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Right to Education and Universal Participation of Children Living in Slums Issues, Gaps and Challenges

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National Institute of Educational Planning and Administration

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**Right to Education and Universal
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Issues, Gaps and Challenges**

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17-B, Sri Aurobindo Marg, New Delhi - 110016

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Right to Education and Universal Participation of Children Living in Slums Issues, Gaps and Challenges

Sunita Chugh*

Abstract

The Right to Free and Compulsory Education Act (2009) enacted in India has perhaps been one of the most ground-breaking legislations in recent times. Like never before, it has brought into the forefront the right of each child of age group of 6-14 years to have free and compulsory education. Thus, the principle enshrined in this legislation can have a phenomenal impact if implemented in its full earnest. A particular challenge for implementation of Right to Free and Compulsory Education Act (RTE 2009) for universalization of elementary education lies in reaching out to the disadvantaged in both urban and rural areas. Though researches have focused more on rural, urban and rural-urban comparisons with respect to participation of children, segregated analysis within urban areas has not found prominence. Further, levels of segregation within urban areas can present a more layered analysis of participation of children as they host multiple socio-economic strata. The general perception that urban areas have better access to schools, optimum infrastructure and well trained teachers gloss over lack of access and disparities in access and participation within urban boundaries. Lack of disaggregated data also contributes to perpetuation of the myth of better educational facilities in urban areas.

In such a context, the predicament of urban slums is further pronounced as access to education for those residing in slums is limited and uneven. Therefore, it is prudent to assess the educational status of poor children and those living in slums in urban areas. This would provide a necessary reality check in the implementation of RTE in urban areas. Against this background the paper makes an attempt to present the educational status of children in schools in slums of Lucknow (India) city. The paper was drawn from a much larger study of 10 cities across the country to ascertain access and participation in elementary education. The paper *inter alia* also examines household and school factors that influence participation of children in schooling. Access to schooling facility is nearly universal in the selected slums of Lucknow. Caste, religion and gender emerge to be prominent cause of disparity in participation in school education in these slums. Nevertheless, parents' educational attainment level is a strong determinant of participation of children in school. These findings shed light on gaps in implementation of RTE 2009 Act which may be useful for designing appropriate strategies for ensuring the rights of children in education in the context of slums.

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Section I: Introduction

India's demographic profile is undergoing major transformation. Census 2011 estimates that 377 million population (around 31 percent) live in urban areas. Not only the share of urban population is increasing, but also the share of people living in smaller cities variously called as second and third tier cities is on a rise. Around 264.9 million persons, constituting 70 percent of the total urban population, live in Class I Cities/Towns having at least 1,000,000 population and around 160.7 million persons (42.6 % of the total urban population) live in 53 million plus cities. It is observed that the growth in urban population between 2001 and 2011 Census is nearly equal to the growth in rural population in absolute terms. A substantial rise in the population of million-plus cities has been attributed to migration. The share of migrants was found to be above 55 percent in cities like Surat, Ludhiana and Faridabad, further emboldening the industrial capital of these locations (Bhagat, 2014). Looking at the macro details of inter-state migration pattern, there are some interesting pathways revealed in a latest analysis (Chandrashekhar and Sharma, 2014). Uttar Pradesh is the largest feeder state in addition to Bihar, sending people from its boundaries to other states across the country. These two states account for highest outflow of migrants to other states. Some of the other significant movement between states, indicates migrants from Uttar Pradesh to Punjab, Haryana and Uttarakhand; Uttar Pradesh to Delhi and Maharashtra; from Bihar to Delhi, West Bengal and Uttar Pradesh and two way flow between Maharashtra and Gujarat (ibid.).

Further, the recent upsurge in population living in urban areas across cities has been on account of growth in population of second and third tier cities. Other factors that have contributed to this include migration from rural areas and reclassification of towns and cities into newer boundaries. Cities in India manifest varied spatial disparity. On one hand there are exclusive spaces mainly catering to the affordable sections of society having access to an array of modern amenities; on the other hand there are urban sites which can be categorized as slums that are marked with cramped housing and negligible or no amenities. Even though slums feed into the business network of big or metropolitan cities, they are sites of marginalization and exclusion.

It is being increasingly realised that basic literacy and numeracy are an integral and necessary part of social existence, failing which human beings cannot perform even basic functions. The skills required for this can be imparted through elementary education, one which is to be made universally accessible. This makes each one capable of leading a functional life. The broad educational goals of 21st century also focus on lifelong learning and provision of equitable and quality education. The benefits of elementary education as foundational to secondary and higher secondary education, cover a wide canvas- from overcoming economic and social inequalities, reduction of population growth to leading empowerment, developing economies and enhancing health and social indicators of both the mother and the child. Further, it is argued that education is transformative and helpful in overcoming disadvantages of gender, caste and class (Dreze and Sen, 2002; Tilak, 2004).

These far reaching benefits have been part of the right to education in economic and social declarations of 1990s which have enabled the evolution of a widely acceptable view of elementary education as a fundamental right. The adoption of several international social, economic and human rights resolutions and declarations, over the last decades, have resonated well with the above arguments. With few exceptions, almost all countries have ratified to these resolutions. The Jomtien Declaration in 1990 and the Dakar Declaration in 2000 exclusively focused on elementary education, whereas, the UN Millennium Declaration proclaiming the Millennium Development Goals (MDGs) included *inter alia* education and gender parity in education as important goals. India has also been an active partner in the worldwide movement for Education for All that began in 1990 in Jomtien and is also a signatory to the Dakar Declaration in 2000. India is also a signatory to three key international instruments that guarantee the right to elementary education- Universal Declaration of Human Rights 1948, the International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights 1966 and the Convention on the Rights of the Child 1989.

Despite visible progress, many parts of the world have failed to meet the Millennium Development Goal of achieving universal primary education by 2015. The remaining task has been taken up by countries with the adoption of

the Sustainable Development Goals in 2015 that specifically outline in their Goal 4 to “ensure inclusive and equitable quality education and promote lifelong learning opportunities for all”. One of the specific targets flowing from this goal is ensuring that all girls and boys complete free, equitable and quality primary and secondary education leading to relevant and effective learning outcomes by 2030. These goals are based on principles of human rights and dignity, social justice, inclusion, protection, cultural, linguistic and ethnic diversity and shared responsibility and accountability. These put emphasis on importance of human rights education and training in order to achieve post-2015 sustainable development agenda.

Policy Perspective on RTE 2009

Within the national scenario, the Constitution of India had enshrined the provision of free and compulsory education under Article 45 as one of the directive principles of public policies. However, it was not supported by legal tools that could enforce such policy mandates. The article 45 of the Constitution of India, indeed stirred policy attention towards providing free and compulsory education to all children till the age of 14 years. The first National Policy on Education (1968), comprehensively looking at all sectors of education after independence, did recognise the importance of elementary education but its call for making it compulsory was not supported by required public resources.

The importance of achieving universal elementary education received renewed attention since then evident in the National Policy on Education in 1986 and Programme of Action in 1992 and other policy statements. Despite this, progress towards universal elementary education remained lackluster. Not all children could be enrolled in school. School infrastructure continued to be poor and inadequate. Even the number of teachers was not sufficient and schools lacked teaching learning materials for children. Policy makers, academicians, civil society activists began looking for ways to make Article 45 (promising free and compulsory education to all children until 14 years of age within ten years of commencement of the Constitution of India) a reality. A legal breakthrough was achieved in 1992 when the Supreme Court of India held in *Mohini Jain vs State of Karnataka* that the right to education is concomitant to fundamental rights enshrined under part III of the Constitution and that every citizen has a right to education under the Constitution.

The Supreme Court subsequently reconsidered the above mentioned judgment in case of *Unnikrishnan. J. P vs State of Andhra Pradesh* in 1993. It was maintained in the judgment that right to education flows from right to life guaranteed under the Constitution. It further upheld that the provision of free and compulsory education to all children till the age of 14 years of age is paramount as the Article 45 is the only provision that has timeline for implementation as mandated in the Constitution. Drawing from these arguments the Supreme Court of India delivered a judgment making right to education a fundamental right.

As a follow up of the judgment, the Government of India took many steps to make right to education a fundamental right by setting up various Committees (Saikia, 1996 and Majumdar, 1999 cited in Jain & Dholakia, 2009) to estimate additional resources required for ensuring entitlements to all children. The Constitution of India was amended in 2002 and Article 21A was incorporated which provides that ‘the State shall provide free and compulsory education to all children of the age of six to fourteen years in such manner as the state may, by law, determine’. The right would come into force after Government of India adopts modalities for implementation. The Government had taken several steps to evolve modalities and norms for implementation of Right to Education. A Central Advisory Board of Education¹ committee on Right to Education was constituted in 2004 to prepare the Right to Education bill which was passed by the parliament and subsequently, Right to Education Act came into existence in 2009.

