A WELFARE ECONOMIC ANALYSIS OF STATE INTERVENTION AND CHILDREN'S WELL-BEING: A STUDY WITH SPECIAL REFERENCE TO EWS CHILDREN IN SOME SCHOOLS IN UTTAR PRADESH

Thesis Submitted to the Jawaharlal Nehru University
in fulfillment of the requirement
for the award of the degree of

DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

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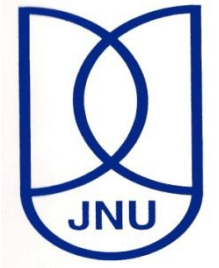

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NEW DELHI – 110067

INDIA

2017

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DECLARATION

I declare that the thesis entitled " **A WELFARE ECONOMIC ANALYSIS OF STATE INTERVENTION AND CHILDREN'S WELL-BEING: A STUDY WITH SPECIAL REFERENCE TO EWS CHILDREN IN SOME SCHOOLS IN UTTAR PRADESH** " submitted by me for the award of the degree of **Doctor of Philosophy** of Jawaharlal Nehru University, is my own work. The thesis has not been submitted for any other degree of this university or any other university.

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ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

I would like to express my sincere gratitude to Prof. Binod Khadria who has been a source of inspiration and valuable guidance. I am deeply thankful to him for his suggestions and comments during our regular forum meetings, which have helped me, arrive at a comprehensive understanding of the different issues surrounding the debate on economic welfare and well-being in context of education. His persistent effort to encourage reading of classics has enriched my understanding beyond what I imagined. Moreover, while giving me complete space to work, he simultaneously encouraged me to set and achieve seemingly impossible goals. I thank him for letting me be a part of his projects and encouraging me to take up certain assignments that made me read diverse. I also would want to thank Nandita Ma'am for making me feel that I belong to their family.

I am thankful to Shashi Ranjan Jha. He has been a compelling force behind my efforts and to helped me connect the dots – at theoretical and empirical level. I thank my friend, Samina Bano (Director, Right Walk Foundation) for helping me in conducting fieldwork. I also thank her for letting me be a part of several discussions with the Govt. of Uttar Pradesh on implementing RTE. For research assistance and help, I thank Dr. Narender Thakur and Manik Tiwary for being ever generous. With them, over the years and particularly in my analysis work, I have been benefitted by various means. I thank my friends in the forum – my love and deepest thanks goes to Nicky and Rashmi Di.

I am grateful to Prof. Minati Panda and Prof. Deepak Kumar who always took interest in my work and provided comments. My sincere gratitude goes to Ghani Sir, Deepak Sir and Mohit Sir for helping me with official tasks of the department. Acknowledging the comments that I received at HDCA 2016, Tokyo – I thank. Flavio Comim and Shailaja Fennell for being encouraging and helpful. I also Paul Anand for his comments. My sincere thanks go to my mentors always – Prof. Srijit Mishra and Prof. Hippu Sulk Kristle Nathan.

I have been lucky to have very supportive family and friends. My source of encouragement and strength are my parents (*Waseem and Farzana*) and my Nani. I want to thank Maryam for being a loving and supporting sister and my brother Majid

for being an inspiration for working hard. I lost my two dear ones during my journey – my uncle, Syed Masood Ashraf and my cousin Salman Ashraf. I miss their encouragement. My family in Delhi deserves special thanks. I thank my nana, Nooruddin Ashraf, for all his endless encouragement and guidance.

I thank my aunts, Rumman Hameed and Maimuna Ashraf for facilitating my study by giving me all support with love. I thank Vinni Malhotra for being so much there with constant love and guidance. Her support has made me cross the toughest phase of my life and my doctoral work. I thank Matin for always encouraging me to contribute to the research body with valuable research findings. His encouragement and support made me think and operationalize well-being differently. I thank Nooria and Tulika for being loving and caring sisters and for helping me in proof reading and sailing through this phase. I thank Zuhair, Muneer, Anam, Zulfi, Seharish and Atif for being part of my journey and making it worth pursuing.

REEM ASHRAF

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ABBREVIATIONS

AIE	Alternate and Innovative Education
APPEP	Andhra Pradesh Primary Education Project
BAF	Bharat Abhudaya Foundation
BSA	Basic Shiksha Adhikari
CABE	Central Advisory Board on Education
CCE	Continuous Comprehensive Evaluation
CRC	Cluster Resource Centre
CSS	Centrally Sponsored Scheme
DFID	Department for International Development
DPEP	District Primary Education Programme
DG	Disadvantaged Group
EGS	Education Guarantee Centre
EU	European Union
EWS	Economically Weaker Section
GO	Government Order
IMF	International Monetary Fund
KGBVS	Kasturba Gandhi Balika Vidyalaya Scheme
LFP	Low Fee Private Schools
MGD	Millennium Development Goals
MHRD	Ministry of Human Resource Development
MoU	Memorendum of Understanding
MPCE	Monthly Per Capita expenditure
NCF	National Curriculum Framework
NCPCR	National Commission for Protection of Child Rights
NPE	National Policy on Education NPE
NSSO	National Sample Survey Organisation
OB	Operation Blakboard
OBC	Other Backward Classes
OECD	Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development
PA	Private Aided Schools
PPP	Public Private Partnership

PUA	Private Unaided Schools
RTE	Right to Education
SC	Scheduled Castes
SCPCR	State Commission for Protection of Child Rights
SDG	Sustainable Development Goals
SIDA	Swedish International Development Agency
SSA	Sarva Shiksha Abhiyan
ST	Scheduled Tribes
STR	Student-Teacher Ratio
UEE	Universalisation of Elementary Education
UNDP	UN Development Programme
UNESCO	United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization
UNICEF	United Nations Children's Fund
WTO	World Trade Organization

Chapter 1 Welfare and Well-Being: Introduction to the Study

1.1 Problematising Elementary Education in India

Elementary education forms the foundational base of country's education system. In this respect, the Universalization of Elementary Education (henseforth, UEE) has led to increased access, with almost universal enrolments on account of the Sarva Shiksha Abhiyan (SSA), this was further facilitated by the introduction of the rights based approach. The historic milestone Article 21-A, the Right of Children to Free and Compulsory Education (RTE) Act, (2009) was introduced which is hooked with the values of equality, social justice and democracy to create of a just society with an idea of inclusive elementary education to all (GoI, 2012-13).

Withstanding this, it is important to note, that the dropout rates for elementary level remain significantly high. This figure is worse for deprived the groups. For instance, in 2013-14, the dropout at all-India level was 36.3 percent, this figure was 38.8 percent and 48.2 percent for Scheduled Castes (SC) and Scheduled Tribes (ST). The gender-wise dropout rate further remain dismal, for girls at all-India level 33 percent girls dropout as compared to 39.2 percent for boys. Girls from SC and ST backgrounds account for more severe levels of dropouts – dropout rate for SC girls 34.4 percent and ST girls was 46.4 percent (GoI, 2013-14). The challenge becomes more intense when the learning levels are engaged into account which reflects the calibre of instruction and the quality of education. Learning levels of the students in government schools in general and for those particularly belonging to deprived sections remain dismal, with huge learning disadvantage being associated with respect to the above mentioned disadvantaged groups and particularly with Muslim children[1].

The traces of glaring educational inequalities at the elementary level continues to exist with its roots in colonial India, the state did not follow a strong redistributive policy untill 1970s (Chaudhary & Garg, 2015). This is explicit by the priorities set in different national five year plans that pertained to public investments in capital intensive industries as opposed to basic public goods (Chaudhary, 2009), and more

[1] As many as 25% of Muslim children in the 6-14 years of age have not attended school or have dropped out. Drop out rates are highest among Muslims at the level of Primary, Upper Primary and Higher Secondary as compared to other Socio Religious Communities (DISE, NUEPA study by Wali, 2011).

specifically the target of 6 percent of GDP set by education commission to be spent on education still stands as an elusive goal (Khadria et al, 2017).

The stratification of the schooling system in form of types of institution such as private aided (PA) and private un-aided (PUA) has been gift of colonial legacy that continue to exist (Chaudhary, 2009). In light of the expansion of UEE with the introduction of RTE Act, 2009, necessitated the expansion of schooling across types of institution. The core competency of the private and public sector was deemed vital for to be combined. Such kind of neo-liberal understanding was advocated in various research works (Satgopal, 2010; Shah & Braun-Muzinger, 2006; Colclough & De, 2013). The private sector was induced to produce education for all who can pay for it and for those who are credit constrained, government must finance their education through scholarships, education vouchers and loans (Shah & Braun-Muzinger, 2006). Thus, suggestive of the interdependent relationship, combining the efficeincy and accountablelty of privatet sector with equity and independent supervision of the public sector by (Shah & Braun-Muzinger, 2006), studies also advocated the share of private schooling being indespensible for realising UEE (Jain & Dholakia, 2009; Shah & Braun-Muzinger, 2006; CABE, 2005b, GoI, 2002; GoI, 2012).

The CABE on Free and Compulsory Elementary Education (2005b), acknowledged that the provision of Free and Compulsory Education of satisfactory quality to children from weaker sections is the responsibility not merely of schools run or supported by the State, but also must be shared by the types of schools which are not dependent on State funds. Therefore, private unaided non-monority schools need to provide education to such children at least to the extent of 25 percent intake at entry level classes. This is not merely a part of private (UA) school's social responsibility, but in spirit of the cause that their 'fee-paying' students study in a socially more representative and diverse environment to help develop into socially sensitive citizens (GoI, 2005b: pg 5). This aim was translated in RTE Section 12 (c), that mandates private schools to reserve 25 percent of seats in their entry classes for children belonging to deprived groups by prioritising social inclusion in education. Thus the committee was suggestive of introduction of right to education that should imply that every child has a right to be – (a) provided full-time education of satisfactory and equitable quality in aformal school which satisfies at least certain essential norms, and

(b) enable children to complete elementary education (ibid. pg 4). Right to Education also implies that it is the State's obligation to remove whatever obstacles – social, economic, academic, linguistic, cultural, physical, etc. that prevent children from effectively participating in and complete elementary education of satisfactory quality. Thus, interpreting right to education along the lines of right that is not only confined to the individual child's sake, but also as an instrument of promoting other constitutional objectives, e.g. equality, justice, democracy, secularism,social cohesion, etc.

With the repeated commitments reiterated in terms of required budget allocating for the education sector, the goal still stands elusive and far from being realised (Khadria *et al*, 2016). Adding to this, the first committeee that was set up under the chairmanship of Prof. Tapas Majumdar is worth highlighting (GoI, 1999). The committee was set up in 1999 which estimated the required financial implications of the proposed 83rd Amendment Bill. That was the first step in terms of operationalising the fundemental right of children aged 6 to 14 years for free and compulsory elementary education. The recommendations of the committee were not confined to the financial estimates but the report highlighted the quality concerns (such as the issue of para teachers) and emphasised the crucial importance of community engagement in school affairs.

1.2 Background to the Research Problem

It must be seen that the expansion in elementary education through the rights based approach, providing equal opportunity of schooling, did not translate into actual real opportunities for the disadvantaged children to participate in education. Since much of the literature has focused on characteristics of school and learning achievement, there still exist a gap which fails to explain, besides having equal opportunities and resources, why learning and retention is in a poor state and resulting poor educational well-being. Adding to this, there has been significant shift in the nature of enrolments in elementary education. With stratified education system, private schools enrollments are rationed by the ability to pay in contrast to the government schools. However, the vital highlight suggest that there is growing preference for private schooling among children from different socio-economic strata. This preference perhaps, contradicts

the rights based nature of elementary education that is free in the narrow sense of the word.

Indian experience with school choice and the effect of private schooling on account of recent phenomenal growth of private schooling in India, on one hand n falling public quality on other hand. One of the charactrstics to this trend, private schools cater relatively well-off and affluent households having higher parental education levels (Muralidharan & Kremer 2008, Muralidharan & Sundararaman 2011). Cross-sectional studies (Muralidharan and Kremer 2008, French and Kingdon 2010) and studies using robust measures of Randomized Controlled Trials and Value Added methods (Muralidharan & Sundharaman 2011,2013; Singh 2013) on Indian private schooling at the primary stage, have unanimously concluded, controlling for background characteristics, students in private schools outperformed their counterparts in public schools in terms of learning outcomes.

It is imperative to note however that private schools have teachers are less qualified, have had relatively less teacher training, are paid lower with temporary contracts as compared to their Public school counterparts, but exhibit high teaching effectiveness in the form of engagement-teaching activities/practices and low teacher absenteeism. Besides teaching effectiveness, these schools are identified to have longer school days and average school, is a cause of positive effect on the test scores (Muralidharan & Sundararaman 2011 and 2013, Singh, 2013). Such differences in the two types of schooling, then necessarily give rise to differentiated quality which eventually leads to schooling stratification in the form of well off children having ability to pay, being able to study in relatively resource rich and quality schools as compared to deprived children being filtered as a result to the resource scarce and less efficient public schools. It is striking to observe that in the study on private school choice, poor children attending private schools by virtue of education vouchers, report no significant impact on their study habits and time allocated to home work and studies at home (Muralidharan & Sundararaman, 2011).

The change in participation that has happened post RTE will shape the future trajectory of the children which are the source of demographic divident that India claims. The participation has changed diversely and has changed across types of institutions and within institutions. Participation change after and before RTE can be

seen in terms of the change in preferences for government schools, inclusive of local bodies, Private-Aided and Private schools. Such changes in participation after the introduction of right based free and compulsory education, will have important implications on the inequalities in elementary education and resulting well-being of children. Inadvertently, such changes would also shape the future of educational planning which may be wrongly directed if only quantitative indicators are taken as signals of strength and success of the schooling intervention. These changes need to be seen with further disintergrated determinents and in larger light of the entitlements of the households and there preferences formation. Therefore in backdrop of above discussion, it is necessary to emperically investigate the state intervention through RTE, Section 12.1.C in elementary education.

In this context, the study will take advantage of the RTE Section 12 (c), that provides for the reservation to the children belonging to Economically Weaker Section (EWS) in private schools. Since, the cultural capital for EWS at home is significantly different from that in private schools and schooling of child is further constrained because of entitlements of parents and caregivers. The study attempts to understand what happens when these disadvantaged children are given school choice. The proposed study thus falls in the domain of Social Choice Theory where investing in children's education is a matter of social choice.

1.3 Welfare, Well-Being and Social States

The traditional and modern welfare economics fails in the present context and why there is a need to see the issue of well-being through State intervention with a theoretical understanding beyond the Utilitarianism or classic welfarism.

With deviation from the traditional welfare economics, identifying an individual's well-being in terms of his/her command over goods and services, the point of departure for this framework germinates from the fact that equality in school resources and equalising schooling opportunity does not necessarily leads to equal learning outcomes and participation. In this specific context, it is deemed necessary to appreciate the much ignored intrinsic relationship between what happens in childhood and its consequence on the capabilities that the adult will end up in (Comim *et al*, 2011).

In welfare economics there is a long and deep-rooted tradition that assumes that the individual is the best judge (if not the sole judge) of his own welfare and that, an individual desires things only to the extent that they promote her own welfare. In thw present case, parents who choose not to invest in education as an act of maximinsing their welfare, by naively linking welfare with additional economic earnings or opportunity cost of time related trade-offs, will question the well-being of the children.

From the start that marks welfare economics in terms of its precision, the focus was the uncontested terrain of Utilitarianism. Present framework, revisits the aim of welfare economics, i.e. to maximize the objective function and address the need for shift in focus to distinguish the welfare and well-being of disadvantaged children as a matter of State intervention. The study falls in domain of Social Choice theory, where investing in education of the children, specifically disadvantaged children, is a matter of social choice. Let us hypothesize and denote set of all social states pertaining to schooling as under [2]:

$$X = \{x, y \ldots\}$$

On account of classic utilitarianism relying exclusively on the information that pertains to individual utilities, in exclusive context of the school choice through RTE, it is worth noticing that the consideration of public policy regarding schooling in a given political unit (country as a whole) will challenge the ethical consideration and consequence of public action. Precisley, because the fact that children in elementary age are disposed to stratified schooling; being sanctioned by the ability to pay, certain children at the foundational stage are exposed to schools of differential (at times, poor) quality.

Conceptulising in utility terms, suppose if household-A's choice set constitutes of two options for schooling, x and y against household-B, where choices at the disposal of the households are maximum -say for e.g. (w, x, y, …z). If household-A prefers x over y, would mean, in utility terms that x is desired more than y – further implying that x would satisfy her desires to greater extent as compared to having y. While this desire fulfilment is choice constrained, this cannot give a fair idea of the well-being

[2] Borrowed from the work of Pattanaik, (2009).

for the household-A due to the realisation of restrictions on the choices. Re-casting the above scenerio more specifically in context of the school choice under RTE Act, (2009) Section 12.1.C, it is to be seen that the choice set at the disposal of Household-A has expanded as a result of school choice. This is to be tested for the hypothesis that school choice under state intervention for the disadvantaged children must expand their well-being.

As discussed by Pattanaik (2009), the theory of public action, that is rooted in utilitarianism, has complex issues which can be classified into three broad categories, viz., a) the *exclusion* of category of relevant factors, few of which must not have been excluded, better known as problem of exclusion; b) *inclusion* of certain factors, few of which must not have been included; problem of inclusion; and c) problem of *aggregation*. Though, the problem of aggregation, in this context, becomes most obvious form of criticism that advocates the need for a shift towards better framework for well-being analysis[3]. The rule that utilitarianism follow, that is the 'summation rule' for aggregation of utilities of across different individuals that rules out important considerations of distributive justice and notion of equality (ibid). He further discussed a simple situation of distribution of a fixed quantity of a perfectly divisible commodity. An attempt to maximise aggregate utility can result into to greater inequalities unless utility functions are assumed to be identical and this assumption stands 'unrealistic'.

Assuming the initial distribution of utilities for two children are already in different proportion before the start of their schooling, attaching equal weight for equal interest, becomes objectionable, since their total utilities in the initial situations are distant from being similar[4]. Sen (1973) gives an interesting example to highlight how the maximization of the sum of utilities may run into conflict with our intuition about distributive justice.

[3] Even if one confines oneself to individual utilities as the only relevant considerations, one has the option of using other aggregation rules. For example, one could use a suitably chosen function of the sum of all individual utilities and some index of inequality in the distribution of utilities. One can use the Rawlsian maximin rule that ranks social states by comparing the utility levels of worst-off individuals in different social states. Indeed, one can think of a large class of rules, with varying degrees of plausibility, for aggregating utilitie. The aggregation procedure based on the summation of individual utilities is just one member of this class and needs justification.

[4] Adding to this argument, Rawls points out, that such consideration ignores the separateness of individuals (Pattanaik, 2009).

Borrowing this argument in the context of the study, assuming a case where the quality of private schools is fixed for two children A and B; given that child A is not a first generation learner and is socio-economically well-endowed and child B is predisposed to economoically constrained houehold, with low human capital and significantly different ingredients of cultural capital as compared to school. If the gains from education and resulting well-being has to be distributed, the pertinent question would be – what are the implications of maximising utility given access to school and how would it relate to the notion of equality in terms of learning outcomes. The well-being cannot be maximised unless school is assumed to be an inclusive space and qualifies to be a platform for capability expansion, rather than utility maximisation.

1.3.1 Problems with Revealed Preferences and Choices: Freedoms and Un-freedoms

Understanding that children's well-being is contingent largely on the caregivers, essentially parents, when individual preferences are not exogenously determined ,parents are less trained to appreciate education as a good, cultural capital at home is significantly different from that of private schools, the question is – what is the social state that the state has to prioritize for ensuring well-being of the disadvantaged children? The issues that Utilitarianism face with respect to the endogenous desires and preferences is to be understood in depth in depth with respect to state intervention for disadvantaged children and social choice in education. Multiplicity of preferences, urgency of desires and endogeneity of creates multitude of issues that classic welfare economics in this context collapses to completely answer[5].

The problem of endogenous preference arise when an individual self-circumscribe their desires (Pattanaik, 2009). As a critique of utilitarianism, Pattainak's work describes adaptive preference, as, when a section of society-women, people belonging to lower caste, racial minorities etc., adapts themselves by being habituated to the deprivation –to the extent that they learn to live with disappointments and not by desiring much. This, in fact, constitutes a central point in Sen's (1985, 1987) arguments for not identifying an individual's well-being or her living standards with

[5] For extensive discussion on Multiplicity of preferences, urgency of desires and endogenity, refer to the chapter on so choice in education.

either her happiness or the fulfilment of her desires. Thus, while endogenous preferences arise on account of untrained preferences, issues of untrained preferences and are often incorporated when policy related to education and allocation of resources to education are concerned (Pattanaik, 2009).

Two issues that relates to the context of this study, and critiques Utilitarianism, are a) revealed preference and choices, and b) subjective happiness as measure of utility and the extent to which desires are fulfilled. One of the most prominent approaches to the modern welfare-economics that provides scope for criticism in light of the debate around well-being and state intervention, is the revealed preference approach. The approach assumes that the choices are dominated by the considerations of well-being which is non-accommodating of the inter-comparison of well-being (Schokkaert, 2009). For the purpose of explaining a satisfactory equalisandum, interpersonal comparisons of well-being are indispensible. The problems with preferences, in terms of revealed and actual preferences are critical to understand in context of the parents of EWS/DG children. Identifying well-being with what individual prefer is concentrated with problems; what choices an individual make doesn't necessarily correspond to her well-being (Peter, 2009)[6].

Accepting that happiness and desire fulfilment are crucial components of well-being, but the issues of physical condition neglect and valuation neglect influences well-being to a great extent. Physical condition neglect, where the utility is tied to the mental attitude of the individual, ignores the real physical condition; this further has issues of expensive tastes and adaption of realistic expectation (discussed in Sen, 1985; Pattanaik, 2009; Dowding, K., & Hees, 2009; Peter, 2009). The issue of valuation neglect; this is explained as valuing life is a 'reflective activity' "in a way that being happy or desiring not be" (Sen, 1985, cited in Dowding, K., & Hees, 2009). Valuation activity must be done by persons themselves, for a more accommodating approach to well-being. Both the issues entail similar constrain to the understanding of well-being.

[6] The identification of individual well-being with the satisfaction of individual preferences is especially problematic if welfare judgments are based on actual preferences. Actual preferences may be revealed, according to the theory of revealed preferences, through the choices individuals make.

After discussing the challenges to the debate around Utilitarianism and welfarism , the important issue to be theoretically pinned in this context, relates to freedom and choice[7]. These two become more prominent theoretical challenges in space of well-being of EWS children through an intervention by state that entails rights-based school choice.

Transcending from the idea of equality in terms of the resources and opportunities, the problem of understanding social choice through the Capability Approach (CA) perspective has far-reaching consequences in understanding importance of the role of schools in addressing inequalities. Reiterating, that investing in education of disadvantaged children is a matter of social choice. Therefore deliberating upon the role of State, to arrive at judgments about social welfare from a consideration of capability deprivation which results from poor quality of education needs to be seen as larger welfare loss (since present capabilities is function of future and this leads to spiral an chain of disadvantage given poor quality of public schools) for these children needs to be reconceptualised when education is guaranteed as a right. It is thus important to undertake egalitarian potential of schools to foster social justice. Theorizing the inequality in education in terms of larger welfare loss in form of capability deprivation, the study is thus situated in the particular theory of social choice. .

How does quality of school matter in generating choices and freedoms? And how private school in developed area and private school in an under developed area would explain opportunity sets, along with the government schools. . The study attempts to argue to go beyond narrower understanding of inequality in terms of distributive justice with respect to the RTE, and to acknowledge social justice in explaining educational inequalities. In the context of RTE, Section 12 (c), the focus on opportunity issue, as a measure of freedom of choice, must incorporate preferences that an individual have over number of options (different types of schools) with equality in terms of quality of education. This sets pace for the discussion as to what type of schools are expanding capabilities of children given the school choice. The

[7] A person's well-being is partially contingent upon the freedom the person enjoy, therefore information is needed on how free they are (Sen, cited in (Dowding & Hees, 2009).

framework tries to understand what kind of addition of an alternative to the choice sets of EWS parents will result into increased freedom and expanded capabilities.

1.4 Overview of the Chapters

Besides the current chapter on Introduction to the study, the thesis is divided into seven chapters as under:

Giving historical context to the free and compulsory education in India, the second chapter focuses on how the present set up of Right to Education evolved over the years. Finding evidence of free and compuslory education that was proposed in British India, the chapter focuses on the political will that has shaped the nature of free and compulsory education over decades, not only in pre- independent India, but also the post independent period. The introduction of elementray education in Part IV of the Constitution and later its transformation as the only Fundamental Rights casting financial obligation on state, the chapter broadly studies these developments in four periods, viz., Colonial era, Pre-independence, Post-independence and Post-Liberalisation phase.

The Third chapter represents extensive literature review that revolves around South Asian evidence on various schooling characteristics in terms of efficiency, effectiveness and equity and how these are weaved with issues of distance (since normative framework of SSA and RMSA has distance as a criteria for school planning and access). The next part of review revists India policy and Plan docusment that traces distance norm and how it emerged as a deciding factor of access and issues related to the uniform application of distance norm under SSA and that got copied as it is in RMSA. Literature review is also done to understand and harmonise the various theoretical shifts in understanding of welfare and well-being in welfare economics. This also gives a chance to understand the contemporary issue of policy intervention and the use of the CA as a framework under the Social Choice Theory.

Fourth chapter presents the theoretical argument and the conceptual framework of the study. The shift from classic utilitarinism and welfare economics to the measurement of well-being using the CA as framework of well-being. The framework argues that distributive justice and equality of opportunity stands as a sub-set of the larger conception of justice – social justice to address inequality and well-being of children

at margin. The second section of the chapter elaborates the research objectives, questions and hypothesis. The discussion includes the data used and methodology adopted for the two broad-level of analysis, based on secondary and primary data respectively. Since the initial choice sets and resulting well-being of EWS/DG children in elementary education is shaped by the normative criteria of distance norm for access elsewhere and specifically for the choice of private school under RTE Section 12 (c), a section of methodology and analysis is based on policy review at national level and at the disintegrated level of state. The policy documents, government orders and the frameworks have been analysed to arrive at matrix of states and their implementation constraints for Section 12.1.C. Case is specifically conceptulised for the state of Uttar Pradesh, supplimenting it with focused-group discussion results.

The Fifth chapter is based on the secondary data (National Sample Survey, 64th and 71st rounds) traces magnitude of shif and the trends in particpation by households in the pre-RTE (2007-08) and post-RTE period (2014). The chapter did not assess the impact of the RTE, but studies the shift across the regions (state-wise), sectors (rural-urban) and the socioeconomic variables. The second part of the chapter studies the reasons for preference for private schools and its implication on (in)equality in education. The last part of the analysis explires the persisting factors leading to leakage in the elementary education. The causes for dropout and their strengths in pre-RTE and post-RTE are analysed. The conclusion discusses the results in light of the review of literature around the nature and types of private schools post globalisation and their implication on inequalities. Chapter Sixth and Seventh are based on field survey and review of policy documents.

Chapter 2: Review of Literature

2.1 Introduction

The review is divided across four major sub themes, i.e. the South Asian evidence on school characteristic and achievement of students, evolution of the distance norm for schooling access in India and the debates around traditional welfare economics and Capability Approach in understanding the concepts such as – welfare, state intervention, public policy, well-being and well-being in education. The review focuses on South Asian evidence and evidence from developing and under developed countries on aspects of school size and efficiency, effectiveness and equity. Efficiency is discussed in the light of cost efficiency in various school size and economies of scale in operation of schools of different size, effectiveness has been discussed in terms of the teachers and the teaching process amounting to certain impact on outcomes.

The national profile of India has found incidence network of small school at all levels of scool education – from primary to secondary education. The size of school has important consequence on the school resources, where the research on small school and its consequence on school functionality and implication have been observed by research work in context of India by Blum & Diwan, 2007; Govinda & Bandyopadhyay, 2008. The literature review in this section focuses on the discussion around efficiency (school size, class-size, ideal class size, optimal size of schools) in light of the debate around school resources. There are research evidence that has discussed the resource allocation and resource wastage in school planning and how these aspects of economic unsustainability are linked with a 'particular' size of schools.

The impact of effectiveness is reviewed with respect formation of learning and achievement that is shaped in schools differing in resources and size. classes. The review synthesises evidence across literature suggesting incidences of learning effectiveness in light of the class size and teaching processes. Within the review, therefore not only effect of class size on learning is discussed, but there is rich body of evidence suggesting how different class sizes and school quality indicators, such as that pertaining to teachers, class room practices or school infrastructure, affect

learning outcomes. Distance becomes another important factor mediating between the issues of effieciency, effectiveness and equity and assumes greater importance in deciding access at elementary level.

The scope of the second part of the review is to revisit the planning of elementary in India since Independence while tracing the origin of distance norm of access and the trail of discussions and recommendations which have figured in policy documents/reports. The planning of elementary with an aim to ensure access within certain specified distance (i.e. one and three kilometres), has important implications on participation and quality of education delivered. The section of review discusses the expansion of elementary education – revisiting the rationale and evolution of the distance norm, issues of efficiency, effectievess and equity that has surfaced over the years and its final culmination into the normative frameworks of SSA.

2.2 Understanding School Resources, Efficiency and Effectiveness in Developing Countries

The impact of school resources and issue of size (school size or class size) been frequent source of policy dilemma in in the developed economies but its implication and deliberations have not been conclusive in case of elementray schooling in developing countries. South Asian evidence is scarce therefore, this review evidences linking the concept of cost efficiency to resource wastage on one hand (school functionality, teachers salaries, class size and administrative expenses) and opportunity cost of access on other hand (evidences from Pakistan, Afghanistan, Bangladesh, and India and Sub Saharan Africa reflect of cost and cost effectiveness).

Major studies with respect to the efficiency issue in schooling has been by White & Tweeten, 1973; Banerjee et al., 2007 ; Little, 2008 ; Burde & Linden, 2012 ; Rolleston et al, 2013 ; Muralidharan & Sundararaman, 2013 and Singh, 2013. It's often on account issues of arising owing to geographical accessibility, where to overcome barrier of schooling, schools with low enrolment arise (Little, 2008). In context of India, such schools have been also propelled by the distance norm which is policy implementation resulted in proliferation of small schools with very low enrolment at elementary and secondary level of education.

Density of population and policy interventions (in form of stipulated norms) are two identified sources which gives rise to these small are large schools. Areas with scarce population, where there is travel cost and time to access schools, small schools will have tendency to flourish. The concept of the size of school is an issue which is highly context based and thus differs across regions with in country. Number of enrolled students, teachers along with size of the class size and grade span decides how effieicency will be transacted and resulting quality of schools of different sizes and resources. In context of India, the research highlight by Little (2008), becomes relevant. Small enrolments are often associated with limited number of teachers, that eventually ends up in multi-grade classes, large enrolments provides scope for employing more teachers and resultantly relatively larger or sizable classes precursor to efficiency (ibid).

At times for country like India, specifically with respect to the disadvantaged children, only type of schooling at the disposal of such children is small schools or multigrade schools or no schools at all. This tendency might be a prominent phenomenon in areas of geographic inaaccessblity, civil strife or rural areas. The evidence states this phenomenon is very much in Pakistan, Afghanistan and India as well. Thus, schools of unsustainable small schools often on account of their smallness are faced with myriad issues pertaining to efficiency, effectiveness and equity. At the level of elementary schools, schools of small size, multi-grade teaching, small class size will have pronounced impact on learning outcomes. There is an interaction which is complex and takes place between how learning is shaped by students social background and how structural characteristics of schools act as a catalyst to their learning (Ready & Lee, 2006-07). The cost per student would effect the sustainability of schools and resulting quality and scope for ensuring access. Cost is intrinsically linked to the aspects of efficiency – cost of extensive curriculum, specialised teachers, laboratory etc. cast an impact over efficiency in schools, where to fully realise economies of scale and optimum use of school resources is must. Generally it is assumed that large schools have potential to realise cost savings, because such schools may utilise fixed assets, such as, libraries, laboratories and playgrounds more efficiently (Little, 2008) .

The education production function iluustrated in study by Hanushek (2007), demonstrates how education production function operates and translates inputs such as school resources, teacher quality and family attributes in form of student's outcome. But there is a need for profound understanding of how school inputs pertaining to school organisation such as size of the class, administrative expenses and related facilities and teachers impacts the cost effectiveness of schools. Scale diseconomies, perhaps would occur when the additional cost of enrolling a student is more than the average cost at that point, that leads to increase in average cost at that point (Newman . M *et al* 2006). Undertaking costs involved, if the marginal cost of enrolling a student exceeds the average cost of the school, and point further results in average cost to rise, leads to diseconomies (Garrett, et al., 2004, White & Tweeten, 1973).

Resource wastage in form of non-functional schools, thus leading to inefficiency has found its evidence in Pakistan, where patronage model shows role of political motivations resulting into lopsided school palnning (Asim, 2013 , Lloyd, Mete, & Sathar, 2005). Resources wastage due to non-functional schools and proliferation of economically unsustainable public schools has resulted into the worlds densest network of Sindh to resort to measures such as consolidation of non-functional schools and rationalising school location planning.

The literature evidence, one from the two stage experiment of aggregate school choice in India, and the other reflecting upon class size and cost of schools, exploiting the value added method in assessing and comparing the cost of private and public primary schools, agree unanimously on how the per student cost in private schools are less than public school in India -approx. $1/3^{rd}$ the cost in public schools (Muralidharan & Sundararaman, 2013 and Singh, 2013). The salaries of teachers, that form an important components of the costs of instruction is less as compared to those in public schools along with the temporary nature of contracts in private schools as compared to the public counterparts. Since the cost of instruction if often cited as constituting major form of cost, its evident how low unit-cost nations in Sub Saharan Africa have demonstarted to be an example of poorest economies, reducing their per unit cost by enhancing quality of education to save the cost rendered by huge number of children repeating grades and also by rationalising the teacher's pay (Colclough &

Al-Samarrai, 2000). A kind of government run primary school, SSK established by Departnment of Panchayat and Rural Development, Govt. of West Bengal, are small and low cost primarily to cater hard to reach areas. SSK are centered in areas with thick population of Muslims and disadvantaged groups such as SC and ST. (with 80% of population coming from these grops in these schools). These schools have low paid teachers, with substantial difference in training levels these teachers get as compared to their government primary schools counterparts along with differences in governance that has high community involvement. Cost effectiveness relates much to the outcomes of schoolings (achievement, in some studies which is proxied by test scores), attendance, respective attitudes of students and teachers, school atmosphere as a whole impacting efficiency (Little, 2008). Schools in underpriviledged areas, have low enrolments, small class size and are less functional in terms of working toilets and electricity, computers or the internet access. Pupil in these schools receive fewer periods of instruction, but are in smaller classes. And there is direct and positive correlation between school assets and children's home background advantage in the site increases.

