *Proportion of children attending school, by age group, by sex, Mahatwar, 2006*

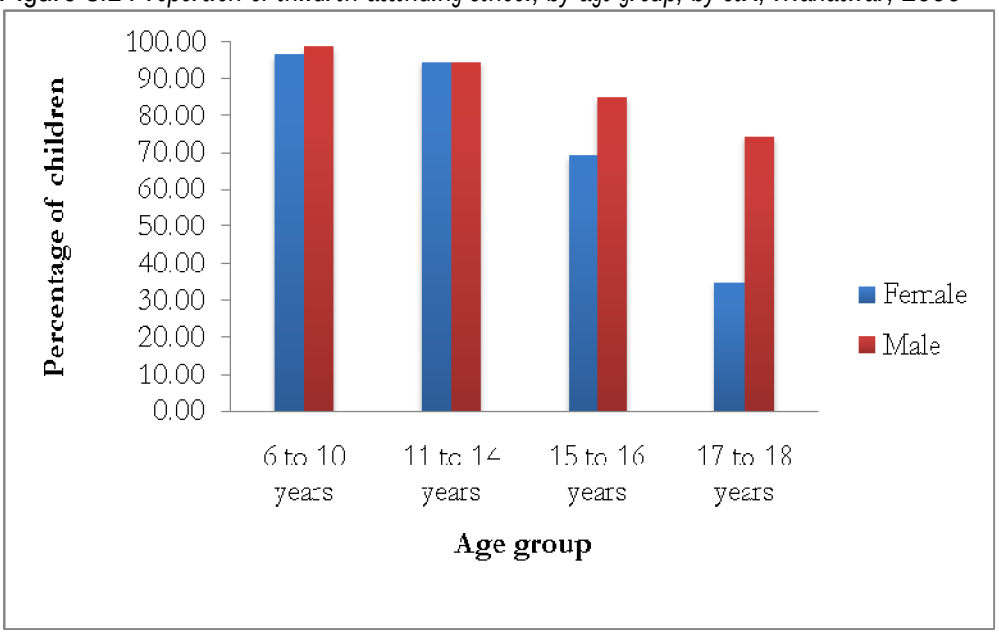


Table 3.2 *Gross enrolment ratio (GER) of children, by level of schooling, by sex, Mahatwar, 2006*

School level	Number enrolled			GER		
	Female	Male	Persons	Female	Male	Persons
Standard I to V	110	95	205	107.8	102.2	105.1
Standard VI to VIII	50	36	86	92.6	64.3	78.2
Standard IX to X	13	20	33	27.7	47.6	37.1
Standard XI to XII	8	30	38	18.6	68.2	43.7

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*

It is widely known that school enrolment and attendance ratios vary significantly along the axes of caste and economic position in rural (and urban) India. The variations in the proportion of children attending school by social group in Mahatwar are brought out in Tables 3.3, 3.4 and 3.5.

Table 3.3 Children attending school, by age group, by social group, Mahatwar, 2006

	Scheduled caste		OBC		Other Castes	
Age group	Number	Percentage	Number	Percentage	Number	Percentage
6 to 10 years	107	98.2	55	98.2	11	91.7
11 to 14 years	62	93.9	31	93.9	11	100.0
15 to 16 years	21	63.6	21	87.5	6	100.0
17 to 18 years	18	52.9	9	52.9	7	100.0
6 to 18 years	208	86.0	116	89.2	35	97.2

Table 3.4 *Boys attending school, by age group, by social group, Mahatwar, 2006*

Age group	Scheduled caste		OBC		Other Castes	
	Number	Percentage	Number	Percentage	Number	Percentage
6 to 10 years	51	98.1	27	100.0	4	100.0
11 to 14 years	34	94.4	17	94.4	2	100.0
15 to 16 years	9	75.0	11	91.7	3	100.0
17 to 18 years	16	72.7	6	66.7	4	100.0
6 to 18 years	110	90.2	61	92.4	13	100.0

There is not much difference in the ratios of children attending school in the age group of 6 to 14 years which broadly covers elementary schooling. But beyond the age of 14 years, which is when children would be completing elementary education, the share of Scheduled Castes attending school falls significantly, and a quarter or more of Scheduled Caste children are out of school in the age group of 15 to 18 years. The decline in attendance ratio is especially steep for Scheduled Caste girls. Both Other Backward Classes and Scheduled Castes have low attendance ratios for girls in the age group of 17 to 18 years, corresponding roughly to the eleventh and twelfth classes. The Other Castes have a near perfect record in terms of attendance, with only one girl not attending school out of a total of 35 children consisting of 13 boys and 24 girls.[19]

[19] The one girl not attending school was 6 years at the time of the FAS survey and would in all probability have entered school shortly afterwards.

Table 3.5 *Girls attending school, by age group, by social group, Mahatwar, 2006*

	Scheduled Caste		OBC		Other Castes	
Age group	Number	Percentage	Number	Percentage	Number	Percentage
6 to 10 years	56	98.2	28	96.6	7	87.5
11 to 14 years	28	93.3	14	93.3	9	100.0
15 to 16 years	12	57.1	10	83.3	3	100.0
17 to 18 years	2	16.7	3	37.5	3	100.0
6 to 18 years	98	81.7	55	85.9	22	95.7

Figure 3.2 *Proportion of boys attending school, by age group, by social group, Mahatwar, 2006*

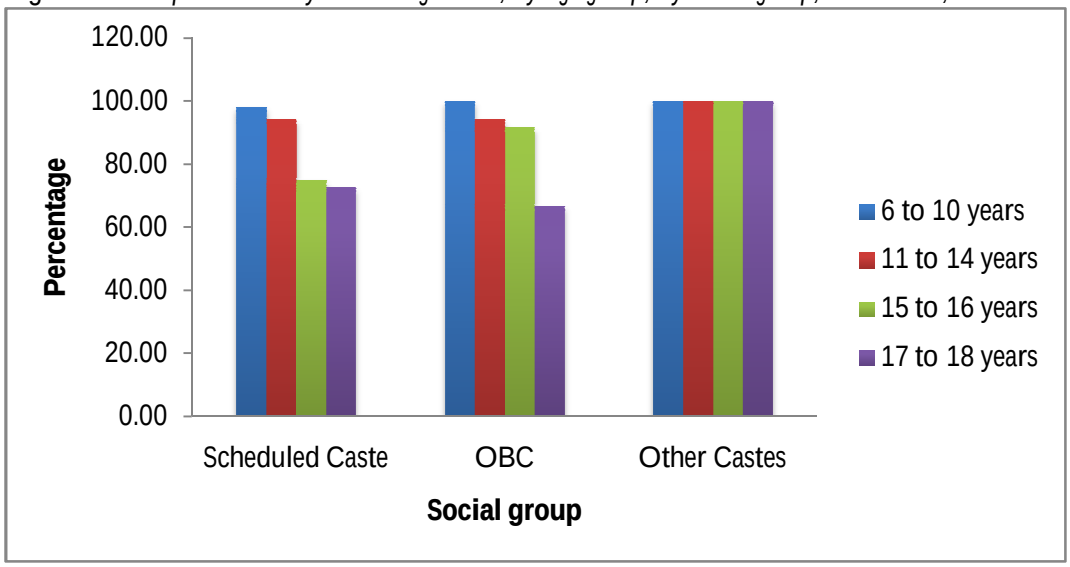
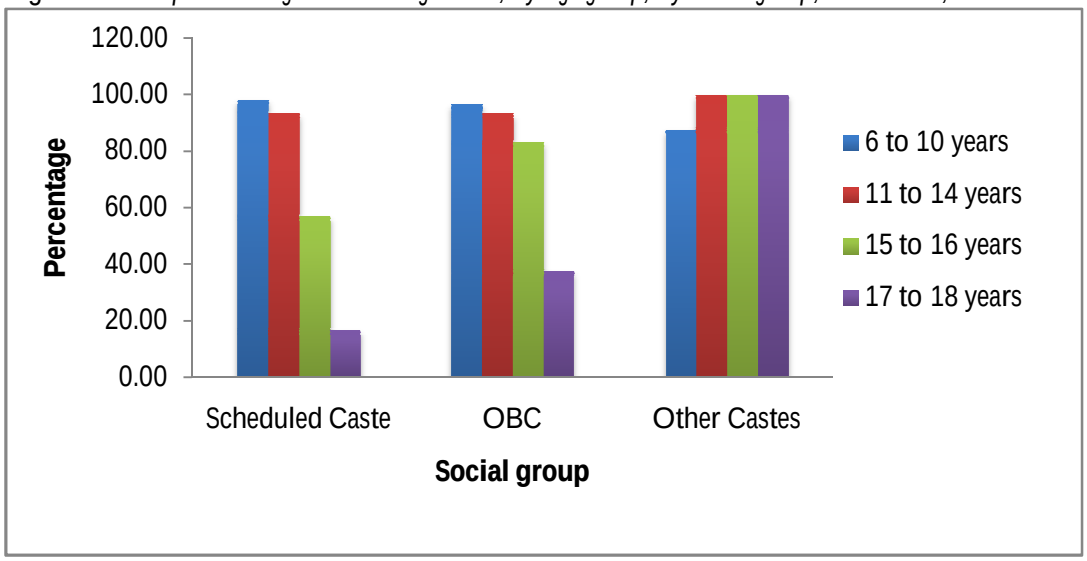


Figure 3.3 *Proportion of girls attending school, by age group, by social group, Mahatwar, 2006*



How do attendance ratios vary across asset quintiles? The relevant data are presented in Tables 3.6 to 3.8.

Table 3.6 *Children attending school, by age group, by asset quintile, Mahatwar, 2006 (number and per cent)*

	Q1		Q2		Q3		Q4		Q5	
Age group	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
6 to 10 years	42	97.7	36	94.7	35	100.0	27	100.0	33	97.1
11 to 14 years	16	80.0	23	95.8	24	100.0	16	100.0	25	96.2
15 to 16 years	5	45.5	9	69.2	7	77.8	12	92.3	15	88.2
17 to 18 years	2	25.0	4	50.0	7	46.7	7	70.0	14	82.4
6 to 18 years	65	79.3	72	86.7	73	88.0	62	93.9	87	92.6

Table 3.7 *Boys attending school, by age group, by asset quintile, Mahatwar, 2006* (number and per cent)

Age group	Q1		Q2		Q3		Q4		Q5	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
6 to 10 years	25	96.2	18	100.0	12	100.0	15	100.0	12	100.0
11 to 14 years	7	70.0	11	100.0	13	100.0	10	100.0	12	100.0
15 to 16 years	4	57.1	1	100.0	4	80.0	4	100.0	10	100.0
17 to 18 years	2	33.3	3	50.0	6	75.0	7	100.0	8	100.0
6 to 18 years	38	77.6	33	91.7	35	92.1	36	100.0	42	100.0

As far as boys are concerned, the lowest asset quintile fares poorly. Among boys of this quintile, out of 23 boys aged 11 to 18 years, only 13 were attending school. In the top two quintiles, all boys aged 6 to 18 years were attending school. All the boys aged 6 to 14 years in the third and second quintiles were attending school, but out of 20 boys in the age group of 15 to 18 years from these two quintiles, only 14 were attending school.