Expanding the necessary physical and social infrastructure in all cities and towns is a policy imperative to ensure cities of different sizes also participate in growth with inclusion. In particular, opportunities for education need to be expanded and improved to meet the demand from growing population. If we look at the global concerns on this issue, the first reference comes through the Charter of Educating City (Bologna, 1994, Genoa, 2004) which was adopted at International Congress of Educating cities held at Barcelona in 1990. It was revised and reconfirmed at 3rd International Congress and at the 8th International Congress. The Charter while reaffirming ‘right to an educating city’, declares that this right must be understood as an effective extension of the fundamental right to education (p 3). The first principle

¹ The Central Advisory Board of Education (CABE) is the highest advisory body to advise the Central and State Governments in the field of education.

of Charter enunciates that ‘all the inhabitants of a city have the right to enjoy, in liberty and equality, the means and opportunities for education’ and further promises that ‘in city planning and governance, suitable measures will be taken to overcome every type of obstacle that restricts the exercise of the right to equality, including physical barriers. This will be the responsibility of both the municipal government and other levels of government that affect the city (p4). Hence, global voices have long argued for providing education as a fundamental right as part of right to educating city, the obligation of which lies with the city and provincial governments.

In India, though it is generally claimed on the basis of official statistics (UDISE) that access and participation in compulsory education is nearly universal across the country, particularly in cities, however evidences from alternate data sources like National Sample Survey (NSS), Indian Human Development Survey (IHDS), etc., do not support this claim. For example, the NSS 71st Round, states that Gross Attendance Ratio (GAR) at elementary level was 98 percent in 2014 in urban areas. The Net Attendance Ratio (NAR) was found to be 88 percent only in urban areas. NAR at upper primary level was as low as 65 percent. Data from Census 2011 corroborates these patterns as the participation rate of children of age group 6-14 years was found to be 84 percent, leaving nearly ten million children out of school. This implies that one in every six children was not attending school. Further the participation of children of age group of 6-14 years in education was uneven across different types of cities. The variation was not only among cities but more glaring within cities (Chugh 2014, Tsujitha 2009). The aggregate data concealed wide spatial variation, between slum and non-slum locations and between social groups in participation within urban areas.

The enactment of Right to Education Act signifies a qualitative shift with regard to provision of elementary education in India. The RTE 2009 confers several entitlements and suggests norms to guide provision of free and compulsory education. These relate to access, participation, progression through grades, equity, infrastructure facilities in schools, qualifications of teachers, obligations of appropriate governments and local authority, role and responsibilities of School Management Committees, monitoring agencies etc. These entitlements and norms provide framework to make policies in elementary education. The paper delimits

itself to select aspects which have broad policy implications. Some of the areas are discussed in ensuing sections.

Access to Schooling Facilities

According to RTE 2009 Act, every child of age group 6-14 years has ‘a right to free and compulsory education in neighbourhood school till completion of elementary education’. The ‘neighbourhood’ in the Act is defined in terms of distance- provision of school within a distance of 1 km in case of primary level and 3 km in case of upper primary level. RTE 2009 Rules as notified by most of the states broadly follow this definition with minor variations. Children right to free and compulsory education in a neighbourhood school includes secure and hazard free access as well. However, in urban areas, specifically in poor areas and in slums, provision of schooling may be available within distance norms of neighbourhood but ensuring secure and hazard free access seems to be difficult. For example, many a time children from slum localities have to cross open railway line, drainage or pass through industrial and insecure locations (Chugh 2004, 2014). The appropriate governments have to establish schools in such a manner that children are able to attend schools located in secure and hazard free environment.

Participation and Equity

The RTE Act makes it an obligation on the appropriate government ‘to ensure compulsory admission, attendance and completion of elementary education’ (Article 8 (a) explanation (ii)). This implies any child of age group 6-14 years who is out-of-school is not denied his/her right to education. The appropriate government needs to take steps to ensure that all obstacles that prevent the child from attending the school be removed. Further, the Act makes it an obligation on appropriate government to ensure that children belonging to weaker or disadvantaged sections are not discriminated and are encouraged to pursue and complete elementary education’ (Article 8(c)). Social and religious inequalities in elementary education are in contravention of RTE 2009 and need to be addressed to successfully implement RTE Act 2009. The Act also obligates schools not to ‘...held back any child in any class or expelled from school till the completion of elementary education’ (Article 16). Further the Act specifies ‘where a child above six years of

age has not been admitted in any school or though admitted could not complete his or her elementary education, then, he or she shall be admitted in a class appropriate to his or her age'. This implies all children shall be admitted into age appropriate grades and progress through grades till completion of elementary education' (Article 4). The Act entails that all children need to progress age appropriately through grades. Any overage child not admitted or studying in his/her age appropriate grade is an indication of violation of provisions of RTE Act. The appropriate governments as duty bearers have to take up the responsibility to remove obstacles that prevent children to progress age appropriately through grades. The SDGs have also recognized the need to monitor progression of children through age-appropriate grades.

The Act makes it mandatory for the State to provide free and compulsory good quality education to all children of age group of 6-14 years without any discrimination on the basis of caste, sex, religion or location. Factors such as sex, caste or religion need complex strategies to deal with while ensuring access to education, however, location is one such factor that can be directly dealt with through provision. Inequalities that emerge from locational unavailability of schooling or inaccessibility of schooling spaces by urban disadvantaged, requires more concerted efforts by the government as they are the providers. This would facilitate implementation of RTE Act at the ground level.

In this context, the present paper looks at the educational status of children living in slum² areas of Lucknow city in the aftermath of the enforcement of RTE in 2010. The paper also attempts to see whether the State has been able to reach to all the disadvantaged children post RTE or they are left behind and remain out of school. It explores issues related with access and participation in education of children living in slums, from a rights perspective. The right to education establishes several criteria, norms and standards to aid the provision of education

² A slum is a contiguous settlement where the inhabitants are characterised as having inadequate housing and basic services. A slum is often not recognised and addressed by the public authorities as an integral or equal part of the city" (UN-HABITAT, 2002, p. 21; 2003a, p.10). Slums in this context also include squatter settlements or informal settlements.

Slum is characterized as any compact housing cluster or settlement of at least 20 households with a collection of poorly built tenements which are mostly temporary in nature, crowded together usually, with inadequate sanitary and drinking facilities and unhygienic condition and located in congested environment (Census 2011).

with regard to access, participation, provisions and infrastructure as described above. These provide useful yardsticks to monitor the implementation of RTE and help in identifying gaps with regard to any shortfall. This paper delimits its focus to studying the status of universal access and universal participation with the help of a few select indicators. The study finds that parental education is an important indicator of school participation of children. Besides this, per capita family income is also an influencing factor of school continuation, where highest dropouts are reported from the families with the lowest per capita income. From the data collected we also observe that school participation varies with caste and religious affiliation. The paper elaborates on these findings in the sections that follow.

The paper is divided into six sections including this introductory Section I. Section II presents brief summary of related literature on education of children in the context of slums. Section III describes the method and sample selected for collecting the empirical evidence. It also presents the demographic profile of the city of Lucknow. Section IV focuses on findings of the first tier of data collected as a household survey and discusses children's participation in Lucknow, highlighting persisting inequalities in education in the study area. Section V deals with the analysis of second tier of data collected from the sampled households having children of age group of 6-17 years. The findings reveal the school going status of children by age, educational attainment level of parents, monthly income of households and educational status of children. Section VI deliberates upon the challenges that lie ahead.

Section II: Literature on Education in the Context of Slums

As discussed above, under RTE 2009 Act, it is mandatory on the part of state to provide schooling facilities to all children in the neighbourhood. Research studies have highlighted that children traveling long distances to school are more likely to drop out of school. Having a school within one kilometer away from home has a positive and significant effect on the primary school attendance of children (Sathar and Llyod, 1994). It was observed that accessibility to school within the village seemed to contribute to 18 percent increase in school entry and a decline in school dropout by about 16 percent (Swada and Lokshin, 2001). Distance travelled to school also has a directly proportional relationship with absenteeism,

delinquency, truancy, indiscipline and non-attendance in school. When distance travelled to school is too far for the child, besides fatigue, there is a tendency for the child to be truant and may drop out of school completely (Arubayi, 2005; Duze, 2010). Through empirical evidence, Duze (2010) found that a number of primary and secondary schools in select provinces of Nigeria were located far away from homes of children and this had a negative impact on the attendance of students in schools. Chugh (2014) found that availability of school in the neighbourhood impacted the participation of children. The study revealed that participation of children from slums of Hyderabad was higher in comparison to Ludhiana as slums in Ludhiana did not have close access to schools. In a comparative study between the cities of Kanpur and Lucknow, Mohanty (2014) explores factors leading to non-enrolment and dropout among scavengers. The study reveals that dropout in Kanpur is 66% and in Lucknow is 52%. The reason for dropouts enlisted comes majorly from the objections placed in the households. Lack of money also constitutes a major factor.