Studies that have dealt with effectiveness and equity are Lloyd, Mete, & Sathar, 2005; Duflo, Dupas, & Kremer, 2007 ; Rana, 2010 ; Muralidharan & Sundararaman, (2011 and 2013), Burde & Linden, 2012 ; Singh, 2013 ; Asadullah & Chaudhury, 2013 ; Asim, 2013; Rolleston et al, 2013. Characteristics such as teacher absenteeism, dilapidated infrastructure, non-functional class rooms are strogly associated with quality impacts rather than class size alone (Burde & Linden, 2012, Muralidharan & Sundararaman, 2011 and 2013 and Singh, 2013).

Since the size of school and class size does impact learning outcomes and how learning is shaped, the effect of class size on test scores has reported to be negative, suggesting larger classes are associated with lower test scores and vice versa (White & Tweeten, 1973, Duflo, Dupas, & Kremer, 2007 and Singh, 2013).

School characteristics such in private schools in contrast to the public schools such as less qualified and trained teachers with lower pay and temporary contracts still exhibit high teaching effectiveness in form of engagement inform of teaching activities/practices, low teacher absenteeism (Muralidharan & Sundararaman 2011 and 2013, Singh, 2013).

2.3 Review of the Distance Norm: Indian Evidence on Elementary School Planning

The present regional variation in access traces back to the colonial times and prior to 1976, where the provincial governments decided the planning and access in elementary education where the relative economic status of the states shaped the pattern of growth of elementary education (Biswal, 2011).

"School open in the past whether by government or local authorities or private agencies were not essentially according to any pre conceived State wide plan uninfluenced by vested interest of local pressures owing to this somewhat unplanned and indiscriminate opening of schools disparities in provision of educational facilities are almost inseparable and this has been confirmed by the present survey. Though some very small habitations have school in them , for bigger habitations in the adjoining areas have for years remained without educational facilities even at the primary school stage" (First AISES;II:10).

The planning of schools in the past did not always take into consideration the total population that would be benefitted. In order to universalise elementary education at fast pace, it was thus necessary to know habitations with and without schools. This exercise made a fundamental requirement of ensuring that required facilities for instruction at primary and middle levels exit within a walkable distance of a child.The classification as to what 'distance' should mean, has been mentioned in terms of the time travelled (First AISES 1957, CABE 2005), the social distance which mediates with access (RMSA 2009; MHRD 2009) and the distance measured in Kilometers. The most recent discussion on the distance criteria and need to revise it, figured in CABE (2005), that suggested the need to rationalise norm; that the distance norm needs to be revisited to ensure the system of education is efficient, effective and inclusive. Eleventh Five year Plan (2007-12), recommended the "reasonable distance" for elementary schools, SSA Framework asserted that the norm for providing the elementary education within 1 Km for primary and 3 for upper primary schools is "prescriptive" and should be relaxed for State specific requirement. Seventh All India Educational Survey (AISES) in 2002 too added to the need for rationalising the norm and not to implement it blindly at primary level (NCERT, 2005, cited in Govinda & Bandyopadhyay, 2008). The study also discussed the need to undertake micro-

planning and school mapping along by incorporating the demographic constructs across states and within States while school planning is undertaken.

2.4 On Welfare Economics and Inequalities in Education

2.4.1 Welfare and Well-Being

Mainstream economics, is not only confined to issues of individual well-being but also the concept and measurement of social welfare, which is defined by the principle of Pareto optimality. Although, Pareto-optimality identifies optimality in efficiency (resource allocation) and encounter problems in most crucial form of being unable to handle the equity reasons and resulting trade-off between efficiency and equity (Giovanola, 2009). Essentially when discussions take place in the domain of welfare economics, it‘s imperative to reflect upon Pareto-Optimality Criterion and Kaldor-Hicks Compensation Criterion‘ Thus the Pareto-optimality criterion refers to economic efficiency which can be objectively measured. Capability approach then becomes different in terms of dealing with well-being. Thus the approach understands human being as a normative concept, whereby according to this framework, the equality is demanded in space of capabilities. Welfare is a subset of well-being. Well-being is a wider concept by including non-welfare characteristics of social states. Therefore a person‘s well-being is composed of his welfare. He further emphasised how human rights are function of well-being and how certain rights have instrumental values (Dasgupta P., 2001). While talking about well-being, his work has also undertaken work on measures of social well-being. While developing his measure, focus being individual, its seen how locus of sensation, perception and feeling is though at individual level, how socio economic and political spheres falls in personal domain of individual. When well-being becomes the quality of life, for a person then, well-being encompass, besides personal growth, being able to acquire certain type of character, one that they admire, which becomes a source for self-respect also, and the capability to display and receive affection. Moreover he focused on non-linearity of processes which mould individual values and opportunities.

He has also emphasised the plurality which is essential nature of well-being (Dasgupta P. , 1992) (Dasgupta, 2001). Though plurality here is defined a well lived life which is not uniquely given but rather is a product of person‘s dispositions and

abilities and the contingencies one faces. While discussing the determinants and constituents of well-being, he has incorporated health, happiness, freedom to be and to do, basic liberties in domain of constituents of well-being (Dasgupta ,1992 & 2001). Further in his paper, on measurement of quality of life, he has also dealt with measures of well-being using ordinal indices of political and civil liberties. He also emphasised how social well-being can be equality seeking in space of individual incomes. Also have discussed how Rawls theory of justice claims sensitivity and an edge, in explaining distributive justice, over classic utilitarianism. He describes personal well-being as a composition of variety of objects such as health, happiness, associational life, various kinds of freedoms to be and to do. But he objects the encounter of aggregation problem. He has emphasised the role of sensitivity analysis while evaluating a policy and deciding the parameter values on which the policy needs to be recommended or rejected in certain cases (Dasgupta, Margalin & Sen, 1972 cited inDasgupta, 2001)

While observing social well-being measurement issues, and comparisons among groups, he asserts the advantage of social cost benefit analysis. Social cost benefit analysis helps to determine a way as to how allocation of resources can be improved and what reforms must be made in same direction (see Alkire, 2002 on how social cost benefit analysis works and why capability analysis provides better edge). Dasgupta‘s work informs the difference between value and evaluate. The former pertains to comparing objects and later pertaining to comparing relative merits of action. Evaluation of strategies more specifically public policies thus becomes active engagement as compared to passive valuation. Further asserted how the need for quality of life indices becomes imperative not only because they aim to evaluate policies but to understand the dynamics which governs certain groups. For example, when we want to know how well certain groups (women, children, old age)are doing today in contrast to their past or if one group enjoys a higher standard of living (Dasgupta, 2001). In fact for the measures of inequality, importance of assigning weights, i.e. income distribution weights have been discussed by him. He discussed how while evaluating investment projects in poor countries, greater weights should be assigned to project benefits enjoyed by poor‘s as compared to projects benefits occurring to rich.

2.4.2 Human Capital and Investments in Children

As asserted by Becker (1992), in his analysis of human behaviour, it‘s the assumption that individual maximises welfare as they conceive it, whether they be selfish, altruistic, loyal, spiteful or masochistic. Their behaviour is forward looking and fairly consistent over time. Perhaps in particular, they try best to anticipate the uncertain consequences of their actions. He also emphasised how past of a person has a role to shape and exert influence on attitudes and values of a person.

Constrains on action are posed by income, time, imperfect memory and calculating capacities, other limited resources and the available opportunities in economy and elsewhere. Such opportunities are to greater extent determined by private and collective actions of other individuals and organisations. It‘s very crucial to see the importance of time and seeing time as major constrain. Economic and medical progress might have greatly eased many constrains, but the total time at ones disposal remains twenty four hours per day. Now the situation is, even if the goods and services have increased phenomenally in an economy, the total time to consume has remained the same.

In discussion on formation, dissolution and structure of families, the rational choice analysis of family behaviour builds on maximising behaviour, investments in human capital, allocation of time, and discrimination against women and other groups. In his book *The Treatise on the Family* (1991), accepting the importance of family being the most fundamental and oldest of institutions, the work reflected on the dynamics governing marriage and divorce , and relations between husbands, wives, parents, and children. In such cases rational choice approach embed a framework that combines maximising behaviour with analysis of marriage and divorce, specialisation and division of labour, old-age support, investments in children and legislation that affects families. In case of investments in children, parents who leave sizable bequests do not need old-age support because instead they help out their children. Now in such a case, such parents, gain from financing all investments in the education and skills of children that yield higher rate of returns than savings. They indirectly save for old age by investing in children, and then reducing bequests when elderly. Major response of his study, was, where children and parents would be better off if parents agreed to

invest more in children in return of commitment by children to care for them when they need.

Parental attitudes and behaviour have an enormous influence on their children (Becker & Tomes, 1994). Example of such an attitude is when parents who are alcoholic create bizarre atmosphere for impressionable youngsters in contrast of parents with stable values who transmit knowledge and inspire their children favourably influence both what their children are capable of and what they want. Thus economic approach can contribute insights into the formation of preferences through childhood experiences. His analysis incorporates, how when parents anticipate that children will help them out of guilt or related motivations. This compels parents who are not very loving invests in children human capital.

In fact in study done by Becker and Tomes (1994), show how based on utility maximisation by parents, is concerned about welfare of the children. The degree of intergenerational mobility, or rise and fall of families, is determined by the interaction of utility maximising behaviour with investment and consumption opportunities in different generations along with different kinds luck.

In another such study to assess the impact of governmental welfare regime on parental human capital investments in children, assessed that non-care related human capital investment time. The focus, was on time parents share with their children in eating, housework, leisure, television viewing. The evidence suggested how non-care related parent-child time is human capital enriching specially in case of leisure time (Osterbacka, Merz, & Zick, 2010) .

2.4.3 Understanding Children's Well-Being

As put forth by Alkire & Roche (2011), multidimensional understanding of childhood poverty, and need to have measures to understand intensity of children‘s deprivation (in different aspects of poverty for different age groups) is important in understanding well-being of children. Perhaps, it is important, to realize, given the sensitivity towards children well- being, the role of agency in conceptualizing children capability approach. Agency, being intrinsically important along with instrumental value, is one of the key dimensions of human well-being (Alkire, 2002).

The central importance of the age and children's agency is crucial to be distinguished. Realizing the dependence of children on parents or adults on account of their physical and emotional vulnerability, also their inability to make choice, such a view stands contested in recent literature reflecting upon children‘s capability and agency. When children are seen subject of capabilities, its assumed they have faculty of autonomy and agency. There has been evidence of an array of issues which very small children are capable to understand (Biggeri, 2007). As Comim *et al* (2011) observes, conceptualizing children as active agents can help determine how the capabilities are initially built and then evaluated. With regards to children in school age and their welfare rights, it is the freedom from interruption and interference, and protection of potential of children to develop agency freedom through attending schools (Flores-Crespo, 2007; Saito, 2003).

Evaluating the impact of education change on children‘s capability can be done in number of ways, therefore suggesting that there is no unique way of using capability approach for normative purposes. What is suggested by Comim (2011), is to define, methodology based on most striking characteristics of the approach and then to create different assessment categories of assessment from the particular features of the targeted programs. Now among the most important features as defined by Sen (1992 & 1999) and Nassbaum (2000), they are as under:

- Objective nature of functionings and capabilities, avoiding the use of subjective matrices and problem of adaptive preference
- Multi-dimensional assessment exploring the differential impact of actions and state of affairs on individual agency and individuals‘ wellbeing
- Emphasis on autonomy
- Comparable results based on multiple realisability.

The relevance for the economy as whole for children‘s wellbeing, in light of the demographic advantage India has, would place children at core of economic analysis. Children‘s wellbeing, thus, being a broad concept, in this proposed study I use capability approach to measure aspects pertaining to education and children well-being. One main reason is, Sen‘s capability approach, distinguishes between what people are able to do and to be i.e. their capabilities and what they do or are i.e. their functionings.

Thus, in capability approach, the wellbeing of individuals is evaluated not only in terms of their functionings achieved , but also in terms of the freedom to choose among the different functionings. The approach also gives value thus to the freedom of choice. Perhaps, it is the wellbeing freedom, which reflects freedom to achieve those things that comprises of one‘s wellbeing. It has to be taken care of the fact that individuals with same functionings may have different well-beings because their choice sets (i.e. their capabilities) are different.

Therefore the human development of children can be regarded as ―expansion of capabilities. Capabilities, choices and conditions during childhood crucially affect children‘s position and capabilities as adults (Biggeri 2011). Social justice in Sen‘s view, thus, is a matter of arranging social commitments in ways that enhance individual freedom to live a valued life (Bates 2010). While discussing the types of freedoms, he asserted while analysing social justice, he argues, there is strong case ―for judging individuals advantage in terms of the capabilities that person has, that is the substantive freedoms he or she enjoys to lead the kind of live that he or she has reason to value (Sen, 1999, p.87).

2.5 Education and Conceptualisation of Capabilities

Capability approach was largely developed as concern with the inadequacy of existing methods of measuring inequalities, which either rested on interpersonal assessments that exclusively focused on people‘s mental states (quantified in terms of happiness or satisfaction), or approaches that focused on physical or financial resources. Shifting from such a focus, capability approach is concerned with the various things a person may value being or doing or in other words, *functionings* and the freedom to achieve these functionings.

Thus, freedom aspect is of prime importance, it‘s emphasised that individuals do differ on account of their ability to convert resources into ―doings and beings‖, even if the resources attheir disposal are equal. Thus equal resources do not lead to equal opportunities. Such differences may be on account of individual preferences, others dues to structural differences in society relating to gender, class, race caste and also institutional factors and public policies. Now since the process of converting resources into functionings depend on conversion factors, a distinction needs to be

recognised between the presence of a school and functioning of ―being well educated‖ (Vaughan, 2007). Therefore similar bundle of commodities will generate different *capability sets* for different people.

In case of theories of educational inequalities capability approach provides three main advantages as asserted by over comparisons of level of access or outcomes (Vaughan, 2007). Firstly, capability approach provides a wider vision of individual rights to human capital focus on economic productive capacities. Second, capabilities, as opposed to functionings, are able to reflect the importance of individual autonomy and choice. Third, rather than placing emphasis on resources available to an individual, the approach takes into account the ability of an individual to convert resources into functionings. Capability approach has, thus been employed for a great deal of studying different educational experiences (Comim *et al*,

2011).

The main body of work, of analysing capability approach, corresponds to the relationship between education and expansion of an individual‘s overall capability set. While contemplating about valuation and capabilities, study by Alkire (2002) on Oxfam literacy project for women in Pakistan, in attempt to further theorise capabilities, illustrated how it‘s important to note the freedom for an individual to achieve functionings, particularly those that are valuable for them. Wide range of possible functioning are involved in the process of formal education, such as attending schools, completing class work, learning a new skill, gaining confidence in ones abilities, passing exam, developing autonomous thought, gaining employment or engaging in democratic process. How does this broad range of notions then relates to agency and wellbeing and how can these be negotiated for the purpose of evaluation of capabilities corresponds to many studies which have taken topic of capabilities with in education as a complete and homogenous concept.

A step further is proposed to distinguish between capability to participate in education and capability through education. Since Vaughan,(2007) in her study argues, it‘s possible and theoretically advantageous in terms of measurement, for education to be conceptualised as occupying two different positions in relation to an individual‘s capability set. The distinction thus is between the cases in which functioning‘s in

question is a formal education process itself and cases in which functionings have been enabled through formal education.

Evaluating capabilities, rather than resources or outcomes, shifts the axis of analysis toestablishing and evaluating the conditions that enable individuals to take decisions based on what they have reason to value. But while the functionings of the students are the same, their capabilities are different. The capability approach requires that we do not simply evaluate the functionings but the real freedom or opportunities each student had available to choose and to achieve what she valued. Our evaluation of equality must then take account of freedom in opportunities as much as observed choices. The capability approach, therefore, offers a method to evaluate real educational advantage, and equally to identify disadvantage, marginalization, and exclusion (Alkire, 2002; Comim, 2010; Biggeri & Mehrotra, 2011; Biggeri & Libanora, 2011; Ballet *et al*, 2011; Biggeri 2011).

2.5.1 Issues Pertaining to Children Capability Approach

While discussing children‘s capability approach, theoretical foundations and roadmap for application of capability approach to children, Comim *et al* (2011), in their book have discussed extensively on the operationalisation of capabilty approach for children and the conceptual framework. They highlighted, at least five issues related to children’s capabilities that are worth recalling (Biggeri, 2007 and Biggeri *et al* 2010).The first observation concerns the fact, that the child‘s capabilities are at least partially affected by the capability set and achieved functionings (as also by their means, i.e., assets, disposable income) of their parents, as an outcome of a cumulative path-dependent process that can involve different generations of human beings. The second observation is that the possibility of converting capabilities into functionings depends also on parents, guardians, and teacher’s decisions, implying that the child’s conversion factors are subject to further constraints. On the one hand, parents need to respect children‘s desires and freedoms, but on the other they have to assist children to expand or acquire further capabilities, even though this may need to be done against children‘s willingness, since the child is not a passive actor, especially as age increases. Therefore, the degree of autonomy is relevant in the process of choice. A third relevant aspect is connected to the relationship between different capabilities and

functionings. The fact that education is a basic capability with an intrinsic value means that it can be instrumental for other capabilities (Terzi, 2007; Vaughan, 2007). Indeed, it may affect the current and perspective capabilities of the child. The fourth aspect concerns the life cycle and the importance of age in defining the relevance of a capability. This means that a careful timing of interventions is required for a child‘s well-being, including different types of education objectives according to the age and the maturity of the child. The last issue concerns the role of children in building-up the future society and its constraints. Children, from this point of view, can be considered as a vehicle of change; once they reach adulthood they can contribute to shaping future conversion factors.

As we have argued elsewhere (Biggeri et al. 2006a), there are numerous reasons why

policymakers should place higher priority on children‘s capabilities. A key component of such a child-oriented approach is a policy that ensures universal access to education (UNESCO 2001), with attention to the quality of education.

Education is central to the capability approach. Sen (1992, p. 44), for example, identifies education as one of ―a relatively small number of centrally important beings and doings that are crucial to well-being.‖ Nussbaum (2002), She identifies three key capabilities associated with education: first, critical thinking or ―the examined life; second, the ideal of the world citizen; and third, the development of the narrative imagination (see Nussbaum 2006; 1997). Having the opportunity for education and the development of an education capability expands human freedoms… Education, argues Sen (1999), fulfils an *instrumental social role empowering and distributive role* in facilitating the ability of the disadvantaged, marginalized, and excluded to organize politically. It has *redistributive* effects between social groups, households, and within families.

2.5.3 Present Capabilities of Children as Function of Future Capabilities

The problem of adaptive preference, criticality of path dependency and key irreversible capability failures are must understand while discussing policy pertaining to children. Understanding present capabilities, as a part of the future capabilities of children, the process of evolving capabilities encompassing three concepts (opportunity concept, the capacity concept and the agency concept), then becomes a

mapping of time (Comim *et al* 2011). It is important to take note, deficiencies in important capabilities during childhood crucially affect the capabilities as adults and have larger societal implications (Saito, 2003; Biggeri, 2007). Taking cognizance of nature, of same capability have different autonomy-values if belonging to different points in time, it is important to realize if an individual misses the opportunity of developing the cognitive ability at a certain age in the life, it might be too late in the future (Comim 2011).

2.6 Education as Basic Capability

It came as unanimous response in capability literature to treat education as basic capability. Capability to be educated can be broadly understood in terms of real opportunities for informal learning and for formal schooling. This further according to Terzi (2007), becomes basic in two ways: first in the absence or lack of this opportunity would essentially harm and disadvantaged the individual and second, this capability to be educated plays a substantial role in expansion of other capabilities as well as future ones. Further it can be basic for the reason that it is fundamental and foundational to the capabilities which are necessary and important to well-being, and hence lead to good life.

Further, Vaughan (2007), has extensively discussed how formal learning that is being formally educated is considered as one type of functioning in itself, and then capability to be educated can be defined as freedom for a child to fully participate in the school-learning process. Such process involves factors that enable a child to attend school and once physically attending school, being able to participate and understand, and engage in learning confidently and successfully. In a way, this might be considered as the full working of the mechanics of the educational process. But then she also asserts that factors that might affect the ability to attend school, understand and participate in educational settings are present both outside the school and within the school environment, and they include social institutions, social norms, personal characteristics, and environmental factors.

2.6.1 Indian context: What Can Capability Offer?

Sen defines, capability as ―a person‘s ability to do valuable acts or reach valuable states of being; [it] represents the alternative combinations of things a person is able

to do or be (Sen 1992). Defining thus, capabilities are opportunities of freedoms to achieve what an individual reflectively consider valuable. Given the right based approach to education in form of RTE Act (2009), there is need to look at each person not as means to economic growth or stability but as an end. There is need to look and evaluate freedoms of people to be able to make decisions they value and work to remove obstacles to those freedoms, that is to expand peoples capabilities (Walker & Unterhalter, 2007). For e.g. we often question in case of education, what must be the forms of curriculum, teaching, school management, and learning resources, which will yield the education achievements, such as examination results or skill sets that an economy requires.

2.7 Evaluation Concerns: Evaluation Efficiency and Development Policy

In an introduction to =capability and valuation‘ Alkire (2002) , while discussing poverty and human development, participation and culture, capability valuation, suggests how, Participatory Impact Assessments and Social Impact Assessments suffer from lack of systematic method of identifying changes valued by participants themselves and for devolving real control over a decision over a lowest level capable of making it and this lack increases the chances of significant bias in gathering and interpretation if value judgements. More over its emphasised that rarely can one afford to bring all refined theoretical points being incorporated in an actual evaluation so the priorities must be set and resulting assumptions be made either implicitly or explicitly by virtue of the design or default (Alkire, 2002).

The methodologies for evaluating the economic impact of developmental activities commonly use experimental or quasi-experimental designs should be considered (Afridi, 2011; Banerjee, Duflo et al, 2007; Ravaillon, 2009; Alkire, 2002). Its further illustrated how the aspects of technical efficiency, broadly the principle of efficiency are used in case studies by Alkire (2002), while attempting to do valuation and operationalization of capabilities to assess development. The case studies use cost benefit analysis to represent the principle of efficiency or ‘technical‘ rationality. Using experimental designs (experimental or quasi experimental designs), allowed comparisons with a counterfactual, the general principle are the basic rationale: =things are worth doing if the benefits resulting from doing them out weights their costs‘. It is crucial to understand, if impacts on wide range of ends are integral to

human development, it certainly becomes imperative to incorporate these impacts in complete evaluation of costs and benefits of proposed investment.

What then needs to be a focus is, if cost benefit analysis can incorporate all capability changes and if it con not, then going for introducing a measure through which cost benefit analysis can be incorporated into capability framework. It is therefore argued by Alkire (2002), that an ― assessment of an investment‘s impact on human capabilities, must contain the public exercise of scrutinising the economic costs and benefits in the full range of dimensions and of reporting qualitatively and systematically those impacts where they cannot be quantified if we recognise the full set of human capabilities is multidimensional and includes not only health and literacy but also relationships and meaningful

Chapter3: Evolution of Free and Compulsory Education in India

3.1 Colonial Regime and Education for Masses

The deliberations and discussions that took around the initiatives around right to education in India, traces back in history and has been a phenomenon that evolved amidst the political tensions (Chaudhary, 2009; Satgopal, 2010; Colclough & De, 2013). The education system that casted influence on Indian education by colonial rule, was an 'ideological apparatus' that legitamised the concentrated privbiledges in hands of few and also was a catalyst to the mix of Western and Indian knowledge (Kumar, 2006, Colclough & De, 2013).

The debate on Right to Education was initiated in India by Mahatma Jotirao Phule more than 125 years ago when a substantial part of the memorandum presented by him to the Indian Education Commission (i.e. the Hunter Commission) in 1882 dwelt upon how the British government's funding of education tended to benefit the elites, Brahmins and the higher classes and by leaving the masses in glaring poverty and utmost ignorance (Satgopal, 2010).

The system of education that was jointly introduced by the East India Company and the British Crown in the 19th century exercised direct control over the education policy from 1858 to 1919(Chaudhary, 2009). In 1911, when Gopal Krishna Gokhale moved his Free and Compulsory Education Bill in the Imperial Legislative Assembly, he faced stiff resistance (Satgopal, 2010). The Montague-Chelmsford reforms, after 1919 devolved larger role to the Indian ministers who were elected at the province-level(Chaudhary, 2009). Then the year 1911 saw 'stiff resistance' from the Indian Elites over the introduction of Free and Compulsory Education Bill, was moved in the imperial Legislative Assembly. For (Memorandum was signed by aprox. 11000 princes and the landlords).

A push towards the country-level system of compulsory primary education begun in pre-independence period under the Colonial British rule. The East India Company assumed the responsibility of the state education in the year 1813 and soon was followed by missionary schools in the 1820s. Such reforms moulded minds of elites

that considered these reforms as modern and ahead of the then existing brahminical system.

At the National Education Conference held at Wardha (Maharashtra) in 1937, Mahatma Gandhi had to use all the moral powers at his command to persuade the Ministers of Education of the newly elected Congress governments of seven provinces to give priority to Basic Education (Nai Talim) of seven years and allocate adequate funds for this purpose(Satgopal, 2010). While opposing colonial education, Gandhi proposed the basic education as a means for social transformation of the masses (Kumaar, 2006 cited in Colclough & De, 2013).

During the Constituent Assembly debates, a member contended that the commitment made in the draft Article (later to be known as Article 45) to provide "free and compulsory education" to children up to 14 years of age should be limited to only 11 years of age as India would not have the necessary resources. The dilution would have been made but for Dr. Babasaheb Ambedkar's clarity of mind that it is at this age of 11 years that a substantial proportion of children become child labourer(Satgopal, 2010).

3.2 Pre-Independence Free and Compulsory Education in India

In pre-independent India, many States already had Compulsory Education Acts (Juneja, n.d.). Few being the Bombay Primary Education (Dist. Municipalities) Act,1917, Bengal Primary Education Act. 1919, Bihar and Odissa Primary Education Act, 1919, Punjab compulsory Education Act, 1919, United Provinces Primary Education Act, 1919[8]. These compel us towards more strategic questions of why these Act failed and what is the need for a refreshed understanding on the need for rights-based education as against the compulsory education Acts that were in place in pre and post in dependent India.

[8] The Bombay City primary Education Act, 1920Central Provinces Primary Education Act,1920, Madras Primary Education Act, 1920, Patiala Primary Education Act, 1926, Bikaner State Compulsory Primary Education Act, 1929, Madras Primary Education act,1937, Bombay City Primary Education (dist. Boards) Act,1922, Bombay Primary Education Act, 1923; Assam Primary Education Act,1926; U.P (Dist. Boards Primary) Education Act, 1926; Bengal (Rural) Primary Education Act,1930; (Jammu & Kashmir) compulsory Education Act, 1934; Bombay Primary Education(Amendment) Act, 1934; Punjab Primary Education Act,1940.

In fact, the current normative framework that signifies distance norms that decides access to schooling, has originated from the then existing State Acts that were there in the Post-Independent India. Before revisiting this, there is need to understand the difference between compulsory education and compulsory schooling as pointed out by Junega (N.D.). Whereas all the Acts mentioned pertained to compulsory education, the current RTE Act is no different. The peculiar difference between compulsory education and compulsory schooling, where by compulsory schooling makes it mandatory for children to attend school; though with respect to hard to reach areas and lower accessibility, compulsory education has advantages since learning though innovative ways become possible. Also, compulsory education then requires much focus on learning outcomes ..

"Compulsory Education: The legal requirement in all states mandating minimal school attendance annually for children between latest school starting ages and earliest school leaving ages specified by the individual states; states correspondingly require provision of public education through which legal school attendance requirements may be met." (The Conciese Dictionary of Education, 1982, cited in Juneja, n.d.).

In opting for com education over schooling, the emphasis will shift from getting the children into schools to the task of determining wether or not they are actually leaning. It may be worth piinting out at this stage thatin the indian context and experience, it is *comp schooliung* that may be needed, despite the obvious advantages of 'comp edu'. (page 9)

3.3 Post-Independent India and UEE

The Constitution of India made commitment of providing free and compulsory education within ten years from gaining independence, i.e. by 1960 (Colclough & De, 2013; CABE 2005). In accordance with this, sectoral approach for education was adopted by Indian plans that elaborated upon the priority of primary and elementary education (Colclough & De, 2013). Revisiting the Plans, which discussed the nature and shape of the basic, primary and elementary education, will provide an understanding of how the debates and deliberations around the attempts to make education free and compulsory at elementary level, evolved post-independence.

The continued resistance of political and social elites continued to pose resistance towards free and compulsory education for the age 6-14. The issue of the resource crunch was brought in the Constituent Assembly debates around the commitments made in the draft Article and the proposal was to confined to age 11 instead of age 14 (Satgolpal, 2010). The study by Satgopal (2010) further provided a rigorous review of how age related commitments were tempered with at various point in time, figuring in various policy commitments, thus violating the Constitutional obligation.

Though, independent India saw States such as Delhi, Uttar Pradesh, Karnataka, Orrisa, Assam and more had Acts pertaining to Compulsory Education, many of them pertained only to cover Primary Education[9] (Juneja, N.D). Another objection, that casted impact on the future of elementary education for masses in India was the rationale proposed by the Chairman of the Advisory Committee of the Constituent Assembly in 1947. The Chairman, Sardar Vallabh Bhai Patel advised to restrict rights which are actually considered necessary and after the deliberations keeping in mind the constrained financial resources at the hand of the government, the Free and Compulsory education figured in Directive Principle of State Policy, Part IV of the Constitution under the Non-Justiciable Fundamental Rights as against, the Fundamental Rights, i.e. Part III of the Constitution (Satgopal, 2010).

Assessing the need of the size of population under the elementary age group, the First Plan brought into light the issue of inadequate educational facilities in light of the Constitutional commitment to provide free and compulsory education for all children up to the age of 14[10]. The Plan further directed that States should resort to provide eight-year of schooling as against five-year of schooling and brought into notice poor returns from primary education and that of its unsustainability-both, economically and educationally. Also, "We would recommend that all States should run, wherever

[9] For example, while the Assam Elementary Education (Provincialisation) Act, 1974 (Assam Act No. 6 of 1975) pertained to Elementary education, The Himachal Pradesh Compulsory Education Act, 1953 (Act No.7 of 1954), Gujarat Compulsory Primary Education Act,1961 (Gujarat Act No. XLI of 1961) pertained to primary education (Junega, (2008) See Appendix for details of the Acts existing in post Independent India.)

[10] This will necessitate expansion of facilities at higher levels also as more and more students pass out of primary schools. There is lack of balance between provision of facilities for different sections of society.

conditions permit, eight-year full-fledged basic schools instead of five-year schools" GoI (1951-56).

While the First Plan asserted that compulsion is not really required, second plan asserted the need for it and to synchronise enforcement with the agricultural season to harmonise school attendance of child (GoI, II Plan)[11]. The need for expanding the educational facilities was undertaken as a need in the Third Plan, reiterating the need to fulfil the Constitutional provision for providing universal, free and compulsory elementary education for the children aged between 6-14 year, the target was designated in step-wise fashion. While the Second Plan asserted for the facilities to be provided for 6-11 years, this continued to be the focus of Third Plan, while the extension of education for 11-14 was mandated to be a part of Fourth (Year duration) and Fifth Plan (Year duration) (Third Plan, 1961-66).

The principal problems in providing facilities for the entire age-group 6—11 in the course of the Third Plan period arise from the following factors :

a. difficulties of bringing girls to school in sufficient numbers;

b. extreme backwardness of certain areas and certain sections of the population in the matter of education ; and

c. wastage' due to parents taking away children from school as soon as they are able to add to the family income so that more than one-half of the children do not reach class IV, thus failing to gain permanent literacy.

This was not prioritised till the introduction of Sarva Siksha Abhiyan (henceforth, SSA) in 2002. Following discussion will highlight the changing and shifting nature of Free and Compulsory Education in India till RTE Act, 2009.

While the move to the concurrent list from the State list, by the Constitutional Amendment of 1976 made central government to contribute more to the financing of the state-level education, the Sixth Plan emphasised that the problem of elementary education was not confined to the lack of finance; it was important to give attention

[11] This argument has not change must, as the remedial measure for attending drop outs and poor attendance suggested by Principles and teachers of Private school in UP suggest the importance of agricultural season to be taken care of to insure proper attendance.

to the ‘non-monetary inputs’ (GoI, 1980-85, Section 21:47, cited in Colcolough & De, (2013). The Seventh Plan period (1985-1990), necessitated reforms, related to strategic developments in education, and its governance- one of them being the inflow of foreign aid to supplement elementary education Colcolough & De, (2013).

In 1986, early in the Seventh Plan period, the National Policy on Education (NPE) was formulated.This reconfirmed the emphasis on elementary education, stressing the needs for universalenrolment, and for substantial improvements in its quality. As part of the implementation of NPE a new Centrally Sponsored Scheme (CSS) - `Operation Blackboard’ (OB) - was launched,that for Non-Formal Education was revised and new schemes for teacher education were alsobegun. These developments formally signalled a change in the role of GoI in school education,taking “a larger responsibility to reinforce the national and integrative character of education,to maintain quality and standards …. and to study and monitor the educational requirementsof the country” (GoI 1985-90: Vol II, chapter 10).

The first group included the Andhra Pradesh Primary Education Project (APPEP), funding for which began in 1986 from British Overseas Development assistance, and some non-formal education projects funded by UNICEF. Then followed the Shiksha Karmi Project(1987), funded by the Swedish International Development Agency (SIDA), which sought -through better selection of local teachers by communities and provision of intensive pre- and in-service training - to address the problems of teacher absenteeism in difficult-to-access areas in Rajasthan. A third important initiative at this time was the Mahila Samakhya Project in Uttar Pradesh, Gujarat and Karnataka (1988-90) funded by Dutch aid. This was subsequently expanded and from 2007 DFID funded 90% of this programme.

These inequalities in education perpetuated on account of colonial expenditure at the basic level till 1970s in India in form of glaring inequalities in access and participation (Chaudhary, 2009). Things have not structurally changed since then and this has prominently been pointed in research studies (Chaudhary, 2009; Junega, 2008 and Sadgopal, 2010). Many reasons contributed to these inequalities, post-Independence, few of the reasons remained unchanged, one of them being the call for child labour.

Things have not fundamentally changed since then[12]. The perpetuation of such a compelling state along with the pressure of the political elites refused to die even until the draft of Article 45. The persuasive argument, now was more camouflaged –i.e. to keep child labour in its place and also to keep masses in poverty in the same state by not willing to extend age till 14 years that was proposed. Rather a comment on the draft was to limit the number of years 6-11 –argument being resource crunch. It was B R Ambedkar who realised that the critical age for drop out is 11 years when the large number of children end up as child labourers. He emphasised vehemently relective upon the future of independent India. That the place for children at this crucial age should be in schools instead of being employed in farms.