Table 3.8 *Girls attending school, by age group, by asset quintile, Mahatwar, 2006* (number and per cent)

	Q1		Q2		Q3		Q4		Q5	
Age group	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
6 to 10 years	17	100.0	18	90.0	23	100.0	12	100.0	21	95.5
11 to 14 years	9	90.0	12	92.3	11	100.0	6	100.0	13	92.9
15 to 16 years	1	25.0	8	66.7	3	75.0	8	88.9	5	71.4
17 to 18 years	0	0.0	1	50.0	1	14.3	0	0.0	6	66.7
6 to 18 years	27	81.8	39	83.0	38	84.4	26	86.7	45	86.5

Figure 3.4 *Proportion of boys attending school, by age group, by asset quintile, Mahatwar, 2006*

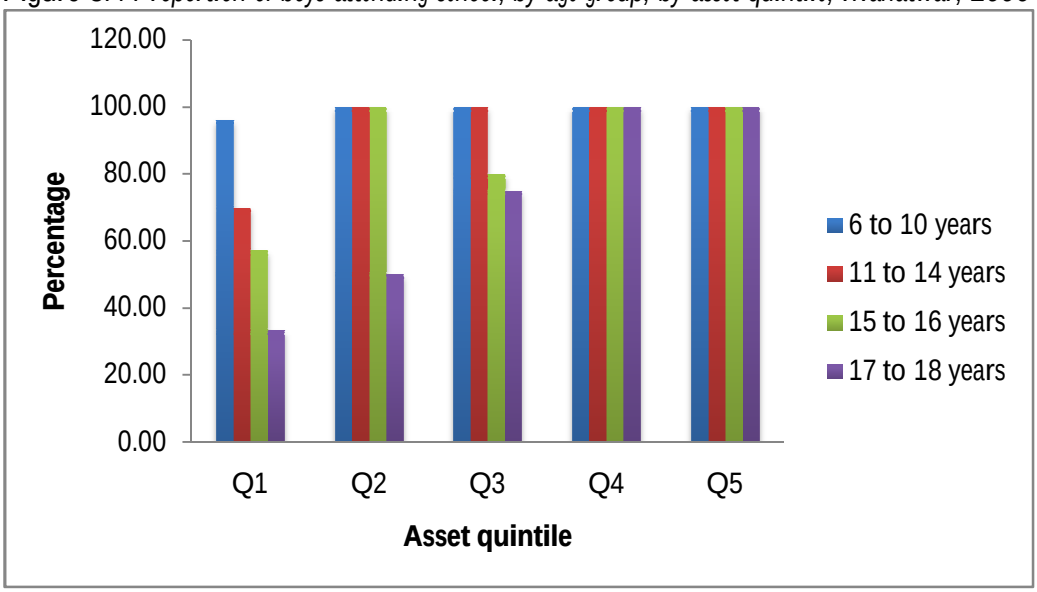
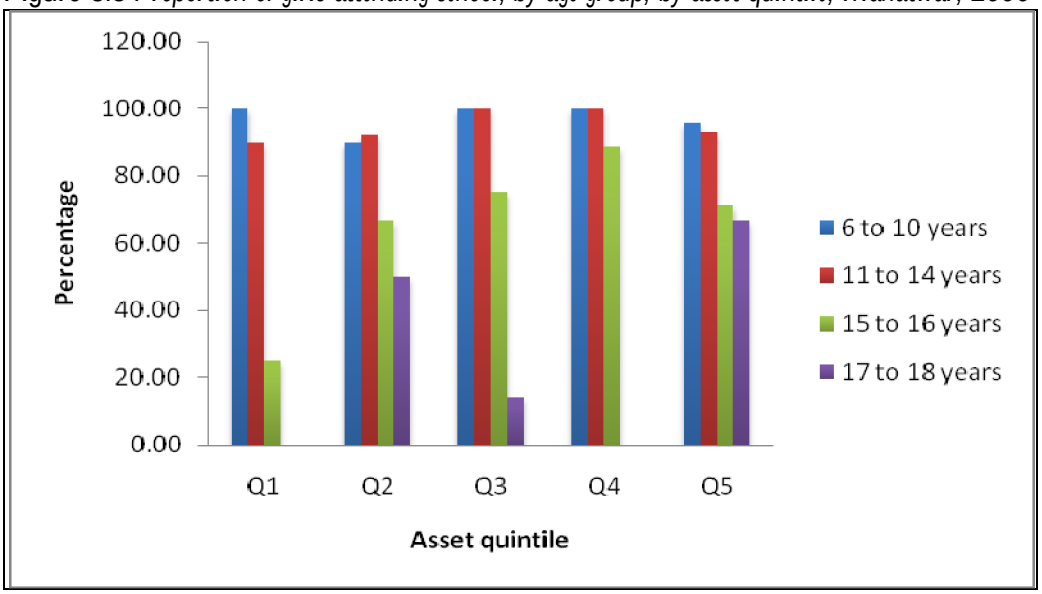


Figure 3.5 *Proportion of girls attending school, by age group, by asset quintile, Mahatwar, 2006*



3.3 *School Attendance and Work*

The picture is similar with regard to girls attending school. In the case of girls, even the top two quintiles do not report 100 per cent attendance for girls aged 15 to 18 years. It is also clear that only a small proportion of girls get sent to school beyond the age of 16 years, most of them from the highest asset quintile.

It is thus clear that quite a few children in Mahatwar do not go to school. It has also been noted earlier that some children in the age group of 6 to 14 years work. Table 3.9 brings together information for children in the age group of 6 to 18 years on both school attendance and work.

Table 3.9 *School attendance among children aged 6 to 18 years, by sex and work status, Mahatwar, 2006* (number and per cent)

	Not attending school				Attending school			
	Not working		Working		Not working		Working	
Children	Number	Percentage	Number	Percentage	Number	Percentage	Number	Percentage
Girls	23	11.1	9	4.4	146	70.5	29	14.0
Boys	5	2.5	12	6.0	158	78.6	26	12.9
All	28	6.9	21	5.2	304	74.5	55	13.4

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".

Out of 408 children, as many as 49 (12 per cent) - are out of school and As many as 83 - more than (20 per cent) - are working. Among girls, 32 out of 207 – (more than 15 per cent) - are out of school. Only 38 (18 per cent) are recorded as working as defined in our study, though at least a few of the 23 girls listed as out of school and not working, as well as some of the 146 girls going to school and listed as not working, are likely to be engaged in domestic chores and care functions at home. Out of 201 boys, 17 are out of school, but as many as 38 are working. If we include, as many scholars suggest, all children out of school as 'working' in some sense, as many as 61 girls out of 207 and 43 out of 201 boys are working children. These are high proportions indeed.

The fact that our definition of work excludes work with animal resources does not make any difference is evident from the data which shows that there is only one girl engaged in animal tending.

A look at what girls in Mahatwar out of school and reported as 'not working' are doing is revealing. As many as 20 out of 23 girls in this category are engaged in domestic work and one of them is also engaged in animal tending. Fifteen girls belong to Scheduled Caste households, 7 to Other Backward Class and one is from an Other Caste household. Interestingly, eight of the 23 girls come from Q4 and Q5 asset quintiles. Five of them are also married. Of the five boys in this category, four are from Scheduled Caste households. Two – aged 14 and 15 years - are reported as 'unemployed', suggesting

that they are in the labour force. One, from a Scheduled Caste household, is disabled and another, from an Other Backward Class household, has gone to Mumbai in search of work. Two are from the poorest asset quintile, two from the next and one from Q3.

Of the nine girls out of school and working, three are working on household operational holdings; five are working as agricultural labourers and one as a worker rolling *bidis*. Of the 12 boys in this category, two are working on leased-in household operational holding and all the others are engaged in wage labour, of whom all but one are engaged in non-agricultural wage labour as their primary occupation. One can see the gendered pattern of employment at work even among the child workers.

Figure 3.6 *Distribution of boys (6 to 18 years), by school attendance and work status, Mahatwar, 2006*

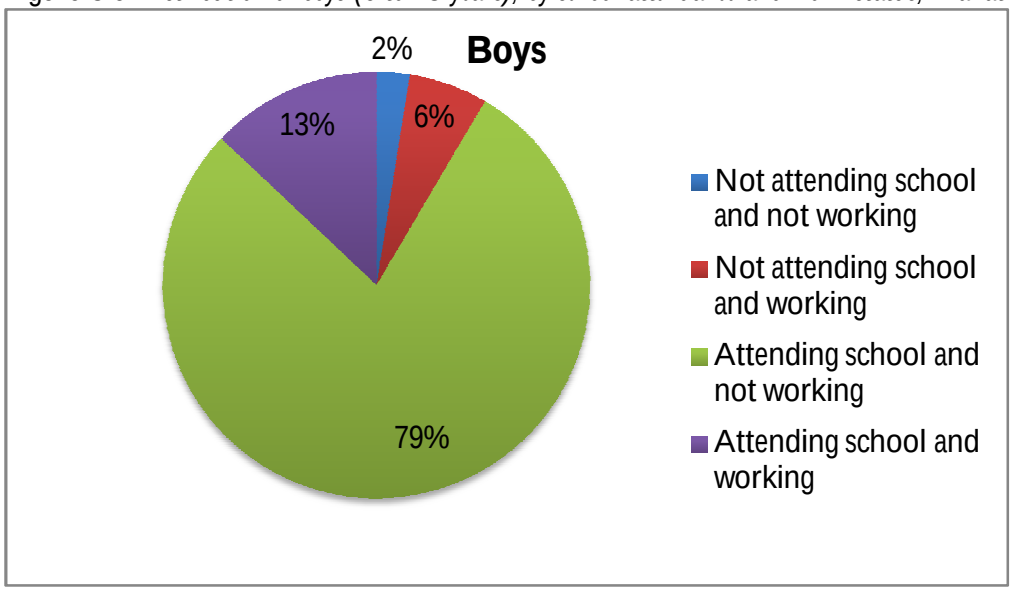
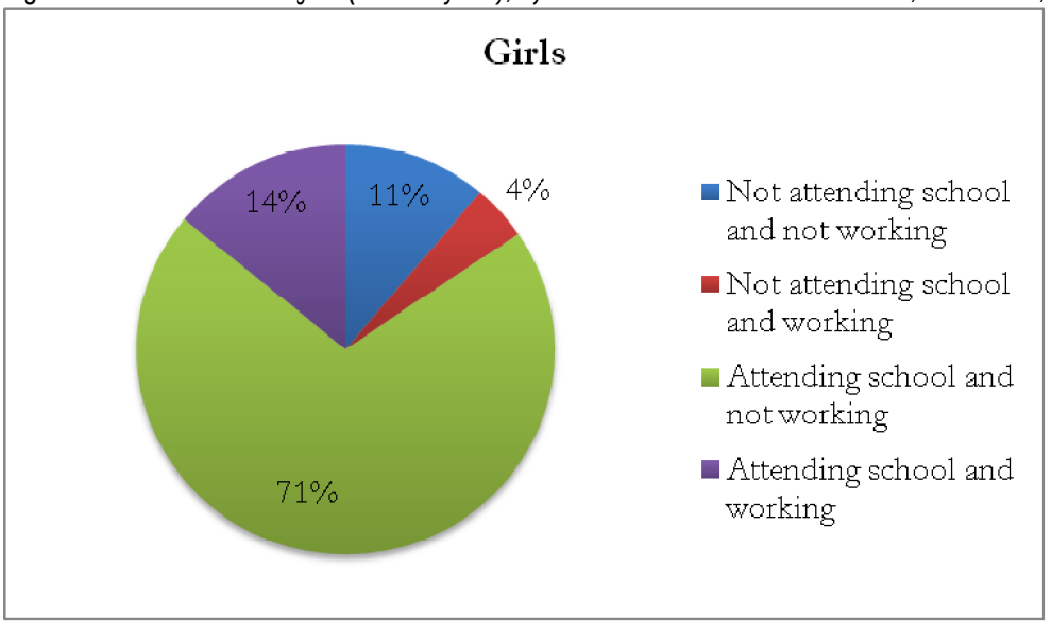


Figure 3.7 *Distribution of girls (6 to 18 years), by school attendance and work status, Mahatwar, 2006*



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 Mahatwar fare in this regard?