Slums: Origins, Growth and Characteristics

Slums are associated with unplanned habitations as a result of unchecked growth of urbanisation and industrialisation. These have become a universal phenomenon in many million plus cities. Despite located within cities, they are not part of main city landscape and function as sites of exclusion. Scholars have argued that slum formulations are due to the absence of governance and poor planning of urban planners (Giok Ling Ooi and Kai Hong Phua 2007). Rapid growth of large cities and mega urban regions in developing countries reflect in slum formation which is surrounded by dense, generally improvised shanty towns and numerous other forms of informal and unregistered housing. These are characterized by inadequate infrastructure, lack of service provision, insecurity of shelter and land tenure. Research on the economic, social, and political forces that generate and lead to the formation of informal settlements or slums are abundant (Payne 1989, Satterthwaite et al. 1989 Durand- Lasserre 2006, UNCHS Habitat 1996). Many socio-cultural, economic and physical factors are also associated with the emergence of slums (Lall, 2008). Prior social ties related to common native home, culture,

language and occupation are found to be guided with locational choices of new immigrants (Chugh, 2004, 2014; Sharon, Field & Pande, 2014).

Most of the people living in slums are poor not just because of their low incomes, but also poor in terms of access to adequate resources, unstable or risky asset base, overcrowded housing, low access to safe water, sanitation, health, schools, absence of a supportive safety net, lack of protection by law and regulations, denial of economic, social and cultural rights and denial of voice within the political system (UN-HABITAT REPORT, 2008). Slum dwellers live in a variety of circumstances-on pavements, besides railway tracks, in swampy areas or on steep slopes (Bapat and Agrawal 2003, Nijama et al. 2003, Verma et al. 2001, Sijbesma 2006). The degraded environment in which they live takes a toll on their physical, mental and moral health. It can be inferred that slums and poverty are closely related and mutually reinforcing.

The hazards of living in sub-standard conditions directly impact the well-being of slum dwellers and their children, putting the latter at risk of becoming excluded from social, economic and educational process. Not only the environmental conditions adversely affect the participation of children in school but poor accessibility of school in the neighbourhood, overcrowded schools, poor teaching in school and social distance between teachers and children also keeps the children away. Long and unsafe distance has a negative impact on a child's attending school (Glick and Sahn, 2000; Chugh, 2004, 2014). Disaggregated data on the availability of schooling facilities and participation of children living in slum areas is not available. For lack of data, the educational challenges of disadvantaged children of slum areas are not adequately researched. Sporadic efforts have been made at the micro level to collect information related to access to schooling facilities at elementary level for children living in urban areas in metropolitan cities. In a survey conducted in Bhalswa, 29 resettlement colonies by *Bachpan Bachao Andolan* and in other resettlement colonies by Patel (1983), Chugh (2004, 2011, 2014), Jha & Jhingran (2002), it was found that availability of schooling facilities at the elementary level were grossly inadequate. In most of the resettlement colonies, the schools were not available within the slum area and the children needed to cross the road or railway interjection to reach the school which became a major

impediment for children to continue their schooling. Even if the school is available, one of the key reasons cited for lower level of participation in India is the cost of education (NFHS, 2005-6, Chugh 2004, 2014) like overhead cost of stationery items, transportation and opportunity cost even though education is free. Further, residential mobility (changing residences) and school mobility (changing schools) increases the risk of dropping out of school (Rumberger and Larson 1998; Wehlage and Rutter 1986). Neglect by teachers, poor teaching, unfair treatment meted out by teachers, teacher irregularity and frequent absence were among the teacher centric reasons for dropping out of school (Govindraju and Venktasan, 2010).

Educational Access and Participation of Children in Slums

In a study of slums in Kolkata, Khasnabis and Chatterjee (2007) found that despite government's attempt to achieve universalization of elementary education, access to schooling facility was not adequate and students belonging to disadvantaged families still did not attend classes regularly. The study found that retaining students in a formal school was far more difficult than enrolling them particularly if the students belonged to very poor economic backgrounds. In another study by Hussain analyzing the demand for primary education in the slums of Kolkata it was found that (2005) the factors influencing the decision making regarding education among the low class Muslims was marked not by the income but by the importance of education in everyday life. However, the reason for dropouts is primarily because the parents are unable to generate necessary funds. Yet in another study Sengupta (2016) has argued that the participation of the girl children in slum dwelling areas of Kolkata and Dhaka, depended on the income of the family, willingness of the parents and environment of the family. A survey undertaken by Bodh (2009) showed that an estimated 30 % of the population of Jaipur lives in slums. This survey revealed that out of the 279 slums selected in Jaipur, only 74 had government school facilities. In nearly 50% of the slum colonies, more than half of the children were out of school.

Few studies indicate that poor quality of schooling in state provision; de-motivated teachers and inadequate infrastructure are also responsible for low retention of children (Colclough 1993; Bhatta, 1998). Lack of teachers, dilapidated buildings, absence of toilet facilities and lack of other ancillary facilities also

contribute to low participation of children in government schools. Yoko Tsujita (2009) found that despite school availability at short distances, the educational participation among slum children was barely above fifty percent with high incidence of overage and dropout among these children. Further, aspects such as perception of personal security impacts school enrolment and attendance (Mudege, 2008). Thus, insecure neighbourhoods may have a negative impact on schooling of children.

The nature of schooling provision in urban areas is undergoing major transformation in the recent years. Public provision is declining further and private sector is increasing. In many urban areas, public provision is shrinking even in absolute numbers. The number of new public schools opening in urban areas is either negligible or negative, whereas many new schools are being opened by private sector to cater to the needs of ever growing urban population. How this transformation of urban education is affecting access, equity and quality of education particularly of poor and other vulnerable groups in urban areas is a moot question. How access to education for the poor has changed in the absence of adequate public provision? How the poor are responding to the increasing privatization of education in urban areas? Number of studies have been conducted on the participation of children even those living in slums in the private schools. In the city of Hyderabad, it was found that 73% of families in slum areas send their children to private school (Baird, R., 2009). Other studies highlighted that although private education options were available on a large scale; higher expenditures prohibited the urban disadvantaged to avail of this opportunity (PROBE 1999 & 2011 and Chugh, 2004). For the urban poor, government schools remain the single largest provider of education at the elementary level. Often state-funded government schools are perceived by parents to be of lower quality, with teacher absenteeism as one of the problems cited by parents in these schools. Teacher absenteeism was more prominent in government as compared to private schools with high pupil achievement in private schools (Tooley, 2007) comparison to the government school. A study analyzing participation data of the older cohort, found that nearly three quarters attended a government school in 2001 at the age of five or six, but by 2009 only half of them were still in government schools;

nine per cent had transferred to a private school and a quarter (26%) had dropped out of education altogether (Woodhead, et. al., 2013).

The private sector is perceived as providing quality education which parents seemed to prefer and therefore wished to send their children to private schools. Boyle et al. (2002) found that, despite their poverty, the poorest households were acutely concerned about the quality and relevance of education services. There is found a notable willingness amongst the poorest to pay, or make sacrifices for, what they perceive to be good quality education. According to one case study of 60 schools in the Indian city of Lucknow, the primary reason that families chose private schools was once again perceived superior quality to that of government schools. Reasons were poor or nonexistent government-school infrastructure, lack of English medium education and absenteeism of government-school teachers (Srivastava 2007). Baird (2009) observed that private schools existed because parents demanded them. To meet the demand of education a number of unrecognized schools have spurred up, across urban areas. De et. al. (2002) explored question of equity and differentiation in primary schools. She investigated the emergence of “new private schools”; how this phenomenon contributed to or constrained universalization of elementary education in urban areas. The study observed that quality control was necessary for these low-fee private unrecognized schools.

Empirical researches on dropouts have identified a number of factors within students’ families, schools and communities (and peers) that predict dropping out. The final decision of the child to dropout of school may be a result of a number of factors including socio-economic status, most commonly measured by parental education and income, as a powerful predictor of school achievement and dropout (Bryk and Thum, 1989; Ralph 1999; Rumberger, 1995; Rumberger & Larson, 1998; Pong & Ju, 2000, Tsujita, Y. 2009, Chugh 2002. 2014, Haroon Sajjad, et al. 2012). Household income allows parents to provide more resources to support their children’s education, including access to better quality schools, private tuitions and more support for learning within home. The direct measures of family relationships have confirmed that strong relationship between students and parents reduce the odds of dropping out of school (Ralph 1999; Techman et. al., 1996). Students whose

parents monitor and regulate their activities, provide emotional support, encourage independent decision-making and are generally more involved in their schooling are less likely to drop out of school (Astone & McLanahan, 1991; Rumberger 1995).

The studies on access and participation of children provide information and insights on the educational status of children. However, there are meager studies which have critically assessed the access and participation of children after the enactment of RTE Act 2009. Similarly, hardly attempts have been made to examine the educational status of children as per their social belonging of religion, social groups and gender living in the same area. The present paper makes an attempt to bridge this gap and investigates the participation of children in education by religion, social groups and gender.