One of the compelling concerns then, that still prevail today in more latent and less obvious form were- the cheap availability of child labour for farms in form of child labour (Sadgopal, 2010). As, the empirical evidence would suggest, the distance to school has reduced remarkably at primary and upper primary levels of education over the years, and have almost conformed with the assigned normative framework as far as the distance criteria for access is concerned, post RTE[13]. Insufficient attendance seriously affects the productivity of most basic schools. The remedy does not lie merely in compulsion. The positive approach to the question is to improve the economic condition of the villager. The burden on him of supporting the child, should be lightened by providing in schools free lunch, wherever possible, and by organising, voluntary work outside school hours to enable pupils to produce essential consumable or marketable articles. Holidays should be so timed that labour of children is available to their parents in the busy season (GoI, 1951-56). _As regards the question of ordinary primary education, we feel that, in view of the poor return from it, the tendency to open new primary schools should not be encouraged and, as far as possible, resources should be concentrated on basic education and the improvement and remodelling of existing primary schools on basic lines, as far as that can be done with the personnel available (GoI , 1951-56)

To prevent wastage the introduction of compulsion is essential. Its enforcement may be easier if busy agricultural seasons coincide with school holidays as far as

[12] This is reflected in the Chapter III, where discussion on reasons for drop out and never enrolled are discussed on the basis of empirical evidence.
[13] The distance within which primary school must be available to a child is within 1 km and for upper primary it should be available within 3km.

possible.For sustainanblty: Special efforts at educating parents, combined with efforts to make education more closely related to the needs of girls, are needed. The situation in each area will need to be studied separately. Where there are difficulties in the acceptance of co-education, other methods will need to be explored. In some areas there may be no alternative to separate schools. In others, it may be possible to adopt a shift system as an interim measure—one shift working for boys and the second for girls (GoI, II Five Year Plan)

At the very least, these patterns indicate the Indian Government did not, at least initially, follow a strong redistributive policy to equalize spending differentials across different parts of the country. This is supported by qualitative evidence in the national five-year plans, which promoted public investments in capital-intensive industries as opposed to providing basic public goods such as primary schools to a larger share of the population. The big increase in public spending on education did not occur till the 1970s (Chaudhary, 2009).

3.4 Post-Reform Experience with Neo-Liberal Regimes and UEE

The 1986 National Policy on Education and initiatives in its wake were a watershed in that central government took on a larger role (Colclough & De, 2013). The long term effect of colonial spending in terms of educational inequalities continued till 1970s-study by Chaudhary, (2009) further suggested through the empirical evidence using OSL and IV estimates; while OLS estimates suggests that strong impact of colonial spending across 147 districts of former British India and can be found even after 1970, the IV estimates suggests that colonial spending was significant determinant only till 1970's. Historical spending has been very significant factor until 1970s, which is fairly short lived as there was government campaign that started in form of Ghareebi Hataao Andolan, that was for reducing inequalities in provision of public services.

Though there were marked differences in in literacy across states of India; In 2001, Kerala achieved universal literacy as compared to lower literacy of Bihar at 47 percent. Literacy among Scheduled Castes, the traditionally marginalized lower castes, has been above average in states such as Gujarat and Maharashtra in contrast to Orissa and Uttar Pradesh. This has not been recent phenomenon and has its roots that trace back to 1911. The present day Gujrat and Maharashtra which were that time

part of Bombay Presidency suggests that the literacy was twice as high as Bihar and Orissa (6.9 as compared to 3.9 percent). Similar to the present context, was the Status of Cochin and Travancore, which is present Kerala, that time literacy rate made it educational leader with educational attainment being literacy rates of 15 percent as compared to the 5.9 percent, that was national average. Similar patterns are also discernable at the district-level—Ahmedabad district in western India was among the top five literate districts of British India in 1911 and continued to enjoy this position until 1991.

The 1990s saw structural change in the Indian economy- with the development of an unsustainable gap between public expenditure and revenues (1990/91), that resulted in steep reduction in public expenditures in social sectors over next two years along with the decentralisation of governance, that necessitated transfer of school management responsibilities to local bodies at district and block level (Colclough & De, 2013).

3.4.1 DPEP and Its Evolution

The Neo-liberalism is defined as political rationality that relates to decrease in state welfare services on one hand to the increased call for subjects to become "free, enterprising, and autonomous individuals" (Rose, 1999: 87, cited in Das, 2015). This is important school of thought that explains development in evolving nature of elementary education, post 1990s. In 1935, when the provincial autonomy was introduced, it made education a provincial subject; this remained unchanged until 1976, with the status of education as a state subject after that it moved to the concurrent list (giving joint responsibility to the central and state governments over the provision of schooling) (Chaudhary, 2009).

The Eighth Plan (1992-97) refocused the developmental shift from educationally backward states to educationally backward districts and set forth the conditions of accepting international aid (Colclough & De, 2013). The international aid, that was advocated by World Bank in area primary education in the developing countries, making them relaxed to re-prioritise their spending (Satgopal, 2010; Colclough & De, 2013). There was strong resistance by the Indian Ministers, to the offer of the Bank to give assistance for primary education since late 1980s (Colclough & De, 2013).

The Neo-liberal event that marked the start of the events in 1990s was the 'World Conference on Education For All' held at Jomtien- better known as Jomtien declaration. The joint sponsorship of three crucial UN agencies (UNDP, UNESCO and UNICEF) and the World Bank. This was an 'instrument' for the neo-liberal forces in school education (Satgopal, 2010). During the 1990 Jomtien conference, the World Bank placed further strong pressure upon the GoI to accept aid for education. GoI were invited to set their own terms - a reflection of the importance placed by the Bank upon its securing an Indian basic education programme (ibid).

At the Millennium Summit, the IMF-World Bank along with OECD and the UN agencies shaped the MDGs. These were in lines with the Jomtien-Darkar Framework whereby one of the eight goals of the MDGs were directly related to education - achieving universal primary education (Satgopal, 2010). The IMF-World Bank's Structural Adjustment Programme and Social Safety Net was responsible for the external funding of primary education as one part of it. Increasing donor interest and engagement and a willingness to work together enabled the government to launch, from 1993, the District Primary Education Programme (DPEP): the first education project funded from multiple sources to be developed indigenously[14] (Colclough & De, 2013). The Constitutional assurance for free and compulsory education till the age 14 was much insulated and broader welfare goal as compared to the DPEP or subscription to MDGs that mandated five years of primary education (Satgopal, 2010)

The programme aimed to provide at least four or five years of good quality education to 6-14 year-olds, and initially covered 42 districts across 7 states (three each from Kerala and Tamil. The DPEP was initiated in 1994 in 42 districts covering seven states to support the state governments in their efforts to improve access and retention, increase learning achievement and decrease dropout rate in a manner that social and gender inequities are reduced to the minimum. Although the emphasis of educational planning during the last fifty years was on removing the supply side constraints, little could be accomplished in terms of quality improvement. The DPEP strategy was drawn in tune with the national objectives of universal access, retention and achievement of minimum levels of educational attainment with a focus on girls

[14] . The central and state governments were expected to finance DPEP projects in the ratio 85:15, with aid from the World Bank, EU, DFID, UNICEF and the Netherlands supporting the GoI contribution (Colclough & De, 2013).

and children belonging to socially deprived and economically backward sections of the society (Aggarwal, N.D.).

The District Primary Education Programme (DPEP from here onwards), strated in 1993 was to last for 3-4 years and Indian government was to continue it by transforming it to the emerging SSA, thereby marking a continuation of the neo-liberal framework (Sadgopal, 2010). DPEP was also ground-breaking in that it specified targets in terms of outcomes rather than inputs (Colclough, & De, 2013) . Besides the achievement of the quantitative and qualitative targets within the stipulated period, the major thrust of the DPEP was to promote the decentralised management with active involvement of stakeholders that will have a considerable impact on the sustainability of the project beyond its life cycle (Aggarwal, N.D.). It was observed that a large number of children stay away from primary schools due to social and and economic factors- adding to this universal access to schooling facilities either within the habitation or at a reasonable walking distance was once again considered as one of the important pre-requisite. Stretegies to counter the issues of working children was undertaken by resorting to flexible schooling options, such as-.double shift schools, evening schools, Non Formal Education Centres and Alternative Schools that aimed at overcoming many constraints in access to education. In order to promote girl's education, the states provide incentives for enrolment and retention. Study by (Aggrawal N.D.), suggested fair performance of DPEP district as compared to non-DPEP districts. On the basis of emperical analysis for the period 1995-96 to 1997-98 showed consistent improvement in inicators of enrolment and retention including that of girls, SC and ST children and a steady progress towards achievement of DPEP goals in 42 districts covered under DPEP-I. The girls' participation and retention also improved significantly in the DPEP districtsand significant progress was made to reduce inequities in access and retention between boys and girls.

As suggested by Aggrawal, (a), there are important lseesons that could be learnt from DPEP but as rightly pointed out by Satgopal's criticism of the DPEP and transformation of DPEP with all its flaws to the national level in form of SSA had obvious difficulties, one objection being the continuation of neo-liberal framework, now at national level (Satgopal, 2010). He discussed the nature of these neo-liberal shifts in education- Education that aimed at building conscious citizenship for

building a democratic, socialist, egalitarian and secular country as enshrined in the Constitution was now re-shaped against the priority that World Bank intervention (Satgopal, 2010 & GoI, 2005b). The focus has been in sync with objectives of literacy-numeracy and life skills. These traits fell in the domains of working market economy. Moreover, the school system's stratification that comprises of layers of education of differential quality for various classified socio-economic sections of society. The multi-layered school system, stratified by affordability to pay, leaving poor quality education at the disposal of disadvantaged, the WTO negotiations that traded education as a commodity, was another detrimental advancement.

The conversion of school system into muti-layered system with layers of different quality, diluted norms that govern government schools pertaining to infrastructure and other quality indicators and closure of government schools in name of rationalisations are the broad crucial agendas of the World-Bank UN strategy of latent privatization (Sadgopal, 2010). Therefore, the SSA and the normative framework that came to dominate it, lacked any evidence based planning and intervention.

3.5 Towards the Sarva Shiksha Abhiyan

As seen from the events till SSA, understanding evolution of SSA and then synchronising of SSA with RTE Act, 2009 thus, making RTE-SSA, needs to be understood in its historical context. Along with the history that has shaped education so far, the need to understand these developments along with the socio-economic and political changes that have unveiled so far becomes important (Colclough & De, 2013).

The universalization of Elementary Education has been long awaited goal ever since Independence. Part VI of the India Constitution, Article 45 directs the State to provide free and compulsory education to the children aged between 6-14 years. In light of the Constitutional obligation, the access to the educational facilities have been improved remarkably in terms of opening of new schools, additional classrooms, number of teachers and resulting increased enrolments. This goal has received further boost with the launch of national initiave in form of SSA, which targets aim at achieving UEE by 2010 (Chugh, N.D.).

The monitoring and regular evaluations of the projects that were partially funded by aid, along with the experience of DPEP, precisely the experience from DPEP's experience provided substantial supplementing lessons for the design for SSA (Satgopal, 2010; Colclough & De, 2013). Following the recommendations of the state education ministers' conference in 1998, the flagship programme for universalising elementary education was launched in 2002 (Colclough & De, 2013). With the aim of decentralised planning and implementation of all states and centeral government initiatives in elementary education, major time bound initiatives were as under (ibid):

(i) to enrol all 6-11 year-old children in schools or alternative centres by 2003, to ensure all 6-11 year-olds completed five years of schooling by 2007 and 6 to 14 year-olds completed eight years of schooling by 2010; (ii) to achieve satisfactory education quality with an emphasis on 'education for life' and; (iii) to eliminate gender and social gaps in primary schools by 2007 - in elementary education by 2010, and to achieve universal retention by 2010. The SSA that started in 2000-01, covered whole country in mission mode, amidst the change in Government in between (Mukherjee, 2007). Since the programme was jointly funded by Central and state governments, in 2004 external assistance was invited n account of its inability to mobilize sufficient resources, besides its own budgetary sources (Colclough & De, 2013).

The programme was to be funded jointly by the central and state governments. The states were expected to contribute a higher share of the programme outlay than had been the case with DPEP. However after launching SSA, GoI was not able to mobilize sufficient resources to meet its own share from regular budgetary sources. Accordingly, in 2004, it requested further assistance from the World Bank, the UK Department for International Development, (DFID) and the European Commission (EC) (Colclough & De, 2013)[15].

The programme's design was heavily influenced by experience with the centrally sponsored schemes that had existed in the previous decade –the District Primary Education Programme, Lok Jumbish, APPEP, BEP, and UP education programme.

[15] The selection of these particular donor partners was partly a consequence of the changes in Indian aid policy the previous year, when the newly elected Bharatiya Janata Party (BJP) Government had terminated its agreements with all except six large donors. In the education sector, only the Bank, DFID and the EC remained (with the other smaller agencies phasing outtheir support of elementary education). These agencies had been supporting Indian educationsince mid-nineties.

SSA was intended to absorb all existingcentrally sponsored schemes (including Operation Blackboard and Non-Formal Education) andalso to provide the framework for different state-specific interventions. Many of the planningand implementation processes of these projects were retained in SSA. In contrast with theseearlier projects, however, SSA was to be implemented in all districts in India, and, rather thanbeing content with the earlier target of universalizing five years of education (primary cycle),the target now became that of universalising eight years of education (elementary cycle).Thus, in the districts where earlier projects had been implemented SSA represented mainly ascaling-up, such that all elementary classes were now to be included. Elsewhere, however, SSAwas to represent a very significant new development. SSA became a sector wide approach (SWAP) - the first in the country to pool external funds and GoI resources, whilst having no parallel financing structures. Procedures were harmonized through a Memorandum of Understanding (MOU) with common formats for all partners.

The systemic improvements that SSA has contributed to can be understood in relation to major changes in access, equity, quality, and processes of financing, planning and monitoring. In terms of access, impactis seen in the sharp increases in numbers of primary and upper primary schools and corresponding increases in enrolment. Facility indicators,such as those relating to water and sanitation, ramps, playgrounds andboundary walls have also shown significant improvements, even though much remains still to be done. An understanding of changes in patterns of access also needs to take account of a rapid expansion of private education provision (Colclough & De, 2013). With regard to 'quality', progress is mainly visible in terms of relevantinputs, such as textbook and other teaching/learning materials provisionand teacher recruitment, in–service training and support. Other positivechanges in curriculum and classroom practices have occurred, but in some states more than others, as a result of specific interventions. Evidenceof improvements in learning outcomes is presently much weaker (ibid).

Elementary education that is the foundation of the pyramid in the education system and has received a major push in the Tenth Plan (2002-07) through the Sarva Siksha Abhiyan.The Tenth Plan (2002-07) emphased on UEE guided by five parameters viz., universal access, universal enrollment, universal retention, universal achievement and

equity. The major schemes of elementary education sector during Tenth Plan included SSA, DPEP, National Programme of Nutritional Support to Primary Education i.e. Mid-Day Meal Scheme, Teachers Education Scheme and Kasturba Gandhi Balika Vidyalaya Scheme (KGBVS). The schemes of Lok Jumbish and Shiksha Karmi were completed but DPEP will extend up to November 2008. KGBV has now been subsumed within SSA (GoI, 2002).

Projects such as Operational Blackboard that focused on improving physical infrastructure: DPEP on primary eduucation ; Shiksha Karmi Project on teacher absenteeism and Lok Jumbish Project on girl's education- SSA has been the single largest holistic programme addressing all aspects of elem edu covering over one million elem schools and Education Guarantee Centre (EGS)/Alternate and Innovative Education (AIE) Centres and about 20 crore children (GoI, 2002).

Till the Tenth Plan, few specific goals of SSA were, the universal retention by 2010 and focus on elementary education of satisfactory quality with emphasis on education for life (GoI, 2002). The Eleventh Plan (2007-12) resulted in some shifts in programme emphasis and approach. Among the most significant was the expectation of increased financial contributions from the states themselves as a proportion of overall funds and increased emphasis on equity- both, in terms of disadvantaged groups and educationally backward areas (GoI, 2008). The Right of Children to Free and Compulsory Education (RTE) Act, promulgated in 2009, also introduced different and additional requirements, to which SSA responded in order to remain in harmony. The greatest significance for SSA were revised infrastructure norms after the advent of RTE Act, 2009 (Colclough & De, 2013).

SSA that got alligned with the RTE, the contemporary situation suggests of SSA, is one of the largestprogrammes in the world, launched as the flagship program of the Government to provide a comprehensive policy and budgetaryframework to achieve this goal of universalization of elementary education (GoI, 2012-13). Presently SSA is fundedprimarily from Central budget. SSA is beingimplemented in partnership with State Governmentsto cover the entire country and address the needs of 192 million children in 1.1 million habitations (ibid).

Provision of residential schools and hostels in remote tribal/forest/hilly/desert areas, special training for mainstreaming out-ofschoolchildren: The RTE Act makes specific provision for Special Training for age-appropriateadmission for out-of-school children. A majority ofout-of-school children belong to disadvantagedcommunities: scheduled castes, scheduled tribes, Muslims, migrants, children with special needs, urbandeprived children, working children, children in otherdifficult circumstances, for example, those living indifficult terrain, children from displaced families, andareas affected by civil strife, etc need special training. Special Training for never enrolled children or those who dropped out before completing elementary education requires (i) immediate enrolment in school(ii) organisation of special training of flexible durationto enable the child to be at par with other children, (iii)actual admission of the child in the age-appropriateclass on completion of special training, and his/herparticipation in all class activities, (iv) continued support to the child, once admitted to the regularschool, so that the child can integrate with the classsocially, emotionally and academically. The RTE Act also provides that such children shall continue to beprovided free and compulsory elementary educationeven after they cross 14 years of age (GoI, 2012-13).

For Quality the SSA-II focused on Padhe Bharat Badhe Bharat[16], Saaransh[17] and Mid Day Meal. (Scheme was changed as 'National Programme of Mid-Day Meal in Schools'. The Mid-Day Meal Scheme covers all school children studying in I-VIII classes in Government and Government-Aided Schools, Special Training Centres (STC) and Madrasas & Maqtabs supported under SarvaShiksha Abhiyan (SSA)[18] (GoI, 2013-14).

Some recent major initiatives of the Government of India Beti bachao beti padhaao. Other initiatives includea) Curriculum Reform, b) Textbooks for children, c) Continous Cpmprehensive Evaluation d) Teacher Quality (this includes availablity, in-service training,training of headmasters, distance programmes for teachers) and on

[16] The programme was launched on 26 August, 2014 toimprove learning outcomes. The program focuses onlanguage development to create interest in readingand wri t i ng i n comprehensi on & teaching mathematics in a way that develops liking andunderstanding during the early years of schooling, particularly in class I and II

[17] SaranshThe CBSE Board has launched an on-line facility titled 'Saransh' on 2 November, 2014 for affiliated & CBSEschools. It helps the schools to look at theirperformance at an aggregate level and at the level ofeach student.

[18] Tithi Bhojan - Mid-Day Meal SchemeMDMS has a big effect on school participation, not just in terms of getting more children enrolled but also interms of regular pupil attendance (GoI, 2013-14).

the infrastructure front, major focus has been on Swachh Bharat and Swachh Vidyalaya. Mahila Samakhya programme was also instrumental in implementing and advancing RTE. In 2014-15, the programme aimed at expansion in newer areas and consolidation from older districts; strengthening Sanghas for their active role in implementation of RTE (GoI, 2013-14).

3.6 The Right to Education Act, 2009

A shift from Compulsory Education to Rights based Compulsory Education in IndiaThere arised a need for Rights based approach to elementary education subsequently, after introduction of SSA. The circumstances that shaped the understanding the evolution of present RTE becomes more clearer by now. However, it is crucial to understand, besides States Primary/Elementary Acts being in place after independence and even after SSA, why did India resort to Rights based free and compulsory education. Infact this question was raised in study by (Junega , 2008). The answer that her study elaborated is crucial for understadning advent and need for RTE. The question as to what is compulsory and why rights based education is crucial to the present context will be clear when their definitions are revisted.

The term ‘compulsory education’ tends to elicit different meaning and interpretation from different people. Most often, compulsory education is interpreted in terms of mandatory attendance requirements, or, as the first stage of education. Not very often, it is connected with the right to education, and, even then, to most people compulsory education and right to education, and, even less, the same thing. However, there is slight but important difference. The “Right to Education” could also be applicable to adults. Hence, while systems exist in several countries to force parents to send their children to school, adult education is not, as a rule, compulsory since adults can choose wether or not they want to take advantage of the facilities provided to them for education.the aim of compl edu is to *protect* children’s right to edu because children have no way of asserting a right for themselves when through neglect or ignorance, no attention is paid to this need. Compulsory schooling puts a duty on the child to attend school and corresponding duty on the parents to send the child to school. In the past two or three centuries, one can find articles in many constitutions defining compulsory education as a *child’s duty*. In some cases, ‘compulsory education ’ requirements can be met even without attending school (Junega, n.d.). Compulsory

schooling requires compulsory attendance at a public school, i.e. it refers to a specific process whereby education is to be transacted. The present state education acts in india, by and large, make education, rather than schooling, compulsory (ibid). Confirming to this distinction, over the years, policy documents have highlighted issues of making parents accountable. The Article in the Indian Constitution that pertains to this obligation has been discussed in this section.

The CABE on Free and Compuslory Education (2005), set the grounds for palnning RTE, Act, 2009 (GoI b, 2005). Education being in the Concurrent List, Parliament as well as State legislatures are competent to legislate in pursuance of Art. 21A. Many States already have laws on free and compulsory education much before the 86th Amendment. Once a central legislation is enacted in pursuance of Article 21A, the position of existing State laws on free and compulsory education would be governed by the provisions of Article 254 (1), i.e. their provisions would become "void to the extent they are repugnant to the provisions of the Central legislation".

3.6.1 RTE and Breif Introduction to the Process of Shaping the Article

The Constitution of india was amended in 2002 to make elementary education a justiciable Fundamental Right; a shift was thus made from Article 45, i.e. Part IV of the Constitution, Directive Principle of State Policy to Part-III, the Fundamental Rights (Mukherjee, 2007). The thrust of SSA implementation in this second phase (and subsequently under the 11th Plan Five Year Plan) was on improving education quality, universalizing access and promoting equity (GoI b, 2005; Colclough & De, 2013). The 86th amendment to the Constitution (2002), which had made elementary education a fundamental right (The Right of Children to free and Compulsory Education Act), had coincidedwith the launching of the SSA programme. It took until 2009 to finalise and implement therules of the RTE Act. In the following year central government expanded the SSA framework, making it the primary vehicle to implement RTE (Colclough & De, 2013).

The RTE Act came into force on April 1 2010. Subsequently the National and State Governments formulated consequential rules (e.g. the Model Rules, The Central Rules and the State Rules). SSA was designated as the primary though not the exclusive vehicle for implementing the Act. The rights perspective as well as the

stipulations of the Act necessitated major changes in SSA Norms and approach which were effected to align the programme with the approach and standards of the Act (GoI, 2012-13; Colclough & De, 2013). Subsequently the Framework of Implementation of SSA was rewritten. The revised approach brought to greater focus on child entitlements, equitable quality of education and continuous and comprehensive evaluation (CCE) etc. It also specified timelines to many of these provisions e.g. neighbourhood school, teachers according to the PTR standards and school infrastructure within 3 years and professionally qualified teachers within five years of the commencement of the Act.

All States/UTs have notified their RTE Rules. In addition, States/UTs took steps to issue several notifications reiterating the child centered provisionsof the RTE Act. 34 States/UTs issued notifications prohibiting corporal punishment and mental harassment; prohibiting screening for admission andcapitation fees; expulsion and detention; banningBoard examinations till completion of elementary education and also notified academic authority under RTE Act. The biggest and by far the most historic developmentduring SSA has been the enactment and implementation of the RTE Act making free andcompulsory education a fundamental and justifiablemright. *Sarva Shiksha Abhiyan* (SSA) is implementedas India's main programme for universalising elementary education (GoI, 2012-13; GoI, 2009).

There are certain critical questions that surface and are very prominent in the light of children well-being. It is imperitive to question that have the acts pertaining to states been modified for larger efficiency and equity issues? How far the distance norm deciding access has been revised accounding to need? How far has been the issues of transport and evidence based revision of norms and neighbourhood criteria revised in various states? The 86th Constitutional Amendment Act 2002 has provided for free and compulsory education of all children in the age group of six to fourteen years as Fundamental Right under Article 21A of the Constitution, in such manner as the State may, by law, determine (GoIb, 2005; Junega, N.D; Colclough, 2013) . The Constitution (86th Amendment) Act, 2002, notified on 13 December, 2002, seeks to make the following three changes in the Constitution viz. 21 A . Right to Education (Part III, Fundemental Rights), Article 45. Provision for Early Childhood Care and Education to Children below the age of Six Years (Part IV, Directive Principles of

State Policy) and Article 51 A (Fundamental Duties) a clause (k) was added after clause (j) that states the duty conferred on parents of children to provide them with opportunities for education between 6-14 years (GoI b, 2005).

"21A. Right to Education "*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."*

Replace the existing Article 45 (""Provision for Free and Compulsory Education for Children"), with the following *"The State shall endeavour to provide early childhood care and education for all children until they complete the age of six years."*

51A Fundamental Duties "*It shall be the duty of every citizen of India: ...(k) who is a parent or guardian to provide opportunities for education to his child or, as the case may be, ward between the age of six and fourteen years."*

Right to Education, which Art. 21A seeks to confer, is different from other fundamental rights enshrined in our Constitution, in that the other rights are mostly in the nature of 'protective' rights (i.e. which guarantee certain kinds of protection against the State to every citizen) while the Right to Education mandates certain pro-active action on the part of the State vis-à-vis every child of the country who is in the 6-14 years age group (GoI b, 2005).. It also needs to be noted that while the earlier Fundamental Rights had no or insignificant financial implications for the State, the Right to Education has major financial implications being under Fundamental Rights (GoI b, 2005).

The Act also makes it the duty of the appropriate govt and the local authority to ensure and monitor admission , attendance, and completion of elem education by every child. Rule 6 of the 'Model Rules' soecifically provides that the local authority shall maintain a record of all children in its jurisdiction, through a hh survey from their birth till they attain 14 years (MHRD 2009: 3-4). Rule 6 (5) provides for the local authority to ensure that the names of all children enrolled in the school under its jurisdiction are publically displayed in each school (MHRD 2009: 4).

Norms of SSA have been aligned with provisions of the Right of Children to Free and Compulsory Education (RTE) Act, 2009 that provides for "the right of children in the

age group of 6-14 years to free and compulsory education till completion of his/her elementray education from class I to VIII in a neighbourhood school" (GoI, 2015). SSA is the main instrument therefore for implementation of the RTE Act, 2009. The central focus of SSA has been to provide education in an 'equaitable manner'- this suggestive of providing equal opportunity for all children to complete the full cycle of elementary education irresoective of socio-cultural affliliations of gender, caste, socio-economic, cultural or linguistic background and geographic terrain.

Besides other major reforms, improvement in school infrastructure has been important consideration of SSA. Providing elementray education to every child under the specific age group, of 'equitable quality' has been most promising focus of RTE-SSA. But this is again contradictory to the whole stratified set up at the elementary education level where entry in private school is contingent upon the ability to pay and on the other hand we have dismal quality of public schools serving extreme vulnerable and poor population and again within Govt. we have KVs, NVs and model schools(Mukhejee, 2007) (a criticism to this has been provided by Satgopal, 2010).

Article 21-A of the Constitution of India and its consequent legislation, the Right of Children to Free and Compulsory Education (RTE) Act, 2009 became operative in the country on 1 April 2010 (GoI, 2012-13). This development implies that every child has a right to elementary education of satisfactory and equitable quality in a formal school which satisfies certainessential norms and standards.

3.6.2 RTE Act, 2009, Section 12.1.C

This sub-section of RTE Act, 2009, has set the biggest example of social inclusion by giving poor children access to free schooling till class VIII in private schools. Under Section 12(1) (c) of the RTE Act Section 12(1) (c) mandates all private unaided schools and special category schools to reserve a minimum of 25% of seats for Economically Weaker Sections. Under the SSA, the Government of India will reimburse the State expenditure towards 25% admissions to private unaided schools, based on per child cost normsnotified by the State Government, subject to amaximum ceiling of 20% of the size of the SSA AnnualWork Plan and Budget (GoI, 2013-14).

Chapter 4: Theoretical Framework and Methodology

4.1 Introduction to Capability Approach – Theorising Well-Being

Sen, in his seminal work (Sen, 1985), propounded the concepts of functioning and capability. He gave the first formulization of these two concepts as under (Schokkaert, 2009):

1- bi is defined as achieved functioning vector of individual i that can be given as

bi= fi [c(xi)] …. (i), where the vector of commodities of individual i is xi, the function converting the commodity vector into a vector of objective characteristics is c(.), fi (.) is personal utilisation function of individual i, that also reflects the valuation of vector of functions bi- this is suggestive of individual well-being.

2- The capabilities of a person i.e. denoted by Qi is then formulated as :

Qi (Xi) = {bi| bi = fi [c (xi)]….(ii), for some fi ∈ Fi and for some xi ∈ Xi. Besides undertaking the importance of valuation neglect, adaptive preferences, the notion of freedom and advantage of the person in term of real opportunities was proposed by Sen and is incoportated in the CA framework. Following this, a person can choose utilisation function fi (.) from Fi, i.e. the individual specific set. Assuming the choice of the commodity vector of an individual is restricted to his entitlements, Xi, then above equation (ii) represents individual i's real freedom expressed by set of functioning vectors.

Therefore, defining capabilities over space of functioning (Peter, 2009), capabilities are the alternative combinations of functionings that a person can achieve and from which a person can choose one collection (Sen 1993, cited in Peter, 2009),.Therefore, CA shifts the focus from means of living to the actual opportunities; resources are only instrumental for promoting functionings and capabilities and the social arrangements should be such that expand capabilities (Comim *et al*, 2011). Range of the life experiences and situation are framed as "possible functionings" (ibid).

Thus, according to the Capability Approach in Sen's framework, individual's well-being is not only contingent upon the functioning bundle achieved by the individual

but also her capability set (opportunity set) or set of all functioning bundles which are source of her choice (Pattanaik, 2009). Well-being thus is expressed by the functionings of a person and more important than well-being, are the real opportunities or the advantage of a person (Schokkaert, 2009)[19].

4.2 Disadvantaged Children's Well-Being : Theoretical Framework

One interpretation of CA, when applied to children, is, when dealing with children it is the freedom that they will have in future as compared to present, that must be considered (Saito, 2003). The domains and entitlements of the caregivers (parental domain) become important in understanding the formation of well-being (Khadria, 1998). This is where State intervention in form of rights-based approach becomes imperative, given the issues of valuation neglect, adaptive preferences and revealed preferences in the light of (constrained) entitlements of parents. The well-being of children, therefore, has to be gauged on the basis of what they can manage to do or to be and their larger future freedoms as a result of school choice and unconstraining the constrains that otherwise were imposed to their choices.

Explicitly, what matters for children's well-being are their functionings and capabilities (Biggeri et al, 2006, cited in Biggeri *et al* , 2011). Therefore, when equal opportunity of schooling is conceptulised, functionings and capabilites in formal education has to be detailed. It is to be noted that the functionings and resulting capabilities have to be differentiated from the means (school resources/schooling inputs) which are used to achieve them and equality must be seen in space of freedom and capabilites. Defining dynamic capabilities as those that change over time, they have a beginning, a stage where they flourish and transform into something 'qualitatively different' (Comim, 2004, cited in Biggeri & Mehrotra, 2011), education at elementary level becomes a dynamic capability having instrumental value. In the present study, the functionings and capabilities are taken to be in form of congnative abilities that the student aquires over the learning trajectory. Therefore, arguing equalization of capabilities goes beyond equalization of opportunities and beyond

[19] What we observe are achieved functionings, because these can be derived from the actual (observable) way of living of the person. We can also derive from observations some direct or indirect indicators of the degree to which the individual had the freedom to choose (Schokkaert, 2009).

removal of discrimination, although both are important elements of it (Schokkaert, 2009).

The central focus of the framework based on functionings and capabilities has been moulded into theoretical extension for its applicability to children in the work by Biggeri *et al*, (2011)[20]. The present theoretical framework has borrowed the concept of "evolving capabilities", that essentially encompasses of the opportunity concept, the capacity concept and the agency concept that is evolving over time (Biggeri *et al* , 2011). The study focuses on the evolution of the cognitive capabilities through formal education, with respect to the functionings and resulting capabilities in formal schooling. The dimension of time becomes very important in context of dynamic and evolving capabilities, that have time path to follow, especially in case of children (Khadria, 1998, Schokkaert, 2009, Comim *et al*, 2011). Cognitive capabilities formed at the foundational stage, if remain inadequate, as time passes, would further be constrained and will have tendency to remain insufficient. As a result, capability at current class level and probability of capability at the end of elemetary cycle would be deminised and compromised.

The five theoratical considerations for children and their evolving capabilities has been extensively discussed in light of the practical concerns in the work of (Jerome *et al*, 2011)[21]. Three of the theoretical arguments, directly applies to explain the given context, to bulit the current conceptual model. The first consideration is that the possibility of converting capabilities into functionings that rely on decisions of the caregivers-parents, guardians and teachers. The second argument germinates from the issue of interdependencies of the entitlements of parents and the children's capabilities. The children's capabilities are partly affected by their capability set and achieved functionings along with the entitlements of their parents (good and services at their disposal)- this results into cumulative 'path-dependent' process and may have intergenerational effect[22]. The issue of cultural capital at home becomes significant here. The next argument relates to the relevance of age in defining various capabilities

[20] The theoretical mapping of applicability of CA to children worked out in (Comim *et al*, 2011) discusses, children agency, well-being and well-becoming- which is relevant for supplimenting the theoretical framework of this study.
[21] This framework has been extended following Biggeri (2004) and Biggeri et al. (2006).
[22] One such recent study by Singh & Motiram (2012) discusses the evidence from country level data set (NSSO) that reflects on the intergenerational trasfer of occupation from fathers to son in terms of the probability of ending up with the occupation that father has.

– in the context of RTE intervention, the formation of cognitive capabilities must advance with age, the advancement is paralellel to the advancing opportunity cost of time of the EWS/DG children. at the household end. It is assumed that progressing age shapes autonomy of choice.

4.2.1 School as Space for Enculturation and Institution for Capability Formation

Schools become the secondary habitus for the disadvataged children and serves as the potential space for enculturation. The theoretical framework encapsulates the social justice and capability approach as a framework to advance that. Given the context of school choice as a result of state intervention, the realisation of opportunity and resulting well-being can be seen in terms of a contafactual state. For the same set of EWS/DG children some qualify the school lottery and those who didn't get through are in other pathways such as LFP (recognised and unrecognised), government schools, private tuitions or have droppedout.

Unequal school resources leads to educational inequality where by the poor resourced schools and poor quality of education at the disposal of disadvantaged children leads to perpetuation of low development and capability failures at various levels in present and in future. The understanding of disadvantage must incorporate that it is the quality of cultural capital, which is acquired in home and in the school, which is important in determining the agency and shapes the conversion factors of children[23]. What schooling must equalise is the ability of children in light of their background disadvantage, to convert the resources at their disposal into functionings and resulting freedom to expand their capabilities. Adding to this, equality of school resources still would not culminate into equal outcomes primarily because children are treated differently. Therefore, arguing, equality in school resources would not lead to equal outcomes explains further the challenges to the issues of equality and justice where social justice in education that goes beyond the concept of distributive justice.