In 2006, no child below 3 years was going to the anganwadi centre and only two girls aged 3 to 6 years, went to anganwadi. A re-visit in 2011 showed that attendance at anganwadi remained a problem. Two children were present on the day we visited the anganwadi, although there were two workers in the centre. The anganwadi in Mahatwar had no separate premises, but operated within the primary school.

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 that we treat as literate in the discussion that follows. Table 3.10 presents the distribution of the population of Mahatwar aged 7 years and above by sex and literacy level.

Table 3.10 *Distribution of population (7 years and above), by literacy level, by sex, Mahatwar, 2006*

Literacy level	Female		Male		Persons	
	Number	Percentage	Number	Percentage	Number	Percentage
Cannot read and write	201	44.8	78	17.0	279	30.7
Can only sign name	36	8.0	47	10.2	83	9.1
Can read but cannot write	19	4.2	11	2.4	30	3.3
Can read and write	193	43.0	324	70.4	517	56.9
All	449	100.0	460	100.0	909	100.0

The literacy rate, measured as the percentage of the relevant population *that can both read and write*, was 56.9 per cent overall in 2006, with female literacy rate at 43 per cent being much lower than male literacy rate at 70.4 per cent.[20] Interestingly, these figures are remarkably close to those for Ballia district in 2001 Census at 57.86 per cent for persons, 71.9 per cent for males and 43.2 per cent for females.[21]

How do literacy rates vary across social groups? The figures are presented in Table 3.11. Scheduled Castes have the lowest literacy rate in all three categories-persons, males and females. Interestingly, unlike in some of the other villages across several states surveyed by the FAS, the female literacy rate for Other Backward Classes is distinctly higher than for Scheduled Castes in Mahatwar while the male literacy rates for the two social groups are closer to each other. The Other Caste households have the best literacy rates, by far, with the male literacy rate being particularly impressive. This is of course no surprise and fits into the pattern observed in practically all the villages surveyed by the FAS since 2005.

The sex differentials in literacy rates are high in all social groups, though they are especially high among the Scheduled Castes, followed by the Other Backward Classes.

[20] The literacy rate for Uttar Pradesh (rural) in 2001 was 52.5 per cent overall, 66.6 per cent for males and 36.9 per cent for females, lower than those for Mahatwar in the FAS survey for all the categories.

[21] The figures for Ballia district from 2011 census show a big jump in literacy rates to 73.8 per cent for persons, 85.2 per cent for males and 61.7 per cent for females.

How do literacy rates vary across asset and income quintiles? The data are presented in Table 3.12 and 3.13 respectively. The picture is pretty much the same whether one looks at asset quintiles or at income quintiles.

Table 3.11 *Proportion of population (7 years and above) who can read and write, by social group, by sex, Mahatwar, 2006*

Social group	Number			Literacy rate		
	Female	Male	Persons	Female	Male	Persons
Scheduled Caste	91	181	272	36.7	67.5	52.7
OBC	61	102	163	41.5	68.5	55.1
Other Castes	41	41	82	75.9	95.3	84.5
All	193	324	517	43.0	70.4	56.9

Figure 3.8 *Literacy rate of the population in the age group 7 years and above, by sex, by social group, Mahatwar, 2006, in per cent*

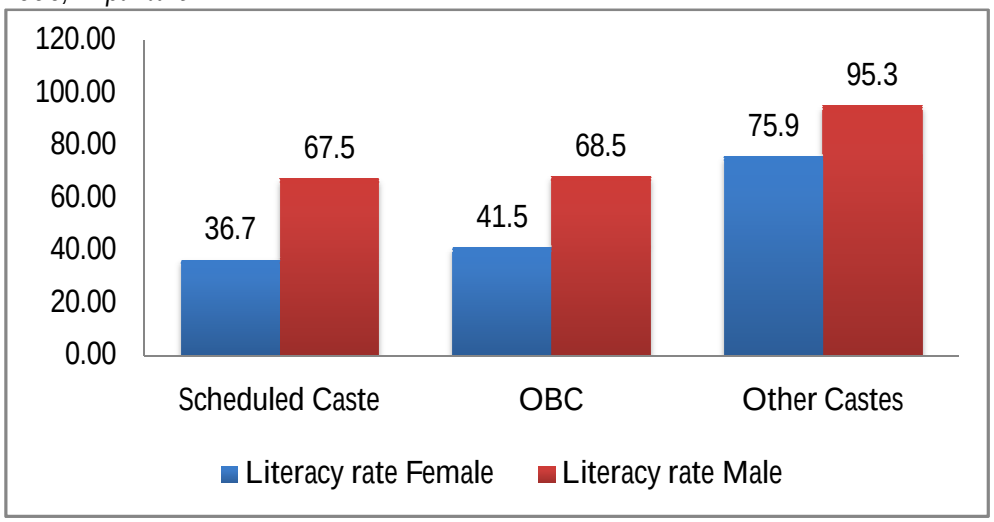


Table 3.12 *Proportion of population (7 years and above), who can read and write by asset quintile, by sex, Mahatwar, 2006*

Asset quintile	Number			Literacy rate		
	Female	Male	Persons	Female	Male	Persons
Q1	21	52	73	32.8	61.9	49.3
Q2	35	53	88	41.7	63.9	52.7
Q3	37	58	95	40.2	65.2	52.5
Q4	29	54	83	37.2	65.9	51.9
Q5	71	107	178	54.2	87.7	70.4
All	193	324	517	43.0	70.4	56.9

Figure 3.9 *Literacy rate of the population in the age group 7 years and above, by sex, by asset quintile, 2006, in per cent*

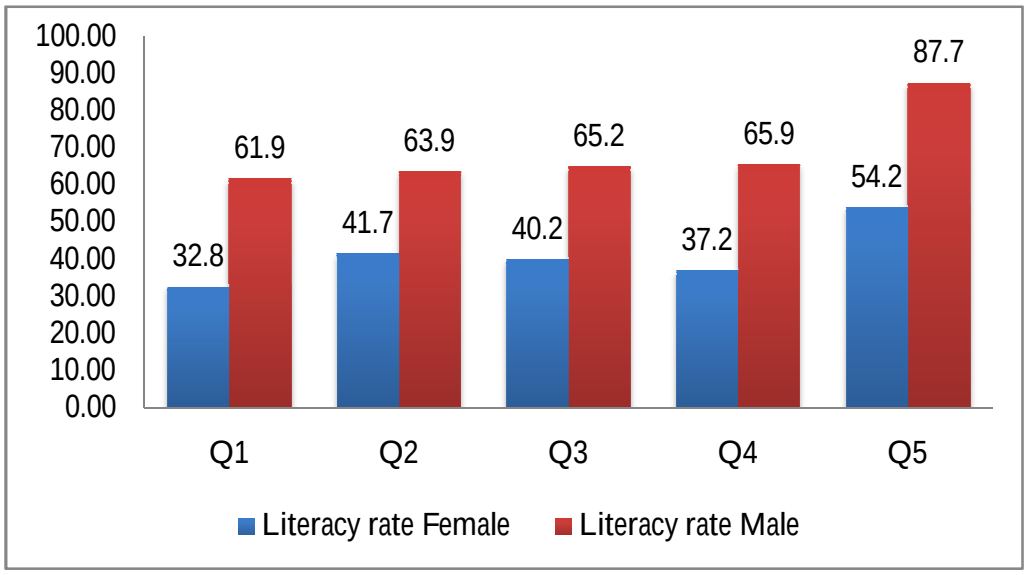


Table 3.13 *Proportion of population (7 years and above), who can read and write by income quintile, by sex, Mahatwar, 2006*

Income quintile	Number			Literacy rate		
	Female	Male	Persons	Female	Male	Persons
Q1	20	45	65	32.8	60.8	48.1
Q2	35	54	89	42.2	62.8	52.7
Q3	29	54	83	38.2	62.1	50.9
Q4	41	67	108	39.8	74.4	56.0
Q5	68	104	172	54.0	84.6	69.1
All	193	324	517	43.0	70.4	56.9

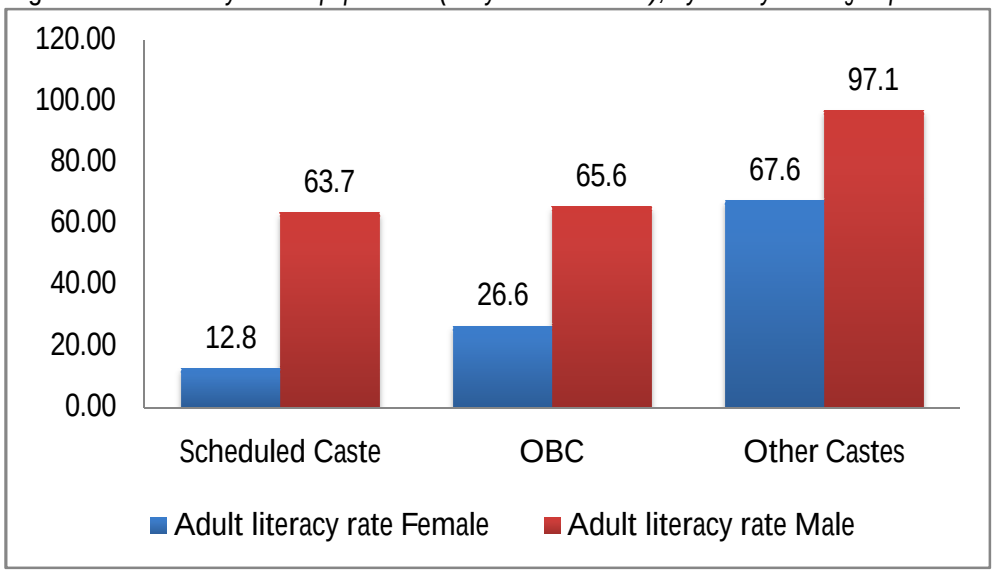
The top asset/income quintile stands out from the rest, with distinctly higher literacy rates for persons, males and females. There is fairly limited variation in literacy rates across the first to the fourth quintiles, though the fourth income quintile does report a much higher male literacy rate than the lower income quintiles.

Let us now turn to the issue of adult literacy. Tables 3.14 presents the sex-specific numbers and proportions of population in Mahatwar aged 18 years and above that can read and write by social group. Tables 3.15 and 3.16 do the same by asset and income quintiles respectively.

Table 3.14 *Proportion of population (18 years and above), who can read and write, by social group, by sex, Mahatwar, 2006*

Social group	Number			Adult literacy rate		
	Female	Male	Persons	Female	Male	Persons
Scheduled Caste	19	109	128	12.8	63.7	40.1
OBC	25	63	88	26.6	65.6	46.3
Other Castes	23	33	56	67.6	97.1	82.3
All	67	205	272	24.3	68.1	47.1

Figure 3.10 *Literacy rate of population (18 years and above), by sex by social group Mahatwar, 2006*



For males, the 18 plus and 7 plus literacy rates do not differ by much in the case of each of the social groups. In the case of female literacy rates, it is quite different. In each of the social groups, the 18 plus rate is much lower than the 7 plus rate. The biggest differential between the two rates in respect of females occurs for Scheduled Castes, showing that school enrolment, attendance and literacy achievement of Scheduled Caste girls has picked up rapidly over the decade from the mid-1990s.The gain is substantial for Other Backward Classes as well, and not insignificant even among the traditionally advantaged Other Castes.