Section III: Sample and Methodology

The paper uses a small piece of empirical data which is part of a large scale study of critical assessment of participation of children in education in urban slums in India. The study consists of a sample 10 million plus cities, but for this paper, the analysis is based on restricted to the data collected from slums of Lucknow city. The five slums of Lucknow city namely- *Gadhi Kannura*, *Kasai Bada*, *Panday Tola*, *Akbar Nagar* and *Nai Basti* were sampled. The first tier of data collection had been for all the households covered in the selected slums. Complete enumeration of households was undertaken to identify households with children in school going age group. The total number of households surveyed in all five slums was 3000. The second tier of data collection comprised of detailed information collected from those 1,103 households who had children of age group of 6 to 17 years. The total population of the selected households was 15,243 out of which 7,816 were males and 7,427 were females. Scheduled Caste population constituted 29 percent of the total population, 51 percent belonged to Other Backward Castes (OBCs) and around 20 percent population was of general category. Out of this population, 27 percent of population belonged to school going age and 58 percent of persons belonged to active workforce group. People who belonged to 65 years and above constituted a miniscule share with a mere 3 percent. Thus, it can be inferred that slums had majority of young population. A very young population, that too residing in slums,

is susceptible to vagaries of harsh life and under nutrition, making education a low priority among residents.

The data for this research was collected with a view to explore whether universal access to education is being provided to children living in slums of Lucknow. If access has been ensured in terms of availability of schooling facility, the corollary is to examine if all children are enrolled and participating in education. The paper also explores if participation of children is still being influenced by socio-economic determinants of households or is it universal? To look at these questions closely, the research sampled children of 6-14 years of age. This was done to study the large number of overage children that are still enrolled in elementary level of education in India. The paper also discusses if education is provided free to these children or their parents bear any school related expenditure.

Lucknow: A Brief Profile

Lucknow is the capital of Uttar Pradesh, the largest state in India. It has a long history and its population is quite diverse. According to Census 2011, its population is 2.82 million of which 0.31 million are Scheduled Castes (SCs) constituting a little above 20 percent. It is the eleventh most populous city and the twelfth most populous urban agglomeration of India. The sex ratio in the city is 928 females per 1000 male. The population density of the city is 1114/Km².

The population of slums in Lucknow is 0.36 million constituting almost 13 percent of Lucknow city population. The population of SCs in slums is 58.2 thousands constituting almost 16 percent of slum population in Lucknow. Literacy rate for Lucknow City stands at 73.90 percent with male literacy rate at 76.95 percent and female literacy rate at 70.60 percent. Literacy rate for slum population is lower than the average literacy rate of the city. Literacy rate in slums of Lucknow is reported as 67.40 percent for the total population; for males the literacy rate is 71.72 percent and for females it is 63.25 percent only (Census 2011)

With a brief demographic background of Lucknow city and slums in the city, the next section explicates some of the research findings that highlight the life in the

context of slums, specifically focusing on aspects of health and educational status of children living in the peripheries.

Section IV: Finding and Analysis

This section presents the findings of data collected from select slums in Lucknow city. The RTE 2009 specifies norms for access and calls for universal participation of children across regions and gender, social and religious groups. How far the current educational status of children in slums of Lucknow fulfills the mandate of RTE 2009? To explore this core question, data was collected from households of select slums to gather information regarding various parameters of access and participation in the age group of 6-14 years. The households were administered questionnaires on the location of schools, distance and time taken by children in slums to travel between place of residence to school. In addition, participation of children living in these households was assessed through three variables – attending, never enrolled and drop out. Participation was computed for all gender, social and religious categories and to see for variations within the categories. Most importantly, this section also attempted to present findings related to age-grade matrix of children living in slums to see how far an important norm mentioned in RTE 2009 – the admission of children in age appropriate grade – was being implemented at the ground level.

Distance and Time Taken to Reach School by Children from Select Study Area

The field data revealed that access to schools was almost universal in slums of Lucknow as nearly 77 percent of children had access to school within a distance of 1 km and about 23 percent of children had access to school within a distance of 2-3 km. However, most of the times, distance travelled to school from the place of residence may not be an appropriate measure of access, rather time taken to travel to school can be a more useful indicator. Time travel from place of residence to school depends on a number of factors such as presence of railway lines, drainage channels, unsafe pathways or even unsafe and crime ridden locales. In the selected households, 24 percent of respondents claimed that their children reached school within 5 minutes from their place of residence. Another 31 percent of children took between 6-10 minutes and 11-15 minutes to reach school. In fact, more than

85 percent children took approximate 15 minutes to reach the school from their place of residence. Only about 12 percent of children took 16-30 minutes to reach their school. Overall it could be said that access to schools was fairly good among selected slums in Lucknow.

Participation of Children in Education in Lucknow

In the context of the present study, participation of children in education in slums has been conceptualized as comprehensive of enrolled, never enrolled and drop out. For an in-depth analysis, data from Census of India as well as primary field has been looked at closely to derive inferences for this research. The participation of children belonging to age group 6-14 years in Lucknow was found to be low as per the Census of India (2011). Despite implementation of large-scale interventions like *Sarva Shiksha Abhiyan*³, there was only a marginal improvement in participation levels in 2011 over 2001. The participation rate of children of age 6-14 years in education was 76.5 percent in 2011, a marginal decadal increase of only 4.6 percent points from 71.9 percent in 2001 (Census 2001 and 2011). This clearly indicated that nation-wide interventions implemented to improve participation of children in education did not help in significant improvements for all sections of society equally.

The shape of the curve in Figure 1.1 shows that participation of children is low during early ages, peaking between ages 8/9 and then at ages 12/13/14, after which it declines. This pattern is similar for both 2001 and 2011. In 2011, the curve shifted upwards particularly from age 8 onwards. It is also seen that even though participation is low but increases rapidly during early ages 5-7, peaks between ages 9-13 and begins to decline from age 14 onwards. One can also notice considerable improvement in participation rates for age group 15-19 years between 2001 and 2011 but it still stands low at 70 percent in 2011. This could be indicative of the fact that many children start their schooling late and are more likely to enrol in lower grades compared to their age. This adversely affects their education and may impact the chances of continuing beyond primary/elementary education. In fact,

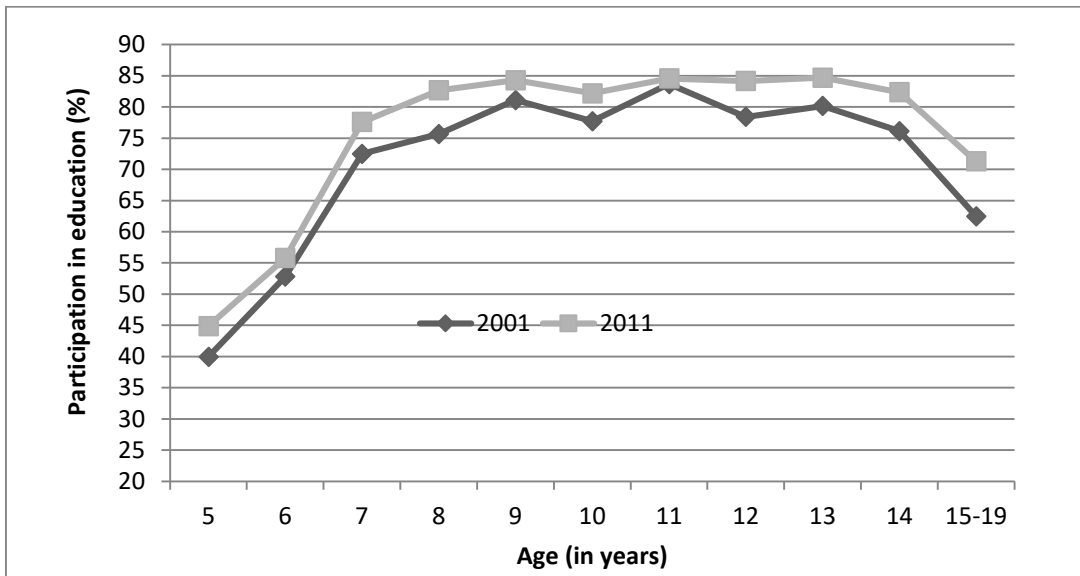
³ *Sarva Shiksha Abhiyan* (Education for All Movement) launched in 2001 was an Indian Government programme aimed at the Universalisation of education in a time bound manner. Now it is merged programme known as *Samagra Shiksha Abhiyan*.

these figures also got reflected in primary data collected from Lucknow as elaborated later.