The inequality in middle of the claims for equality and the expansion of well-being in the present context can be seen at two interrelated levels –

[23] When it comes to participation in schooling of a child, there are two important sources of cultural capital which a child acquires; first being developed and acquired in households (and second being developed and acquired in schools ;parents' cultural capital which can be gauged in the form of level of education and occupation- Sullivan, A, 2000, De Graaf, N. 2000 and Pishghadam, R., & Zabihi, R. 2011).

1) Equality of opportunity and school choice will be dependent on the quality of schools available in the choice basket. Schools of differential 'quality' (resources/inputs) will question equality in (learning) outcomes and resulting cognitive and non-cognitive capabilities in formal education.

2) Equality is resources still will not culminate into equal outcomes and thus the equal opportunity and equal access to equal school resources will not necessarily lead to equality in learning outcomes and resulting capabilities.

Not every addition to the existing opportunity set of the disadvantaged children would entail freedom and well-being. Adding an alternative that is different in nature from those already available should entail greater freedom because it would expand the original opportunity set.[24] Adding to the existing peculiar case, as against what is hypothesised, more choice need not be unquestionable superior to fewer choices; there may exist a non-linear relationship, whereby what is maximal is not assured optimal (Dowding, K., & Hees, M., 2009). Why school experiences then become central to look at from the perspective of the stakeholder's is because freedom has intrinsic values – it is beyond choice of alternatives, but the opportunities it provides (ibid).

Drawing for the same work, if the degree of one's overall freedom is taken to be a function of both one's freedoms and one's unfreedoms, then one might obtain extra freedom and yet experience a decrease in overall freedom because of accompanied increases in unfreedoms. This becomes important in studying school experiences for different participants. Every time, school choice will not result into actual choices for EWS/DG children and resulting expansion as again hypothesised, that an additional choice must expand well-being.

Summing up the above discussion, assuming the existing choice set for an EWS/DG child A, in absence of any intervention (school choice) is as under:

[24] Pattanaik and Xu claim that freedom has An intrinsic value, and that this value lies not in having options that one might prefer, but rather in having choices between meaningful alternatives. Thus, not every addition to an opportunity set should count as an increase in freedom of choice; nor should every reduction count as a decrease. What matters are the preferences a *reasonable* person might have (Pattanaik and Xu 1998).

$$A = \{X_1, X_2 \text{ and } X_3\}$$

If through an intervention, child receives school choice and an addition is made by X_3 which is LFP, the existing choice set would not necessarily expand, as the choice of X_1 and X_2 and not potentially different from that of X_3. If an alternative of Z_1 (high-fee charging school, in a lush neighbourhood) is added to the opportunity set, the choice sets looks something like this:

$$A = \{X_1, X_2, X_3 \text{ and } Z_1\}$$

Potentially, the choice set has expanded by an addition of a school that is 'quality-high fee charging' school. If realisation of a potentially different choice would translate in actual expansion of opportunities, this would depend on the comprehensive outcomes. Thus in contrast to culmination outcomes, the comprehensive outcomes explai the final outcomes by incorporating the process aspect. The critical role of conversion factors would thus be shaped by the children's experiences, role of recognition and the degree of enculturation while estimating the expansion in well-being rather than just viewing the test score outcomes (culmination outcomes).

4.2.2 Social Justice in Education: Recognition, Experiences and Evolving Capabilities

Hypothesising another case where the quality of private school is fixed for two children A and B, A being regular child and B being an EWS child. If the gains from education (and the resulting well-being) has to be distributed as a result of state intervention by assuring equal opportunity in elementary education, there is a need to investigate as to what explains their differential outcomes given the same resources and quality? As argued by Sen, instead of equalising resources in terms of fixing certain amount of per capita expenditure on students or adhering to strict pupil-teacher ratio, one must look at the outcome such as – every child leaves school with specific qualification (Sen cited in the work of Walker and Unterhalter, 2007). In the context of the current study, it is the cognitive and non-cognitive capabilities that student shoud possess.

Drawing from Sens work on culmination outcomes and comprehensive outcomes (Sen, 1997), the process aspect incorporated in comprehensive outcome assumes significance in testing and explaining the above hypothesised argument stating that the two children would end up differently in outcomes because they are treated differently. In this case, the experiences in schools on account of pedagogy and peer relationships, or differential assignment of tasks by different children, how a particular child is recognised in the classroom by the teachers, serves as critical link to the understanding of comprehensive outcomes. When the focus is on conversion of school resources into functionings and resulting capabilities, role of recognition assumes great significance for the disadvantaged children in classrooms.

Therefore, how school resources get converted into realisation of functionings and capabilities would depend on the strength of the conversion factors that are in form of school experiences moulded by the role of recognition. In the context of inequalities, schools as transformative spaces might contribute to developing equalities and conditions for social justice (Walker, 2007), by acknowledging the importance of the social and cultural differences (Adams, 2014). Citing North (2006), distributional justice can be defined where all children have access to quality schooling and opportunities in education are accessible to all (inclusive of fairness with respect to availability of qualified teachers, updated resources and facilities), but the role of recognition as a measure of social justice highlights the representation (textbooks, curriculum and pedagogy and school policies, to mention a few forms of representation) of dominant or marginalised groups. Recognition as a remedy for the economic and cultural injustice (Adams, 2014), and compensating the inequalities in education (Walker, 2007), can further address the issue when schools as transformative spaces are discussed. Recognition and school experience would set the pace for learning and formation of cognitive capabilities.

The need for socially just classroom and critical pedagogy has been reinforced in the RTE framework with reference to the NCF 2005 (GoI, 2005c). In context of learning and formation of capabilities, it is imperitive to note that the normative framework of RTE has been reduced to superficial understand of continuous (CCE), along with inclusion in classrooms remains a challenge. The role of hidden curriculum in fostering equality in learning (as discussed by Adams in his work (Adams, 2014) –

the role of hidden curriculum and pedagogy) goes hand in hand as to how child experiences alienation or inclusion (GoI, 2005).

An active, student-centric and inclusive classroom that must be explicit about recognition requirement must figure in the education policy so that the cultural gaps and enculturation by means of recognition must happen (Adams, 2014). The need to recognize that disadvantaged children and learning inequality needs teaching to be pitched at right pace realizing that children learn at different paces, one of the major concerns for mediating disadvantage is the quality of teachers. The stage at which the learning gap would emerge and what types of schools are contributing to that would impact the formation of well-being. The fundamentals in mathematics and reading would essentially prepare children for further learning (Rose and Alcot, 2015), in the present study, learning outcomes are not narrowly defined by assessing them against tests scores, but are attempted to encapsulate the critical pedagogy and constructivist approach to learning as enshrined in the NCF, 2005.

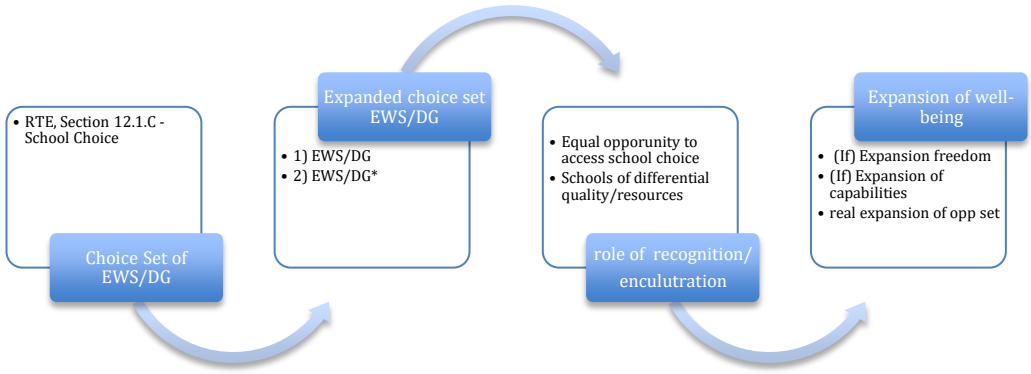


Figure 4.1: Schematic Representation of the Intervention: Sen's (1997) Comprehensive Outcomes

As far as the capability expansion for a child is concerned, the process of capabilities to evolve would start from an initial set of functionings at time 't_n' (Biggeri & Mehrotra, 2011). The formation of cognitive capabilities in formal education in the present context would have a time-path, where learning should evolve according to the current stage of learning. Since learning levels for children (A, B and C) would

depend on the choices of schooling they have, different types of schools (X_1, G_1,$Z_{1...}$) would result in different levels of well-being (WB) for the disadvantaged children.

$$A = (X_1, G_1, Y_1, ..Z_1, Z_2) = WB1$$

$$B = (X_1, G_1, Y_1, X^*_1) = WB2$$

$$C = (G_1, X_3,) = WB3$$

How will well-being (WB1, WB2 and WB3) be affected by conversion factrs to help convert resources into cognitive capabilities, is must to be understood. Therefore conversion of resources and ability to convert becomes important.

4.3 Research Objectives, Questions and Hypothesis

The study is centered to make an attempt to conceptulise children's well-being through elementary education. The state intervention is framed with the help of seeing the state intervention exclusively in form of the Right to Education Act, 2009. Well-being of the children belonging to the disadvantaged backgrounds is attempted to understand in light of the given theoretical framework. The study also conceptulises the policy conception and implemtation in the state of Uttar Pradesh. Adding to what is derived from the primary survey, study suppliments the overall picture of elementary education in terms of understanding the current participation of children. This is done by gauging the shift in magnitude in participation according to the type of institutions in the post-RTE phase (2014) as compared to the pre-RTE phase (2007-08). The first part of the chapter discusses the research objectives, questions and hyposthesis that subsequent chapters would attempt to address. Second part discusses the methodology and data for respective chapters. The third part is devided into two sub-parts; the first discusses what is Capability Approach and its functional definitions (functionings, capability and opportunity sets), the second part theorises the study and presents the theoretical framework guiding the research.

4.3.1 Research Objectives

1. To study the evolution of free and compusory education in India.
2. To study the trends in participation in elementary education in different types of Institutions post-RTE and to understand it's implication on educational inequalities.
3. To understands the interaction between the normative policy frameworks at all-India and state levels by conceptulising the case for Uttar Pradesh in terms of Section 12.1.C.
4. To synthesise the policy experience at the levels of administrators and households by studying the interactions to highlight the synegies and constraints to the RTE Section 12.1.C for the disadvantaged children.
5. Understanding well-being and evolving capabilities of EWS/DG children through school choice.

4.3.2 Research Questions

1. What are the changes in magnitude of participation in different types of institutions, viz., Government (Government and Local Bodies), Private-Aided and Private-Unaided during the pre-RTE and post-RTE phase.
2. What is the distribution on the basis of regional, sectoral and socio-economic categorisation of participation across different types of institutions during the pre-RTE and post-RTE period.
3. What determins the current preferences for private schooling by households and to reflect on the pertinent and persisting reasons for dropouts during 2007-08 and 2014?
4. What is the national level picture and challenges to the implementation of Section 12.1.C?
5. What is the status of implementation and related experiences if the households with RTE Section 12.1.C in Uttar Pradesh?
6. What is the distribution of indicators of school experiences, recognition and enculturaion according to different school types for children in experiement and control group.

7. How have the capabilities evolved for RTE-EWS/DG and Non-RTE EWS/DG children across school types?
8. How does school type and cultural capital explain the formation and evolution of capabilities at different stages – for RTE and Non-RTE EWS/DG children?
9. What type of addition to the opportunity sets of children expands well-being?
10. To what extent does non-RTE EWS/DG children have constrained opportunities and resulting well-being as compared to the RTE – EWS/DG children in private (UA) schools.

4.3.3 Research Hypothesis

In light of the above research questions, following hypothesis will be tested:

- The normative frameworks governing implementation of RTE will help making schools more inclusive spaces and would foster better learning environment for the EWS children
- There is harmony in the policy norms and institutions- schools and families, to work together to un-constrain the conversion factors at disposal of the children
- Schools are the first institution for capability expansion and school choice under RTE (2009) must expand the opportunities and capabilities of EWS/DG children in Private schools as compared to their Government school counterparts
- The cultural capital at home, and in the school are divergent for the EWS/ children, school acts as secondary habitus and space for enculturation
- Not every Addition to the exisitng opportunity set of the EWS/DG children will lead to expansion
- The entitlements of the EWS/DG parents, as care givers, will not obstruct in helping children convert the resources into valuable functionings and capabilities as a result of school choice

4.4 Data and Methodology

The state intervention through RTE has been studied in two different context, using different data sets: Chapter 5 produces evidence on the status of elementary education using National Sample Survey (NSS) data for two consequent rounds on education, viz., NSS 64th round (2007-08) and NSS 71st round (2014) on Education in India. Sorting for age category 6-14 years, the analysis is perfomed to inform change in post-RTE period (NSS 71st round, 2014) as compared to the pre-RTE period (NSS 64th round, 2007-08).

The intervention is seen in terms of broad classifications of change in participation according to different types of institutions, preference for private schooling abd the reasons of dropouts. The variable constructed for the bi-variate analysis using cross tabulations corresponds to those which pertains to the participation in Goverentment, Private-Aided and Private-Unaided schools, socio-economic variables inclusive of MPCE, caste, religion, gender and geographical classification in terms of states and region. Therefore, the analysis is doen state-wise, region-wise for understanding the magnitude of change in elementary schooling across various crucial dimensions.

The study in Chapter 6 exploits various national level and state specific policy documents to understand the policy evolution and resulting interactions. The Government Orders (GOs) that were subsequently released after RTE Act came into force, were studied along with the court cases – Supreme court and High court orders in this context for UP. These documents have been collated to produce policy bottlenecks in implementation of RTE , Section 12.1.C.

4.4.1 Designing Primary Survey

For specifically looking at the disadvantage and well-being of the children in poverty and exclusion, sub-clause of RTE Act, Section 12.1.C has been studied. The questionannaire constructed was after pilot performed in Lucknow in January 2015. The questions are divided broadly into four categories, namely 1) Socio-economic profile of households, 2) Understanding school quality and choices for schools, 3) Awareness and experiences before accessing admission under Section 12.1.C and 4) Experiences with Schools over time. These four parts consisted of questions asked with parents of the EWS/DG children. The questionnaire for children was divided into

two sub-heads namely, the learning questionnaire and the questionnaire on non-cognition, recognition and experiences.

The learning questionnaire consists of three domains –

i) English
ii) Mathematics
iii) Hindi

The functionings and resulting indicators were extracted from the expected functionings specified in the recently released list by NCERT (NCERT, 2014). The document released documents expected functionings in different subjects and domains within subjects from class I to class VIII, based on the NCF 2005 focusing on constructive pedagogy where learning indicators are not an outcome of route learning. Expected functionings according to NCERT has been taken to construct learning domains respectively for class I and class II. Thus, the learning trajactory is created for three learning points for the subject mentioned above – pre-primary stage, class I and class II respectively. The sub-domains of English are classified as Speaking, Reading, Writing and Listning, for Mathematics sub-domains are Shapes and Spacial understanding, Numbers and Number Operations, Money and Time. Each stage, for eg. Class I would have questions uniformly incorporating the sub-domains.

Therefore, a learning vector can be created with the help of expected functionings in each subject to generate cognitive capability in respective subjects. For pre-primary (named as Stage I), similar indicators were drawn with help of teacher from Delhi Public School, with whom the fair idea of administering the learning questionnaire and specifically for each question was decided to be given to EWS/DG children, and to non-EWS and non-DG average student (only to create a comparable timings to understand differential learning at different pace). For Hindi, owing to time constrains and to maintain efficiency in survey, the questionnaire consisted of basic four questions incorporating basic numeracy, sense of direction and ability to write on ‘my self’ in Hindi.

The evolving capabilities will track learning over a trajectory and would be indicative of cognitive capabilities. Non-cognitive capability indicators pertained to provisions and participation in group reading, sports, dancing and singing, number of friends,

sharing of lunch box and vector created out of understanding of social inclusion by having knowledge about four major festivals (Eid, Holi, Diwali and Christmas). However, owing to time constrains, only understanding of **social inclusion** could be proxied for understanding the non cognitive capabilites. Chapter 7 and part of Chapter 6 is based on the field survey data.

4.5 Designing Survey and Methodology-II

4.5.1 Sample for Uttar Pradesh-Lucknow

Uttar Pradesh is one among the latest states under the category of under developed states that has implemented RTE Section 12 (c) first time for the year 2013-14. Lucknow being the capital and also identified minority concentrated district of Uttar Pradesh represents an advantage to study school choice in light of Section 12.1.C. The case for Lucknow is to the research advantage on account of the feasibility to study the stakeholders perspective and deep and critical insights to the implementation constrains and challenges in form of states' willingness and private school lobby leading to mass exclusion. The sample is random and drawn from almost a census of all EWS applications being made for the academic year 2015-16. This also gives liberty of conducting RCT based analysis and actually assessing the welfare and well-being expansion.

Box 4.1: EWS/DG Tracked Student sample for the State of Uttar Pradesh-Lucknow.

2015-16	**Class I**
Qualified EWS/DG followed	200
EWS/DC followed	150
Qualified EWS/DG Sample	80
EWS/DC Sample	50
Total	130

Box 4.2: EWS/DG Sample for the State of Uttar Pradesh-Lucknow.

Information on the sample (Total sample: 90+50 = 140)						
Basic Indicators	**Experiment Group**			**Control Group**		
Gender	Boys: 50	Girls: 40	Total: 90	Boys: 24	Girls: 26	Total: 50
Number of Schools	24 schools covering LFP and 'Elite' schools					
Unique Localities	27 Unique localities (Mohallas within and across Municipal Wards)					

4.5.2 Evaluating Capability out of formal education and understanding children well-being

The profiling of all the recognised schools figuring in the survey in Lucknow was attempted to be done by creating an index of school quality by using U-DISE data. Unfortunately, the problems with self-reporting nature of the U-DISE data, not all schools were listed that participated under Section 12.1.C. Therefore the schools were divided on the basis of monthly fee-charged [LFP (Rs. 50-350), Medium-fee (Rs. 500-1500) and High-fee (Rs. 1500-4000)] and the type of institution (government, recognised, unrecognised private (UA) schools, madrassa and private tuitions) to proxy for school quality. The extensive survey collected information from children in each of the two categories –EWS/DG children in Private schools (Experimental Group) and EWS/DG children who did not get admission and are in some schools or have dropped out (Control Group) – Government, Private recognised and unrecognised and Madrassa.

An Index was ideally aimed to be constructed by using Factor Analysis, that will focus on the educational experiences for EWS children. Since the admission for EWS children as a right, happens by virtue of randomisation, the selection is random, we have fair chances to evaluate using RCTs in such a context[25]. For the current study,

[25] Robust measures using RCT's by exploiting difference in difference estimates for evaluating development policies have been done by Afridi (2010), Afridi (2011), Rao (2013), Singh, Park, & Dercon, (2012) to evaluate development programs.

simple analysis on control and experiment group was done to assess impact of the intervention. Among the latent variable approach, including factor analysis or principal component analysis, scholarly work citing using of structural equation models to operationalize capability approach by Di Tommaso (2007), Addabbo & Di Tommaso (2011)[26], the study adopted framework proposed by Anand & Roope , (2016). In their study, they operationalised congnitive and non-cognitive capabilities of children using Ordered Probit and marginal effects. The functioning scores in each subject are added level-wise as under to generate capability (subject-wise). The scores then are re-grouped to generate vector of capability as low, moderate and high, respectively.

4.6 Constructing Capabilities

Taking an example of functiong with respect to one dimention (Functioning for the mimension of listening "F_L") for Class-I is demonstrated as under to give an insight into the assigning of scores.

Question 1. Answer the following: **Class-I | Dimension Listening**

a) What is the name of your school?

b) What is the name of your teacher?

c) What do you want to be in future?

Scores given: 0 = Unable to answer any, 1 = Able to answer one or two correct and 3= able to answer all three correct.

The functionings for rest of the three dimensions (speaking F_S, writing F_W and reading F_R) were incorporated and were assigned scores in similar manner. After scores being assigned to respective functionings, capability is generated for respective

[26]Study by Addabbo & Di Tommaso (2011) have used MIMIC models by advocating that these represent a step further as compared to other two approach to latent variable measurement, as they include exogenous "causal" variables for the latent factors. More over certain more complex SEM models allow for feed-back mechanisms and help to see some of these causal factors not only influence human development but they are also influenced by it. Since principal components, factor analysis does help us estimate latent variables, but MIMIC models help us to look into factors influencing these variables which are capability of formal education, in the study.

learning stages (Stage 1 ‘foundational’, Stage 2 ‘Class-I’ and Stage 3 ‘Class-II’) by adding the scores for functionings across four dimensions for each stage.

$$\text{Capability at Stage 1 } C_{E1} = (\sum F_L F_R F_S F_W)$$

$$\text{Capability}^{\text{English-I}} = \text{Classification of the } C_{E1} \text{ scores into } \left\{ \begin{array}{c} \text{High-Capability}^{\text{English-I}} \\ \text{Moderate-Capability}^{\text{English-I}} \\ \text{Low-Capability}^{\text{English-I}} \end{array} \right\}$$

Chapter 5: Analysis of the Trends and Status of Elementary Education Pre-RTE and Post RTE

5.1 Introduction

There is a complex interaction of the policy frameworks at the country, regional and global levels with respect to the shared goal of basic education for all. India too is placed in an interactive ecosystem of policies and normative frameworks where Education for All (EFA), Millennium Development Goals (MDGs) and the recently proposed, Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs) continue to place policy commitments. Subsequently, the policies at national level in form of SSA and then RTE Act, 2009 have been corresponding to such commitments.

The focus on good governance in the SDG framework emanates from the acknowledgement of public policies as potential tools of mediating inequalities, ceteris paribus, where the core role of government in social sectors like education becomes critical (Sach, 2015; Rose & Alcott, 2015). There is need to visit questions posed by Sach (2015) – does the state ensure education of such quality that can prove to be a vehicle of social mobility for children from poor family? Rephrasing the question better, are the educational services so compromised that children raised in poverty get stuck in intergenerational trap of poverty? (pg. 472).

One of the precursors to social justice remains with respect to inclusion of the disadvantaged children in light growing segregation with respect to access and participation in schooling. In that sense, the normative framework of SDG (Goal 4) and RTE have taken the debate further by instilling the need to critically locate social inclusion within the realms of social justice and well-being through right based elementary education[27]. Given the current scenario of elementary education, the changes in participation that happened post introduction of RTE, the change in magnitude across states in terms of participation in various types of institution is must to analyse.

[27] SDG Goal 4 states the need for inclusive and quality education for all along with the focus of life long learning (http://www.un.org/sustainabledevelopment/education/).

The analysis of change in composition of school participation post-RTE will produce a nuanced picture of the status and pertinent challenges that continue to grip elementary education. The insight into the pre and post RTE scenario reveals the changes amidst the rights based approach to free and compulsory education. The direction and magnitude of the change symbolizes the change in access, preference (revealed not as a matter of choice necessarily, but on account of lack of choice). The direction and magnitude of change also paints the larger picture of (in)equality of opportunity. The changes in magnitude of the reasons for dropouts and participation in different institutions, along with reasons for the preference for particular type of schooling is examined in the face of segregation and exclusion. Therefore, comprehensive post-RTE picture would remain inconclusive if the change in participation is seen in the narrowest sense, ignoring the subsequent changes in other dimensions, such as – regional and socio-economic dimensions of caste and gender.

The chapter is organized in five sub-heads. The first part of chapter reviews the nature of elementary education in India. The second part of the study analyses the participation in different types of institutions, namely, Government, Private Aided (private (A)), Private Unaided (Private (UA)) and others. The section analyses the region-wise and socio-economic trends in the pre-RTE and post-RTE period. Third section gauges the factors explaining the growing preference for private (UA) schools at elementary level. The fourth section focuses on the appraisal of the post-RTE participation by concentrating the discussion around the persistence of 'leakages' in form of dropouts; the analysis of the reasons for dropouts and their strength in post-RTE period as compared to the pre-RTE phase comments on the challenges that restrict completion of elementary education. The last section discusses the overall analysis in light of the literature evidence.

5.2 Stratification and Types of Elementary Schools in India

Being classified as a highly stratified system, the system is intensely complex in terms of providers[28]. With existing government schools that are run and managed by the state, there are semi-government, 'private-aided' schools that receive grant-in-aid from the government and are managed privately. The mentioned categories differ on account of degree of autonomy but are recognized by the government (Härmä, 2009;

Härmä, 2011). The official gazette notification of the RTE Act, Section 12, defines the third category of schools as those, which are not recipient of any kind of aid or grant from the government or local authority, Private Unaided (UA) schools (GoI, 2009). Being fully funded, these schools have autonomy in management, fee, hiring and pedagogy (De et al. 2002). Lacking any crystalised, a sub-set of the private UA schools are the low-fee private schools (LFP) which have mushroomed essentially catering the disadvantaged groups (Central Square Foundation, 2014; James & Woodhead, 2014; Härmä, 2011; Srivastava, 2006). At elementary level, these defined as those charging a monthly tuition fee not beyond one day's earning of a daily wage earner (Srivastava, 2006). By nature, most of these schools run form business –small to medium, operating from owner's home and in some cases, multipurpose buildings (Härmä, 2009).

The growing nature of private schools in developing countries suggest that they can involve an array of stakeholders such as – institutions of faith, NGOs, community and commercially oriented entrepreneurs (Walford, 2015; Rose, 2007 cited in Härmä, 2011). Such is true for India as well; the sector is highly heterogeneous in terms of quality, and represents schools from elite-high fee charging to low-fee charging, budget schools (De et al., 2002, Rao, 2013, Härmä, 2011), encompassing recognized and unrecognized schools (Srivastava, 2006; Mehrotra & Panchamukhi, 2007; Härmä, 2009). Segregation perhaps had surfaced much before the mushrooming of private sector by 1970s; the colonial era was marked by acute segregation patterns, where the upper castes were favored leaning from British and maintained to keep the learning exclusive and unshared by fellow Indians (Little, 2010; The State of Nation Report, 2015). With the speculations of segregation to grow further (Little, 2010), the literature evidence has questioned the equity potential of private schools in general and LFP in particular (Härmä, 2009; The State of Nation Report, 2015; BAF 2014).

5.2.1 Literature Evidence on Private Schooling in India

Having long history of government schooling in post-independent India, there has been parallel existence of private schools. These schools flourished in 1970's (Little, 2010) and have continued to do so even more in terms of participation in the post-reform period (1991-onwards) (French & Kingdon, 2010). Given the diverse nature of private schooling, it is the predominant type that has mushroomed phenomenally are

the low-fee private schools (Srivastava, 2006; Härmä, 2011; James & Woodhead, 2014; Walford, 2015; The State of Nation Report, 2015), once predominant in urban areas, has spread to rural areas as well (Härmä, 2011). The concern with the wide spread private schooling is due to the direct cost involved (Härmä, 2011), and because the access is sanctioned by the ability to pay, these schools possess exclusionary tendency. Thus, putting children from disadvantaged groups at the risk of exclusion (Pal & Kingdon, 2010; Härmä, 2011; James & Woodhead, 2014). Seeing the pattern of the nature of private schooling, however, it was critically examined and commented by Walford (2015) that the spread of such schools largely in form of low-fee schools are majorly a phenomenon that can't be attributed to globalization. These are more an outcome of factors that are context specific, such as the need for community to provide for school for their children, for poor to have an option to opt out of poverty, dissatisfaction on account of what is provided by the state (ibid).

Specifically talking about LFP in light of achieving EFA, longitudinal study based on Young Lives data for the state of Andhra Pradesh suggest, over the years there has been persistent under-representation from the children at margins (rural areas, lower socio-economic status and girls) and the gender gap actually widened amidst the increased access in private schooling (James & Woodhead, 2014). Another longitudinal study, commenting upon the potential role of private schooling in achieving EFA and MDGs, suggested that the effect of private schooling on literacy has been positive and overall disadvantaged children (Pal & Kingdon, 2010). The study however, cautioned that the effect has not been uniform across regions (limited effect on large North Indian states – UP, MP, Bihar and Rajasthan) and DPEP districts. The effect on equity has been contested, even more when essentially to achieve these commitments it was State who has to be responsible (Pal & Kingdon, 2010), the role of providers other than government has been questioned in task of achieving EFA by Lewin, (2007). However, as Walford suggested these are essentially not result of state shying off its duty (Walford, 2015), Lewin (2007) contested this argument by highlighting absence of these schools where there are no other schools.

Over the years rural areas have seen under-representation in context of LFP, evidence from Andhra suggest widening gender gaps, while some of the gaps did decrease with

respect to access (James & Woodhead, 2014). The paper signals of the equity risks and calls for effective regulation of the private sector and strengthen reforms in the government sector schools.[29] Another study by Härmä (2009) on LFP in rural Uttar Pradesh submits the unaffordability of these schools for poor and disadvantaged strata (children belonging to low caste and Muslim families)[30].

5.3 RTE and Post-RTE Changes in the Magnitude of Private Schooling

The participation that is differentiated according to the different types of institutions suggests the issues of access and revealed preferences for type of institution by households. The evidence across select states suggests that the participation in Private UA school is large and growing with distinguished regional patterns. The spread of private schools that started as an urban phenomenon (The State of Nation Report, 2015), has now spread in rural areas as well (Härmä, 2011; Central Square Foundation, 2014)[31]. Using PROBE data from five north Indian states, Pal (2010) found that private schools are more likely to be present in villages with better off households and better infrastructural facilities, while the effect of private school growth on government school pass rates remains insignificant.

5.3.1 State-wise Participation in Elementary Education

The trends post-RTE have been attempted to capture the change in magnitude with reference to participation of children in elementary education across different types of institutions. The state-wise pattern for the major states are analysed in the table below.

[29] This paper informs debates about the potential role for low-fee private schooling in achieving Education for All goals in India. It reports Young Lives' longitudinal data for two cohorts (2906 children) in the state of Andhra Pradesh. Eight year olds uptake of private schooling increased from 24 per cent (children born in 1994–5) to 44 per cent (children born in 2001–2) -James & Woodhead, 2014.

[30] The paper examines whether the recent growth in 'low-fee private' (LFP) schools is able to promote Education for All, by being accessible to the poor. Based primarily on a 13-village survey of 250 households and visits to 26 private and government schools in rural Uttar Pradesh, India. Addition to this, the paper explores the category of households who choose private schooling in light of who 'chooses' private schooling, in the light of the failing government school system (Härmä, (2009).

[31] There are differences in reporting about the enrolments and participation in different types of institutions depending upon the survey and definition used – DISE, ASER, NSSO. Citing ASER reports, private enrolments in rural areas have increased significantly over 2006-2013 (19 % to approx.. 29%) (Central Square Foundation, 2014).

Table 5.1: Participation in Elementary Education According to Different Types of Institutions among Select Major States 2007-08 – 2014.

States	Pre-RTE 2014				Post-RTE 2007-08			
	Govt.	PA	PUA	Others	Govt.	PA	PUA	Others
Uttar Pradesh	46.89	9.19	43.52	0.4	62.43	8.62	28.21	0.74
Rajasthan	53.6	0.97	45.42	0.01	60.3	3.88	34.99	0.83
Madhya Pradesh	68.27	7.1	24.49	0.14	80.85	4.12	14.71	0.31
Bihar	85.52	0.82	13.58	0.09	91.37	0.82	7.67	0.14
Orissa	87.6	1.93	10.42	0.06	91.1	1.5	7.21	0.19
West Bengal	88.18	3.9	7.59	0.34	89.75	3.35	6.79	0.11
Tamil Nadu	49.07	13.33	37.6	0	66.8	15.65	17.54	0
Kerala	41.18	25.4	33.42	0	37.81	36.15	25.92	0.12
Andhra Pradesh	62.96	2.99	34.05	0	66.22	3.91	29.25	0.62
Delhi	51.42	17.15	31.43	0	62.96	8.45	24.56	4.03
Karnataka	58.66	19.23	21.97	0.13	72.59	10.03	17.09	0.29
Maharashtra	57.5	29.09	13.34	0.07	62.52	25.13	12.15	0.2
Gujarat	68.3	19.42	12.23	0.06	74.9	12.1	12.77	0.23
All-India	63.37	9.09	27.36	0.18	71.81	8.41	19.31	0.47

Source: Author's own calculation using NSSO 64th (2007-08) and NSSO 71st (2014) Round on Education in India.

The under-developed states have registered over all an increase in private UA participation with West Bengal registering an increase of lesser magnitude in participation (7 percent in 2007-08 to 8 percent in 2014). The larger northern states of Uttar Pradesh, Madhya Pradesh and Rajasthan registered significant increase in households accessing private UA schools in the post- RTE. These states registered at least an increase of ten percent or more in participation in 2014 as compared to 2007-08.). However, share of under-developed states, namely Bihar, Odisha and West Bengal still have sustained participation in government schools with low participation in private UA schools in the post-RTE period. The trend signals issue of access, and constraints pertaining to issues of equity and school choice, with UP exceptionally registering increased participation in private UA schools participation.

The developed states have reported similar response towards the trends in participation in different types of institutions, however continued significant share of private (PA) schools in terms of the participation continue for these states. The participation across government school actually fell for all the mentioned states in the developed category; Kerala, Andhra Pradesh, Delhi and Karnataka registered an increase in participation in the private (UA)

schools by minimum of five percent in the post-RTE period. The share of participation in the private UA schools for Tamil Nadu has risen considerably by over twenty percent (18 percent in 2007-08 to 38 percent in 2014) in post-RTE period, but has remained marginal in increase for Maharashtra (13 percent in 2007-08 to 12 percent in 2014) and with exception being Gujarat for which the share has lowered, though negligibly (12.77 percent in 2007-08 to 12.23 percent in 2014).

5.3.2 Sector-wise Variation in Participation Pre-RTE and Post-RTE Period

There are variations across sectors – rural and urban areas. Following table gives a glimpse of the rural-urban.

Table 5.2: Sector-wise and Participation in Elementary Education 2007-08 – 2014.

Type of Institutions					
Rural					
Phases	**Govt.**	**Pvt. A**	**Pvt. UA**	**Others**	**Total**
Pre RTE: 2007-08	80.51	5.6	13.59	0.3	100
Post- RTE: 2014	73.48 8	5.95	20.42 6	0.15	100
Urban					
Pre RTE: 2007-08	41.39	18.24	39.28	1.09	100
Post- RTE: 2014	33.38 8	18.41	47.94	0.26	100
All-India					
Pre RTE: 2007-08	71.81	8.41	19.31	0.47	100
Post- RTE: 2014	63.37	9.09	27.36	0.18	100

Source: Author's own calculation using NSSO 64th (2007-08) and NSSO 71st (2014) Round on Education in India.