Table 3.15 *Proportion of population (18 years and above), who can read and write, by asset quintile by sex, Mahatwar, 2006*

Asset quintile	Number			Adult literacy rate		
	Female	Male	Persons	Female	Male	Persons
Q1	3	22	25	8.1	50.0	30.9
Q2	6	35	41	13.6	63.6	41.4
Q3	10	34	44	18.9	57.6	39.3
Q4	10	35	45	19.2	66.0	42.9
Q5	38	79	117	42.2	87.8	65.0
All	67	205	272	24.3	68.1	47.1

Figure 3.11 *Literacy rate of population (18 years and above), by sex by asset quintile Mahatwar, 2006*

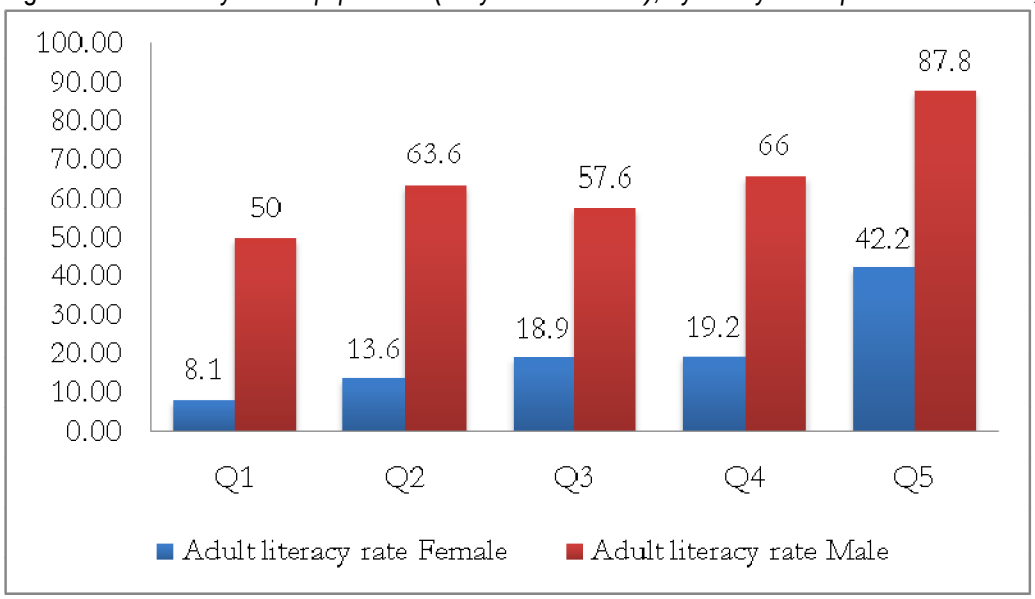


Table 3.16 *Proportion of population (18 years and above), who can read and write, by income quintile by sex, Mahatwar, 2006*

Income quintile	Number			Adult literacy rate		
	Female	Male	Persons	Female	Male	Persons
Q1	7	26	33	17.5	54.2	37.5
Q2	13	30	43	27.7	62.5	45.3
Q3	6	30	36	13.0	57.7	36.7
Q4	9	43	52	15.0	69.4	42.6
Q5	32	76	108	38.6	83.5	62.1
All	67	205	272	24.3	68.1	47.1

As far as male literacy rates are concerned, the 7 plus and 18 plus literacy rates for each of the asset quintiles do not differ by much except in the case of the lowest quintile where the 7 plus rate

exceeds the 18 plus rate by a good margin. This reflects the improved access to schooling among the poor in recent years. The picture in respect of male literacy rates across income quintiles more or less mirrors that across the asset quintiles. Among females, there is a substantial difference between the 7 plus and the 18 plus literacy rates in every asset quintile. The difference generally increases as one moves to lower asset quintiles, and the biggest differences are found in Q1 and Q2, suggesting that girls from poorer sections have been able to access schooling better in recent years. The picture across income quintiles is broadly similar to that across asset quintiles.

Let us turn now to the literacy rates in different age cohorts. The data are presented in Table 3.17.

Table 3.17 *Proportion of population who can read and write, by age cohort, by sex, Mahatwar, 2006*

Age group	Number			Literacy rate		
	Female	Male	Persons	Female	Male	Persons
7 to 17 years	126	119	245	67.5	69.7	66.6
18 to 34 years	52	117	169	42.3	86.7	65.5
35 to 49 years	11	51	62	13.9	62.2	38.5
50 to 65 years	3	32	35	5.2	48.5	28.2
> 65 years	1	5	6	6.3	27.8	17.6
All	193	324	517	43.0	70.4	56.9

It is striking that the male - female literacy rate differential is close to zero for the 6 to 17 age group, a large proportion of whom would be in school, but increases sharply to 44.4 percentage points for the next age group, namely 18 to 34 years. The gender gap is even higher in the next age group of 35 to 49 years, with the female literacy rate barely one-fifth of the male rate. This trend continues into the age group of 50 to 65 years where the female literacy rate is not even one-eighth of the male rate. In the highest age group, the differential comes down both in absolute terms and in relative terms, reflecting the dismal literacy status of both males and females decades ago.

Considerable progress in enrolment and attendance in schools of girls in the school-going age groups in recent times-over the last three decades or so-has contributed to a progressive decline in the gender differentials in literacy rates. It needs to be reiterated, however, that in absolute terms, even current literacy rates are not far short of being scandalous, especially for girls, and more so among the socially and economically deprived segments of the population such as, Scheduled Castes, Backward Classes and the asset-poor.

The picture that emerges derives, in part, from the fact that males have had greater access to formal education than females for a long time now, and also because both changes in social values and the

expansion in availability of formal schooling in more recent times have helped girls and women access literacy to a greater extent than before, thus closing a part of the gender gap.

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 Mahatwar population aged above 16 years by social group are presented in Tables 3.18 and 3.19.

Table 3.18 *Median number of completed years of schooling for population above 16 years, by social group, by sex, Mahatwar, 2006*

Social group	Female	Male	Persons
Scheduled Caste	0	8	0
OBC	0	8	4
Other Castes	10	12	11
All	0	9	3

Table 3.19 *Average number of completed years of schooling for population above 16 years, by social group, by sex, Mahatwar, 2006*

Social group	Female	Male	Persons
Scheduled Caste	1.3	6.3	4.0
OBC	2.8	6.6	4.7
Other Castes	6.8	10.7	8.8
All	2.5	6.9	4.8

The data bring out several points immediately. One is the very poor level of educational achievement, with the average number of years of schooling at just 4.8 years. The second is the even poorer achievement in the case of females, where the mean years of schooling amount to just 2.5 years. Thirdly, the gap between the Other Caste on the one hand and the Scheduled Castes and Other Backward Classes on the other is very large, with regard to both the mean and the median years of schooling. Fourth, at least half of the females above 16 years among the Scheduled Castes and Other Backward Classes have not had even one year of schooling, which is an abysmal statistic. The level of educational deprivation of the population of Mahatwar aged above 16 years, with the exception of the Other Caste population, is massive. It is only among the Other Caste males aged 16 years or more that the median as well as mean years of schooling looks somewhat respectable, though still short, for females, of the minimum of ten completed years of schooling that may be considered a reasonable norm.

How do the median and mean years of schooling vary across the asset quintiles?

The data is brought together in Tables 3.20 and 3.21.

Table 3.20 *Median number of completed years of schooling for population above 16 years, by asset quintile, by sex, Mahatwar, 2006*

Asset Quintile	Female	Male	Persons
Q1	0	4	0
Q2	0	8	0
Q3	0	7	0
Q4	0	9	0
Q5	0	10	9
All	0	9	3

Table 3.21 *Average number of completed years of schooling for population above 16 years, by asset quintile, by sex, Mahatwar, 2006*

Asset quintile	Female	Male	Persons
Q1	0.8	4.8	3.0
Q2	1.1	6.0	3.9
Q3	2.1	6.0	4.2
Q4	1.7	7.0	4.4
Q5	4.6	8.9	6.7
All	2.5	6.9	4.8

At least half the female population of Mahatwar aged above 16 years in every asset quintile including the richest one has not had a single year of formal schooling. Among the males, the picture is better, but still is one of rather modest achievement. Even in the richest quintile, the median years of education for males above 16 years of age is only 10 years. In every quintile, the average number of years of education for males is of course significantly higher than that for females, but not very impressive in absolute terms.[22]

The overall situation is thus one of massive deprivation in access to formal schooling, practically across the board, and for both females and males, except for the males of the richest asset quintile.

3.7 *Educational Achievements*

Let us now turn to educational achievements of the population across various social groups and asset classes in Mahatwar. We begin with the number of persons who have obtained a degree, which

[22] It is interesting to note that, while median years of education for females are higher in the more agriculturally prosperous village of Harevli than in Mahatwar for Q4 and Q5, the median for males in Harevli is lower than that for males in Mahatwar in every asset quintile. Except for Q5, this is also true for the mean years of education for males.

requires, at a minimum, fifteen completed years of schooling. We confine ourselves to the population aged 25 years or older. Table 3.22 provides the distribution of the number and percentage of graduates in the population aged 25 years and older by social group. Table 3.23 provides corresponding data by asset quintile.

Table 3.22 *Graduates in the age group 25 years and above, by social group, by sex, Mahatwar, 2006*

Social group	Number of graduate			As percentage of total population (25 years and above)		
	Female	Male	Persons	Female	Male	Persons
Scheduled Caste	0	10	10	0.0	8.0	4.2
OBC	0	7	7	0.0	9.3	4.8
Other Castes	1	10	11	3.7	35.7	20.0
All	1	27	28	0.5	11.8	6.3

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.

Out of 228 males aged 25 years or older in Mahatwar, there are 27 graduates. More than two-fifths of them come from Other Caste households. The Other Caste males stand out in terms of this indicator of educational achievement. More than a third of the Other Caste males 25 years or older are graduates as compared to less than 10 per cent for Other Backward Class and Scheduled Caste males. The Scheduled Castes and Other Backward Classes do not differ much from each other in respect of this indicator, though Other Backward Classes appear to be marginally ahead. Despite the fact that there are 213 females aged 25 years or above in Mahatwar, there is only *one* female graduate.

Table 3.23 *Graduates in the age group 25 years and above, by asset quintile, by sex, Mahatwar, 2006*

Asset quintile	Number of graduate			As percentage of total population (25 years and above)		
	Female	Male	Persons	Female	Male	Persons
Q1	0	2	2	0.0	6.5	3.2
Q2	0	1	1	0.0	2.3	1.2
Q3	0	4	4	0.0	9.1	4.6
Q4	0	2	2	0.0	5.1	2.6
Q5	1	18	19	1.5	25.7	14.1
All	1	27	28	0.5	11.8	6.3

It is obvious that the very wealthy have the best prospects of acquiring a college degree. 19 out of 28 graduates – nearly 70 per cent - come from the highest wealth quintile. The sole female graduate also naturally comes from the same quintile.

Let us now look at the situation with regard to a slightly lower level of educational achievement, namely, completion of twelve years of formal education, for persons 25 years and older. The data, sex-wise and across social groups, is presented in Table 3.24. The distribution by asset quintile is given in Table 3.25.