The Census of India does not provide segregated data on participation in education in cities by social and religious groups. In lieu of data on Lucknow city, data on urban areas of Lucknow district was used to examine social disparities in participation in education. The population of Lucknow city constitutes 92.7 percent of Lucknow district's urban population. Hence, the patterns observed with respect to urban population of Lucknow district can be considered to be fairly representative of Lucknow city. The participation rates in education for socially marginal groups like SCs and Scheduled Tribes (STs) have improved between 2001 and 2011 but continue to be low (for details see Annexure1). For example, the participation rate of SCs has increased from 63.8 percent in 2001 to 73.11 percent in 2011. Similarly, the participation rate for STs has increased from 50.8 in 2001 to 58.9 percent in 2011. The large social disparities between different social groups in 2001 seem to have narrowed by 2011 particularly with respect to SCs. The gap between total population and SCs has come down from 8 percent points to 3 percent points and in case of STs from 21.2 percent points to 17.2 percent points between 2001 and 2011. The reduction in gap between SCs and general population can be attributed to increasing awareness of education, political assertiveness witnessed in several forums during the last couple of decades and also a host of welfare schemes initiated with the aim of improving participation in education of SCs. It may, however, be noted that improvement in educational participation of SCs seems to have been limited with the gap widening after 14 years of age (Figure1.2). The gap between total population on one hand and SCs/STs on the other is found to be much higher at early age confirming that the marginal groups start their schooling late (Table 1.1 & Table 1.2 Annexure1). This analysis based on Census figures points to a less than optimal participation of children in education in urban areas across age and much lower participation of children belonging to SCs and STs as compared to general category. Even though the State has made concerted efforts to universalize elementary education before and after enactment of RTE 2009, a large number of children still remain out of school.

Figure 1.1

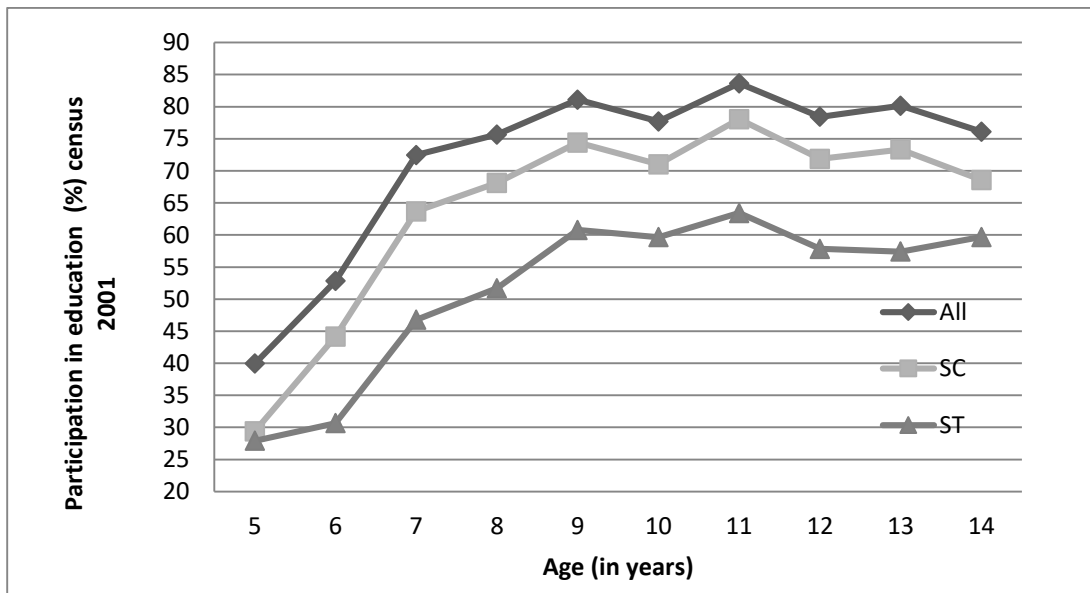
Participation in Education by Age

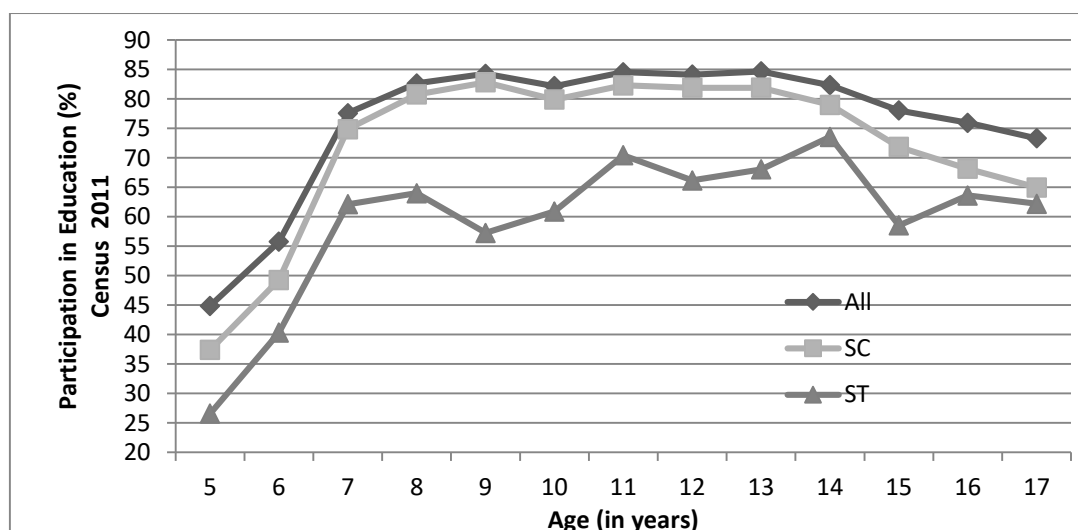


Source: Census of India (2001 and 2011)

Figure 1.2

Participation in Education by Social Categories





Source: C-11, Population attending Educational Institution by age and sex (Total, SC/ST), Census of India, 2001

Participation of Children in Education in Slums of Lucknow: Persisting Inequalities

As discussed earlier, the Census data does not provide disaggregated data on participation in education in cities by location or social-economic co-ordinates (low income areas, slums), this research attempts to fill this gap by collecting primary data on slums of Lucknow. This primary survey was carried out in May-July 2015. The primary data indicates many important points presented in the following sections.

Participation by Social and Religious Groups

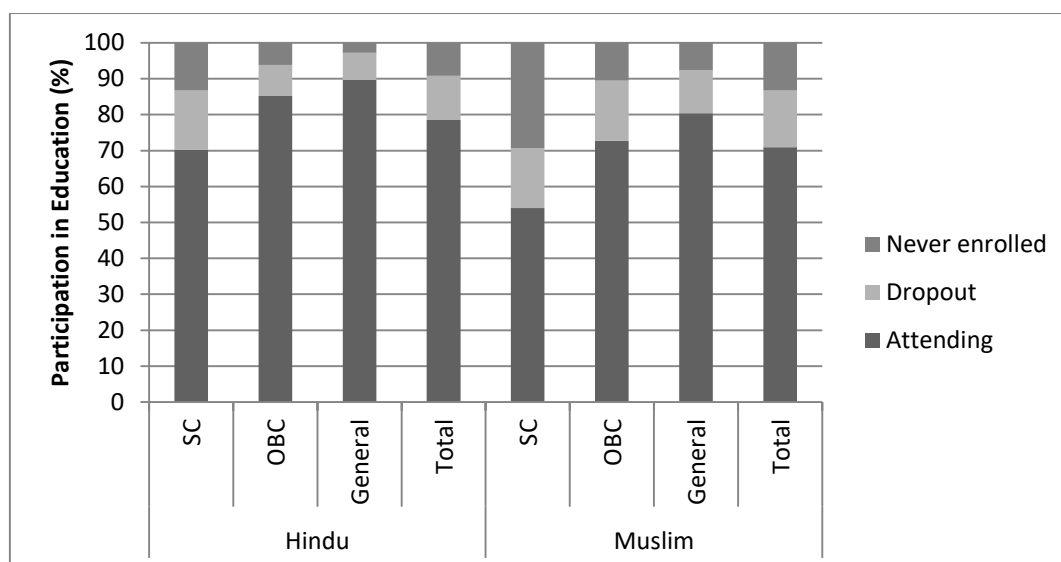
The survey data of select slums in Lucknow revealed that participation of children of age group 6-17 years in education continued to be low even in 2015. It was found that only 74.6 percent of children attended school, but with wide variations among social and religious groups. Within this variation of participation, it was found that general category and Hindus had higher participation rates, whereas SCs and Muslims had low participation rates (Figure 2, Annexure 2). The participation rates for Hindu SCs and Muslim dalits⁴ was found to be 64.2 and

⁴ A group of Muslims under the banner of Pasmanda Movement are demanding SCs status and claiming entitlements of SCs for themselves (see for example, Ansari 2009, Prashant Trivedi et al. 2016). In the field survey many Muslims reported themselves as SCs but there is no officially recognised SC category of Muslims. The response from households calling themselves as SC has been recorded as it is, but they are referred to as i in the paper. The paper uses SCs and *dalits* interchangeably.

48.1 percent respectively. The participation rates for general category of both Hindus and Muslims stood at 86.5 and 73.7 percent respectively. The participation rates of Other Backward Classes (OBCs) of Hindus and Muslims fell in between the participation rates of general and SC category of Hindus and Muslims, with distinctly low participation rates for Muslim OBCs. An important finding was that the participation rate of general category of Muslims was even lower than Hindu OBCs. The data clearly demonstrates that being a Muslim and also a *dalit* or even an OBC means distinct disadvantage in participation in education.