At All-India level, the picture is no different; increased participation in private (A) and private (UA) schools have been followed by decreased participation in the government schools. However, the increase has been marginal for private (A) schools (by 2 percent- 8 percent in 2007-08 to 10 percent in 2014), but the increase has been by approx. 6 percent (19 percent in 2007-08 to 27 percent in 2014). Participation in government schools has declined in the post RTE period in both rural and urban areas. This decrease was parallel to the increase in the participation in Private UA schools. If we dissect and see the region-wise participation, in 2014, i.e. the post-RTE period, rural areas increased participation in private UA stands far less in magnitude as compared to that of the urban areas (20 percent in rural area as compared to 48

percent in urban areas). Largely children in rural areas are concentrated in government schools (73 percent in rural areas as compared to 33 percent in urban areas) in the post-RTE period, 2014.

This obviously signals the lack of access and lack of choice. Though, how choices stand to be equitable is off course not that obvious. One reflection of equity is the gendered difference in access, which is more glaring at rural level. The tables below give snapshots of gendered access, at all-India level and in a disintegrated manner, in form of rural-urban participation.

Table 5.3: Gender-wise Participation in Elementary Education 2007-08 – 2014.

All India								
	Type of Institutions 2007-08				**Type of Institutions 2014**			
Gender	**Govt.**	**Pvt. A**	**Pvt. UA**	**Others**	**Govt.**	**Pvt. A**	**Pvt. UA**	**Others**
Male	70.05	8.41	21	0.54	61.22	9	29.58	0.2
Female	73.94	8.41	17.25	0.39	65.92	9.2	24.73	0.15
All-India	71.81	8.41	19.31	0.47	63.37	9.09	27.36	0.18

Source: Author's own calculation using NSSO 64th (2007-08) and NSSO 71st (2014) Round on Education in India.

Table 5.4: Sector-wise a Gender-wise Participation in Elementary Education 2007-08.

Type of Institutions 2007-08								
	Govt.		**Pvt. A**		**Pvt. UA**		**Others**	
Gender	**Rural**	**Urban**	**Rural**	**Urban**	**Rural**	**Urban**	**Rural**	**Urban**
Male	78.65	39.66	5.85	17.44	15.15	41.7	0.35	1.2
Female	82.79	43.45	5.28	19.19	11.69	36.41	0.23	0.96
All-India	80.51	41.39	5.6	18.24	13.59	39.28	0.3	1.09

Source: Author's own calculation using NSSO 64th (2007-08) Round on Education in India.

Table 5.5: Gender-wise Participation in Elementary Education 2014.

Type of Institutions 2014								
Gender	Govt.		Pvt. A		Pvt. UA		Others	
	Rural	Urban	Rural	Urban	Rural	Urban	Rural	Urban
Male	71.05	31.7	5.9	18.31	22.87	49.72	0.18	0.28
Female	76.37	35.34	6.01	18.53	17.5	45.88	0.12	0.25
All-India	73.48	33.38	5.95	18.41	20.42	47.94	0.15	0.26

Source: Author's own calculation using NSSO 71st (2014) Round on Education in India.

The male-female gap at All-India level remains, though the region-wise differences signifying gendered access remains a cause of worry. In rural areas, the gap between male-female access has increased significantly in post RTE period. This signals the cost of education as one of the reaffirming constraint among other potential factors (can refer this from the section on reasons for drop outs). The gap in urban areas also remains significant, however has reduce

5.3.2 Decomposing the Change in Participation by Caste

Though the Common School System couldn't get implemented post independence due to strong caste barriers (The State of Nation Report, 2015), the overall evidence post-RTE confirms the existence (though the magnitude has been lowered if seen narrowly in terms of participation across institution) of the grave caste and social stratification in terms of concentration of certain categories in certain types of schooling. The differentiated demand has further intensified segregation by giving birth to multiple options within private schooling[32]. Further, the social class-wise disposal to certain type of schooling has been persistent as it is found to be in research evidence by (Little 2010; Srivastava, 2006; James & Woodhead, 2014).

[32] The reference to the differentiated demand according to the different types of private schools, specifically focusing low-fee private schools have been discussed by Srivastava, 2006.

Table 5.6: Caste-wise a Gender-wise Participation in Elementary Education 2007-08 – 2014.

Caste/Gender	Type of Institutions 2007-08					Type of Institutions 2014				
	Govt.	Pvt. A	Pvt. UA	Others	Total	Govt.	Pvt. A	Pvt. UA	Others	Total
SC/ST Male	83.18	5.6	10.86	0.36	100	76.81	7.02	16.07	0.1	100
SC/ST Female	85.28	5.13	9.39	0.2	100	79.65	6.88	13.4	0.08	100
OBC Male	69.22	8.09	22.12	0.56	100	57.35	8.96	33.5	0.19	100
OBC Female	74.09	8	17.56	0.35	100	62.45	9.49	28.02	0.05	100
General Male	56.72	12.06	30.52	0.71	100	49.19	11.51	38.95	0.35	100
General Female	61.32	12.68	25.32	0.68	100	55.34	11.55	32.66	0.45	100

Source: Author's own calculation using NSSO 64th (2007-08) and NSSO 71st (2014) Round on Education in India.

Participation by social categories signifies not only the issues of access but potential and latent exclusion. The picture will be more clear if see between group participation of children belonging to different social categories accessing different types of institutions. With the help of table above, however it is clear that post RTE changes have shown preference of the households for the private across social categories. It is to be seen that the SC/ST males and females are concentrated in government schools – the decline in participation within males of each category in government schools is highest by OBC, followed by general and then SC/ST. Among all categories, female students participation in government schools during post RTE though has declines but remains higher than the males. Females are at double disadvantage across all categories in terms of private school participation. The participation in private schools has increased across categories in the post RTE period, but within groups only 13 percent of SC/ST girls access private schools as compared to OBC (28 percent) and General (33 percent). This is revealing of the disadvantage and exclusion that female children continue to suffer and it interacts with multitude of factors reshaping the participation – the gender interacts with region (rural-urban) and the disadvantage groups, that accelerates the magnitude of disadvantage.

5.4 Preference for Schooling in Elementary Education

The preference for private schooling is important to understand the persistence of quality issues gripping elementary schooling along with the understanding households have about private schooling. It must be kept in mind while interpreting results, preference for private schooling reveals not actual preference always. In many instances, households prefer government schools that are affordable – it's the poor quality, accountability, lack of access or functional schools that compels households to choose private UA schools. This raises questions about the freedom households have to choose and to avail RTE in spirit of equality of opportunity with access to quality education. It becomes contradictory to the spirit of RTE to realize that even when education is free and there is growing segregation in private schools sanctioned by the ability to pay, there is unanimous preference for private schools (most of the times, of different kinds and quality). The preference reveal the failure of the state to sustain the equality of opportunity and the right to free and compulsory education of decent quality.

The failure of government school to retain trust of masses due to poor quality has been reiterated in research (Härmä, 2009; James & Woodhead, 2014; Central Square Foundation, 2014; Tooley and Dixon, 2006). The discussion goes beyond what is reflected in terms of below statistics revealing the reasons for preferring private schools. The question of 'choice' becomes central to the objective of gauging preference where what is chosen is not necessarily the same as what would be preferred (Härmä, 2009; Härmä, 2011)[33]. Hirshman's exit that is detailed in study by Härmä (2011), explains why people prefer certain type of services (in this case private schools) by experiencing larger dissatisfaction with what is being provided by state (quality of Govt. schools). This also adds to the claims made by Walford (2015), where the recent boom in private schooling in developing countries like India, can be hardly attributed to globalization, but the joint causes of dissatisfaction with what is provided and/or what is not provided by the state.

[33] Härmä (2009), discusses even when poor parents have an option to exercise low-fee schools and that they opt for it, it is actually the well-functioning government schools what they actually want. The paper elaborates that the preferences in absence of constrain would be different from what choices are actually made, which is reflected through the type of school child is attending.

However, Lewin (2007), contradicts this simplistic claim by pointing that these schools are not supplementing the absence of government schools as they are mostly absent at the places where state schools are absent as well. Therefore, Considering a nationally representative sample from major Indian states, Muralidharan and Kremer (2008) argued that private schools are more likely to be set up in areas where state schools are failing. The conjecture that labour market returns interact with language shapes the preference for particular kind of 'medium of instruction'. English language has a premium that households anticipate, therefore resulting preference for private schools as most of the govt. schools are not English medium, resultantly, medium of instruction is one of the most important determinant (Central Square Foundation, 2014)[34].

Where as the issue of access and constrained participation in Govt. schools is less compelling a reason in rural areas as compared to urban areas, the major reason cited across region is the problem with the quality of education. After, quality of education, it is the medium of instruction the accounts for the larger share for the preference for private schools. English language as a medium of instruction is often seen to have premium that is realized in labour market, however according to the RTE, National Curriculum Framework (NCF, 2005) and multi-lingual education, the learning is more conceptually clear and robust in the mother tongue and where the medium of instruction is not familiar the test scores are compromised and so is learning.

[34] The evidence at the national level indicates that the enrolment in English medium schools increased by 250% over an eight-year period. Interestingly, municipal school systems in Mumbai, Chennai, Pune and Bangalore that have introduced English medium schools have seen rising enrolment in these schools in sharp contrast to the overall trend of declining enrolments in the government education system (Central Square Foundation, 2014).

Table 5.7: Sector-wise and Caste-wise Participation in Elementary Education 2007-08 – 2014.

Preference for Private Schooling in India								
Factors Responsible	**Govt. School Far/ related factors**		**Quality of education**		**Medium of Instruction**		**Others**	
Social Groups	**Rural**	**Urban**	**Rural**	**Urban**	**Rural**	**Urban**	**Rural**	**Urban**
SC/ST	8.66	10.99	79.83	73.16	5.77	13.57	5.73	2.29
OBC	5.84	8.35	78.67	70.59	12.32	18.13	3.17	2.92
Others	7.01	7.87	78.56	70.94	12.12	18.85	2.31	2.34
Hinduism	6.14	8	80.57	71.53	10.88	18.29	2.42	2.18
Islam	9.14	11.02	71.79	69.04	9.65	15.3	9.43	4.65

Source: Author's own calculation using NSSO 64th (2007-08) and NSSO 71st (2014) Round on Education in India.

The preference for private UA schools becomes more revealing when seen with respect to the region and social categories- it reveals the magnitude that constrained access has -for SC/STs the distance and constrained access in Govt. schools (signifying availability in post RTE period) is the highest across categories. It accounts for more than 9 percent in rural areas and more than 11 percent in urban areas as compared to OBC (rural accounting for 6 percent and 8 percent for urban areas) and Others (7 percent for rural and close to 8 percent for urban areas). The access becomes more acute an issue for Muslim children accounting for 9 percent in rural and 11 percent in urban areas. Quality of education however remains the most important cause of preference for private UA schools- rural areas have consistently across social categories reported larger share to this. Quality of education is lowest stated reason as compared across groups, for the children belonging to Islam. Likewise, medium of instruction is more preferred cause of preference for private UA schools in urban areas.

5.5 Leakages in Elementary Education : Persistence of Reasons Explaining Dropouts

After discussing the shift in participation post-RTE and the reasons for the shaping of the preference for private schools, there is need to revisit the picture of 'leakage' in elementary education and the reasons for it. Leakage occurs in form of dropouts, where children who ever got enrolled in elementary education, have dropped out before completing the full cycle of elementary education. There are curious implications of dropouts on the sustainability of RTE. The factors that contribute towards dropouts, act as precursors to the challenges that persists in the post-RTE period.

Table 5.8: Changing Reasons for dropouts for the period 2007-08 – 2014.

Change in composition of the reasons for drop-out 2007-14						
Reasons for Drop-outs	**Gender 2007-08**		**Total**	**Gender 2014**		**Total**
	Male	**Female**		**Male**	**Female**	
Interested in studies	48.81	46.03	47.41	48.93	35.09	42.15
Financial Constrains	25.06	22.47	23.75	23.23	21.25	22.26
Paid/Unpaid work	8.99	3.79	6.36	9.56	3.6	6.64
Domestic duties	2.19	9.15	5.71	5.44	22.15	13.62
School related factors	9.25	10.58*	9.89	6.06	8.53	7.28
Others	5.7	7.91	6.81	6.77	9.38	8.05
*Unable to cope with studies/failure of studies	6.39	6.24	6.32	4.57	3.4	4

Source: Author's own calculation from NSSO 64th (2007-08) and NSSO 71st (2014) round on Education.

There has been shift of lesser significance in the reasons that account for dropouts in elementary education during the post-RTE period. The purposefulness of education that relates to the lack of interest in studies becomes the major reason for dropouts. Lack of interest that parents/ children have in obtaining education accounts for 42 per cent of children dropping out in contrast to 46 per cent in pre-RTE period. This has important roots in the pedagogic techniques and quality of education. This also

suggests active and more stringent need for state to implement RTE. Parents are often unable to appreciate education as a good, until unless school processes are strengthen, drop-outs will not be curtailed.

The pre-RTE and post-RTE picture, suggest that financial reasons are persistent compelling force behind dropouts; the share of financial reasons explaining dropouts is 22 percent, the magnitude is only approx. two per cent less (23.75 %) than that in the pre-RTE period. This becomes glaring reality despite of the Constitutional commitment to 'free' education. Paid and unpaid work has risen marginally in post RTE period; the reasons exhibit gendered pattern, the participation of females in paid/unpaid work has reduced marginally (a little less than 6 per cent in 2014), this has increased for males during the post-RTE period. Attending to domestic duties has increased for both- more phenomenally for females. Though, unable to cope …reduces, it might be because of no detention policy post RTE. School related factors (read definition continue to caste upon participation).

The incidence of paid and unpaid work marginally (6.36 per cent in 2007-08 to 6.64 per cent in 2014), along with engagement in domestic duties (5.71 per cent in 2007-08 to 13.62 per cent in 2014) significantly has risen during the post-RTE. The change is accompanied gendered patters – the incidence of paid/unpaid work has risen marginally for males, and has decreased negligibly for females. The incidence of domestic duties has increased significantly (6 percent in 2007-08 to 14 percent in 2014) and this increase has been for both – males and females. However the increase in share of domestic work for females have been very high – 13 percent in post-period (from 9.15 per cent in 2007-08 to 22.15 per cent in 2014). The reasons for dropouts only are precursors to the larger reasons of potential exclusion. The reasons listed are for children in 6-14 years of age who have 'ever been enrolled' in school. However, there remains another category of children in the elementary age group who have never been enrolled. Both – ever being enrolled but dropped out and never been enrolled encompass a category of disadvantaged children known as 'out-of-school'.

5.6 Discussion and Conclusion

Overall status of the elementary education suggests that participation in private schooling has increased many folds in the post-RTE period, though the spread has not

been uniform across states and differs greatly in magnitude for the rural-urban areas. However, the congregation has been consistent inform of gendered pattern, where girls are attending more of government schools then that of private and where SC/ST students have clustered more in government schools as compared to other social categories. The reasons suggestive of the present preference for private schooling is on account of grave disquiet with the government schools due to their quality, medium of instruction too is an indicator of how preferences are being shaped in the post-RTE period.

As the review suggest, not all private schools are equitable and are accredited on the ability to pay, the growing preference and participation for private schooling and reading the results jointly with the financial reasons and 'not interested in education' being the increased reasons for dropouts post-RTE draws concerns for inclusion. The increased incidence of paid and unpaid work in the post-RTE period, where Child Labour Regulation Act, (1986) [35] jointly with Right of Children for Free and Compulsory Education challenges social justice in education and growing problem of social inclusion. This differentiated access structured the system of segregated schooling which to the anticipation of Little (2010), will extend further. Poor parents will continue to bank upon government for their fundamental right, whereby those who are in the category of middle class will access private education to insulate future of their children in the diversifying economic landscape (The State of Nation Report, 2015).

Many schools accessed by poor and disadvantaged under the category of affordable private schools, which are similar to LFP, but are not RTE compliant (Central Square Foundation, 2014), these schools are found to be unaffordable to the poor and disadvantaged households. Such affordability crisis and quality distress in government school jointly with overall growing stratification calls for what authors such as Lewin, (2007) and Sach (2015), have advocated for the major responsibilities of state to ensure the realization of right of children to education. Social inclusion, one of the most important and complex pillar to realize SDG would encompass within itself, disadvantage in form of poverty, gender, disability, geographical location. These disadvantages are further mediated by the nature of learning and quality of

[35] Lately reformed in the year 2016, is now known as Child and Adolescent Labour (Protection and Regulation) Act, 1986.

education, which are in a depressing state in developing countries and attests that being in school needs not equal to learning (Rose & Alcott, 2015; Sach, 2015). Therefore, effective learning (Rose & Alcott, 2015) and social inclusion are imperative for realizing SDG and RTE in full spirit and the current movement post RTE would critically reflect to the future of India's elementary education.

Chapter 6: Implementing Policy: Conceptulisng Section 12.1.C with Special Reference to School Choice in Uttar Pradesh

6.1 Introduction

India has experienced segregation ever since colonial period (Little, 2010)[36] and the challenges to social justice in education still remain severe, with respect to social exclusion and the equal opportunity to access quality education. Historically, for Uttar Pradesh (UP) as such, free and compulsory education has not been new and it traces back in history. The United Provinces District Boards Primary Education Act was passed in 1926 that ensured universal free and compulsory primary education (Jain, 2001 cited in Srivastava, 2006; Bare Acts, N.D)[37]. Even before that the United Provinces Primary Education Act of 1919 categorically mentioned the provision for free and compulsory education covering age group of six to eleven years, specifying school area broadly (school area is one mile of walking distance from house of the child) (Junega, (N.D); Bare Acts, N.D). However, looking at the Post-RTE scenario, even after more than 80 years the goal remains compromised and unfurnished.

The current status of schooling in UP is paradoxical; while the state has the densest network of Government and Govt. Aided schools, it also tops in terms of high pupil-teacher ratio at primary and upper primary levels, number of contractual teachers and significant incidence of multi-grade teaching (DISE, 2017). The private school participation has been significant across states and this stands true for UP as well.[38] In the light of the recent spread of low-fee charging schools across India, also called the budget schools (Central Square Foundation, 2014; Härmä, 2011; James & Woodhead, 2014), the evidence for the effect on equity of LFPs in Andhra Pradesh and Uttar Pradesh suggest that these schools are least affordable and potentially exclude poor and the disadvantaged children (Srivastava, 2006; Härmä, 2009; James & Woodhead, 2014).

[36] The colonial times shaped the segregation patterns where upper castes were favoured leaning from British along with the willingness to keep that learning exclusive and unshared by fellow Indians (Little, 2010; The State of Nation Report, 2015).

[37] Bare Acts, http://www.bareactslive.com, as accessed on 4th March, 2017.

[38] Mehta, 2005; Jain & Dholakia, 2009; Tucker & Sahgal, 2012; Soni, 2013, Colclough & De, 2013 have discussed growing nature of private schooling, however studies such as Srivastava, 2006; Härmä, 2009, discussed the nature of private schooling in UP.

In the above context, the sub-clause of the RTE Act, Section 12.1.C holds an important role in transforming the character of elementary education. The sub-clause mandates private unaided schools to reserve 25 percent of their total seats at the entry level classes for children belonging to the EWS and DG households. This also sets biggest example of Public-Private partnership with an attempt to arrest the growing segregation in schools and to promote conducing knowledge sharing across different sections of the society (BAF, 2016).

The research evidence in context of South Asia affirms that political will and power continues to guide school planning and access which results into restrictive and uneven participation. The status of section 12.1.C in UP and other states reaffirms that public policy has tendency to differ in actual practice, in this case, amounting to welfare loss of children due to the dismal state of implementation[39]. In case of UP, particularly the poor state of implementation can be attributed majorly to the lack of political will intensifying exclusion and denial of children's right. Therefore, the present research reveals the constraining nature of the social arrangements in contouring real opportunities, social inclusion and resulting freedoms. As the case is, the resulting welfare loss is large and calls for revisiting social choice decisions by keeping centrality of children well-being. There is need to examine how social arrangements can expand or constrain freedoms by corroborating the normative framework of RTE Act and actual incidence of its implementation across .

The chapter is divided into four parts. The first part corresponds to the conception and rationale of Section 12.1. C. Second section collates the status of implementation across different states, to have an insight as to where India is placed vis-à-vis its commitment towards an inclusive elementary education system. Section third scrutinizes the implementation status and policy constraints in UP. The fourth section consists of drawing from the field survey to understand the experiences of EWS/DG households by synthesizing their awareness about RTE, Section 12.1.C, availability of choices, experiences at the time of admission.

There is need to examine how social arrangements can expand or constrain freedoms by corroborating the normative framework of RTE Act and actual incidence of its

[39] There are studies that have highlighted dismal implementation and constrains under the RTE Section 12.1.C (The State of Nation Report, 2015; BAF, 2014).

implementation across . The study revisits experiences and status of other states with respect to implementation of Section 12.1.C, underscoring the centrality of neighborhood criteria. Adding to the context above, the research explores exclusive case for UP in the broader realms of policy frameworks and government orders reflecting the willingness of state and current issues with implementation.

The realisation of the policy would also then depend on its interactions with social institutions involving key stakeholders such as private schools, EWS/DG households, non-EWS parents and civil society participants. Therefore, the nature of social institutions would be critical in terms of conversion of resources that public policy would entail, thus will shape the possible opportunity sets of EWS/DG parents and their (real) freedoms. The experiences that come along at the first point of contact between the policy and beneficiaries (EWS/DG households) become pivotal to the future consequence on the social inclusion in education and resulting well-being of children on account of school choice.

6.2 Benchmarking RTE Section 12.1.C

The policy stands exemplary in its aim to induce social inclusion by giving poor and the disadvantaged children access to free schooling till class the end of elementary cycle (till class VIII) in all private unaided schools. The Section 12.1.C mandates all private unaided schools and special category schools to reserve a minimum of 25% of seats for children belonging to the Economically Weaker Sections (EWS) and Disadvantaged Groups (DG) (GoI, 2009). The intake would be in Pre-primary or Class I and the reservation is applicable till class VIII i.e. the end of elementray cycle. Under the SSA, the Government of India will reimburse the state expenditure towards 25 percent admissions in private unaided schools, based on per-child cost norms notified by the **S**tate **G**overnments, subject to a maximum ceiling of 20 percent of the size of the SSA Annual Work Plan and Budget (GoI, 2013-14). The reimbursement will be available to the States from 1st April, 2015 for children admitted in schools in 2014-15 (ibid). with the cost being reimbursed to the schools directly by the government.

6.2.1 Draftiing Section 12.1.C

The drafting of Section 12.1.C of RTE Act was surged with speculations and criticisms. Lack of evidence and rationale based corroboration led to the addition in the already existing hostility that certain stakeholders possesed with respect to this clause . The intention of the provision was social inclusion and not to substitute states responsibility to provide for education by engaging private sector (BAF, 2016). The section by Vinod Raina elaborated on the important frictions that were discussed while deliberating Section 12.1.C (ibid).[40]

The Constitutional validity was the major concern while drafting Section 12.1.C where two conflicting challenges emerged. Firstly, the fact that "right" cannot be applied in a differentiated manner by jointly having fee and non-fee paying children in an inclusive common school system (CSS) wherein a child would exercise right to seek admission for free, in any government or private school in its neighbourhood. This would bar private schools to charge fees. The second contention was Artcile 12 (a) that points to the duty of state to make provision for free and compulsory education for children and therefore the obligation rests on state and not on private unaided schools, thus private (UA) schools ought to be kept outside this Act. Withstanding the Constitutional scrutiny, arguing that schools are sites of social intergration and private (UA) do not exist independent of state, social obligation can't be shrugged off by citing the rights children of fee paying parents to be in private (UA) schools [41].

Since the disadvantaged groups constituted 25 percent of countries population (according to Census, 2001), the justification of the provision was sound enough to stand the test of judicial scruitny along with the parallel reference been made to the Tendulkar Committee to decide on poverty and EWS (The State of Nation Report, 2015; BAF, 2016).[42] Since these 25% children from weaker and disadvantaged sections needs to be well adjusted in private schools and also to keep peer

[40] The BAF report documented a section by Vinod Raina, known as architect of RTE, illustrated the important frictions (BAF, 2016). To read more about the arguments with repsect to RTE Bill and Act, refer to Satgopal (2010).

[41] The Private (UA) schools continue to get various incentives such as land at concessional rates, tax benefits and other amenities, by the state.

[42] Based on the fact that scheduled castes and tribes constitute a total of 24.4 percent of the population, as per the 2001 Census, and 37.2 percent of the people were below poverty line, as estimated by the Tendulkar Committee in 2009 (The State of Nation Report, 2015).

discrimination in check, the entry class was fixed to be pre-primary or class I (The State of Nation Report, 2015). It was hense decided that the children under age the category of 4-6 years must be made to sit in the same classroom as other non-EWS children, to realise full spirit of the clause (GoI, 2009; The State of Nation Report, 2015).

Financially and responsibility-wise, the quantum of efforts from the government remains more or less the same; since around 65 percent of private (UA) schools in the country have fees less than/equal to that of the per child cost in government schools, the schools will be reimbursed for what they charge from rest of the 75 percent (BAF,2016).[43] Remaining 35 percent of schools who might be classified as 'elite' have fee higher than per child cost in government schools and are least resource scarse (ibid).

6.3 Discussing State-wise Implementation of Section 12.1.C

The MHRD Annual report (2014-15) stated a total of 18.49 lakh children are studying under Section 12.1.C in private (UA) schools, where 28 states/Uts have released their respective notifications for implementation and only 18 states/Uts have reported actual admissions (GoI, 2015). The Act's sub-clause has potential capacity to benefit 1.6 crore children from EWS and DG categories in the next eight years (The State of Nation Report, 2015), but the current status across different states represents a fractured picture. The table below gives the status across different states about the availability of EWS seats.

[43] Section on elaborating the validity and concerns regarding Section 12.1.C by Vinod Raina.

Table 6.1: Availability of Seats under the RTE Section 12.1.C in Select States.

Status of RTE- EWS Seats in Various States for 2014			
States	**Available**	**Filled**	**Vacant (in percent)**
Uttar Pradesh	6,00,000	60	99.9
Rajasthan	1,97,250	1,66,204	16
Maharashtra	1,32,953	58,727	64
Karnataka	1,08,344	73,440	17
Tamil Nadu	59,932	18,946	69
Gujarat	50,000	49	90
Delhi	35,000	32,500	7
Uttarakhand	27,579	20,491	26
Himachal Pradesh	18,882	0	100
Andhra Pradesh	0	0	100

Source: Compiled from the Department of Education, Sarva Shiksha Abhiyan.

There is significant disparity between the availability of seats and respective fill rates across states, highest fill rate being reported by Delhi (only six percent seats are unfilled) and nearly nil fill rate are reported by three states viz. Uttar Pradesh, Himachal Pradesh and Andhra Pradesh. Rajasthan and Karnataka (an under-developed and a developed state) have 16 percent and 17 percent vacant seats. The large and developed states such as Gujarat (90 percent), Tamil Nadu (69 percent) and Maharashtra (64 percent) remain fairly high in percentage of vacant seats.

The 'process' aspect of implementation becomes important to explain the above inadequate performance. The process aspect includes drafting and releasing notifications, identifying and defining EWS and DG categories, fixing reimburesement, generating awareness etc. The Annual report by MHRD, for 2014-15 stated a total of 18.49 lakh children studying under Section 12.1.C in private (UA)

schools, where 28 states/Uts have released their respective notifications for implementation and only 18 states/Uts have reported actual admissions (GoI, 2015). Secondary to this, different states have resorted to a variety of methods to implement, reseach studies highlighted deplorable and incomplete implementation at various levels across different states (Soni, 2013 ; The State of Nation Report, 2015).

What remains consistent across states is the undeveloped quality of their rules and framework, where majority of states have full information on the process of implementation (The State of Nation Report, 2015). Indicators defining process aspect such as clarity regarding the definition of disadvantage and EWS category, documents required, specification of the age, date and nature of lottery, issues related to calculation and reimbursement, the enactment of SCPCR, child tracking vary and shape the actual realized opportunities through RTE for the EWS/DG children[44].

6.4 Focusing on Distance Norm and Access Issues

However, the focus of the study here is centered on the subject of distance norm and its role in defining and altering school access and choice. The neighborhood norm becomes the focal point, perhaps due to the potential it carries to shapes the conversion of public policy into actual practice[45].

The concept of social inclusion was dominant in the conception of neighborhood, when Kothari Commission immediately post-independence conceived National System of Education. This meant that the children, cutting across barriers of caste, class and gender learn together thus schools serving as sites of inclusion (GoI, 1970). Further to this, in order that distance doesn't deter children to access elementary schooling, RTE Act mandated that the concerned government and local authorities must provide access within specified limits by defining neighborhood (Ch. III,

[44] The study jointly undertaken by Centre Square Foundation and its partners covers 28 states. Most well-defined criteria has been: formation **(** but not functionality) of REPA, definition of DG, neighborhood criteria, entry level classes, number of installments and the least defined criterias are found to be –method of calculating reimbursement, authority responsible for financing additional items (uniforms and books), locations to collect and/or submit forms, age criteria for entry level, date for lottery, description of format for the admission from or sample copy of attachment and method of information dissemination includin type of information to be shared (The State of Nation Report, 2015).

[45] The RTE Act framework stipulates that states have flexibility to modulate the neighborhood criteria according to the state-specific need; the distance norm specifying neighborhood can be modulated depending upon different needs according to the density of population, difficult terrain, conflict afflicted areas etc.

Section VI, GoI, 2009). This is not a centralized norm, and states are given flexibility in accordance with their need by recognizing that they will be best in position to moderate and define rules keeping different children in mind.[46] Contrary to the spirit of inbuilt flexibility, majority of states have replicated the neighborhood norm as it is from the national RTE framework.

Though majority of states have defined the neighborhood criteria, the clarity and broadness of definition varies. The matrix of the distance norm and the clarity status reveals that Madhya Pradesh, Meghalaya, Mizoram, Uttarakhand, Jharkhand have unclear neighborhood norms, whereas Nagaland has the most poorly defined neighborhood norm[47]. Adding to this, there remain states like UP, Himachal Pradesh and Andhra Pradesh that have clearly violated the constitutional provision for EWS/DG children and the spirit of RTE [48].

The implication that neighborhood has is on choice that a child can exercise in selecting schools under Section 12.1.C. Not only narrowly and vaguely defined neighborhood limit can restrict the school choice and impair policy, the repercussions of poorly defined or least defined neighborhood according to state's need can cause welfare loss to number of student who will not be able to benefit on account of restrictive definition.

6.5 Conceptulising the Case for Uttar Pradesh

Being one of the densely populated states, UP accounts for thirty percent of total seats in the country under section 12.1.C and has potential to impact 50 lakh children EWS/DG children over the eight years (BAF, 2016). The implementation history is symptomatic of the larger welfare loss for the disadvantaged children, who otherwise could have been potential beneficiaries of school choice by exercising right based free education in private UA schools. The table below illustrates the fill rate over five years from 2011-12 to 2015-16, denoting the magnitude of the opportunity lost for the EWs and DG children.

[46] This is by recognizing factors such as geography, climate, developmental and social diversity of each state.
[47] Refer to the table in Appendix-I.
[48] UP continued with unconstitutional policy rider barring successful implementation until 2015. The case has been discussed in the sections ahead in the chapter.

Table 6.2: Admission Intake against the RTE Reserved Seats in Uttar Pradesh

Academic Year	Available Seats	Admission Figure
2011-12	6,00,000	0
2012-13	6,00,000	0
2013-14	6,00,000	54
2014-15	6,00,000	54
2015-16	6,00,000	4,400

Source: Bharat Abhyudaya Foundation, Report, 2016.

The data above shows close to zero fill rate consequently for two years that was followed by marginal rise 54 admissions each in 2013-14 and 2014-15, and 4,400 in 2015-16. There are many fold reasons for the status discussed above. The matrix below gives nuanced understanding of the policy contentions that delineates the dismal performance.

Matrix 6.1: Capturing the Shifitng Policy Changes in Frameworks and Government Orders

Frameworks	Notification Reference	Highlights
National RTE	GoI RTE 2009 Framework	Respective states have liberty to modulate definition and limits of neighborhood according to their state specific needs. Nationally, the norm is a neighborhood is 1 Km.
State RTE	UP RTE 2011	Neighborhood is defined as a population area; 1.0 Km. and has a population of at least 300, specified in Rule 4 for Section 12.1.C.
GO 3rd Dec 2012	S. no 3087 (1)/79-5-2012-29/09 T. C. – 11	Neighborhood is taken to be ward.Definition of EWS DG covering HIV cancer and homeless children. If there is no govt. school in the enighbourhood, only then private (UA) will be approached for admission. Where there exist a Govt. school, the capacity needs to be staturated first, according to the stipulated limit (40 children), then privateone school are to be approached.
GO 20th June 2013	S.no 538/79-6-2013	Neighborhood remained municipal ward. No school choice option was given in the application form, only one school was to be mentioned. Retained RTE Section 12.1.C implementation creiteria from 3rd December 2012 GO. Reimbursement was fixed. 450 or which ever is higher. This rates are fixed without any evidence based calculation.

Supreme Court Order dated: 06.08.2015		Existing state policy was categorically mentioned unconstitutional and in conflict with the spirit of RTE Section 12.1.C. The Court also mentioned that the parent's rights to exercise school choice by refereing to the supporting document released by MHRD to suppliment RTE framework, since RTE framework document explicitly doesn't mention any thing on school choice. *Its worthy to note that the school that contested the case, denied adhering to the orders until the contempt of court was filed against them.
GO 24th February 2016	S.no 266/79-5-2016-29/ 2009 T. C. – 11	Court order: Lucknow Bench, High court orders in response to two writ petitions and one special appeal was addressed and amendments were proposed to be made in December 2012 and June 2013 GOs. Neighbourhood definition were revised and brought in confirmity with the UP RTE (2011) framework. The definition of the neighbourhood changed from Municipal ward to 1 Km. December GO section 6 (Kha)* and was suspended and June 2013 GO's (section 2 (ga)) for neighborhood where RTE rider was changed and so did the neighbourhood definition. *Section 6 (kha): The clasue stated that first the government schools must be fully utilised and saturated by ensuring that the classroom ratio must be over 40 children in class I . Once this is ensured. Once that is ensured then only private unaided schools can accommodate additional strength to the extent of 25 percent.
GO 3rd March 2016	S.no 582/79-5-2016-29/2009 T. C. – 11	If more than one school in neighborhood, child has a school choice. Following GOs were amended 03.12.2012, 20.06.2013, 24.02.2016 and 03.03.2016
GO 11th May 2016	S.no 999/79-5-2016-29/2009 T.C.	The GO was amended by virtue of court order – (Allahabad High Court Order on 01.03.2016, PIL S.no 3334/2015, Ajay Kumar Patel versus State of Uttar Pradesh). The court said that the state shall revisit its earlier formulations to bring them in conformity with the mandate of Section 12.1.C as interpreted in the judgement wuthin the stated definite period of two months from the date of receipt of the certified copy of this order. GOs being redundant: Dec, 2013, 24th February, 2016 and 3rd March, 2016.