Table 3.24 *Population in the age group 25 years and above who have completed 12 years of formal education, by social group, by sex, Mahatwar, 2006*

Social group	Number			As percentage of total population (25 years and above)		
	Female	Male	Persons	Female	Male	Persons
Scheduled Caste	1	21	22	0.9	16.8	9.2
OBC	1	12	13	1.4	16.0	8.9
Other Castes	5	16	21	18.5	57.1	38.2
All	7	49	56	3.3	21.5	12.7

As with the other indicators, the Other Caste males come out on top here as well, and by a large margin. More than half the Other Caste males aged 25 years or above have completed 12 years of formal education. But the proportion is only one-sixth for Other Backward Class and Scheduled Caste males. With regard to females, even the Other Caste does rather poorly, with only a sixth completing 12 years of formal education. There are only two females among nearly 180 females aged 25 years and above among the Other Backward Classes and Scheduled Castes who have completed 12 years of formal schooling.

The 'conversion rate' from completing 12 years to acquiring a degree is also high for Other Caste males. Of the 16 Other Caste males completing 12 years of schooling, 10 have gone on to graduate with a degree. The numbers are similar for Other Backward Classes at 12 and 7, but the conversion rate is lower for Scheduled Castes at 10 out of 21.

Table 3.25 *Population in the age group 25 years and above who have completed 12 years of formal education, by asset quintile, by sex, Mahatwar, 2006*

Asset quintile	Number			As percentage of total population (25 years and above)		
	Female	Male	Persons	Female	Male	Persons
Q1	1	5	6	3.2	16.1	9.7
Q2	0	4	4	0.0	9.1	4.9
Q3	0	8	8	0.0	18.2	9.2
Q4	0	7	7	0.0	17.9	9.2
Q5	6	25	31	9.2	35.7	23.0
All	7	49	56	3.3	21.5	12.7

Looking at the variation for males across asset quintiles in terms of this indicator, the top asset quintile stands out. Of 25 males in the top quintile completing 12 years of schooling, 18 have gone on to get a degree. That is a really high rate of 72 per cent. The rates are much more modest for the lower quintiles. They are also modest for females. Out of 6 females in the top quintile completing 12 years of schooling, only one goes on to get a degree.

Continuing our discussion of the variation in educational achievement by social group and asset status, let us take a look at the picture, across social groups and asset quintiles, of the achievement of completion of at least ten years of formal education among those aged 25 years or older. The variation by social group is shown in Table 3.26.

Table 3.26 *Population in the age group 25 years and above who have completed 10 years of formal education, by social group, by sex, Mahatwar, 2006*

Social group	Number			As percentage of total population (25 years and above)		
	Female	Male	Persons	Female	Male	Persons
Scheduled Caste	1	40	41	0.9	32.0	17.1
OBC	2	21	23	2.8	28.0	15.8
Other Castes	10	20	30	37.0	71.4	54.5
All	13	81	94	6.1	35.5	21.3

The situation with regard to Other Backward Class and Scheduled Caste females remains very poor even with respect to this lower indicator of educational achievement. The Other Caste females fare better, but in absolute terms, the achievement is rather modest. The Other Caste males have the best educational achievement in terms of this indicator, as is the case with respect to all the earlier

indicators. Their 'conversion rate' at the next level-12 completed years of education – is also high. Out of 20 Other Caste males completing ten years of schooling, 16 have gone on to complete 12 years. The corresponding numbers for Other Backward Classes and Scheduled Castes, at 12 out of 21 and 21 out of 40, are distinctly poorer.

Table 3.27 *Population in the age group 25 years and above who have completed 10 years of formal education, by asset quintile, by sex, Mahatwar, 2006*

Asset quintile	Number			As percentage of total population (25 years and above)		
	Female	Male	Persons	Female	Male	Persons
Q1	1	7	8	3.2	22.6	12.9
Q2	0	12	12	0.0	27.3	14.8
Q3	0	14	14	0.0	31.8	16.1
Q4	0	11	11	0.0	28.2	14.5
Q5	12	37	49	18.5	52.9	36.3
All	13	81	94	6.1	35.5	21.3

In terms of variation across asset quintiles, the top quintile males stand apart, with more than half of them completing 10 years of formal schooling. Further, 25 out of the 37 males in the top asset quintile completing 10 years of formal schooling have gone on to complete 12 years and 18 of these have become graduates. The conversion rates are lower for the other quintiles.

Except for the top asset quintile, female achievement levels are very poor – practically non-existent. In the case of the top asset quintile, 12 females, aged 25 years or older, have completed ten years of formal schooling. Of them, 6 have gone on to complete 12 years of schooling, and one of the six has gone on to get a degree. These are very modest achievements, and look relatively impressive only because the general picture is so appalling.

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 3.28 provides the distribution of *households with children* without literate adults in Mahatwar by social group. Table 3.29 provides the same distribution with respect to asset quintiles.

Table 3.28 *Distribution of households with children by absence of adult literates, by social groups, Mahatwar, 2006*

Social group	Without female literate		Without male literate		Without adult literate	
	Number	Percentage	Number	Percentage	Number	Percentage
Scheduled Caste	74	81.3	24	26.4	23	25.3
OBC	29	61.7	13	27.7	9	19.1
Other Castes	2	18.2	0	0.0	0	0.0
All	105	70.5	37	24.8	32	21.5

More than four-fifths of Scheduled Caste households and more than three-fifths of Other Backward Class households with children do not have a single literate adult female. By contrast, among the 11 Other Caste households with children, two have no literate adult female. Slightly over one-fourth of the Scheduled Caste and Other Backward Class households have no literate male adult, while all the 11 Other Caste households have at least one literate adult male. It is clear that inherited educational deprivation contributes to a weak domestic environment for learning for Scheduled Caste and Other Backward Class children. Policies relating to inclusion in formal education need to bear this in mind.

How does the picture look across asset quintiles?

Table 3.29 *Distribution of households with children, by absence of adult literates, by asset quintile, Mahatwar, 2006*

Asset Quintile	Without female literate		Without male literate		Without adult literate	
	Number	Percentage	Number	Percentage	Number	Percentage
Q1	27	90.0	13	43.3	12	40.0
Q2	25	83.3	8	26.7	7	23.3
Q3	22	73.3	9	30.0	7	23.3
Q4	22	73.3	6	20.0	6	20.0
Q5	9	31.0	1	3.4	0	0.0
All	105	70.5	37	24.8	32	21.5

Table 3.29 makes it clear that all but the top quintile households have significant inherited educational deprivation. Even in the top asset quintile, nearly one-third of households with children do not have a literate female adult. The bottom two quintiles fare very poorly in this regard, with respect to both males and females, but the next two quintiles are not much better off. As far as

males are concerned, the top asset quintile is much better off than the others, with only one household reporting the absence of a literate adult male.[23]

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 3.30 and 3.31 present data on the number and percentage of households with children in Mahatwar with at least one male graduate, by social group and asset quintile respectively.

Table 3.30 *Households with children with at least one male graduate, by social group, Mahatwar, 2006*

Social group	Number	As percentage of all households with children within the social group
Scheduled Caste	14	15.4
OBC	8	17.0
Other Castes	6	54.5
All	28	18.8

The gulf between the Other Caste on the one hand, and Scheduled Caste and Other Backward Class on the other is evident. How does the picture look across asset quintiles? Achievement levels vary positively with asset status.

Table 3.31 *Households with children with at least one male graduate, by asset quintile, Mahatwar, 2006*

Asset Quintile	Number	As percentage of all households with children within the asset quintile
Q1	2	6.7
Q2	1	3.3
Q3	7	23.3
Q4	3	10.0
Q5	15	51.7
All	28	18.8

The top quintile has a much higher proportion of households with children with at least one male graduate than all other quintiles. This is, of course, unsurprising. The third quintile does distinctly

[23] It is interesting to note that, though inherited educational deprivation is quite severe in Mahatwar, it is less so than in Harevli despite the latter being a more 'prosperous' village with higher productivity in agriculture.

better than the fourth, reminding us that there is not necessarily a one-to-one correspondence between wealth status and inherited educational deprivation.

Finally, let us look at the picture in relation to a more modest requirement: the presence of at least one female who has passed the tenth class. The relevant information is presented for social groups in Table 3.32 and for asset quintiles in Table 3.33.

Table 3.32 *Households with children with at least one female 10th pass by social group, Mahatwar, 2006*

Social group	Number	As percentage of all households with children within the social group
Scheduled Caste	11	12.1
OBC	12	25.5
Other Castes	8	72.7
All	31	20.8

The pattern of achievement across the social groups remains the same as with the other indicators. The Other Caste fare much better and the Scheduled Castes do most poorly. The Other Backward Classes do marginally better than the average, which is far closer to the Scheduled Castes than to the Other Castes.

Table 3.33 *Households with children with at least one female 10th pass by asset quintile, Mahatwar, 2006*

Asset Quintile	Number	As percentage of all households with children within the social group
Q1	3	10.0
Q2	2	6.7
Q3	4	13.3
Q4	6	20.0
Q5	16	55.2
All	31	20.8

The proportion of households with children where at least one female member has passed the tenth class is one-fifth or less for four of the five asset quintiles. It is only in the top quintile that the figure is somewhat better, being a little greater than half.

With this, we conclude our analysis of the state of formal educational achievements and deprivation of the people of Mahatwar. We have looked at school attendance, children and work, literacy among the general population and among adults, and indicators of educational achievements – or the lack thereof - of adults in 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. Out of 408 children, as many as 49 -12 per cent - are out of school. As many as 83 - more than 20 per cent - are working. Among girls, 32 out of 207 – more than 15 per cent - are out of school. Only 38 (18 per cent) are recorded as working as defined in our study, though at least a few of the 23 girls listed as out of school and not working, as well as some of the 146 girls going to school and listed as not working, are likely to be engaged in domestic chores and care functions at home. Out of 201 boys, 17 are out of school, but as many as 38 are working. If we include, as many scholars suggest, all children out of school as 'working' in some sense, as many as 61 girls out of 207 and 43 out of 201 boys are working children. These are high proportions indeed.

Second, the literacy rates of the 7 plus population at well under 50 per cent for females and should be considered quite low. The rate of 70 per cent for males is also modest. Third, the literacy rates among Scheduled Castes and Other Backward Classes for both males and females are unacceptably low. The same pattern generally holds with respect to most of the other indicators of educational achievement or deprivation. Fourth, there is a large gap between the social category of 'Other Castes' and the rest in respect of educational achievement, both among males and among females, with Other Castes much better off..

The educational achievement levels are very poor among the overwhelming majority of households. Even for Other Castes and for the highest asset quintile, the educational achievements are quite modest. The Other Backward Classes and Scheduled Castes do especially poorly in terms of the education of females.

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 huge and need to be tackled urgently. The fact that Mahatwar has only one primary school and no middle or high school within the village is a serious impediment for girls wishing to study beyond the primary level. The fact that very few children in the age group of 0 to 6 years attend the anganwadi is striking. The sizeable incidence of child labour in the village is a matter of serious concern.