Figure 2

Social Inequality in Participation in Education



Source: Survey data, May-July 2015

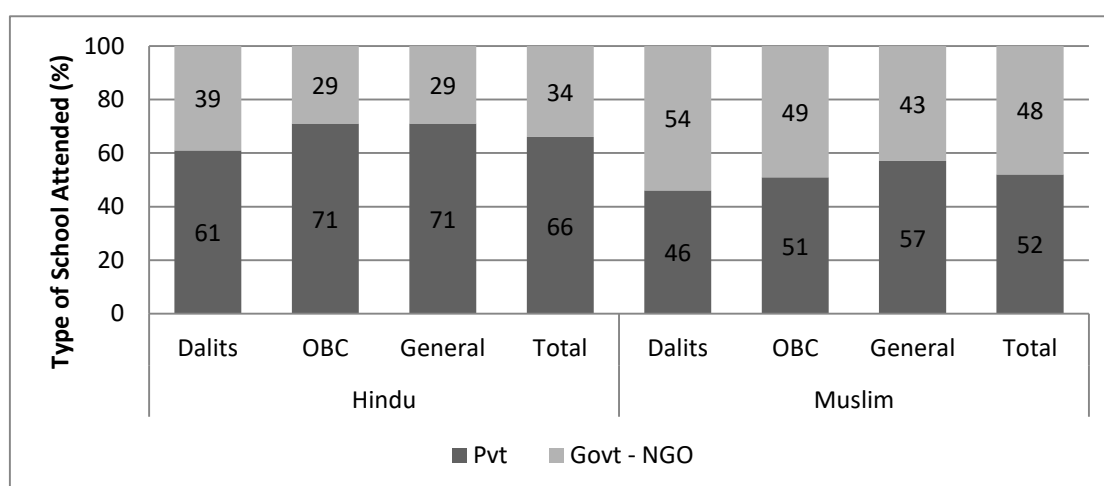
Type of School Attended: Social and Religious Groups

A large percentage of children, 57 percent in select slums of Lucknow attended private schools. This could be an indication of parental aspirations based on the general perception of private schools as quality providers of education when compared to government schools. The participation of Hindus in education is not only high (average 67.25 percent) but a predominant proportion of them attend private school particularly the “upper caste” Hindus (71 percent). The participation of Hindus in education was not only high but a high proportion of them attended private schools particularly the general category among Hindus. The proportion of children who attended private school for Hindus was 66 percent as compared to

52 percent for Muslims. However, there was wider disparity in case of SCs and even more so in case of OBCs⁵ (Figure 3) when compared across the religious groups. For example, 71 percent of OBC Hindus attended private schools as compared to 51 percent of OBC Muslims. As can be seen from the analysis, the interplay of religion and caste can become an impediment for participation of children in education. This can lead to further exclusion of the marginalized population. This was particularly true for low caste Muslims as their concentration in government schools was higher (54 percent).

Figure 3

Type of School attended by Social and Religious Groups



Source: Survey data, May-July 2015

Participation by Gender and Type of School Attended

Gender disparity in education has been a recurring theme. Contrary to much of research evidence and popular beliefs, participation rates of girls were not found lower than boys. It was observed that boys have highest participation (58.84 percent) in the recognized private unaided schools compared to less than 48 percent of girls. But the participation of girls in government schools was higher (47.87) than boys (36.28). It was a welcoming fact that the participation rate of girls was higher across all communities and castes. Even the share of never enrolled among girls was lower than that of boys. The dropout rate was strikingly higher across social and religious groups among boys as compared to girls. This was more pronounced in case of most

⁵ In the Indian constitution OBCs are described as “Socially and Educationally Backward Classes” and the Government of India is obligated to ensure their social and educational development.

backward communities like Muslims and SCs and OBCs (Table 1). We observe least participation in private aided school from both boys (4.88 percent) and girls (4.16 percent).

Table 1
Gender Inequalities in Education

Religion/ Caste	Gender	Educational Status Currently Below 17 Years of Age (in percentage)		
		Attending	Dropout	Never Enrolled
Hindu	Boys	76.9	13.1	10.0
	Girls	80.2	11.3	8.5
Muslim	Boys	66.9	19.6	13.5
	Girls	74.7	12.1	13.2
SC	Boys	62.4	18.4	19.2
	Girls	67.0	14.8	18.2
OBC	Boys	73.1	17.5	9.4
	Girls	79.0	11.8	9.2
General	Boys	80.3	13.5	6.2
	Girls	87.1	7.3	5.6

Source: Survey data, May-July 2015

Gender discrimination could also be noticed in the type of schools being attended by boys and girls. For example, almost 48 percent of girls attended government schools as compared to 36 percent of boys. In case of boys, generally, parental choice is to send them to private aided or private unaided schools. This is driven more by socio-cultural reasons as also boys are perceived to be contributing more to the livelihood of the households. In the slums, almost 59 percent of boys attended private schools as compared to less than 48 percent of girls (Table 2).

Table 2**Type of School Attended: Gender-Wise**

Management of School	Boys (%)	Girls (%)
Government	36.28	47.87
Private aided	4.88	4.16
Recognized Private unaided	58.84	47.97
Total	100	100

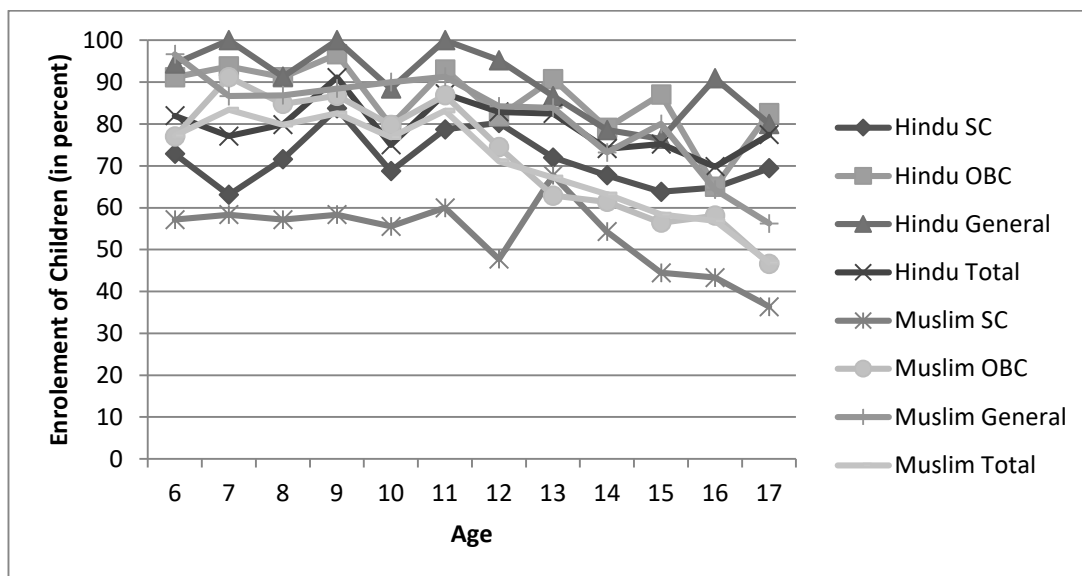
Source: Survey data, May-July 2015

Enrolment by Grade

Enrolment in lower grades is skewed as large proportion of children enter school late and overage children are enrolled in grade not corresponding to their age. This is observed more in case of marginal groups. These patterns can be observed in case of slums of Lucknow as a whole and more pronouncedly for Muslims and SCs. One can see declining enrolment as one moves from lower grades to higher grades across all social groups (Figure 4). Nearly 60 percent of all children in sample slums, who ideally ought to be enrolled in grades 1-8, were actually enrolled in grades 1-4 only. Over 65 percent of Hindu and Muslim SC children who ought to be enrolled in grades 1-8, were actually enrolled in grades 1-4 only. In case of children of general category of Muslims and Hindus and children belonging to the OBCs, this figure stood at over 50 percent. Across all ages, enrolment of Muslim children was lower as compared to their Hindu counterparts. One could observe that around 82 percent of Hindu children of age 6 were enrolled in schools compared to only 77 percent of Muslim children in the same age cohort. This gap increases at higher levels of grades, with 74 percent of Hindu children of 14 years of age being enrolled compared to 63 percent of Muslim children in the same age group. This unambiguously demonstrates that a large number of children were unable to progress to higher grades, from primary to upper primary grades and then from upper primary to secondary grades.

Figure 4

Enrolment by Grade and Social Categories



Source: Survey data, May-July 2015

Age-Grade Matrix

As stated earlier, children of marginal groups like SCs and Muslims start their schooling late and many children dropout or repeat grades. A larger proportion of Muslim children were enrolled in lower grades as compared to their age. The proportion of SC children among both Hindus and Muslims aged 7 who got enrolled in grade below their age was at 70 and 67 percent respectively. However, this gap in the proportion of children who were in grades lower when compared to their age increased as one progressed to higher grades. For example, it was found that while 39 percent of the OBC children among Hindus of 11 years of age studied at a grade lower than their age, around 64 percent of the Muslim children from the same social category studied at a grade lower when compared to their age. As observed, the issue of age-grade disparity was more pronounced in case of Muslims. The age-grade matrix is reflected in Table 3.