The careful examination of the evolution of policy, changing government orders and notifications is undertaken to understand the configuration of Section 12.1.C for UP. The matrix above collates the RTE frameworks, GOs and the Court Orders to trace the evolution and present status of policy focusing on definition of neighborhood and contestations on school choice.

The major determinant for the status till 2016 was the unconstitutional state policy, released in the form of Government Order dated 03.12.2012 (UP GO, 2010). The order stated that EWS/DG children could apply under section 12.1.C only when there

was no government school in the neighborhood. Addition to this, the same GO also mentioned that a child can apply under Section 12.1.C to the private schools in neighborhood if the existing government school stands saturated i.e. have reached the classroom strength of 30/40 students. This GO was categorically mentioned as unconstitutional and in conflict with the spirit and rationale of RTE Act Section 12.1.C by Supreme Court ruling dated 06-08-2015. This unconstitutional policy provision was the most important determinant that restricted implementation across state. This was in combination with reluctance on part of state to implement this clause owing to the extra financial burden (BAF, 2016). Neighborhood as pre cursor of choice.The definition of neighborhood till 2015 was 'ward', i.e. municipal ward that may span from 5-8 Km. The neighborhood criteria was revised to 1 Km according to the UP RTE framework, 2011 (GoI, 2011) following the court orders (UP GO, February 2016).

It is imperative to note that the change in the definition of neighborhood bears an important consequence on the choice set of EWS and FG households for three important reasons. Firstly, the change in definition directly contracts and expands the option of school choice, a ward would entail greater school choice as compared to neighborhood spanning 1 Km. Secondly, due to lack of school mapping, it is easier for parents to locate schools within wards as compared to those within 1 Km[49]. Finally, schools in impoverished localities will have less school choice, or less scope of quality schools and this can break if the neighborhood is taken to be ward. In contrast to 'ward' resorting to neighborhood definition to 01 Km. as mentioned UP RTE framework (2011) from 2016 may result in choice contraction.

Another important determinant has been the strong resistance by elite private schools; these are high fee charging schools positioned as monopolist in the market, having a share of 3-5 percent in total number of 45,000 private UA schools in UP (BAF, 2016). The lobby of private schools and their nexus with the political domain aggravated the implementation constraints; the court cases serve as testimony for the resistance, most important has been CMS versus State of Uttar Pradesh where the school was issued

[49] However, since 2017 onwards, application are made online where the schools within one Km features in front of parents; the portal designed by NIC, Govt. of India is still in its developing stage where the master data taken from DISE under reports the available schools.

contempt of court after their constant refusal to admit 13 children even after the lost battle in Supreme court.

The RTE framework doesn't explicitly mention the right of children for school choice under Section 12.1.C. The document very explicitly mentions right of children to exercise school choice, making every a child to choose any school within the said neighborhood (MHRD, N.D)[50]. The RTE Act need to be read in light of the policy explanation that was consequently realsed by MHRD but was not known to the private and Govt,. adminitrators in UP until the Supreme Court ruling. Subsequently the GO was released for the same . Along with extremely poor awareness level among the potential beneficiaries about the Section 12.1.C , due to poor school mapping, there have been issues of measuring 01 Km. by respective stakeholders until school choice was explicitly mentioned in the Supreme Court ruling in 2015.

6.6 Evidence from Household experiences: Section 12.1.C

The options of schools at the level of elementary education is varied as the providers to are of different types, but the ability to exercise school choice is different and depends upon the ability to pay for the preferred option. This choice making is not only contingent on the ability to pay, but also depends on how households understand school quality. The present intervention provides the background to the discussion around school choice for the disadvantaged children. Once the policy is implemented and comes in contact with the people, this section attempts to understand the formation of initial experiences of parents while transacting section 12.1.C. The attempt is to identify issues that limit the swift transaction of the policy.

The analysis is based on the field survey that was conducted after a pilot incorporating depth interviews to understand limiting factors shaping experiences. The focus was identification of the malpractices that schools are indulging in, and has not been captured so far; one reason being the adaptive preference of parents and their inability to understand and identify discrimination or obstruction in their children's right to education under section 12.1.C due to their own limited or nearly absent understanding of what RTE is. The study identifies ten major indicators, that evince

[50] RTE Clarification on Provisions document http://mhrd.gov.in/sites/upload_files/mhrd/files/upload_document/RTE_Section_wise_rationale_rev_0.pdf as accessed on December 2016.

the awareness and understanding of households regarding RTE and Section 12.1.C and gauge the experiences at the point of admission spanning from making an application, approaching school for admission and miscellaneous.

Neighborhood serves both- access that is uninterrupted due to distance factor, choice that has to be there and so that children study together in common school system that is inclusive. Narrowly defined neighborhood may lead to further exclusion simply because under-poverised neighborhood or slum areas or ghettos may have low quality poor schools in vicinity.

Matrix 6.2: Primary findings on Indicators Gauging Experiences of Households at the three stages: Awareness, Conception of intervention and Post Conception.

Process	Key Findings
1-Issues of awareness **a) Pre-Admissions** **b) Post-Admissions**	It's complex at the level of delivery- as in the civil society participation propelled the awareness campaign. The spread was not uniform. The localities that can be characterized as Muslim pockets, some with extreme incidence of poverty, registered lack of awareness from Govt. initiated awareness campaigns and as a result due to poor awareness, incidence suggest 'admission brokers*' charging hefty fee for RTE forms that is free of cost, they also charge for getting necessary documents made, filling and submitting the form. Few cases of extreme fraud emerged with households in extreme poverty and neglect where the 'brokers' charged for 'assuring admission' under RTE, which is not their discretion. Post-admission, there are instances where those who secured admissions didn't know about their admission status and lost the opportunity. Neither schools nor BSA informed parents.
2- Awareness about RTE and Section 12.1.C	Combining control and experiment group, 98 percent households didn't know in the broadest sense what is Right to Education and if it is the Constitutional 'right' for their children. Only 2 % percent parents knew what RTE is and their children's right to education. The information as to what is Section 12.1.C was never known to any household before the current session (2015) in both the sample groups. Many of the parents conceive this clause as Government initiated scheme rather than Constitutionally provided right. Nearly 4 % households didn't know the clear classification between what is a government or a private school.
3-Awareness and source of information about the Section 12.1.C under RTE	Approx. 22 % information was disbursed through schools, mostly all are LFP schools (five LFP schools), 41% were informed from Nukkad Nataks and campaign organized by NGO, only 4% were informed through state sponsored medium – BSA, CRCs, and newspaper and 32 % from word of mouth through friends.
4-Awareness about the choices of schools and number of schools in the neighborhood under Section 12.1.C	Only 27 per cent households have complete information on number of schools in their neighborhood where they can apply. These are largely those households, which were assisted by the NGO to fill up their forms.
5-Required Documents	Only 23 % had all required documents, 43 % had some and 33 % didn't have any documents.
6- Awareness where to	More than half of the parents go to the NGO that is engaged in implementing this

register complains and how many have gone to register complain	intervention jointly with the Government. Majority of these parents think that NGO office is Government office. Ten percent parents know that BSA office has to be contacted for resolving issues, SCPCR is not known to any parents to register complain. Remaining don't know where to go if they face any problem.
7- Asked for partial/full Fee/Fee in some form (results/Teachers day)	There are incidences across number of schools, largely most of LFP in the sample charging some expense, such as • Admission fee or in certain cases yearly and accelerating admission fee • Compulsory fee to sit in for exams • Compulsory money to release the report cards and promote to the next class • Compulsory money for 'Teacher's Day' celebration • Compulsory money towards maintenance for school register, classroom dust bins etc. There are incidence with respect to certain LFP charging full tuition fee, partial tuition fee and within partial tuition fee, differential tuition fee or no fee depending on poverty, literacy and awareness of parents – more poor are charged more whereas comparatively more better-off and/or aware parents are not charged at all. Surprisingly, such schools are rated as 'best RTE 12.1.C' schools are they have huge intake of students under RTE 12.1.C clause.
8- Issue of Books, Stationary and Uniform	Even when admission not taken, still amount is claimed. Evidence was found when parents were asked for passbooks photocopy to avail money for BUS even when the child didn't take admission. Schools lend books and uniform to parents at a concessional rates and the subsequently charge heavy rate of interest – sample suggests, LFP are more into such practice. To arrange for BUS, many families were found to sell off their gold, lend money from local unorganized moneylenders at high interest rates.
9- Interviewed parents/Children	Across all sampled schools, a minor percentage of schools didn't interview or test children in any form; perhaps these constituted of schools where the child was al ready enrolled in pre-primary class. Rest, majorly schools were found to have tested children and/or parents at the time of admission, which is legally prohibited and entails punishment by law.
10- Ability appropriate admission	There are two schools, constituting of major share of RTE students in Lucknow district, giving 'ability appropriate' admissions; while child qualified for admission in class I, the school has made children sit in pre-primary classes for initial or both the years.
11- Miscellaneous (Distance to Govt. schools, Residence proof, Internet access)	28 % have no Govt. schools beyond five kilometer and 17 % have within three to five kilometers and 8 % have within two to three kilometers. On account of contentions in measuring distance to restrict school choice, parents don't know how to measure, BSA measures with using 'two wheeler', schools too have arbitrary measurement techniques. Residence proof for migrants/ Jhopadpatti[51], clarity for orphans/ issues of transfer of schools if one school denies admission/ Since the application from 2017 onwards will be online, the survey tried to understand how many households have access to internet. Only 16 % have some one in family who has access to internet.

Source: Author's own compilation from the field survey covering 90 households, that applied for admission in 2015-16, across 29 unique localities/Mohallas across different Municipal Wards in Lucknow.

[51] Jhopadpatti are informal hut-like settlements, which are temporary and unsafe housing.

6.7 Discussion

The conceptual framework for the chapter argues for the importance of the nature of social arrangements in ensuring well-being of children, where nature of social arrangements is contingent upon the public policy and instituions such as schools and households. Thus social institutions have tendency to impair or enlarge freedoms and consequently the rights and their realization would depends on the nature of social arrangements and conversion factors. Therefore, the lobby of elite schools, resistance due to caste discrimination, exclusion in schooling and the political willingness togeather shape the conversion factors, thus shapes the freedoms and well-being. While financial constraint is the largest determining factor in access to the private school sector in UP (Srivastava, 2006), Section 12.1.C presents an opportunity of school choice to the disadvanatged children.

As we saw, the RTE Section 12.1.C expanded the choices in theory and policy rationale but it didn't always translate into real opportunties. Such translation of policy first didn't translate into real opportunities, even when it did translate into practise, it necessariliy didn't expand freedoms. The freedom and choices that Section 12.1.C brings changes course at various points of inflextion before reaching to the final beneficiaries. These points of inflexion are when the policy is unrevised based on need of a particular state, when the neighbourhood norm is fixed in islolation with required evidence to define it, when information is incomplete or absent at the end of beneficiaries, the second point of inflextion is when administrators lack clarity on various process involved, the third happens where the parents face resistance from the schools they have applied to and how their experiences of exclusion leads to various degree of damage to their childrens well-being. However, it is imperative to note that even when we say that states have successfully constituted REPA or SCPCR, defined clearly the neighborhood limits, this still doesn't mean that REPA/SCPCR are functional in addressing grievances and neighborhood are defined in spirit of the idea of neighborhood and choices are not limited. This is true for Uttar Pradesh as well.

A well-implemented RTE Section 12.1.C has potential to impact 6 lakh children annually in UP. Till date, the evidence of Section 12.1.C in rural Uttar Pradesh remains dismal. The recognition of school under section 18, UP RTE Act, 2011 – schools must confirm that it doesn't run for profit to any individual, group or

association of individuals or any person and the school confirms to the values enshrined in the Constitution (UP RTE, 2011). Clearly, field evidence is suggestive of exploitative schools at all levels; some indulge in at the point of entry, some exploit over the span of academic year. The most exploitative and financially violating what RTE Section 12.1.C entails are the LFPs. Though many LFPs are taking initiatives to volunteer parents in making an application under Section 12.1.C, most of these schools are proven to be most exploitative, clearly violating the spirit of RTE. Hwere as national leel RTE framework suggests, (Section 13.1.b) schools can't resot to screening of children, and it amounts to punisment under the Law, almost every school did screen children at the point of addmision; many of them provided age or ability appropriate admissions, most of the schools that did not screen children were LFPs in which children were already enrolled.

Chapter 7 Reporting Results :Capability Vectors over a Time Path

7.1 Capturing Evolving Capabilities, across School Types for EWS/DG Children

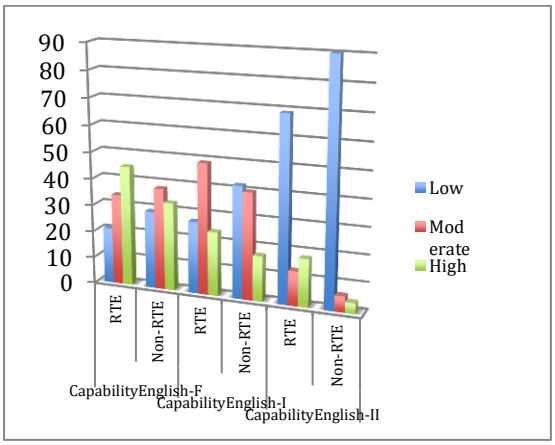
Cognitive capabilities as an indicator of well-being are traced over a time-path by testing students at each point on the learning trajectory. The time path variables are identified for three stages with respect to the EWS/DG children who are at the end of Class-II in 2017. Therefore, the learning stages classified to trace the path of learning progress are capability required at foundational stage (named as $Capability^{F}$), Class-I ($Capability^{-I}$) and Class-II ($Capability^{II}$).

The cognitive capability in English language ($Capability^{English}$) can be seen in the table above; though the scores for RTE children has over the learning stages increased for the 'low' category and decreased for the 'high' category, there is persistence and growing gap between Capability scores for RTE and non-RTE children. This essentially means, for the children who got an addition to their opportunity sets in terms of a school choice have registered better scores in the respective generated capability vector as compared to those EWS/DG children who did not get the choice.

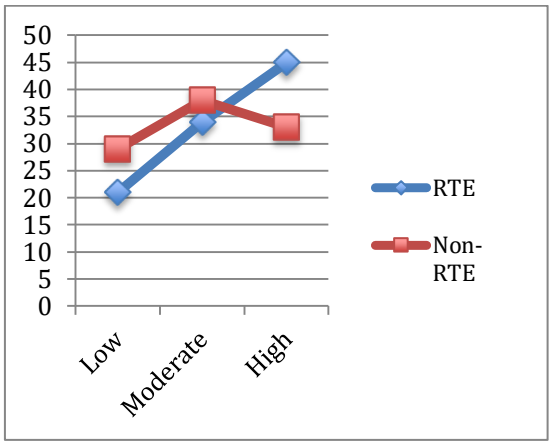
The development of mathematical capability ($Capability^{Maths}$) at foundational stage reflects difference in the scores between two groups but the magnitude of the gap is narrower as compared to that of $Capability^{English.}$ Having registered variations between those who got under RTE Section 12.1.C and the control group, the variations seems growing wide across stages (from $Capability^{Maths-F}$ to $Capability^{Maths-II}$) between the groups and within the group. The percentages of RTE children with low and high capability were 29 percent and 39 percent at the foundational stage. At the stage of Class-I, the low and high scores for RTE children are 48 percent and 18 percent, which changes dramatically at Class-II. At Class-II, 34 percent children score low whereas only 17 percent score high at the actual class level.

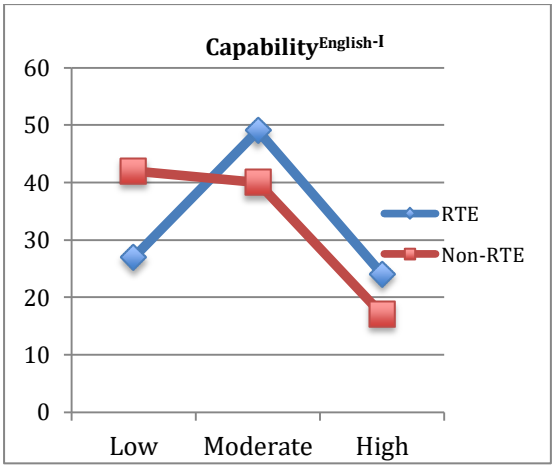
Graph 7.1 : Evolving Capabilities of the EWS/DG Children – Capability^{English} over Three Learning Stages (in percentage)

a) Comprehensive Stages

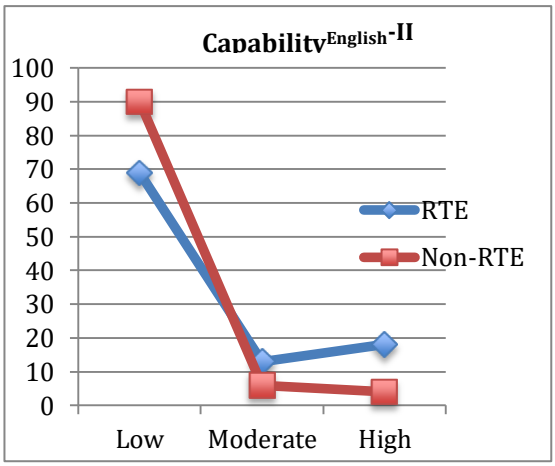


b) Capability$^{English-F}$





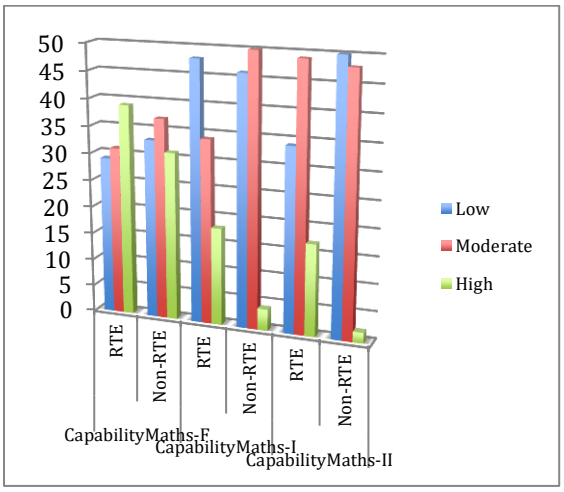
c) Capability$^{English-I}$



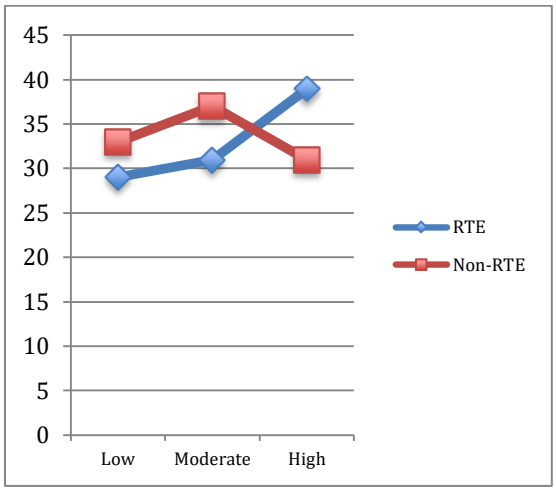
d) Capability$^{English-II}$

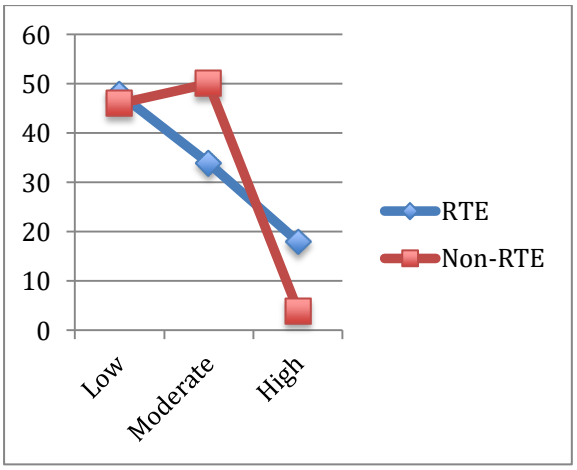
Graph 7.2: Evolving Capabilities of the EWS/DG Children – Capability^{MATHS} over three learning stages (in percentage)

a) Comprehensive

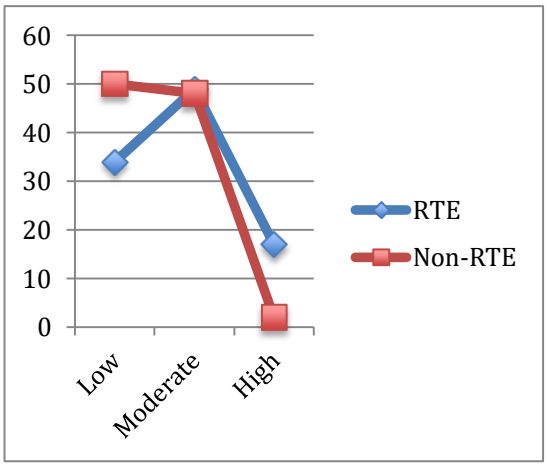


b) Capability$^{MATHS-F}$





c) Capability$^{MATHS-I}$



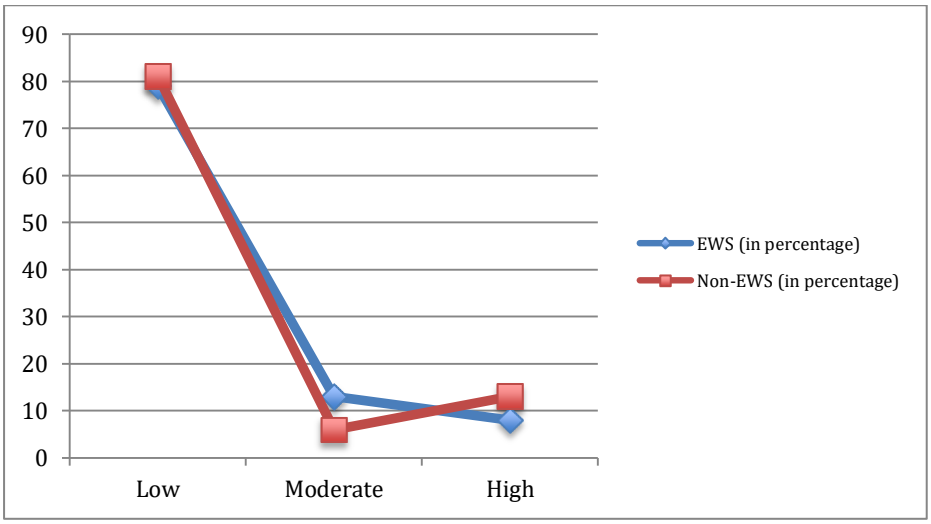
d) Capability$^{MATHS-II}$

The capability scores for non-RTE children at foundational stage are more or less evenly distributed with 33 percent having low scores, 37 having moderate scores and 31 percent having high scores. For Capability$^{Maths-I}$, the scores vary substantially for non-RTE children as compared to their foundational stage – 46 percent fall in the low score category, 50 percent in moderate score category and only 4 percent. Though, the RTE children falling under low score category at Class-I is slightly higher than non-RTE children but overall RTE children at Class-I score better, with 18 percent falling under High score category as compared to 4 percent for non-RTE. For the Class-II, the non-RTE children falling under low and moderate scores category sored with only

2 percent children falling under high score category as compared to 17 percent children from RTE group.

Test scores encompassing functionings and respective capability vector generated for Hindi language was only tested at Class-II (Capability$^{Hindi-II}$). The analysis signals a reverse result with respect to the performance of RTE children and those in the control group. The RTE children perform poorly as compared to the non-RTE children in terms of Capability$^{Hindi-II}$, though both the groups performed extremely poor in Hindi.

Graph 7.3: Capabilities of the EWS/DG Children – Capability^{HINDI} (in percentage)



With hardly much difference between both group's children falling under low score category (79 percent of RTE children and 81 percent of non-RTE children), the difference becomes gradually wide with only 6 percent of non-RTE children falling in moderate scores as compared to 13 percent for RTE children and 13 percent of non-RTE children falling under high score category as compared to only 8 percent for RTE children.

7.2 Vectors of Capabilities Explained According to the Types of Schools

Reiterating that school choice must expand well-being of EWS/DG children as compared to those who didn't get the choice, the evolving capabilities confirms the same. It also needs to be acknowledged that not all addition of alternative to the existing opportunity set of EWS/DG households would lead to expansion of freedoms

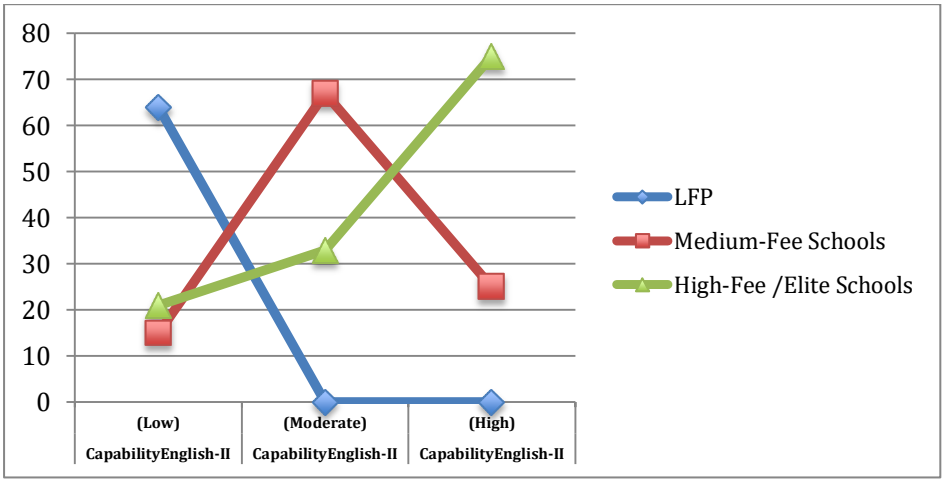
and resulting well-being only by school of a certain 'quality/type'. Therefore, it is the type of school that would shape the quality of alternative that would be added to the opportunity sets of the households.

Table7.1: Vector of Capabilities Explained for EWS/DG Children according to the Types of Schools for Class- II (in percentage).

School Type	$Capability^{English-II}$ (Low)	$Capability^{English-II}$ (Moderate)	$Capability^{English-II}$ (High)
LFP	97	3	0
Moderate-Fee Schools	39	35	26
High-Fee /Elite Schools	45	14	26
Unrecognised Schools	86	14	0
Government Schools	100	0	0
Dropouts/Madrassa	100	0	0

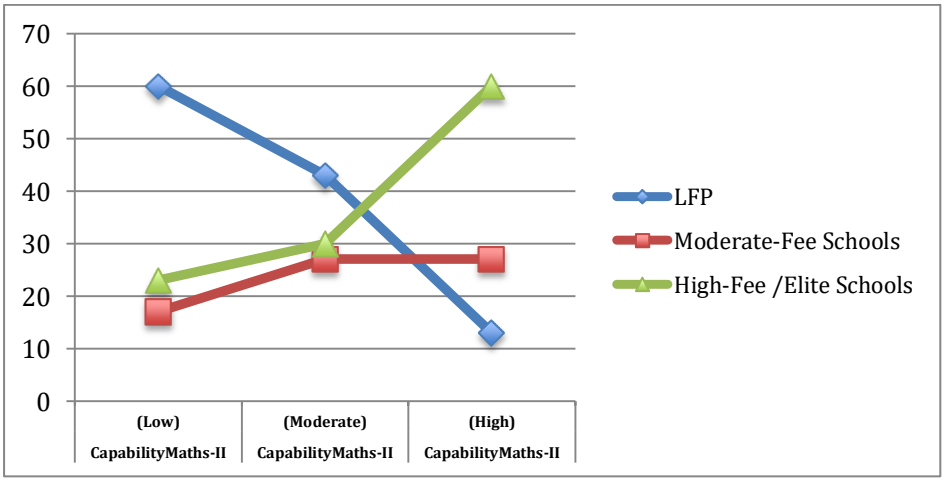
The table above gives a general picture of EWS/DG children across different types of schools along with those who have dropped out of the schooling. The distribution is highly skewed with children who have dropped out or are in government schools are totally concentrated in the category of low scores. It is followed by unrecognized private schools and LFP. Striking concern of LFP is due to it's wide spread nature in India and UP. If the children in LFP and unrecognized private schools are jointly taken together, the scores did not differ much with that of government schools (conclusion). However, EWS/DG children in medium-fee charging schools perform better than that of elite schools (may be coz of cultural capital..conclusion). EWS/DG children in medium-fee charging and high-fee charging school remain same (26 percent each), with zero children figuring in high score bracket from any other type of schools.

Graph 7.4:Vector of Capabilities (English) Explained for RTE-EWS/DG Children according to the Types of Schools for Class- II (in percentage).



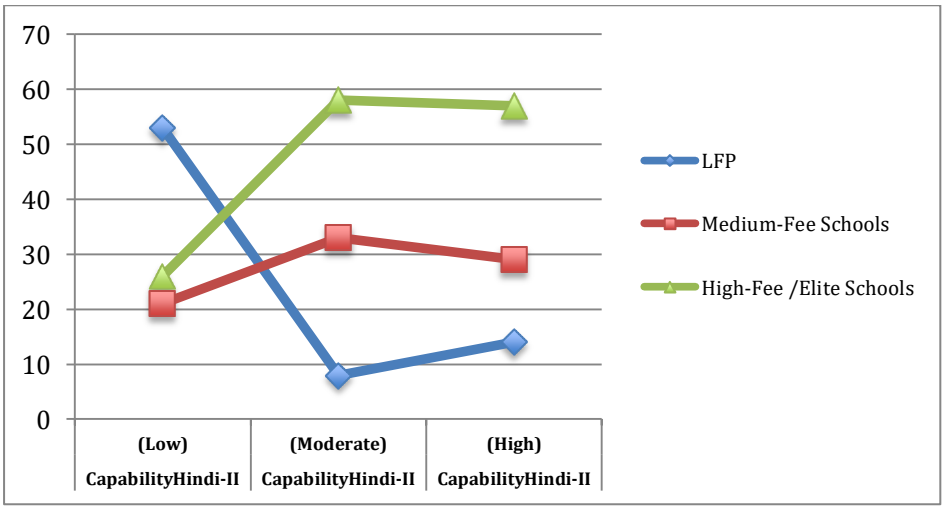
The table above suggest positive association between capability scores of Capability$^{English\text{-}II}$ with that of the quality of school; the children accessing high-fee charging schools perform better as compared to zero in the high score category from LFP and 25 percent from medium-fee charging schools. However, medium fee charging schools hold lower share of children in low score category as compared to other two school types. Most dismal is the state of LFP with all children in the survey concentrated in the low score category.

Graph 7.5: Vector of Capabilities (Maths) Explained for RTE-EWS/DG Children according to the Types of Schools for Class- II (in percentage).



With significant difference in the category of the percentage of children in high score category from medium-fee charging and high-fee charging schools (27percent and 60 percent respectively), children in LFP too figure in this category, though fairly less in percentage (only 13 percent). LFP performing poor in terms of massive concentration of children in low and moderate category (60 percent and 43 percent respectively), medium-fee charging schools have done better in both of the categories as compared to LFP and high-fee charging schools.

Graph 7.6: Vector of Capabilities (Hindi) Explained for RTE- EWS/DG Children according to the Types of Schools for Class- II (in percentage).



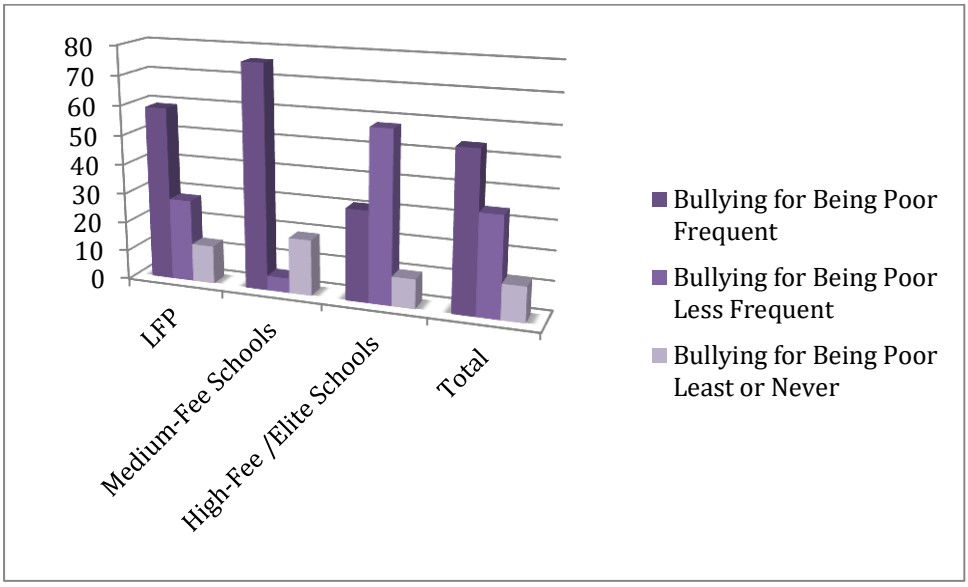
The results for Capability$^{Hindi-II}$ are interesting with respect to the type of schools as compared to the results of Capability$^{English-II}$ and Capability$^{Maths-II}$. The results for test scores and resulting capability in Hindi language as compared to that of English and Mathematics remain poor. The LFP performed consistently low in their share in high and moderate score category, where children in high-fee schools perform better as compared to medium-fee schools with considerable margin in both moderate and high score categories (58 percent and 57 percent as compared to 33 percent and 29 percent in medium-fee schools).

7.3 Experiences in School – Recognition as a determinant of Capability Formation

7.3.1 Experiences of Bully and Discrimination

The school experiences of discrimination and bully of the RTE children are captured across four sub-categories; first is the experience of bully that happen due to their economic status and poverty, second relates to the latent acceptance of their slow learning and resulting bully due to their ability to perform better, third and fourth relates to the bully and/or discrimination by teachers or peers. This too vary according to the school type and depends upon the school quality and/or the status of the school.