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

4. *AMENITIES*

Access to basic amenities such as decent shelter, safe drinking water, toilets and electricity, has important implications for the well-being of children. In this subsection, in order to focus on the state of amenities as they relate to children, we present and discuss data on amenities *for households with children.*

4.1 *Housing*

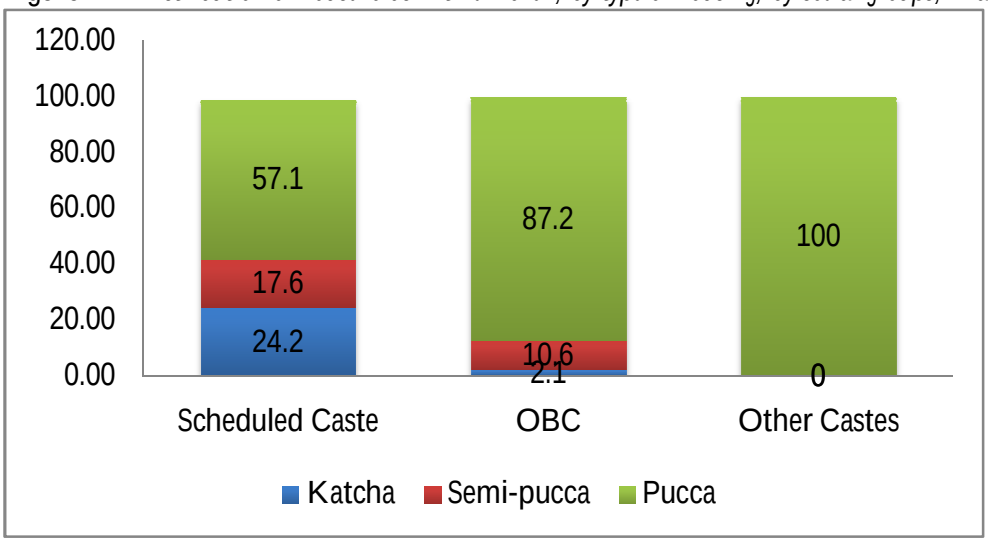
Table 4.1 presents data on the distribution of households with children by social group and type of housing. It follows the official classification of shelter into 'pucca', 'semi-pucca' and 'katcha', which has several problems.

Table 4.1 *Distribution of households with children, by type of housing, by social groups, Mahatwar, 2006* (in per cent)

Social group	Katcha	Semi-pucca	Pucca	Unspecified	All
Scheduled Caste	24.2	17.6	57.1	1.1	100.0
OBC	2.1	10.6	87.2	0.0	100.0
Other Castes	0.0	0.0	100.0	0.0	100.0
All	15.4	14.1	69.8	0.7	100.0

NOTE 5: Pucca houses are houses with both roof and walls constructed of permanent materials. Katcha houses are houses with both roof and walls constructed of temporary materials. Semi-pucca houses are those with either roof or walls constructed of permanent materials. (This is the standard definition followed by the Census of India and the National Sample Survey Organisation, Government of India).

Figure 4.1 *Distribution of households with children, by type of housing, by social groups, Mahatwar, 2006*



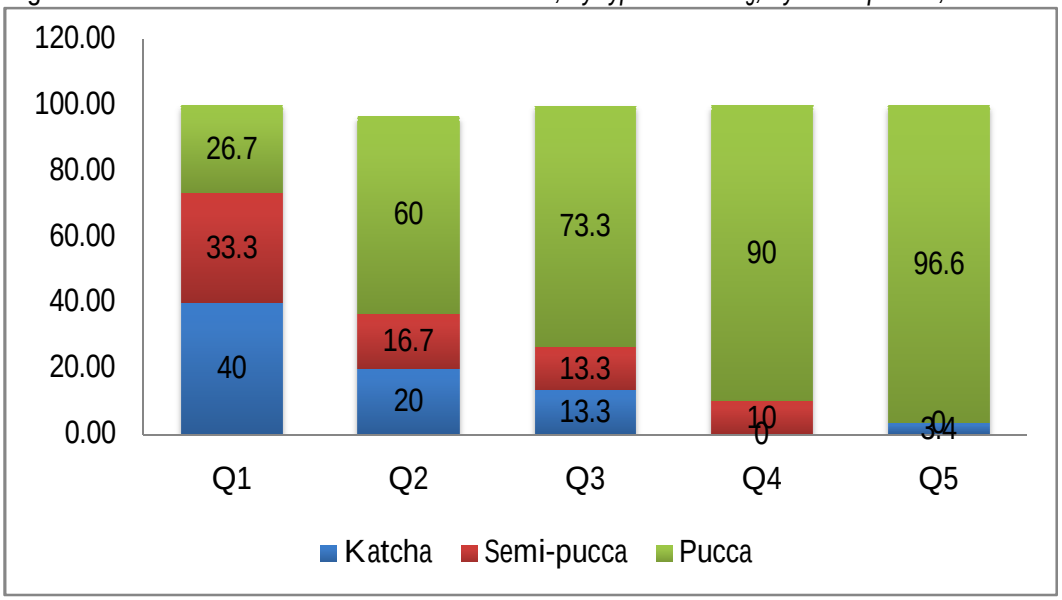
Looking at Table 4.1, the overall state of housing in Mahatwar based on the official classification appears a lot less dismal than the state of education of the population! However, there is considerable variation across social groups. More than two-fifth of Scheduled Caste households live in non-pucca houses. Nearly a quarter of them live in katcha houses.

The picture across asset quintiles is shown in Table 4.2.

Table 4.2 *Distribution of households with children, by type of housing, by asset quintile, Mahatwar, 2006* (in per cent)

Asset quintile	Katcha	Semi-pucca	Pucca	Unspecified	All
Q1	40.0	33.3	26.7	0.0	100.0
Q2	20.0	16.7	60.0	3.3	100.0
Q3	13.3	13.4	73.3	0.0	100.0
Q4	0.0	10.0	90.0	0.0	100.0
Q5	3.4	0.0	96.6	0.0	100.0
All	15.4	14.8	69.1	0.7	100.0

Figure 4.2 *Distribution of households with children, by type of housing, by asset quintile, Mahatwar, 2006*



There is a clear correlation between the asset status of a household and its housing condition. The households in the poorest quintile have the largest percentage of non-pucca housing. Only a fourth of these households live in pucca houses.

Clearly, the categorization of house types into katcha, pucca and semi-pucca, relates only to one aspect of the quality of shelter. Of importance in assessing the quality of shelter would also be other

aspects such as the number of rooms. Tables 4.3 present the distribution of households with children living in one-room houses by social group. Table 4.4 presents the same distribution by asset quintile.

Table 4.3 *Number of households with children living in single room houses by social groups, Mahatwar, 2006*

Social group	Number of households	As percentage of all households with children
Scheduled Caste	11	12.1
OBC	11	23.4
Other Castes	1	9.1
All	23	15.4

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

Only about 15 per cent of all households live in single-room houses. The percentage is highest for Other Backward Classes. On the face of it, this would suggest that housing conditions in Mahatwar are better than in Harevli. However, given the large size of families in Mahatwar, it would be exceptionally difficult to manage in one-room houses.

Table 4.4 shows that the top quintile does not have even one household living in an one-room housing. However, the picture across the other four quintiles is mixed except for the poorest quintile faring very poorly. The fourth quintile, with a large presence of Other Backward Classes, who are mostly peasants, has a larger proportion living in one-room houses than the Q3 and Q2.

Table 4.4 *Number of households with children living in single room houses by asset quintile, Mahatwar, 2006*

Asset Quintile	Number of households	As percentage of all households with children
Q1	8	26.7
Q2	5	16.7
Q3	4	13.3
Q4	6	20.0
Q5	0	0.0
All	23	15.4

4.2 *Access to electricity for domestic use*

A key household amenity with implications for children's education is electricity. Data on the distribution of households with children in Mahatwar by access to electric connection for domestic use by social group and by asset quintile are presented in Tables 4.5 and 4.6 respectively.

Table 4.5 *Households with children with electric connection for domestic use, by social group, Mahatwar, 2006*

Social group	Number of households	As percentage of all households with children
Scheduled Caste	40	44.0
OBC	27	57.4
Other Castes	11	100.0
All	78	52.3

Table 4.6 *Households with children with electric connection for domestic use, by asset quintile, Mahatwar, 2006*

Asset quintile	Number of households	As percentage of all households
Q1	7	23.3
Q2	9	30.0
Q3	18	60.0
Q4	19	63.3
Q5	25	86.2
All	78	52.3

The overall level of provision of electricity for domestic use to households with children in Mahatwar is barely in excess of 50 per cent. More than half of all Scheduled Caste households with children do not have a domestic electric connection. The proportion is over two-fifth for Other Backward Classes. It is only among the Other Caste that things are better. The distribution across asset quintiles shows that the two poorest quintiles are very poorly off, and even the next two have between a third and two-fifth of households lacking a connection. Domestic electricity connection is not universal even among the top quintile households, though they fare distinctly better than the others.

The existence of an electricity connection is of course only a necessary and not a sufficient condition for obtaining electricity! The latter depends, among other things, on the availability and supply of power by the service provider. Our revisit showed that hours of electricity supply continued to be low and erratic.

4.3 *Drinking Water*

Access to drinking water, especially safe drinking water, is critical to daily existence. It is well known that this is a need significantly underserved in rural India. While official definitions of safe drinking water are unsatisfactory, even data on household access to drinking water by source is not especially reliable. However, we have good quality data from the FAS census of Mahatwar on access to drinking water for households, disaggregated by social category and by asset quintile. The distribution of households with children by primary source of drinking water for the various social groups is shown in Table 4.7. The distribution by access to a covered source of drinking water and social group is shown in Table 4.8. The corresponding distribution by asset quintiles is shown in Table 4.9.

Table 4.7 *Distribution of households with children by primary source of drinking water, Mahatwar, 2006*

Source	Number of households	As percentage of all households with children
Handpump	145	97.3
Powered tubewell	2	1.3
Tap	1	0.7
Unspecified	1	0.7
All	149	100

Almost all households with children in Mahatwar obtain drinking water from a handpump.

Table 4.8 *Households with children with access to covered source of drinking water, by social group, Mahatwar, 2006*

Social group	Number of households	As percentage of all household with children
Scheduled Caste	90	98.9
OBC	47	100.0
Other Castes	11	100.0
All	148	99.3

There is hardly any variation in access to a covered source of drinking water across social groups, as can be seen from Table 4.8

Table 4.9 *Households with children with access to covered source of drinking water, by asset quintile, Mahatwar, 2006*

Asset quintile	Number of households	As percentage of all households with children
Q1	30	100.0
Q2	29	96.7
Q3	30	100.0
Q4	30	100.0
Q5	29	100
All	148	99.3

Table 4.9 reinforces the point about non-variation in access to a covered source of drinking water, this time across asset quintiles.

A relevant question that arises is whether the source of drinking water is within the house, and if not, at what distance is it from the house. This has a gender dimension, since it is often the women of a household who fetch water for domestic use. Table 4.10 presents the distribution of households in Mahatwar with children by distance from source of drinking water, by social group. Table 4.11 presents the corresponding distribution, by asset quintile in place of social group.

Table 4.10 *Number of households with children, by distance from source of drinking water, by social group, Mahatwar, 2006*

Social group	Within homestead or just outside	≤ 500 meters	> 500 meters	Unspecified
Scheduled Caste	45	44	0	2
OBC	36	11	0	0
Other Castes	11	0	0	0
All	92	55	0	2

It is striking that half of all Scheduled Caste households and a third of the Other Backward Class households with children in Mahatwar do not have access to drinking water within the homestead. In the case of the Other Caste, however, all eleven households have such access.

Table 4.11 *Number of households with children, by distance from source of drinking water, by asset quintile, Mahatwar, 2006*

Asset quintile	Within homestead or just outside	≤ 500 meters	> 500 meters	Unspecified
Q1	18	12	0	0
Q2	11	18	0	1
Q3	17	12	0	1
Q4	20	10	0	0
Q5	26	3	0	0
All	92	55	0	2

In the top quintile, only three out of 27 households lack access to a covered source of drinking water within the homestead. Across the other asset quintiles, there is no clear pattern, though the bottom two quintiles taken together have the poorest access.