Table 3**Proportion of Children Who Attend Lower Grades Compared to their Age**

Religion	Caste	Age (in years)											Total	
		6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16		17
Hindu	SC	31.11	70.18	61.97	65.00	84.71	77.78	57.14	71.74	66.67	78.00	36.17	67.74	65.05
	OBC	40.63	41.94	48.39	50.00	60.78	39.02	46.15	46.15	68.29	58.82	62.86	48.89	51.42
	General	29.41	47.37	50.00	52.94	60.00	36.36	23.81	71.43	77.78	28.57	61.90	42.86	50.22
Muslim	SC	22.22	66.67	56.67	43.75	45.45	81.25	86.67	85.19	76.00	72.73	90.00	76.47	67.04
	OBC	38.03	47.37	52.85	48.84	72.85	63.51	69.35	70.80	65.77	69.00	72.45	72.60	63.00
	General	20.69	46.15	44.12	64.00	52.63	78.26	65.71	41.94	76.92	63.64	71.43	70.37	58.85

Source: Survey data, May-July 2015

The above analysis presents a picture of socio-religious disparities in participation in education of children of select slum areas in Lucknow city. The next section focuses on understanding the influence of family related characteristics like educational attainment of parents and monthly per capita income of family on the participation of children in schools. The data base for the next section is drawn from the second tier of data collection of households which have children of age group of 6-17 years.

Section V: Relation between Family Characteristics and Educational Status of Children

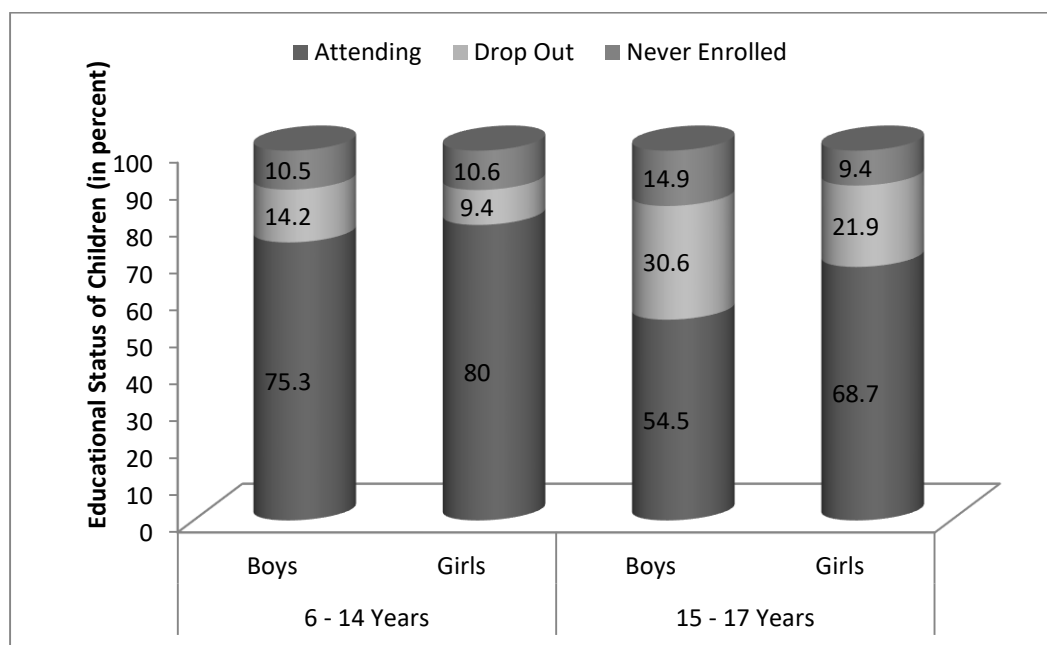
Education is considered as an important tool for upward social and economic mobility especially for poor parents. To break the vicious cycle of poverty, parental aspirations prefer quality education for their children that would ensure them better life chances. Despite the willingness of parents, all children may not be enrolled in school. Taking this clue, this section tries to ascertain first and foremost, how many children dropped out from the system and did not complete the education cycle and how many never enrolled. The preliminary data collected from the field provides a vivid picture on selected indicators of participation of children living in the slums. Further, as researches point out, educational attainment levels of parents is found

to have a significant influence on children's education (Ainsworth et al. 2005, Chugh, 2004). Students whose parents have higher socio-economic status and higher levels of education may have an enhanced regard for learning, more positive beliefs, a stronger work orientation and may employ more effective learning strategies than children of parents with lower socio-economic status and lower levels of education (Joan 2009 cited in Kainuwa et al, 2013). In view of this, this section also looks at the relationship between parents' educational attainment level and monthly per capita income of the family with the probability of children attending school. The analysis includes cross tabulations on socio-economic variables of households and school going status of children, to further gauge an in-depth understanding of implementation of RTE 2009 on ground.

Participation of Children in Education in Slums: Age Group 6-14 and 15-17 Years

The data presented here relates to the households of select slums with children of age group of 6-17 years. Figure 5 presents the picture of the school going status of children by two age groups and gender. However, the data interpretation that follows is based on the entire age group of 6-17 years, as not only 6-14 years old, even overage children, attended elementary level of education. The total number of children belonging to the age group of 6-14 years was 2977 out of which 78 percent were found to be attending school, 12 percent had dropped out and 10 percent had never enrolled in any school available.

There were fewer children available in the higher age group of 15-17 years in the selected households; even then, the percent of children attending schools was lower as compared to the age group of 6-14 years. The age group of 15-17 years is considered as being part of secondary schooling. Even within this bracket, the dropout rate was high at 26 percent. Out of these, 12 percent were never enrolled in the education system. The preliminary finding revealed a higher incidence of schooling among children belonging to 6-14 years of age group as compared to 15-17 years of age group.

Figure 5**School Going Status of Children by Gender and Age Group (In Percentage)*****Education of Father and School Going Status of Children of Age Group 6-17 Years***

The educational level of father in the select slums was categorized into five stages: illiterate, elementary, secondary or/and higher secondary, graduation and above and religious teaching. Table 4 shows the relationship between the educational level of father and the school going status of children living in slums. From the table, it is evident that as the level of father's educational attainment increases from elementary to secondary and eventually to graduation and above the dropout rate of children decreases which indicates the vital role of father's education in the education of their child. The prevalence of attending school is found least in case of those children whose fathers were engaged into religious teachings followed by those whose fathers' were illiterate. Similarly, with the increase in the father's level of education, the never enrolled children also decreased. Also the least dropouts and least cases of not enrolled are observed in case the father has graduate level education. The maximum number of children who were never enrolled had fathers engaged in religious teachings or were illiterate.

Table 4**Education of Father and School Going Status of Children**

Father's Education	Educational Status of Children in Percentage		
	Attending	Dropout	Never Enrolled
Illiterate	60.25	20.80	18.95
Elementary	76.80	16.45	6.75
Secondary	90.09	7.36	2.54
Graduation and Above	97.18	2.11	0.70
Religious Teaching	53.85	23.08	23.08
Total	71.15	16.62	12.22

Source: Calculations based on Survey Data, May-July 2015

Education of Mother and School Going Status of Children of Age Group 6-17 Years

While looking at the relationship between mother's educational level and the school going status of children living in slums, more direct relationship linkages of the two variables can be discerned. A higher educational attainment level among mothers showed a higher participation of her children in schools in the selected households of slums. As mothers are primarily responsible for upbringing of children, their educational attainment levels have greater influence on the educational status of their children. Table 5 presents the educational status of mothers and children. It is evident that as the attainment level of education of mother increased from elementary to secondary and further to graduation and above, both drop out and never enrolled children decreased. One can also observe that when mothers have educational attainment level of graduation and above (though the number is very small), around 95 percent of children are attending school.

Table 5**Education of Mother and School Going Status of Children**

Mother's Education	Educational Status of Children in Percentage		
	Attending	Dropout	Never Enrolled
Illiterate	62.98	20.05	16.96
Elementary	81.52	12.70	5.78
Secondary	92.37	6.10	1.53
Graduation and Above	94.59	4.50	0.90
Religious Teaching	66.67	26.67	6.67
Total	71.15	16.62	4.93

Source: Calculations based on Survey Data, May-July 2015

Monthly Per Capita Income of the Household and School Going Status of Children

Monthly per capita income of households determines the economic condition of a household that influences the chance of a child to attend the school. Figures in Table 6 clearly depict that the rate of participation of children (those attending school) progressively increases with the range of monthly income of the households. The sample had highest representation from monthly income group 1001-1500 and it was observed that maximum participation (school going children) was from this income group. Nevertheless, we also observe that highest dropout cases were from the income groups 251-750, 751-1000 and 1000-1500. Around 1 percent of children's families (41 out of 4115) had per capita monthly income below Rs.250 and around 24.2 percentage households earned per capita monthly income in the range of 1000 to 1500 rupees. The State does not appear to be mitigating the effect of household earnings on the education of children as around 9.76 percent children were out of school when the monthly per capita income was less than Rs 250 and around 15.15 percent children were out of school when the monthly per capita income was in the range of Rs 1000-1500. The analysis shows that children belonging to households with monthly per capita income of up to Rs. 1500 had a higher rate of never enrolled children as compared to households whose per capita

income was more than Rs. 1500. If we look at the dropout rates, higher rates were witnessed in households whose monthly per capita income was less than Rs. 2000.