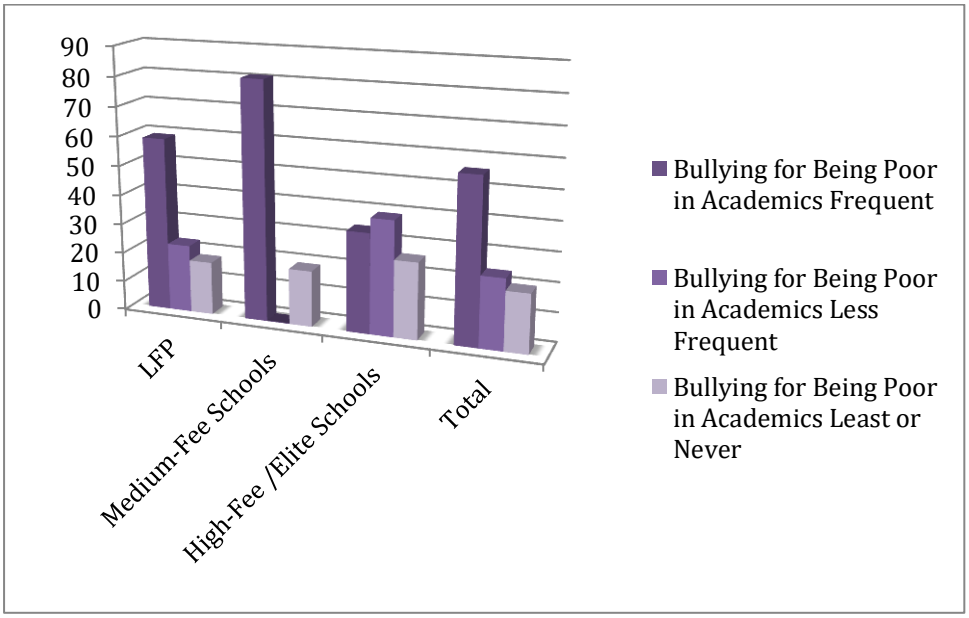
Graph 7.7: Experiences of Bully and Discrimination by RTE-EWS/DG Children.



Incidence of bully is high in LFP and medium fee charging schools (conclusion). The incidence overall is high in LFP (frequent 59 percent and 28 less frequent) as compared to medium-fee charging schools (76 percent frequent and 5 percent less frequent). Medium-fee schools, account for lowest share of incidence of no bully due to a child's status as poor. Contrary to the popular understanding of elite schools, the experiences in high-fee schools are better in terms of degree of frequency; more than 30 percent children frequently experience bully and nearly 60 percent children experience it less frequent[52].

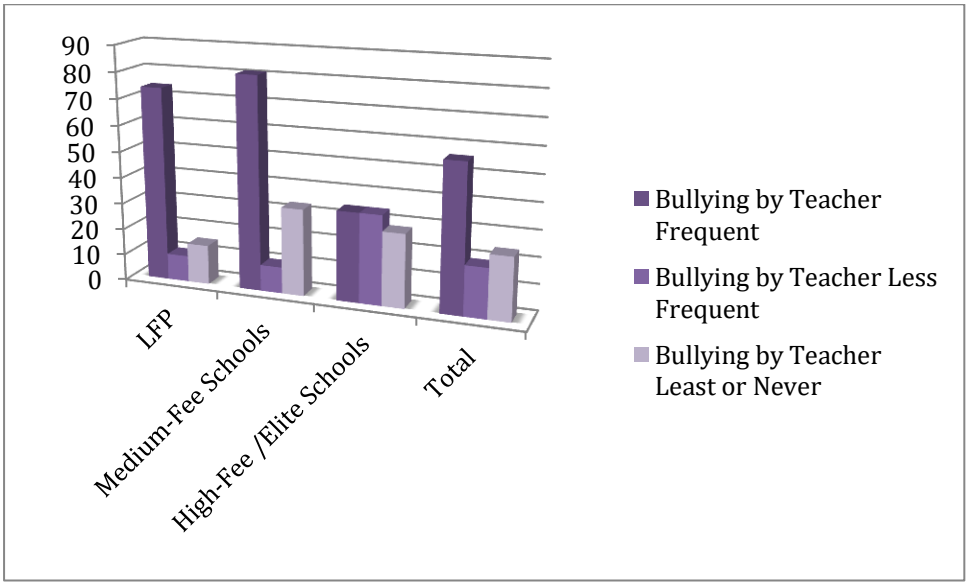
[52] With frequent news being reported in terms of elite and high-fee charging schools non-complaint to the RTE Section 12.1.C (new paper ref), the interviews in the study suggest that the experience of

Graph 7.8: Experiences of Bully/Discrimination for being Poor.



The results are more or less similar in degree in terms of experiences of bully for being poor in academics. LFP serves as a surprising case, the children already accessing LFP are relatively from poor backgrounds. These children share more or less similar cultural capital with that of the RTE children admitted. Still the incidence of bully is highest in these schools.

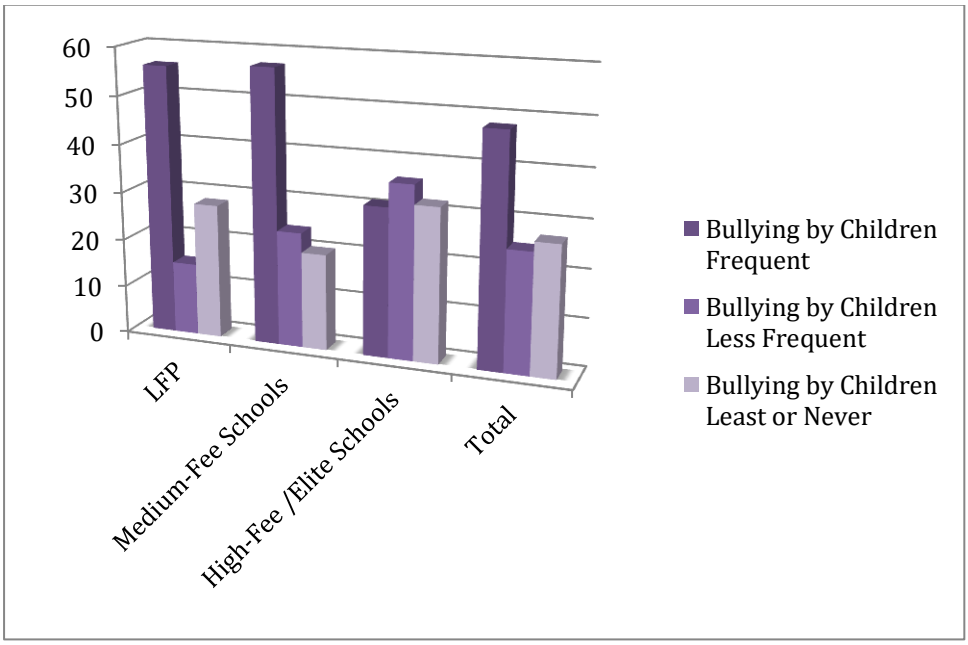
Graph 7.9: Experiences of Bully/Discrimination by Teachers.



resistance is at the entry level or at the time of admission, after that the experiences reported are not largely severe CONCLUSION)

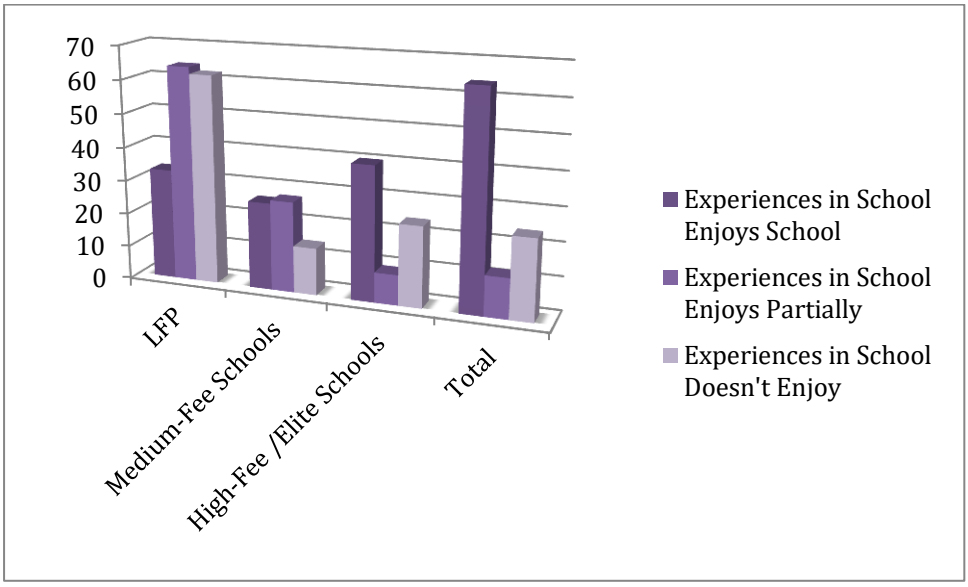
Elite schools registered more or less spread across all degree of experience of bully by teachers. The intensity-wise LFP and medium-fee and have reported severe incidence of bully by teachers. The incidence of bully is experienced frequently and less frequently to the extent of 74 percent and 10 percent of children in LFP. Total incidence of bully therefore amounts to over 80 percent. Medium-fee schools reported more than 90 percent of experience of bully, where as high-fee schools experiences around 70 percent incidence of bully.

Graph 7.10: Experiences of Bully/Discrimination by Children.



Very similar is the case with bullying by children, however it again comes as a contradiction if seen for the incidence in the LFP – children coming from relatively similar background sharply discriminate. More than 70percent children in LFP experience bully in school by their peer. Informal interview with children suggested that these are comments around caste and occupation of children. A girl reported children and teacher addressing her as 'Mayawati' in school, a similar Muslim boy was referred to as 'Kabaadi-wala' by children around and was treated to be untouchable. Children from Medium-Fee schools too amounts for higher degree of bully by children followed by Higher-Fee schools that are lesser in terms of percentage of children reporting such incidence.

Graph 7.11: Experiences of Enjoyment by Children in Schools.



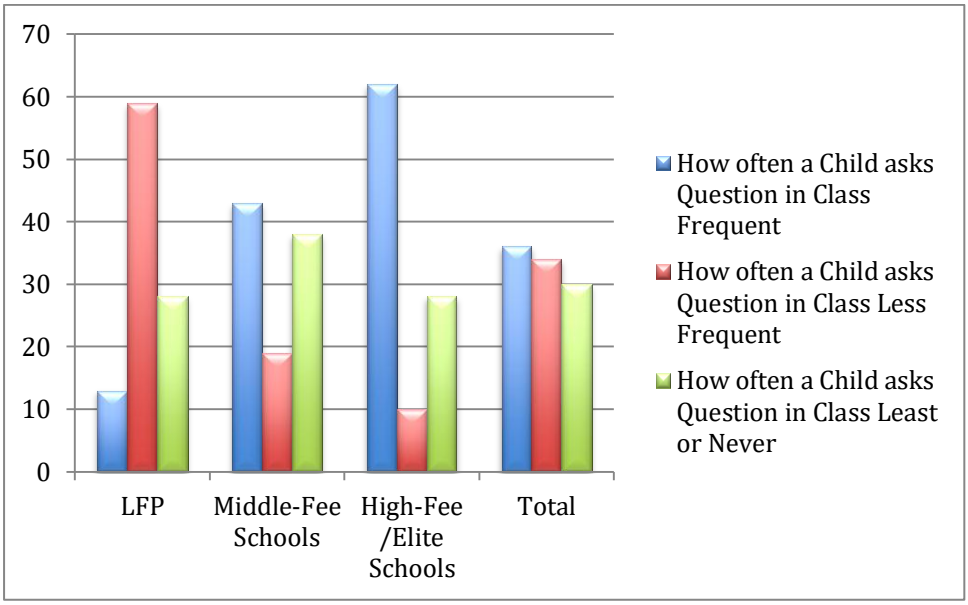
After discussing experiences of bully and discrimination in the classroom, there are repercussion on the overall experience that child perceives with respect to the process of schooling. Whether a child enjoys going school or is averse to it to some degree would necessarily have consequence on the total realised well-being and resulting possibility to continue and successfully complete elementary education. Only 64 percent children enjoy going to their schools where 12 percent reported partial willingness to go to school and 24 percent reported no enjoyment in going to school. The share of LFP is highest with wide margin from the other two categories in terms of children not enjoying going to school. 62 percent of children who do not enjoy going school belong to LFP, this related well to the above discussed experience of children in LFP. Next to LFP are the High-Fee schools, where 24 percent children reported not enjoying going to school. High-fee schools accounts for the largest share of children reporting that they enjoy going school (40 percent), followed by LFP (33 percent) and Medium-Fee schools (26 percent).

7.3.2 Recognition in Classroom by Teachers

Three indicators selected from the survey to understand how a child is recognized in the classroom are if a child is able enough to ask questions in class whenever there is a doubt. Frequency would depict the ease at which a child relates to his teacher to service his doubts/questions. The total number of children engaged infrequently

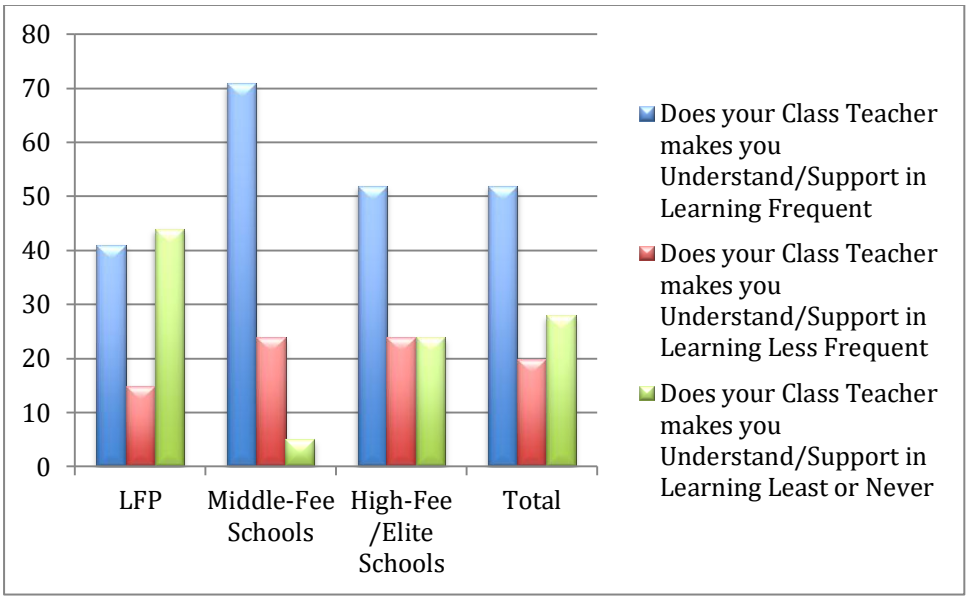
asking question sin classroom remain low (36 percent). In most of the LFP, least number of children asks questions frequently (only 13 percent), whereas Medium-Fee schools have the second highest share (43 percent) and high-fee have the highest share of children frequently asking question (62 percent). However, the percentage of children never asking questions remain more or less same across schools and in total with exception being middle-fee schools (38 percent).

Graph 7.12 : Frequency of Questions asked in Classroom.

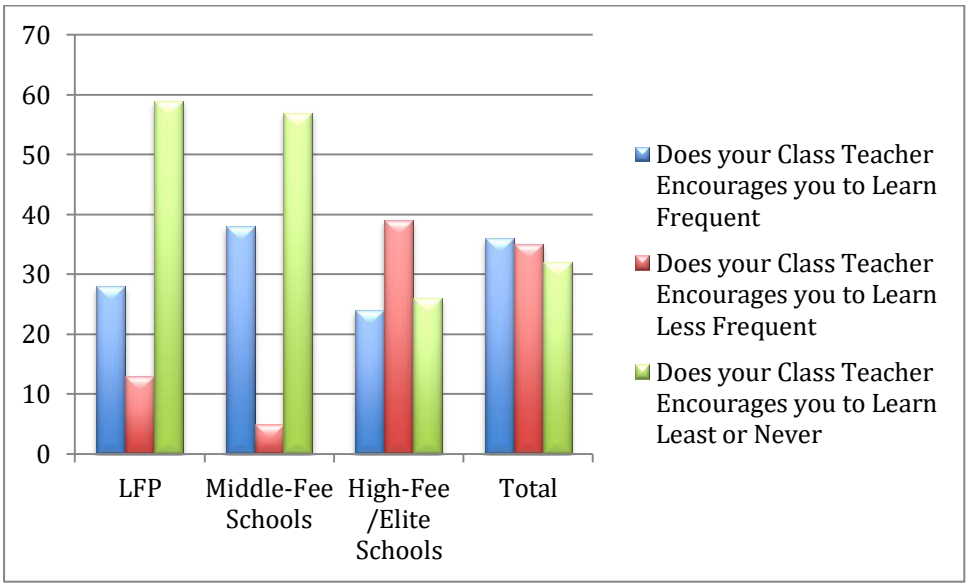


The support that EWS/DG children get from teachers is gauged with help of two questions; first, when teacher supports in learning when approached for help, and second, when teacher encourages a child to perform and learn better.

Graph 7.13: Frequency of Assistance from Teachers in Learning/Understanding.



Graph 7.14: Frequency of Encouragement and Support by Teachers in Classrooms.



The support that EWS/DG children get from teachers is gauged with help of two questions; first, when teacher supports in learning when approached for help, and second, when teacher encourages a child to perform and learn better. Across schools, 52 percent children frequently receive help from their teachers to address issues in learning, 20 percent receive this help less frequently and 28 percent fail to receive

assistance at all. For both the indicators, Medium-fee schools have the highest percentage of children reporting frequent support from the teachers to address difficulty and to encourage them in learning and performing better. The for high-fee schools, teacher who support in learning stands second in percentage (52 percent) as compared to LFP (41 percent). The LFP report highest percentage (44 percent) of children who have report no support from their teachers when they are approached for assistance in learning or clearing doubts. In terms of encouragement to perform better, high-fee schools score the least. Overall percentages of children across schools remain low in terms of receiving encouragement from teachers to learn and perform better (36 percent frequently receive encouragement, 35 percent less frequently and 32 percent never receive encouragement).

7.3.3 Enculturation in the Schools

The indicators of enculturation incorporated in the analysis revolves around the activities that give scope for children to learn and acquire knowledge and use their school as secondary habitus to inculcate abilities to appreciate learning and stepping towards being a groomed future citizen. The classroom and school activities such as group recitation, sports and cultural activities, which are crucial to formation of cognitive and non-cognitive capabilities, are found to vary according to the type of school.

Table 7.2: Understanding Enculturation in Schools of Different Types.

Activities in Classroom- Understanding Enculturation (in percentage)								
School Type	**Group Recitation**		**Group Sports**		**Cultural Activities**		**Observed Changes**	
	Yes	**No**	**Yes**	**No**	**Yes**	**No**	**Yes**	**No**
LFP	79	21	8	92	48	52	13	87
Medium-Fee Schools	71	29	52	48	67	33	57	43
High-Fee /Elite Schools	100	0	100	0	100	0	86	14
Total	84	16	48	52	70	30	47	53

The incidence of group recitation and cultural activities such varies between LFP and Medium-fee schools; LFP report nearly half of students not having any kind of cultural activity in schools. Large number of children from LFP reported no availability of sports in school due to lack of space for sports. Many LFP are in a building or small spaces that have less scope for open-air sports. As a result, 92

percent of children in LFP reported no scope for group sports as compared to 48 percent in medium-fee schools. High-fee schools seem to provide for group sports and all children are engaged in group recitation and cultural activities. As a result, the changes observed in children in form of mannerism, ability to aspire, learning new words, helping parents with English names of fruits and vegetables, enjoying studies etc. seems very much related to the scope of the discussed activities. Nearly 90 percent of the parents of the children in LFP have reported no change in their child's behavior. However, more than 85 percent of parents of children in high-fee schools have reported positive observed changes. The observed changes for children in Medium-fee schools remain 57 percent parents who have reported for positive changes whereas 43 percent reported no changes.

7.4 Reporting Results for Cognitive Capabilities – English and Mathematics at three Levels of Learning

7.4.1 Ordered Probit and Marginal Effects to Predict Outcomes

Table 7.3: Ordered Probit Results for Capability at Foundational Stage (Capability$^{English\text{-}F}$)

					No. of Obs.	140
					Prob > chi2	63.48
					Pseudo R2	0.21
Capability$^{English\text{-}F}$	Coef.	Std. Err.	z	P>|z|	[95% Conf. Interval]	
RTE-EWS/DG (Ref=EWS/DG=1| =0 for CG)	-0.4039291	0.3448244	-1.17	0.241	-1.079773	0.271
Gender (1=Boy| O=Girl)	0.4194184	0.2227571	1.88	0.06	-0.0171776	0.856
Caste (1= Ref SC)						
OBC =2	0.673481	0.5015551	1.34	0.179	-0.309549	1.65
General=3	0.3260451	0.5301457	0.62	0.539	-0.7130215	1.36
Religion (Ref =1=Hinduism| 0= Islam)	-0.8362556	0.4897175	-1.71	0.088	-1.796084	0.123
Mother's Education Ref=1=illiterate or informal literacy						
2=Primary Education	0.6017318	0.3498262	1.72	0.085	-0.083915	1.28
3=Elementary Education	0.2468532	0.4058811	0.61	0.543	-0.5486592	1.04
4=Secondary Education	1.465693	0.396445	3.7	0	0.6886749	2.24
5=Hr. Secondary Education	1.705619	0.5694522	3	0.003	0.589513	2.82
6=Higher Education	0.9377152	0.8064231	1.16	0.245	-0.6428451	2.51
7=Technical/Professional Education	0.0463258	0.5836714	0.08	0.937	-1.097649	1.19
School Type (Ref=1=LFP)						
2=Medium Fee Schools	0.9942822	0.3389398	2.93	0.003	0.3299725	1.65
3=High fee/Elite schools	0.470081	0.4364966	1.08	0.282	-0.3854366	1.32
4=Unrecognised Schools	0.1176377	0.568866	0.21	0.836	-0.9973193	1.23

5=Govt. Schools	22.21257	32.08527	0.69	0.489	-40.6734	85
7=Dropouts/NE	23.19325	32.08843	0.72	0.47	-39.69893	86
School Experiences						
Does your teacher beat (Ref=1=Yes)						
2=No	0.1470519	0.2715	0.54	0.588	-0.3852096	0.679
Enculturation						
Group Recitation in School (Ref=1=Yes)						
0=No	-0.4494215	0.28986	-1.55	0.121	-1.017548	0.118

School choice results in positive effect on the Capability$^{English\text{-}F}$ as compared to the control group. With respect to the social identity of a child, Muslim children perform poor as compared to that of their counterparts. With respect to SC, the other two groups perform better. At all levels, mothers education relates positively to the capability at the foundational level; at secondary and higher secondary level of mother's education, the results are significant as compared to the base category of being illiterate or informal education. According to the school types, being a proxy of school quality, as compared to LFP, all types of schools perform better but most significant is the performance of children in the medium-fee charging schools. The effect of recitation is positive and the incidence of physical punishment relates negatively to the capability scores.

7.4.2 Predicted Probabilities for Low, Moderate and High Capability – Capability$^{English\text{-}F}$

The probability of Capability$^{English\text{-}F}$ to be low is 15 percent, to be moderate is 44 percent and to be high is 40 percent given all predictors are set to their mean values. The probability of moderate Capability$^{English\text{-}F}$ is reported significant. The probability of low Capability$^{English\text{-}F}$ is 19 percent, moderate Capability$^{English\text{-}F}$ is 46 percent and high is 34 percent when RTE-EWS/DG=1 and the rest of the predictors are set to their mean values. For EWS/DG=0, the predicted probability of low Capability$^{English\text{-}F}$, moderate Capability$^{English\text{-}F}$ and high Capability$^{English\text{-}F}$ is 10 percent, 39 percent and 50 percent respectively when rest of the predictors are set to mean values. (has it to do with the sign?). The probability of low Capability$^{English\text{-}F}$ is 46 percent, moderate Capability$^{English\text{-}F}$ is 41 percent and high Capability$^{English\text{-}F}$ is 11 percent given that incidence of physical punishment =1.

Table 7.4: Predicted probabilities: Low, Moderate and High Capability[English-F]

Capability[English-F]	Delta-method					
Predicted Outcomes	Margin	Std. Err.	Z	P>|z|	[95% Conf. Interval]	
Outcome at 1	.1527332	.3042506	0.50	0.616	-. 44358	.7490534
Outcome at 2	.4446047	.1997191	2.23	0.026	.0531625	.8360469
Outcome at 3	.4026621	.4983862	0.81	0.419	-.57415	1.379481

Table 7.5: Predicted probabilities: Low, Moderate and High Capability[English-F] when predictors are set to specific values (School Choice)

Capability[English-F]	Delta-method		Absence and Presence of School Choice			
Predicted Outcomes	Margin	Std. Err.	z	P>|z|	[95% Conf. Interval]	
Outcome at 1 (EWS==1)	.1908549	.3523551	. 0.54	0.588	-.499748	.8814583
Outcome at 1 (EWS==0)	.100505	.230531	0.44	0.663	-.351327	.5523373
Outcome at 2 (EWS==1)	.4632746	.134348	3.45	0.001	.1999558	.7265934
Outcome at 2 (EWS==0)	.3965286	.293108	1.35	0.176	-.177953	.9710107
Outcome at 3 (EWS==1)	.3458705	.4773868	. 0.72	0.469	-.589790	. 1.28153
Outcome at 3 (EWS==0)	.5029664	.5207398	0.97	0.334	-.517664	1.52359

7.6: Predicted probabilities: Low, Moderate and High Capability$^{English-F}$ when predictors are set to specific values (School Experience)

Capability$^{English-F}$	Delta-method		Incidence of Physical Punishment			
Predicted Outcomes	Margin	Std. Err.	Z	P>|z|	[95% Conf. Interval]	
Outcome at 1	.4633283	.8535658	0.54	0.587	-1.20963	2.136287
Outcome at 2	.4175107	.4275155	0.98	0.329	-.42040	1.255426
Outcome at 3	.1191609	.4282825	0.28	0.781	-.720257	.9585791

Table 7.7: Ordered Probit Results for Capability at Class-I (Capability$^{English-I}$)

					No. of Obs	140
					Prob > chi2	0
					Pseudo R2	0.19
Capability$^{English-I}$	Coef.	Std. Err.	Z	P>|z|	[95% Conf. Interval]	
RTE-EWS/DG (Ref =1| 0 for CG)	-0.5104035	0.342293	-1.49	0.136	-1.181285	0.16
Gender (Ref 1=Boy | O=Girl)	0.3860663	0.2156878	1.79	0.073	-0.0366741	0.808
Caste (1= ref SC)						
OBC =2	0.0864577	0.4304342	0.2	0.841	-0.7571778	0.93
General=3	0.6597521	0.4828037	1.37	0.172	-0.2865258	1.6
Religion (Ref =1=Hinduism| 0= Islam)	-0.2261627	0.4448039	-0.51	0.611	-1.097962	0.645
Mother's Education Ref=1=illiterate or informal literacy						
2=Primary Education	0.1314415	0.3444927	0.38	0.703	-0.5437519	0.806
3=Elementary Education	0.3969725	0.4121266	0.96	0.335	-0.4107808	1.2
4=Secondary Education	0.9752392	0.3273807	2.98	0.003	0.3335848	1.61
5=Hr. Secondary Education	1.50307	0.4785206	3.14	0.002	0.565187	2.44
6=Higher Education	1.2771	0.8166618	1.56	0.118	-0.3235275	2.87

7=Technical/Professional Education	1.006798	0.5896727	1.71	0.088	-0.1489389	2.16
School Type (Ref=1=LFP)						
2=Medium Fee Schools	0.9967731	0.3295363	3.02	0.002	0.3508937	1.64
3=High fee/Elite schools	0.7402566	0.4285253	1.73	0.084	-0.0996375	1.58
4=Unrecognised Schools	-0.2269724	0.5597294	-0.41	0.685	-1.324022	0.87
5=Govt. Schools	-21.22025	31.38295	-0.68	0.499	-82.7297	40.2
7=Dropouts/NE	-25.50224	154.6506	-0.16	0.869	-328.6118	277
School Experiences						
Does your teacher beat (Ref=1=Yes)						
2=No	0.2241912	0.2572073	0.87	0.383	-0.2799258	0.728
Enculturation						
Group Recitation in School (Ref=1=Yes)						
0=No	0.0410539	0.2913798	0.14	0.888	-0.5300401	0.612

For the second stage of cognitive capability in English, EWS/DG students in control group perform poor as compared to the experiment group. While girls perform better as compared to boys (similar like Capability$^{English\text{-}F}$), Muslim children keep performing poor as compared to children belonging to Hinduism. Within caste, as compared to SCs, children belonging to OBC and general children, perform better. Two variables that significantly relate to the Capability$^{English\text{-}I}$ are that of mother's education (mothers who have either completed education till class Xth or XIIth) and school type (medium-fee charging schools). Unrecognised schools, government schools and children not in school as compared to LFP perform poorer. With respect to the indicators of school experiences and scope for enculturation (though indicators of enculturation/experiences are taken to be fairly narrow here, they are wide in nature and impact), as compared to children who have not experienced physical punishment, children who experience physical punishment in form of beating, have lower Capability$^{English\text{-}I}$. Group recitation activity in class, though not significantly related and has negative impact on Capability$^{English\text{-}I}$.

7.4.3 Predicted Probabilities for Low, Moderate and High Capability – Capability$^{English-I}$

The probability of Capability$^{English-I}$ to be low is 30 percent, to be moderate is 56 percent and to be high is 13 percent given all predictors are set to their mean values. The probability of moderate Capability$^{English-I}$ is reported significant. The probability of low Capability$^{English-I}$ is 37 percent, moderate Capability$^{English-I}$ is 53 percent and high is 09 percent when RTE-EWS/DG=1 and the rest of the predictors are set to their mean values. For EWS/DG=0, the predicted probability of low Capability$^{English-I}$, moderate Capability$^{English-I}$ and high Capability$^{English-I}$ is 20 percent, 58 percent and 21 percent respectively when rest of the predictors are set to mean values. The probability of low Capability$^{English-I}$ is 81 percent, moderate CEI is 17 percent and high Capability$^{English-I}$ is 0 percent given that incidence of physical punishment =1.

Table 7.8: Predicted probabilities: Low, Moderate and High Capability$^{English-I}$

Capability$^{English-I}$	Delta-method					
Predicted Outcomes	Margin	Std. Err.	z	P>|z|	[95% Conf. Interval]	
Outcome at 1	.3021559	1.132759	0.27	0.790	-1.91801	2.522324
Outcome at 2	.5648511	.4374994	1.29	. 0.197	-.292632	1.422334
Outcome at 3	.132993	.6979931	0.19	0.849	-1.23504	1.501034

Table7.9: Predicted probabilities: Low, Moderate and High Capability$^{English-I}$ when predictors are set to specific values (School Choice)

Capability$^{English-I}$	Delta-method		Presence and Absence of School Choice			
Predicted Outcomes	Margin	Std. Err.	Z	P>|z|	[95% Conf. Interval]	
Outcome at 1 (EWS==1)	.3712171	1.22827	0.30	0.762	-2.03614	2.778583
Outcome at 1 (EWS==0)	.2007248	.913268	0.22	0.826	-1.58924	1.990697
Outcome at 2 (EWS==1)	.5323131	.6740856	0.79	0.430	-.788870	1.853497

Outcome at 2 (EWS==0)	.5849574	.0623	9.38	0.000	.462678	.7072362
Outcome at 3 (EWS==1)	.0964698	.5557106	0.17	0.862	-.99270	1.185643
Outcome at 3 (EWS==0)	.2143178	.9491819	0.23	0.821	-1.64604	2.07468

Table 7.10: Predicted probabilities: Low, Moderate and High Capability$^{\text{English-I}}$ when predictors are set to specific values (School Experience).

Capability$^{\text{English-I}}$	Delta-method		If physical punishment ==1			
Predicted Outcomes	Margin	Std. Err.	Z	P>|z|	[95% Conf. Interval]	
Outcome at 1	.81695	.9632037	0.85	0.396	-1.07089	2.70479
Outcome at 2	.1774174	.90482	0.20	0.845	-1.5959	1.95083
Outcome at 3	.0056325	.0584586	0.10	0.923	-.108944	.120209

Table 7.11: Ordered Probit Results for Capability at Class- II (Capability$^{\text{English-II}}$).

					No. of Obs.	140
					Prob > chi2	0
					Pseudo R2	0.5
Capability$^{\text{English-II}}$	Coef.	Std. Err.	Z	P>|z|	[95% Conf. Interval]	
RTE-EWS/DG (Ref =1 |0 for CG)	-5.477658	230.8586	-0.02	0.981	-457.9523	446
Gender (1=Boy, O=Girl)	0.3443972	0.3731047	0.92	0.356	-0.3868745	1.07
Caste (Ref =1 = SC)						
OBC=2	0.1129248	0.5708945	0.2	0.843	-1.006008	1.23
General=3	0.9422043	0.6773926	1.39	0.164	-0.3854608	2.26
Religion (Ref =1=Hinduism | 0= Islam)	-1.160573	0.6586497	-1.76	0.078	-2.451502	0.13
Mother's Education (Ref=1=illiterate/informal literacy)						

2=Primary Education	0.5221787	0.6620472	0.79	0.43	-0.77541	1.81	
3=Elementary Education	0.9814558	0.6311241	1.56	0.12	-0.2555248	2.21	
4=Secondary Education	1.411008	0.4777095	2.95	0.003	0.4747142	2.34	
5=Hr. Secondary Education	1.280939	0.7341087	1.74	0.081	-0.1578881	2.71	
6=Higher Education	-5.511371	714.9598	-0.01	0.994	-1406.807	1395	
7=Technical/Professional Education	1.383755	0.8030318	1.72	0.085	-0.1901586	2.95	
School Type (Ref=1=LFP)							
2=Medium Fee Schools	7.100209	230.8587	0.03	0.975	-445.3745	459	
3=High fee/Elite schools	7.077808	230.8592	0.03	0.976	-445.3979	459	
4=Unrecognised Schools	-0.7455222	1.032986	-0.72	0.47	-2.770137	1.27	
5=Govt. Schools	-121.4008	627.9296	-0.19	0.847	-1352.12	1109	
7=Dropouts/NE	-121.5616	999.7452	-0.12	0.903	-2081.026	1837	
School Experiences							
Does your teacher beat (Ref=1=Yes)							
2=No	0.6413001	0.3977652	1.61	0.107	-0.1383053	1.42	
Enculturation							
Group Recitation in School (Ref=1=Yes)							
0=No	0.9073005	0.6313382	1.44	0.151	-0.3300995	2.14	

While the results in terms of the direction of relationship remain more or less same for the Capability$^{English\text{-}II}$, only mother's education at secondary education relates significantly. Group recitation doesn't relate positively to the Capability$^{English\text{-}II}$.

7.4.4 Predicted Probabilities for Low, Moderate and High Capability – Capability$^{English\text{-}II}$

The probability of Capability$^{English\text{-}II}$ to be low is 99 percent, to be moderate is 0 percent and to be high is 0 percent given all predictors are set to their mean values. The probability of moderate Capability$^{English\text{-}II}$ is reported significant. The probability of low Capability$^{English\text{-}II}$ is 99 percent and significant rest other seem in comprehensible – moderate and high Capability$^{English\text{-}II}$ are more than 100 percent (2.69and 1.01) when RTE-EWS/DG=1 and the rest of the predictors are set to their mean values. For EWS/DG=0, the predicted probability of low Capability$^{English\text{-}II}$,

moderate Capability$^{English-II}$ and high Capability$^{English-II}$ is 32 percent, 37 percent and 30 percent respectively when rest of the predictors are set to mean values. The probability of various degree of Capability$^{English-II}$ looks inconclusive, where the probability of low Capability$^{English-II}$ is over 100 percent, for moderate and low the probability if 0 percent given that incidence of physical punishment =1 and rest of the predictors are set to their mean values.