Dr. Ambedkar Gram Vikas Yojana: Mahatwar's Experience

In 1991, to commemorate the birth centenary of Dr. B. R. Ambedkar, the Government of Uttar Pradesh began the Dr. Ambedkar Gram Vikas Yojana (Dr. Ambedkar Village Development Scheme). The main objective of the scheme is to develop rural infrastructure and improve the condition of basic amenities like housing, drinking water, sanitation facilities, pucca roads, primary schools, and electrification, in Scheduled Caste and Scheduled Tribe dominated villages on a priority basis. Villages in which more than one half of the population comprised SCs and STs can be declared as 'Dr. Ambedkar Villages.' Within selected villages, priority is to be given to Scheduled Caste and Scheduled Tribe households over others.
The scheme was formed by amalgamating various pre-existing state and central government programmes across departments. These included:

Sr.No.	Scheme	Implementing Department
1	Drinking Water	Rural Development
2	Indira Awaas Yojana	Rural Development
3	S.G.S.Y.	Rural Development
4	Sanitary Latrine	Panchayati Raj
5	Nali/Kharanja (Drainage)	Panchayati Raj
6	Primary School/ Building Construction	Basic Education
7	Link Road Construction	P.W.D.
8	Free Boring	Minor Irrigation
9	Old Age Pension	Social Welfare
10	Widow Pension	Women's Welfare
11	Rural Electrification	Energy

Mahatwar was selected as a Dr. Ambedkar Gram in 1995-96 during the very first phase of the scheme. Nevertheless, as documented here, evidence from our village survey of 2006, more than a decade after the implementation of the Dr. Ambedkar Gram Vikas Yojana, shows that even basic amenities such as pucca housing, electricity, sanitation facilities and pucca roads were absent in the Dalit settlement of the village.
In 2009-10, Mahatwar was selected for the second time as a Dr. Ambedkar Gram. The block-level records (and village-level booklet) show that:
Under Indira Aawas Yojana, the housing scheme, a total of 13 beneficiaries were selected during 2009-10, among whom six were Dalit. Each beneficiary was to receive Rs 35,000 towards construction of a pucca house. However, it appears that 10 of these 13 households were beneficiaries of previous years or had a pucca house, and received about half of the sanctioned money (the rest being pocketed by various functionaries).
Toilets. Another 53 households were selected for the construction of sanitary latrines. A sum of Rs 4,000 per household was sanctioned for the same. As we walked through the Dalit settlement, it was evident that all these latrines were either unfinished or unused. Conversations revealed that most latrines did not have even a pit and were merely three walls with a tin roof, and a few had pits that were not deep enough (only 2-3 feet) and so could not be used on a daily basis (or only as a urinal).
Electricity. The booklet declares Mahatwar village, including its Dalit settlement, to have complete coverage of electricity. It also declares the condition of electrification to be 'good'. Our walk through the Dalit settlement suggests that several households do not have an electricity connection and also that supply was very erratic (7-8 hours a day) and of low voltage.
Positive outcomes for the village include the construction of a concrete road with a budget of Rs. 37.38 lakhs, installation of five sodium street lights and around 20 India-mark handpumps for drinking water. The record shows that 25 handpumps were installed at a cost of Rs 1,500 per pump, but we counted only 20 on our walk through the Dalit settlement (Harijanpara).

The two main reasons for the failure of several components of the scheme (including the housing scheme) appear to be (a) inadequate financial allocation and (b) corrupt practices of the local administration. I provide a case study below.

Ratan Singh was a beneficiary of the housing scheme in 2009-10. As per the scheme, Rs 35,000 is allotted for the construction of a pucca house. Ratan Singh had to first pay Rs. 10,000 to local officials (both government officers and elected representatives) to get his name included in the list of beneficiaries and get all the installments. Ratan Singh found that Rs. 25,000, which he received, was not sufficient to construct a pucca house. Ratan Singh is a landless manual labourer and did not have any savings to invest in the construction of the house and also did not want to borrow money from informal lenders at the local rate of 120 per cent per annum. Without additional financial resources, the construction of their house remains unfinished. One pucca room was constructed only up to the wall-level and Ratan Singh put a thatch-and-bamboo covering on the roof. The house has a second katcha room (with walls made of mud and thatch, a thatch and polythene roof and a mud floor). These two rooms accommodate eight members of his household including Ratan Singh's old parents and four children aged 2 to 16. The total constructed area of this house is approximately 15 feet by 7 feet. The household does not have a separate kitchen or cooking space. There is no electricity connection. According to Ratan Singh, low-voltage electricity is supplied for only 7 to 8 hours a day (with day and night supply on alternate weeks). He said it was not worth taking an authorized electricity connection and adding two to three hundred rupees a month to their expenditure for this erratic supply. Most households in the village have an unauthorised electricity connection. Of Ratan Singh's four children, two have dropped-out of school but two are still in school. They cannot study in the evening or nights as there is no electricity and the parents deem it unsafe to leave kerosene lamps burning for long at night given the risk of fire in a thatch-covered room. In late 2010, the local administration built a latrine for this household (as it did for several others in the Dalit settlement). This is a source of amusement as the latrine does not even have a pit, only three walls with a tin sheet on the roof. The so-called latrine has been abandoned. According to Ratan Singh, his and several other such incomplete latrines were constructed in haste just before the visit of the Chief Minister to Ballia district headquarters six months ago.

Source: Shamsher Singh (2012), based on a visit to Mahatwar in March 2011.

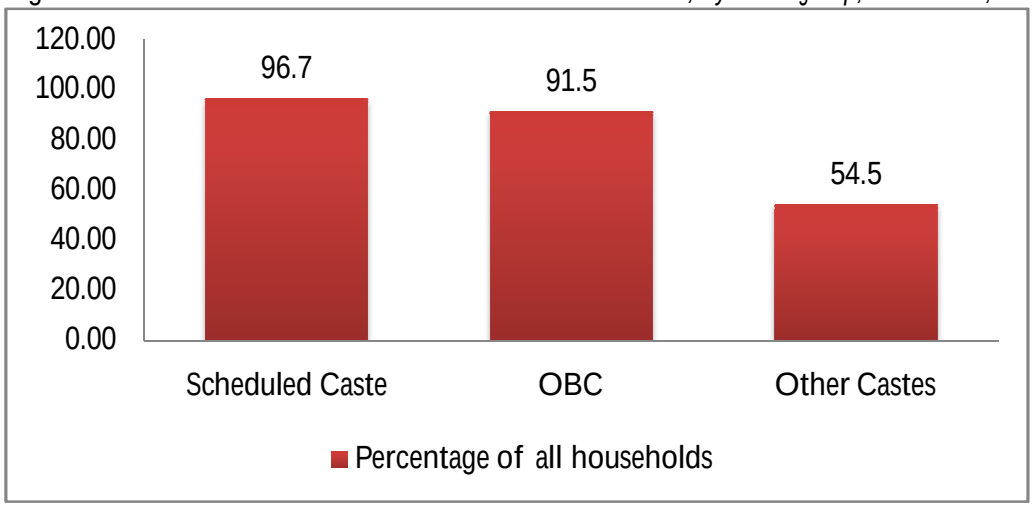
4.4 *Lavatories*

Sanitation is an important factor in preventive health care. Provision of adequate facilities in this regard is an essential part of public health policy. The extent of access of the members of a population to lavatories is an important dimension in any discussion of amenities. Tables 4.12 and 4.13 present the distribution of households with children without access to a lavatory, by social group and asset quintile respectively.

Table 4.12 *Households with children without access to lavatories, by social group, Mahatwar, 2006*

Social group	Number of households	As percentage of all households with children
Scheduled Caste	88	96.7
OBC	43	91.5
Other Castes	6	54.5
All	137	91.9

Figure 4.3 *Households with children without access to lavatories, by social group, Mahatwar, 2006*

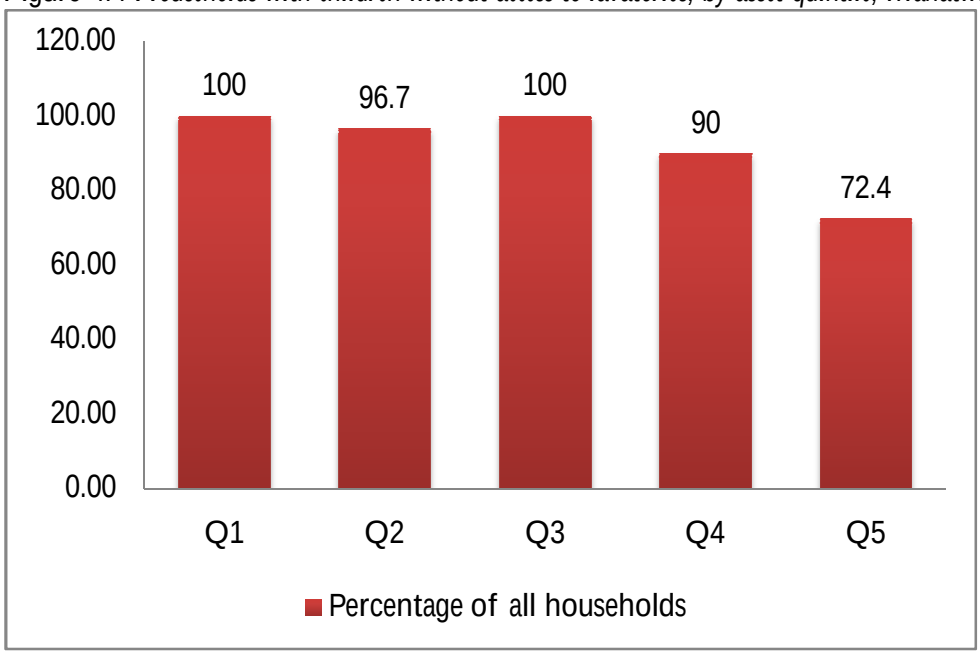


Access to lavatories is largely non-existent for households in Mahatwar. It is only among the Other Caste that there is some provision. Even in the case of Other Caste, nearly three-fifth of households with children lack access to a lavatory.

Table 4.13 *Households with children without access to lavatories, by asset quintile, Mahatwar, 2006*

Asset quintile	Number of households	As percentage of all households with children
Q1	30	100.0
Q2	29	96.7
Q3	30	100.0
Q4	27	90.0
Q5	21	72.4
All	137	91.9

Figure 4.4 *Households with children without access to lavatories, by asset quintile, Mahatwar, 2006*



The variation across asset quintiles is also quite limited, with an overwhelming majority in every asset quintile reporting lack of access to a lavatory. Mahatwar fares much worse than Harevli in this regard.

The situation with respect to sanitation by way of access to lavatories in Mahatwar is thus quite poor. More than nine-tenths of all households lack access to lavatories. The Other Caste households fare better than the Scheduled Caste and Other Backward Class households, but even among them, nearly 60 per cent lack access to a lavatory.

Overall, how does Mahatwar fare with respect to household amenities? Our examination of the endowments of households with children in respect of certain basic household amenities-*domestic electricity connections, pucca houses with more than just a shanty room in which to live, safe water sources within households and access to latrines*-shows that the general picture was one of highly inadequate achievement for the majority, and some degree of inequality across social groups and asset classes. Persons in the top asset quintile and in the social group of Other Castes are much better provided for than the rest. The most disturbing feature, with respect to the provision or lack thereof 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.

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

5. *ECONOMIC SITUATION OF WOMEN*

5.1 *Marital Status*

Table 5.1 shows the marital status of women aged 18 years and above in Mahatwar as per the FAS survey of 2006. Table 5.2 provides the age distribution of widows in Mahatwar.