Table 6

Monthly Per Capita Income in the Households and School Going Status of Children

Household Per Capita Income	School Going	%	Drop Out	%	Never Enrolled	%	Total
Below 250	35	85.4	2	4.88	4	9.76	41
251 to 750	371	57.0	141	21.66	139	21.35	651
751 to 1000	661	67.0	193	19.55	133	13.48	987
1001 to 1500	686	68.8	160	16.05	151	15.15	997
1501 to 2000	445	76.7	97	16.72	38	6.55	580
2001 to 2500	238	78.8	45	14.90	19	6.29	302
2501 to 3000	152	81.7	22	11.83	12	6.45	186
3001 to 5000	265	92.3	16	5.57	6	2.09	287
5001 to 10,000	68	88.3	8	10.39	1	1.30	77
Above 10,000	7	100.0	0	0.00	0	0.00	7
Total	2928	71.2	684	16.62	503	12.22	4115

Source: Calculations based on Survey Data, May-July 2015

Section VI: Conclusion and Suggestions

This paper based on the analysis of data on educational status of children in slums of Lucknow city brings out a significant aspect of urban existence. That is, urban areas present a set of problems which cannot be ordinarily gleaned from aggregate statistics. Data for urban areas may show near universal access and participation at an aggregate level, but at a disaggregated level wide disparities are evident between social and religious groups among the marginalized sections. Here, the marginalised sections of the population residing in slums have minimal access to resources and benefits, including health and education. It can safely concluded that the slums constitute a site of exclusion. Further, there exists a kind of hierarchy of access to facilities even in case of slums. Amongst the marginalized living in slums, it was found that Muslims and SCs were the most disadvantaged in terms of participation in education.

The findings based on the data collected from households revealed that in slums of Lucknow city, the participation of children was low. There was presence of overage children. An unequal participation of children is also linked to cross-sections of social and religious groups. It was observed that a large number of children particularly belonging to the Muslim community were enrolled in lower grades compared to their age- a factor that generally propels self-selection from education system. The study also indicates trends of increasing parental choice for private schools. The findings revealed that more than a half of children who attended school were enrolled in private unaided schools. One could also notice variation by social and religious categories in attendance of private school. This clearly hinted at concentration of children in particular kinds of schools by social and religious categories. Most of the parents favoured private education, especially for their boys depending on the economic condition of their households. It was also found that participation of children living in slums still remained differentiated based on background factors, such as father's/mother's educational level and monthly income of the households. The State was unable to a large extent in mitigating the effects of household factors and ensuring participation of all children in education. This is despite the fact that the city governments and local authorities responsible for provision of education have an obligation to ensure that all obstacles are removed as promised in Right to Education Act 2009.

The biggest challenge for the State is not only expanding the school system but also ensuring higher levels of participation. This requires an enhancement of both demand and supply side factors; not only provision of schooling facilities but also scholarships and incentives to offset the socio-economic background of students. This also includes various awareness campaigns to make the slum dwellers aware about the importance and benefit of education and make it relevant and relatable to their live experiences. Hence, for realization of right to education at the elementary level the education system needs to devise more inclusive strategies which can ensure participation of all children irrespective of their socio-economic and religious background in schools. There is also a need of devising appropriate curricular and inclusive policies to equip the children in order to make progress to age-appropriate grades. It is important to ensure quality education backed by an enhanced accountability and ability of teachers to deal with children from

disadvantaged backgrounds, especially those residing in slums. In fact, the success of RTE Act lies in expanding opportunities for the disadvantaged considering that general participation of children in elementary education in India is high. This would enable India to be a more meaningful signatory to Sustainable Development Goals which called for ensuring that all girls and boys complete free, equitable and quality primary and secondary education leading to relevant and effective learning outcomes by 2030.

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Table 1.1

Participation in Education: By Social Groups (in %), Census 2011

Age	Participation in Education (All)			Participation in Education (SC)			Participation in Education (ST)		
	Total	Boys	Girls	Total	Boys	Girls	Total	Boys	Girls
5	44.87	44.93	44.81	37.41	37.24	37.60	26.57	32.39	20.83
6	55.77	55.75	55.80	49.29	48.68	49.97	40.32	39.13	41.82
7	77.58	77.79	77.35	74.87	76.00	73.66	62.14	67.57	56.06
8	82.66	82.86	82.44	80.77	81.20	80.29	64.00	69.23	58.33
9	84.28	84.28	84.28	82.83	82.81	82.85	57.27	57.89	56.60
10	82.18	82.15	82.20	79.89	80.41	79.30	60.92	62.64	59.04
11	84.55	84.49	84.61	82.33	82.75	81.87	70.45	75.38	65.67
12	84.14	83.31	85.08	81.90	81.24	82.64	66.19	58.11	75.38
13	84.68	83.95	85.45	81.92	80.52	83.38	68.07	64.47	74.42
14	82.35	81.49	83.28	79.01	78.26	79.79	73.57	75.32	71.43
15	78.07	76.98	79.29	71.85	71.17	72.62	58.55	58.97	58.11
16	75.97	74.62	77.44	68.15	67.55	68.80	63.64	69.51	56.94
17	73.33	72.27	74.52	65.00	63.39	66.77	62.22	72.97	49.18
5-14	76.48	76.23	76.76	73.11	72.94	73.29	58.92	60.36	57.26
5-17	76.32	75.83	76.85	71.94	71.57	72.34	59.54	62.01	56.71

Source: C-11, Population Attending Educational Institution by Age and Sex (Total, SC/ST), *Census of India, 2001 & 2011*

Table 1.2**Participation in Education: By Social Groups (in %), Census 2001**

Age	Participation in Education (All)			Participation in Education (SC)			Participation in Education (ST)		
	Total	Boys	Girls	Total	Boys	Girls	Total	Boys	Girls
5	39.94	40.61	39.16	29.39	30.27	28.35	27.91	21.05	33.33
6	52.81	53.48	52.10	44.16	45.40	42.87	30.67	30.77	30.56
7	72.47	73.09	71.78	63.68	65.19	62.04	46.77	50.00	41.67
8	75.66	76.29	74.98	68.11	69.88	66.17	51.69	48.94	54.76
9	81.10	80.61	81.61	74.39	74.39	74.39	60.78	62.07	59.09
10	77.71	77.72	77.70	71.00	72.22	69.58	59.65	71.64	42.55
11	83.65	83.22	84.12	78.05	78.92	77.11	63.41	63.16	63.64
12	78.41	77.72	79.18	71.85	72.32	71.33	57.84	62.90	50.00
13	80.14	79.49	80.80	73.32	74.57	72.12	57.41	58.33	56.67
14	76.11	74.94	77.37	68.55	69.45	67.58	59.68	54.84	64.52
5-14	71.86	71.72	72.01	63.83	64.75	62.82	50.82	53.30	47.95

Source: C-11, Population Attending Educational Institution by Age and Sex (Total, SC/ST), *Census of India, 2001 & 2011*

Table 1.3**Participation in Education (in %), Census 2001 and Census 2011**

Age	2001	2011
5	39.9	44.9
6	52.8	55.8
7	72.5	77.6
8	75.7	82.7
9	81.1	84.3
10	77.7	82.2
11	83.6	84.5
12	78.4	84.1
13	80.1	84.7
14	76.1	82.4
15-19	62.5	71.3

Source: C-11, Population Attending Educational Institution by Age and Sex (Total, SC/ST), *Census of India*, 2001 & 2011

Annexure - 2

Table 2.1

Social Inequality in Participation in Education (6-17 Years)

Religion		Attending	Dropout	Never Enrolled	Total
Hindu	SC	591	148	182	921
		64.2%	16.1%	19.8%	100.0%
	ST	7	0	3	10
		70.0%	0.0%	30.0%	100.0%
	OBC	511	56	50	617
		82.8%	9.1%	8.1%	100.0%
	General	243	25	13	281
		86.5%	8.9%	4.6%	100.0%
	Total	1352	229	248	1829
		73.9%	12.5%	13.6%	100.0%
Muslim	SC	233	91	160	484
		48.1%	18.8%	33.1%	100.0%
	ST	19	3	5	27
		70.4%	11.1%	18.5%	100.0%
	OBC	1213	291	239	1743
		69.6%	16.7%	13.7%	100.0%
	General	414	74	74	562
		73.7%	13.2%	13.2%	100.0%
	Total	1879	459	478	2816
		66.7%	16.3%	17.0%	100.0%

Source: Calculations based on Survey Data, May-July 2015

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