Gradually the predicted probabilities diminish in a fashion where the share of low capability is increasing from one level of Capability^{English} to another and the share of high Capability^{English} is decreasing as the level progresses. The impact of physical punishment retards the chances severely.

Table 7.12: Predicted probabilities: Low, Moderate and High Capability$^{English-II}$

Capability$^{English-II}$	Delta-method					
Predicted Outcomes	Margin	Std. Err.	Z	P>|z|	[95% Conf. Interval]	
Outcome at 1	.9985436	.3634075	2.75	0.006	.2862781	1.710809
Outcome at 2	.0014191	.3514655	0.00	0.997	-.687440	.6902789
Outcome at 3	.0000373	.0119418	0.00	0.998	-.023368	.0234427

Table 7.13: Predicted probabilities: Low, Moderate and High Capability$^{English-II}$ when predictors are set to specific values (School Choice)

Capability$^{English-II}$	Delta-method		If experience of physical punishment ==1			
Predicted Outcomes	Margin	Std. Err.	z	P>|z|	[95% Conf. Interval]	
Outcome at 1 (EWS==1)	.999999	.0002177	4593.57	0.000	.9995731	. 1.00042
Outcome at 1 (EWS==0)	.3205005	34.32947	0.01	. 0.993	-66.9640	67.60502
Outcome at 2 (EWS==1)	2.69	.0002147	0.00	0.999	-.000420	.000421
Outcome at 2 (EWS==0)	.377358	.8706111	0.43	0.665	-1.32900	2.083725
Outcome at 3 (EWS==1)	1.01	9.58	0.00	0.999	-1.88	1.88
Outcome at 3 (EWS==0)	.302140	33.46265	0.01	0.993	-65.2834	65.88773

Table 7.14: Predicted probabilities: Low, Moderate and High Capability$^{English-II}$ when predictors are set to specific values (School Experience)

Capability$^{English-II}$	Delta-method		Presence and Absence of School Choice			
Predicted Outcomes	Margin	Std. Err.	Z	P>|z|	[95% Conf. Interval]	
Outcome at 1	4.91	1.99	0.00	1.000	-3.90	3.90
Outcome at 2	.001419	.3514655	0.00	0.997	-.687440	.6902789
Outcome at 3	.000037	.0119418	0.00	0.998	-.023368	.0234427

Table 7.15: Ordered Probit Results for Capability at Foundational Stage (Capability$^{Maths-F}$)

					No. of Obs.	140
					Prob. > chi2	0
					Pseudo R2	0.2
Capability$^{Maths-F}$	Coef.	Std. Err.	z	P>|z|	[95% Conf. Interval]	
RTE-EWS/DG (Ref =1 | 0 for CG)	-0.3441472	0.3525092	-0.98	0.329	-1.035053	0.346
Gender (Ref 1=Boy| O=Girl)	0.2687023	0.2203456	1.22	0.223	-0.163167	0.7
Caste (Ref 1= SC)						
OBC=2	-0.1580142	0.4598987	-0.34	0.731	-1.059399	0.743
General=3	0.7632514	0.512038	1.49	0.136	-0.2403246	1.76
Religion (Ref =1=Hinduism | 0= Islam)	-1.407599	0.4894688	-2.88	0.004	-2.36694	-0.448
Mother's Education (Ref=1=illiterate/informal literacy)						
2=Primary Education	-0.3741464	0.360791	-1.04	0.3	-1.081284	0.33
3=Elementary Education	1.032088	0.4478974	2.3	0.021	0.1542252	1.9
4=Secondary Education	0.8960645	0.3407466	2.63	0.009	0.2282134	1.56
5=Hr. Secondary Education	1.305886	0.470484	2.78	0.006	0.3837542	2.22
6=Higher Education	5.074548	133.2859	0.04	0.97	-256.161	266
7=Technical/Professional Education	1.127172	0.6502439	1.73	0.083	-0.147282	2.4
School Type (Ref=1=LFP)						
2=Medium Fee Schools	0.6873578	0.3433192	2	0.045	0.0144646	1.36

3=High fee/Elite schools	-0.3683818	0.462098	-0.8	0.425	-1.274077	0.537
4=Unrecognised Schools	-0.0241739	0.5867149	-0.04	0.967	-1.174114	1.12
5=Govt. Schools	3.615733	31.95574	0.11	0.91	-59.01637	66.2
7=Dropouts/NE	3.852255	31.95289	0.12	0.904	-58.77426	66.4
School Experiences						
Does your teacher beat (Ref=1=Yes)						
2=No	0.2657745	0.2694897	0.99	0.324	-0.2624156	0.793
Enculturation						
Group Recitation in School (Ref=1=Yes)						
0=No	-0.32274	0.3020292	-1.07	0.285	-0.9147063	0.269

For the capability that is precursor to the future financial capabilities that children will possess. Where as the RTE children who exercised school choice under RTE performed better as compared to their counterparts, girls perform better as compared to boys. Children belonging to OBC category perform largely poorer as compared to SC children and children belonging to general category perform better as compared to SC children. Except that for primary education, other levels of mothers education relates positively to the capability at foundational level; mothers with elementary, secondary and senior secondary levels of education relates significantly to the Capability$^{Maths\text{-}F}$. While high-fee charging and unrecognized schools relates negatively at foundational stage as compared to LFP, medium-fee charging schools relate significantly and positively to the Capability$^{Maths\text{-}F}$. Children insulated with the physical punishment perform better, however the impact of group recitation on capability scores of Mathematics is expected to stay negative.

7.4.5 Predicted Probabilities for Low, Moderate and High Capability – Capability$^{Maths\text{-}F}$

The probability of Capability$^{Maths\text{-}F}$ to be low is 22 percent, to be moderate is 42 percent and to be high is 34 percent given all predictors are set to their mean values. The probability of moderate Capability$^{Maths\text{-}F}$ is reported significant. The probability of low Capability$^{Maths\text{-}F}$ is 26 percent, moderate Capability$^{Maths\text{-}F}$ is 43 percent and high is 30 percent when RTE-EWS/DG=1 and the rest of the predictors are set to their mean values. For EWS/DG=0, the predicted probability of low Capability$^{Maths\text{-}F}$,

moderate Capability$^{Maths\text{-}F}$ and high Capability$^{Maths\text{-}F}$ is 16 percent, 40 percent and 43 percent respectively when rest of the predictors are set to mean values. The probability of low Capability$^{Maths\text{-}F}$ is 15 percent, moderate Capability$^{Maths\text{-}F}$ is 01 percent and high Capability$^{Maths\text{-}F}$ is 82 percent given that incidence of physical punishment =1.

Table 7.16 Predicted probabilities: Low, Moderate and High Capability$^{Maths\text{-}F}$

Capability$^{Maths\text{-}F}$	Delta-method					
Predicted Outcomes	Margin	Std. Err.	Z	P>|z|	[95% Conf. Interval]	
Outcome at 1	.2247088	.8568097	0.26	0.793	-1.45460	1.904025
Outcome at 2	.4274958	.2055393	2.08	0.038	.8303454	.8303454
Outcome at 3	.3477955	1.056421	0.33	0.742	-1.72275	2.418342

Table 7.17: Predicted probabilities: Low, Moderate and High Capability$^{Maths\text{-}F}$ when predictors are set to specific values (School Choice)

Capability$^{Maths\text{-}F}$	Delta-method		If experience of physical punishment ==1			
Predicted Outcomes	Margin	Std. Err.	Z	P>|z|	[95% Conf. Interval]	
Outcome at 1 (EWS==1)	.264818	.937080	0.28	0.777	-1.57182	2.101462
Outcome at 1 (EWS==0)	.165349	.712805	0.23	0.817	-1.23172	1.5624
Outcome at 2 (EWS==1)	.433337	.078572	5.52	0.000	.2793387	.587337
Outcome at 2 (EWS==0)	.404094	.415995	0.97	0.331	-.411241	1.21943
Outcome at 3 (EWS==1)	.301843	.99789	0.30	0.762	-1.65398	2.25767
Outcome at 3 (EWS==0)	.430556	1.12624	0.38	0.702	-1.77684	2.6379

Table 7.18: Predicted probabilities: Low, Moderate and High Capability$^{Maths-F}$ when predictors are set to specific values (School Experience)

Capability$^{Maths-F}$	Delta-method		Presence and Absence of School Choice			
Predicted Outcomes	Margin	Std. Err.	z	P>|z|	[95% Conf. Interval]	
Outcome at 1	.157446	.708687	0.22	0.824	-1.23155	1.546449
Outcome at 2	.018898	.153717	0.12	0.902	-.282382	.3201799
Outcome at 3	.823654	.862222	0.96	0.339	-.866270	2.51358

Table 7.19: Ordered Probit Results for Capability at Class-I (Capability$^{Maths-I}$)

					No. of Obs.	140
					Prob. > chi2	0.01
					Pseudo R2	0.12
Capability$^{Maths-I}$	Coef.	Std. Err.	z	P>|z|	[95% Conf. Interval]	
RTE-EWS/DG (Ref=1 | 0 for CG)	-0.6496959	0.3585872	-1.81	0.07	-1.352514	0.053
Gender (Ref 1=Boy | 0=Girl)	-0.3296886	0.219783	-1.5	0.134	-0.7604553	0.101
Caste (Ref 1= SC)						
OBC=2	-0.2204866	0.417574	-0.53	0.597	-1.038917	0.597
General=3	0.3803521	0.4744323	0.8	0.423	-0.5495181	1.31
Religion (Ref =1=Hinduism |0= Islam)	0.2996261	0.440889	0.68	0.497	-0.5645004	1.16
Mother's Education (Ref=1=illiterate/informal literacy)						
2=Primary Education	-0.018938	0.3534992	-0.05	0.957	-0.7117837	0.673
3=Elementary Education	-0.1583705	0.4371573	-0.36	0.717	-1.015183	0.69
4=Secondary Education	0.7860585	0.3226997	2.44	0.015	0.1535787	1.41
5=Hr. Secondary Education	0.4217759	0.4784771	0.88	0.378	-0.516022	1.35
6=Higher Education	0.5685596	0.8275957	0.69	0.492	-1.053498	2.19

7=Technical/Professional Education	0.8264796	0.5817029	1.42	0.155	-0.313637	1.96
School Type (Ref=1=LFP)						
2=Medium Fee Schools	1.161196	0.3334823	3.48	0	0.507583	1.81
3=High fee/Elite schools	1.162273	0.4465779	2.6	0.009	0.2869964	2
4=Unrecognised Schools	-0.3048978	0.5923428	-0.51	0.607	-1.465868	0.856
5=Govt. Schools	21.15782	33.06335	0.64	0.522	-43.64515	85.9
7=Dropouts/NE	21.38857	33.06484	0.65	0.518	-43.41734	86.1
School Experiences						
Does your teacher beat (Ref=1=Yes)						
2=No	-0.1070177	0.2622319	-0.41	0.683	-0.6209828	0.406
Enculturation						
Group Recitation in School (Ref=1=Yes)						
0=No	-0.1758373	0.3025493	-0.58	0.561	-0.7688231	0.417

The direction of relationship remain same for the RTE-EWS children as compared to the control group, but the direction of the result for gender is reversed for Capability$^{Maths\text{-}I}$. Girls perform poor as compared to boys at the level of class-I Mathematics. Effect of caste remains insignificant for all three categories, though as compared to SC children OBC perform poorer and general perform better. The result for Muslim children is reversed – at level Capability$^{Maths\text{-}I}$. Muslim children perform better as compared to their counterparts. For mothers education relates negatively till elementary education, levels higher than that relates positively to the Capability$^{Maths\text{-}I}$, with secondary level coming out to be significant. Proxy of school quality – school type, relates significantly for medium and high-fee charging schools as compared to LFP, generally other forms of schools are register positive relationship as compared to LFP, exception being the unrecognized schools. Direction of the relationship with respect to the incidence of physical punishment suggest opposite to the assumed relationship.

7.4.6 Predicted Probabilities for Low, Moderate and High Capability – Capability$^{Maths-I}$

The probabilities of Capability$^{Maths-I}$ are highly significant as reported below. The probability of Capability$^{Maths-I}$ to be low is 46 percent, to be moderate is 44 percent and to be high is 09 percent given all predictors are set to their mean values. The values of predicted probabilities continue to remain highly significant for all degree of Capability$^{Maths-I}$ for the children exercising school choice and the children in the controlled group. The probability of low Capability$^{Maths-I}$ is 56 percent, moderate Capability$^{Maths-I}$ is 37 percent and high is 05 percent when RTE-EWS/DG=1 and the rest of the predictors are set to their mean values. For EWS/DG=0, the predicted probability of low, moderate and high Capability$^{Maths-I}$ is 31 percent, 50 percent and 17 percent respectively when rest of the predictors are set to mean values. The probability of low Capability$^{Maths-I}$ is 22 percent, moderate Capability$^{Maths-I}$ is 51 percent and high Capability$^{Maths-I}$ is 25 percent given that incidence of physical punishment =1 and the rest of the predictors are set to their mean values. The results for moderate Capability$^{Maths-I}$ when incidence of punishment =1 remains significant.

Table 7.20: Predicted probabilities: Low, Moderate and High Capability$^{Maths-I}$

Capability$^{Maths-I}$	Delta-method					
Predicted Outcomes	Margin	Std. Err.	Z	P>|z|	[95% Conf. Interval]	
Outcome at 1	.4670305	.0446241	10.47	0.00	.3795689	.554492
Outcome at 2	.4411386	.0452498	9.75	0.00	.3524506	.5298266
Outcome at 3	.0918309	.0255312	3.60	0.00	.0417907	.1418711

Table 7.21: Predicted probabilities: Low, Moderate and High Capability$^{Maths-I}$ when predictors are set to specific values (School Choice)

Capability$^{Maths-I}$	Delta-method		If experience of physical punishment ==1			
Predicted Outcomes	Margin	Std. Err.	z	P>|z|	[95% Conf. Interval]	
Outcome at 1 (EWS==1)	.562999	.069670	8.08	0.000	.4264477	.699551
Outcome at 1 (EWS==0)	.31167	.087918	3.55	0.000	.1393552	.483988
Outcome at 2 (EWS==1)	.378895	.056791	6.67	0.000	.2675858	.490204
Outcome at 2 (EWS==0)	.509851	.053788	9.48	0.000	.4044272	.615274
Outcome at 3 (EWS==1)	.058105	.02467	2.35	0.019	.0097446	.106466
Outcome at 3 (EWS==0)	.178477	.068589	2.60	0.009	.0440452	.312909

Table 7.22: Predicted probabilities: Low, Moderate and High Capability$^{Maths-I}$ when predictors are set to specific values (School Experience)

Capability$^{Maths-I}$	Delta-method		Physical Punishment==1			
Predicted Outcomes	Margin	Std. Err.	Z	P>|z|	[95% Conf. Interval]	
Outcome at 1	.2231689	.4975878	0.45	0.654	-.752085	1.198423
Outcome at 2	.5192325	.0657428	7.90	0.00	.3903789	.648086
Outcome at 3	.2575986	.5384801	0.48	0.632	-.797802	1.313

Table 7.23: Ordered Probit Results for Capability at Class-II (Capability$^{Maths-II}$)

					No. of Obs.	140
					Prob. > chi2	0
					Pseudo R2	0.23
Capability$^{Maths-II}$	Coef.	Std. Err.	Z	P>|z|	[95% Conf. Interval]	
RTE-EWS/DG=1 and =0 for CG	-0.0974844	0.3538673	-0.28	0.783	-0.7910516	0.596
Gender (1=Boy, O=Girl)	0.1747339	0.223151	0.78	0.434	-0.262634	0.612
Caste (1= ref SC)						
Caste =2 = OBC	1.550109	0.498144	3.11	0.002	0.5737652	2.52
Caste=3= General	1.869373	0.5736844	3.26	0.001	0.7449726	2.99
Religion (Ref =1=Hinduism | 0= Islam)	-2.149976	.5207258	-4.13	0.000	-3.17058	-1.12 9372
Mother's Education Ref=1=illiterate or informal literacy						
2=Primary Education	0.7727112	0.3600631	2.15	0.032	0.0670005	1.47
3=Elementary Education	1.049135	0.4287099	2.45	0.014	0.2088787	1.88
4=Secondary Education	1.236013	0.3517541	3.51	0	0.5465877	1.92
5=Hr. Secondary Education	1.107717	0.4850388	2.28	0.022	0.1570587	2.05
6=Higher Education	-1.509657	0.7701283	-1.96	0.05	-3.019081	0
7=Technical/Professional Education	0.4346085	0.5989044	0.73	0.468	-0.7392225	1.6
School Type (Ref=1=LFP)						
2=Medium Fee Schools	0.5414249	0.3396451	1.59	0.111	-0.1242672	1.2
3=High fee/Elite schools	0.0096727	0.4372984	0.02	0.982	-0.8474163	0.866
4=Unrecognised Schools	0.1346186	0.5958055	0.23	0.821	-1.033139	1.3
5=Govt. Schools	-4.853281	32.49607	-0.15	0.881	-68.54442	58.8
7=Dropouts/NE	-9.953732	397.9679	-0.03	0.98	-789.9566	770
School Experiences						
Does your teacher beat (Ref=1=Yes)						
2=No	0.0665755	0.2667954	0.25	0.803	-0.4563339	0.589
3=sometimes						
Enculturation						
Group Recitation in School (Ref=1=Yes)						
0=No	-0.0151367	0.2999294	-0.05	0.96	-0.6029875	0.572

The RTE-EWS/DG children perform better than those who didn't get through the admission under Section 12.1.C. Girls perform better at the class-II level in Mathematics as compared to boys. Caste stands out to be a significant determinant; SC children perform poor as compared to OBC and children in general category. The next significant determinant is that of mother's education; as compared to the base category, if mothers have primary, elementary, secondary and higher secondary education, it relates significantly to the Capability$^{Maths\text{-}II}$. Amongst the school types, as compared to LFP, government schools and children who have dropped out continue to relate negatively in terms of Capability$^{Maths\text{-}II}$. The results for school experiences and enculturation remain same here.

7.4.7 Predicted Probabilities for Low, Moderate and High Capability – Capability$^{Maths\text{-}II}$

The probability of Capability$^{Maths\text{-}II}$ to be low is 37 percent, to be moderate is 44 percent and to be high is 09 percent given all predictors are set to their mean values. The probability of low Capability$^{Maths\text{-}II}$ is 39 percent, moderate Capability$^{Maths\text{-}II}$ is 56 percent and high is 04 percent when RTE-EWS/DG=1 and the rest of the predictors are set to their mean values. For EWS/DG=0, the predicted probability of low Capability$^{Maths\text{-}II}$, moderate Capability$^{Maths\text{-}II}$ and high Capability$^{Maths\text{-}II}$ is 35 percent, 59 percent and 17 percent respectively when rest of the predictors are set to mean values. The values of predicted probability is reported significant for high Capability$^{Maths\text{-}II}$ pertaining to the contr Capability$^{Maths\text{-}II}$ is 44 percent and high Capability$^{Maths\text{-}II}$ is 1 percent given that incidence of physical punishment =1 and the rest of the predictors are set to their mean values.

Table 7.24: Predicted probabilities: Low, Moderate and High Capability$^{Maths\text{-}II}$

Capability$^{Maths\text{-}II}$	Delta-method					
Predicted Outcomes	Margin	Std. Err.	z	P>|z|	[95% Conf. Interval]	
Outcome at 1	.3762451	3.226622	0.12	0.907	-5.9478	6.70030
Outcome at 2	.580393	2.444874	0.24	0.812	-4.2114	5.372259
Outcome at 3	.0433619	.7821035	0.06	0.956	-1.4895	1.576257

Table 7.25: Predicted probabilities: Low, Moderate and High Capability$^{Maths-II}$ when predictors are set to specific values (School Choice)

Capability$^{Maths-II}$	Delta-method		Presence and Absence of School Choice			
Predicted Outcomes	Margin	Std. Err.	z	P>|z|	[95% Conf. Interval]	
Outcome at 1 (EWS==1)	.390065	3.26192	0.12	0.905	-6.00319	6.78332
Outcome at 1 (EWS==0)	.353223	3.16001	0.11	0.911	-5.84029	6.54673
Outcome at 2 (EWS==1)	.569802	2.52758	0.23	0.822	-4.38416	5.52376
Outcome at 2 (EWS==0)	.597475	2.29310	0.26	0.794	-3.89692	5.09187
Outcome at 3 (EWS==1)	.040132	.734674	0.05	0.956	-1.39980	1.48006
Outcome at 3 (EWS==0)	.178477	.068589	2.60	0.009	.0440452	.312909

Table 7.26: Predicted probabilities: Low, Moderate and High Capability$^{Maths-II}$ when predictors are set to specific values (School Choice)

Capability$^{Maths-II}$	Delta-method		Physical Punishment ==1			
Predicted Outcomes	Margin	Std. Err.	Z	P>|z|	[95% Conf. Interval]	
Outcome at 1	.5425742	3.437646	0.16	0.875	-6.1950	7.280236
Outcome at 2	.4410542	3.083904	0.14	0.886	-5.6032	6.485396
Outcome at 3	.0163716	.3538723	0.05	0.963	-.67720	.7099485

Chapter 8 Discussion and Conclusion

8.1 Discussion

The fact that disadvantage is at the level of poverty, gender, and location, public policy becomes the most important and non-negotiable instrument to mediate disadvantage; one such policy is through RTE (Section 12.1.C), that is hooked around the values of social justice in education. The framework argues that the equality in school resources does not necessarily lead to equal learning outcomes, and thus making a case for empirically testing if more choice always leads to greater freedom. The framework tries to understand what kind of addition of an alternative to the choice sets of EWS parents will result into increased freedom and expanded capabilities. Things are very diff erent with respect to the concept of opportunity sets: opportunities that are not chosen are not realized. Therefore describing opportunities requires consideration of counterfactual states which cannotbe directly observed (Fleurbaey 2005, cited in Peter, 2009).

On account of the adaptive preferences and issues of ignorance or valuation neglect, welfare economic analysis of state intervention in education will give a skewed picture of the well-being of children. Schools become the secondary habitus for the disadvataged children and serves as the potential space for enculturation. The theoretical framework encapsulates the social justice and capability approach as a framework to advance that. In this context, the quality of school matters- schools of differential quality would necessarily lead to differential outcome – therefore equality of opportunity would not lead to equal outcomes because schools would differ according to resources (For e.g. elite schools in better-off neighborhood to the LFP in impoverished neighborhoods). What types of opportunities are present today in education will shape their capabilites in future. Poor nighbourhoods having less schope of school choice of a better quality, would delimit the addition of an valuable alternative to their opportunity set. Information assymetry at the end of parents and the capabilities and entitlements of parents further restricts many times with the ability of children to expand learning in private schools that are different from their home context. All these inter-related issues will decide as to how school choice or lack of it would impact well-being of EWS children.

Changes in participation in various types of institutions has also casted implication and have changed the very nature of the household spending. Since, the spending on education by households are intrinsically related to their economic entitlements, they vary with the preferences and social fabric of housholds. Contrary to what RTE promises in name of 'free' education, the spending across various socio-economic groups not only reflect as to how 'free' education has been for various social and economic group, but also tell about how household economic entitlements determine the choices and investment in elementary education of the children.

8.2 Evidence from the Study

Problem when political will decides the pattern of access; that results into functional non-functional schools, lack of schools in certain concentrated areas (wards un-served wards in Lucknow), discrete planning, all this leads to larger welfare loss. Adding to this, the present intervention has actually provided them a choice; otherwise many of these children were unserved with primary govt. schools and were concentrated in the following pathways – majoirty of them were concentrated in LFP (recognised and unrecognised), extremely scanty in numbers were in medium-fee charging private (UA) schools, those were at the strating limit of the fee, rest of the others were either in no schools or were availing private tuitions. If taken served and un-served wards togeather, the order of the pathways that followremains the same, with an addition of government schools after private (UA, recognised or unrecognised). The conceptulisation of case for UP serves as a larger picture for states like Andhra Pradesh, Telangana and Himachal Pradesh, which have not implemented RTE Section 12.1.C as yet, and seats remain vacant. The reasons for not implementing are very similar to that of UP, bascially lack of political will and exclusion in education.

The Section 12.1.C, affirms that not everytime more choice will be unquestionable superior to less choices; there exist a non-linear relationship. School choice did expand choice sets and opportunities for those who din't have any school choice or for that matter no schools at all from the state within their ward; when each ward in lucknow spans more than one Km. For RTE in place from 2010 and even before that, SSA since 2002, there still exists municipal wards without schools. Initial choice set expansion must lead to expanded freedoms but necessarily would not follow a linear relationship; it may initially expand the choice sets but eventually lead to contraction

of freedom. Expansion and contraction of freedoms eventually would determine the real opportunities – those that are realised and a person has reason to value. These expansion of 'initial' freedoms must result into actual 'real' expansion of freedoms where the end result of exapnded realfreedoms would critically depend on formation and expansion of capabilities. Access to school and lack of it does shape capabilities but even when accesss is ensured, expansion of well-being through expanded capabilites would determine the real freedom (or expansion of freedoms lead to expansion of well-being).

Indeed, as pointed out by Sen, there are several freedoms that depend on the assistance and actions of others as well as the nature of social arrangements (Sen, 2007, cited in Biggeri et al, 2011). One interpretation of CA, when applied to children, is, when dealing with children it is the freedom that they will have in future as compared to present, that must be considered (Saito, 2003). Since the level of agency that evolves with age of children (Comim et al, 2011), conversion factors are very important in shaping the initial capabilities, in this context, formation of cognitive and non-cognitive capabilities. The ability to convert resources or commodities into capabilities and functioning depends on conversion factor; these conversion factors can be internal, societal and environmental. In this context, the social norms become very significant – the family's understanding and valuation of education, social factors such as public policies, institutions, rules and norms too become significant to jointly explain well-being. Household's characteristics such as mother's education encompassed to be very significant factor in determining the test scores and resulting functionings and capabilities.

Schools therefore are the transformative spaces that contribute to developing conditions for equality social justice (Unterhalter &Walker, 2007). Since, stratified schooling on account of varying in quality, would always question equal outcomes, resultant capabilities will essentially vary according to different school types. This is proven in the analysis undertaken in chapter-7 based on the primary results. It's seen how well-being varies according to the 'type' of schools; type may be across management categories, recognition status or within a specified category, of schools of different kinds such as within broad category of private (UA) schools, there are LFP at one end of the continum and elite-high fee charging schools at the other end.

The overall reflection of the study also highlights the need to address growing stratification of schooling and growing inequalities at the foundational stage. Where by studies like (Pritchett, 2013; Rose & Alcott, 2015) have highlighted that the learning gaps emerge and grow more profound gradually, the study too confirms the same. The low levels of capabilites at foundational stages are precursor to the poor well-being at the crurrent class level and which in turn would determine future probable capabilities (cognitive capabilities and other capabilities for which cognitive capabilities prove to be instrumental). Therefore, not only the dynamic nature of capabilities in education becomes slowly static, the instrumental value of the capabilities too stands compromised due to lack of quality education where schools fail to provide scope for enculturation. When a greater pool of research has concentrated on the resources leading to certain outcomes, the present study focuses on the comprehensive outcomes rather than culmination outcomes.

In this case, children initially are heavily dependent on their care givers and as age matures, by the end of the elementary cycle, they will have more nuanced functioning and choices to make and reflect upon. Children are not so much constrained to make choices, but are unable to evaluate and re-analyse it (Jerome et al, 2011). This is more crucial at the onset of the elementary education cycle. Well-being and availing opportunity of children at any point in time t_n will be determined by the opportunities (and capabilities) at time t_{n-1}.

In the present study, all schools performing better in Mathematics capability are figuring to some percentage in the high score category, but consistently LFP performed poor and medium-fee charging schools performed better in low and medium score category as compared to high-fee schools. Medium and high fee charging schools perform better in Hindi, though children from high-fee schools perform considerably better than the other two categories – one reason being the probability of following the curriculum properly remains high with the teachers and schools that are well-resources and are having educated and well-trained teachers. Expected clientele too is not from families that invest without complete knowledge on English medium schools under-valuing the significance of learning other language (Hindi). Overall, the incidence of bullying by teachers in varying intensities, is high across all schools. Overall percentages of children across schools remain low in terms

of receiving encouragement from teachers to learn and perform better (36 percent frequently receive encouragement, 35 percent less frequently and 32 percent never receive encouragement. The incidence of group recitation and cultural activities such varies between LFP and Medium-fee schools; LFP report nearly half of students not having any kind of cultural activity in schools.

8.3 Conclusion

In this context, the quality of school matters- schools of differential quality would necessarily lead to differential outcome – therefore equality of opportunity would not lead to equal outcomes because schools would differ according to resources (For e.g. elite schools in better-off neighborhood to the LFP in impoverished neighborhoods). Therefore, arguing, equality in school resources would not lead to equal outcomes – these together explain the issue of social justice in education that goes beyond the concept of distributive justice. Because there are social and cutural differences that the diadvantaged children possess, its important that these differences must be recognised. The process of aspect becomes important where the role of school experiences and recognition shape and determine capabilities and well-being. The process actually acts as conversion factors that help translate resources into outcomes; thus the narrow focus on what is the final outcome (culmination outcome) shifts to the understanding of the process (classroom transactions) and thus focusing on the comprehensive outcomes.

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Appendix 1:

Matrix of Status of the Distance Norms with Respect to RTE Section 12.1.C

States	Criteria Status	Definition
Andhra Pradesh	CLEAR	Classes I-V, a school must be established within a walking distance of 1km from the neighborhood.
Arunachal Pradesh		Children can apply to schools within 1 km radius in urban areas and major towns, whereas in other areas, children can apply within a radius of 3km of neighborhood.
Assam		The neighborhood limit is for 1 km for the primary classes and this applies to Section 12.1.C
Bihar		Neighborhood, known as habitations must a school within 1 km and should be having minimum of 40 children in the age group 6-14 years. This neighborhood limit applies for Section 12.1.C.
Chattisgarh		The defined neighborhood limit is within a walking distance of 1 km for Primary schools. The same applies for section 12.1.C.
Delhi		Depending upon the priority and seat availability, first preference is given for children residing within 1 km of specific school. If the seat remain vacant, children from 3 km may be considered and consequently the limits of the neighborhood can be extended to 6 km.
Goa		Primary schools with classes I-V must be established 1km from the neighborhood. Distance limit applicable for admissions under Section 12.
Haryana	CLEAR	For the Primary schools, the distance limit is within 1 km of a walking distance from neighborhood. The limit stands applicable for Section 12.1.C. There is an alternative statement that describes neighborhood as wards in urban area and Gram Panchayat in rural area
Himachal Pradesh		School has to be within a walking distance of 1.5 km of neighborhood and the distance. The same distance limit applied for Section 12.1.C.
Jharkhand	UNCLEAR	Schools with classes I-V must within walking distance of 1km from neighborhood. No mention as to whether these limits are applicable to section 12.

Karnataka		The neighborhood is defined as village or ward, Priority in admission to be given to children from the neighborhood.
Kerala		A primary school with classes I-V must be walking distance of 1km from the neighborhood. Limit also applies to admissions under Section 12.
Madhya Pradesh	UNCLEAR	Neighborhood limit for urban area is ward and adjoining villages, if any. The neighborhood for rural areas refer to village and adjoining wards of urban areas. This applies for the Section 12.1.C.
Maharashtra		Primary schools with classes I-V must be within 1km of the neighbourhood with minmum 20 children in the age group 6-11 years. is limit shall apply to admissions made under Section 12.
Manipur		For classes I-V, schools must be within walking distane of 1km from the neighborhood. is is applicable for the purposes of Section 12.
Meghalaya	UNCLEAR	For classes I-V, schools must be within a walking distance of 1km from the neighbourhood. Not mentioned whether this distance criteria was applicable to Section 12 admissions.
Mizoram	UNCLEAR	For classes I-V schools must be within a walking distance of 1km from the neighbourhood. Not mentioned whether this criteria was applicable to Section 12 admissions.
Nagaland	EXTREMELY UNCLEAR	No distance limit given for neighbourhood schools. One note mentioned that primary schools would be established on a need basis taking into consideration the RTE Act. No further details were given.
Odisha		For classes I-V schools must be within 1km walking distance from neighborhoods. is limit applies to admissions made under Section 12.
Punjab		Primary schools with classes I-V must be within a 1km radius from the place of habitation. is neighbourhood limit is applicable to admissions made under Section 12.
Rajasthan		Neighbourhood limit for Section 12(1)(c) admission shall be geographical limits of concerned Gram Panchayat/Nagar Palika/Nagar Parishad/ Nagar Nigam within which a school is situated.
Sikkim		Schools with classes I-V must be within 1km of a neighbourhood. Neighbourhood limit applies to admisssion made under Section 12.

Tamil Nadu		For classes I-V schools must be within 1km from neighborhood. Distance limit applicable to Section 12(1)(c) admissions.
Tripura		Neighbourhood mean a ward for an area under the Agartala Municipal Council or any Nagar Panchayat, Gram Panchayat or village of TTAADC. De nition is subject to the neighbourhood criteria however. Neighborhood criteria mandates primary schools with classes I-V be within a walking distance of 1km from the neighborhood.
Uttar Pradesh	CLEAR*	Schools neighborhood de ned as ward. Only the children of a ward within which the school is situated are eligible for bene ts at that school.
Uttarakhand	UNCLEAR	Neighborhood limits mandate primary schools with classes I-V to be within a walking distance of 1km from the served neighborhood. is is applicable to admissions made under Section 12. Di erent noti cation describes neighborhood as 'ward'. Wards to be treated as a unit, meaning children are only eligible for bene ts in the ward in which the school is located. **Somewhat contradictory since wards are o en larger than 1km**.
West Bengal		Neighbourhood means a borough for an area under a Municipal Corporation or a ward for an area under a Municipality or any other urban authority. is de nition is subject to the neighborhood limits speci ed below: In rural areas, children are eligible to apply to schools within a 1km radius. In Urban areas, children are eligible to apply to schools within a 1.5km radius.

Source: The State of Nation Report, 2014.

Appendix 2:

Disclaimer to the Questionnaire

The questionnaire is part of the doctoral research work carried under the supervision of Prof. binod Khadria., at Zakir Husain Centre for Educational Studies, Jawaharlal Nehru University, New Delhi, India. The Research Looks at the Well-Being of Disadvantaged Children as a Result of RTE Section 12.1.C. The information provided will be kept confidential and this will not be harmful for your ward at his/her school. Thank you for being a part of this research.

Survey Questionnaires

A) Household Questionnaie on School Schoice under RTE and the Non-Cognitive Observations
B) Learning Questionnaire of Children