Table 5.1 *Distribution of women (18 years and above) by current marital status, Mahatwar, 2006*

Current marital status	Number of women	As percentage of all women
Never married	14	5.1
Currently married	228	82.6
Widowed	33	12.0
Separated/divorced	1	0.4
All	276	100.0

Table 5.2 *Age distribution of widowed women (18 years and above), Mahatwar, 2006*

Age group	Number	As percentage of all women within the age group
18 years to 24 years	1	1.6
25 years to 34 years	1	1.7
35 years to 49 years	7	8.9
50 years to 59 years	6	20.7
60 years to 69 years	5	16.7
$\geq$ 70 years	13	86.7
All	33	12.0

The overall percentage of widows in the female population at 12 per cent is lower than the figures for the villages of Andhra Pradesh surveyed by the FAS in 2005. The percentage of widows to total female population in the 70 plus age group at 86.7 per cent is not far off the Census 1981 figure of 80 per cent for India. In the 60 plus age group, the proportion of widows is 40 per cent, close to the figure of 36 per cent for Harevli and a good deal lower than the Census 1981 and NFHS 1998-99 figures which are 60 per cent and 58 per cent respectively. Out of 246 females aged 15 to 49 years, 9 are widows. This works out to 3.65 per cent as against the 3.2 per cent figure for India from NFHS 3 for 2005-06.

5.2 *Women in the workforce*

An important aspect of the economic and social status of women in a society is the extent of their presence in the workforce. Table 5.3 provides the distribution of the proportions of working

population among males and females 18 years and older by social group in Mahatwar. Table 5.4 provides the data on work participation rate of women aged 18 years and older by marital status. Table 5.5 presents a picture of the activity profile of women aged 18 years and older. While the percentage of adult males in the working population is the highest for the Other Backward Classes, among females, the Scheduled Castes report the highest proportion of working population to total among females. Among the other castes, only one-sixth of adult females are in the working population. The Other Castes report the lowest proportion of working population for males and for females. The proportion of working population for females is much lower than that for males in all caste groups, but the differential is the largest among the Other Castes and the least among the Scheduled Castes.

Table 5.2 *Proportion of working population (18 years and above), by sex, by social group, Mahatwar, 2006*

Social group	Female		Male		Persons	
	Number	Percentage	Number	Percentage	Number	Percentage
Scheduled Caste	93	62.8	146	85.4	239	74.9
OBC	54	57.4	91	94.8	145	76.3
Other Castes	6	17.6	27	79.4	33	48.5
All	153	55.4	264	87.7	417	72.3

Table 5.3 *Work participation rate of women (18 years and above), by marital status, Mahatwar, 2006*

Marital status	Number	WPR
Never married	2	14.3
Currently married	125	54.8
Widowed	25	75.8
Divorced/ separated	1	100.0
All	153	55.4

With regard to the variation in the work participation rate (WPR) of women by marital status, leaving aside the one divorced/separated woman, we find that widows have the highest WPR, followed by women currently married.

The activity profile of adult women in Mahatwar shows that 25 per cent of women were engaged in cultivation, followed by 21 per cent in agricultural labour. If one takes into account the percentage of females reporting animal husbandry as an activity, it becomes clear that agriculture and allied activities are where working females are mostly found to be engaged in Mahatwar. The percentage of adult females in Mahatwar reporting cultivation as an activity they are engaged in is more than three times the figure for Harevli.

Table 5.4 *Activity profile of women (18 years and above), Mahatwar, 2006*

Occupation	Number of women participating in the activity	As percentage of all women
Cultivation	69	25.0
Agricultural wage employment	58	21.0
Animal husbandry	20	7.2
Non-agricultural wage employment	12	4.3
Non-agricultural self-employment	8	2.9
Salaried employment	2	0.7

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

5.3 *Women as Heads of Households*

A question of some importance in an examination of the economic and social status of women in a village is the presence of women as heads of households. The distribution of heads of household by sex and social group in Mahatwar is presented in Table 5.5. The corresponding distribution by sex and asset quintile is shown in Table 5.6.

Table 5.5 *Distribution of female head of the household, by social group, Mahatwar, 2006*

Social group	Number	Percentage
Scheduled Caste	4	4.3
OBC	2	4.0
Other Castes	2	16.7
All	8	5.1

The percentage of female-headed households to total is quite low in Mahatwar as was the case in Harevli. As can be seen from Table 5.6, there is no systematic variation across asset quintiles or as between the Scheduled Castes and the Other Backward Classes. Though the proportion of female-headed households to total appears high at one-sixth for Other Castes, the fact that there are only 12 Other Caste households in Mahatwar needs to be kept in mind.

Table 5.6 *Distribution of head of the household, by sex by asset quintile, Mahatwar, 2006*

Asset quintile	Number	Percentage
Q1	2	6.5
Q2	1	3.2
Q3	2	6.5
Q4	1	3.2
Q5	2	6.3
All	8	5.1

It is generally the case, in the patriarchal society that India is, that women are reported as heads of households only when there is some specific circumstance, such as the previous male head being no more or not living in the household any more or of there being no earning adult male in the household and so on.

While the number of female headed households in Mahatwar at 8 out of 156 is indeed a small proportion as would be expected, it is also no surprise that in six of these instances, the female head is a widow, and so the head more or less by default. Mahatwar has no one-person household, so that the other default instance of a female head as the sole member of a household does not come into the reckoning.

It is usually the case that since females become heads of households mainly when the spouse dies, the age distribution of female heads of households will reflect this fact. On the other hand, males assume headship by default when they get married and live in a nuclear family. The age distributions of female and male heads of households, presented in Tables 5.7 and 5.8 respectively, seem to contradict the expectation that a high proportion of female heads will be in the older age groups than the male heads. However, this has mainly to do with the fact that in the case of widows in the age group of 35 to 49 years, adult males may not be available to head the household whereas in the case of households with widows in the 50 plus age group, an adult male may be heading the household. It may be recalled from Table 5.1a that there were in all of 33 widows. Of the 33 widows, 24 are fifty plus. In most instances, they live in households with adult males, and do not therefore get reckoned as household heads. In fact, the household with a male head may often have a female member older than the head, but the converse will rarely be the case.

Table 5.7 *Distribution of female head of households, by age group, Mahatwar, 2006*

Age group	Number	Percentage
35 years to 49 years	7	87.5
50 years to 60 years	1	12.5
All	8	100

Table 5.8 *Distribution of male head of households, by age group, Mahatwar, 2006*

Age group	Number	Percentage
up to 34 years	21	14.2
35 years to 49 years	55	37.2
50 years to 60 years	36	24.3
Above 60 years	36	24.3
All	148	100.0

Only six of the 33 widows are heads of households, a reminder that widowhood is not a sufficient condition for a female to be head of a household, though in most instances it would appear to be a 'necessary' condition.

In two cases where a currently married female is termed as head, the concerned male spouse did not live in the household. In one case, there is no information on the male spouse. In the other case, the husband lived elsewhere, working as an employee of the Irrigation Department.

Reflections on Village Survey Findings

The two villages in Uttar Pradesh (UP) surveyed by the FAS belong to two very distinct regions of the far-flung state. Harevli is in Western UP, and is part of the 'green revolution belt'. Mahatwar is in Ballia district of Eastern UP, bordering Bihar, a region not perceived as a high productivity, green revolution belt. Yet, the picture of mass deprivation is unfortunately common to both, not withstanding their specificities. Some reflections on what the FAS surveys of the two UP villages have brought out may not therefore be out of place.

Irrigated agriculture is the norm in both villages. Both villages grow paddy, wheat and rapeseed, but Harevli grows sugarcane as well. Both are connected to towns and to railheads. Neither has a secondary or higher secondary school within the village, but Mahatwar is slightly better placed with the secondary/higher secondary school located not too far from the village. It also has a metal approach road, though only a kilometer long. Neither village has post office or a bank branch, but Mahatwar does have a bus stop inside the village.

The villages vary in social composition. Harevli has slightly over half the population (53 per cent) from OBCs and other caste Hindus, though SCs are the single largest group accounting for 36 per cent of the population. Muslims account for the rest. In Mahatwar, on the other hand, SCs account for 57 per cent of the population, OBCs for 33 per cent and the rest are from the category of other caste Hindus. While these differences are important for understanding the social dynamics of these villages, our concern here is the deprivation experienced by the majority of the population, among other things, in respect of asset ownership, access to and achievements in education, access to basic amenities and incidence of child labour.

Working children

In both villages, a significant percentage of children aged between 6 and 17 years work. In Harevli, more than one-third of girls and nearly three-tenths of boys can be regarded as working children. The corresponding figures for Mahatwar are 30 per cent for girls and 20 per cent for boys.

Assets

Both villages are characterized by enormous inequality in the household ownership of assets. In Harevli, the maximum asset value of the third quintile is only 2.62 lakh rupees. It is even lower at 2.16 lakh rupees in Mahatwar. On the other hand, the richest household possesses assets valued at Rs 1.6 crores in Harevli and 1.24 crores in Mahatwar. In terms of social groups, SCs were most poorly off. Ninety four per cent of SC households in Harevli and 80 per cent in Mahatwar were in the bottom three asset quintiles. By contrast, more than 90 per cent of the households belonging to the category of 'other caste Hindus' were in the top two asset quintiles in both villages. The Muslims and OBCs in Harevli, and the OBCs in Mahatwar were somewhat better off than SCs , but not by a great deal. There is a clear correlation between asset status and caste, with other caste Hindus mostly in Q4 and Q5, and others mostly in the bottom three quintiles, except for a sizeable section of the OBCs in Mahatwar. The main point is that there is considerable social and economic inequality, which gets reflected in educational achievements, access to education and access to amenities.

Education

Pre-school education and attendance at anganwadi centres is practically non-existent in both villages. A sizeable section of the children in the age group of 6 to 18 years were out of school in both villages. More than a third of girls and more than a fifth of boys were out of school in Harevli. The picture in Mahatwar was marginally better, with 12 percent of all children and 15 per cent of all girls being out of school. Literacy rates for the 7 plus as well as the adult population are also far from impressive, with females across social groups, except for the other caste Hindus, reporting much lower literacy rates than males. Across the social divide, SCs have much lower literacy rates than other groups in both villages. The educational achievement levels are very poor among the overwhelming majority of households in both villages. Even for Other Caste Hindus and for the highest asset quintile, the educational achievements are quite modest. The OBCs do especially poorly in terms of the education of females. The picture in terms of median years of education is pathetic across social groups in both villages, except, to an extent, in the case of other caste Hindus.

Amenities

In respect of certain basic household amenities-domestic electricity connections, pucca houses with more than just a shanty room in which to live, safe water sources within households and access to latrines- the general picture in both villages was one of highly inadequate achievement for the majority, and some degree of inequality across social groups and asset classes. Households in the top

asset quintile and in the social group of Other Caste Hindus are much better provided for than the rest. The most disturbing feature, with respect to the provision or lack thereof 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. The sad stories of 'provision' of lavatories and of housing in Mahatwar under government schemes serves to remind us that 'schemes' that do not address the power structure in the village will not deliver.

Policy Implications

While it would not be appropriate to generalize for all of Uttar Pradesh or for India as a whole from the FAS surveys in two villages in Uttar Pradesh, 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 relatively affluent households – for instance, those in the second highest asset quintile– 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.

It is striking, in the context of Dalit political mobilization efforts in Uttar Pradesh, how miserable and deprived rural SC households continue to be, as seen from Harevli and Mahatwar. Clearly, 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. Provision of financial support to labouring households - a substantial proportion of which are SC households – to enable them to send children to school instead of work should also be given urgent consideration.