

**FAMILY, CLASS AND EDUCATION - A STUDY
OF SCHOOLING IN A DELHI SLUM**

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By

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DECLARATION

Certified that the dissertation entitled "Family, Class and Education - A Study of Schooling in a Delhi Slum", submitted by M. Muniswamy in partial fulfillment for the award of MASTER OF PHILOSOPHY DEGREE has not been previously submitted for any other degree of this or any other university. To the best of our knowledge this is a bonafide work.

We recommend this dissertation to be placed before the examiners for evaluation.

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CHAPTER - I

INTRODUCTION

Education for all rather than for members of a privileged group is one of the most crucial concerns of social planners. It is believed that it is through education that the quality of life of the people can be improved. Education is also regarded as a potent instrument of rapid and effective development of the nation. It equips the individuals with basic knowledge and technical skills that are essential for work, productivity and economic survival. It has become "the life-line of the individual and society"¹. Education is considered essential for the poor because it seeks to operate as a 'social equalizer'. Success in education is regarded as necessary for the 'lower' classes to improve their economic and social conditions.

Despite efforts at equalising educational opportunities in accordance with constitutional directives the overall picture remains unfortunately that of pervasive inequality. The constitution has enunciated the following directive principles of state policy regarding universalisation of elementary education.

"The state shall endeavour to promote within a period of 10 years from the commencement of the constitution for free and compulsory education for all children".
(Art 45).

Universalisation was to have been achieved by 1960. Even in the middle of the 1990's, it is apparent that the country is nowhere near this goal. An analysis of literacy rates shows that there has been a consistent rise in general literacy during 1961-81 period. A similar rise can be noticed among Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes and is seen in the period growth rate of literacy among these communities in the 1971-81 as compared to that during 1961-71². However, a deeper examination of the data for this period reveals that the actual gap between the literacy levels of Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes and those of the non-Scheduled Castes / Scheduled Tribes population was actually widening.

Poverty, lack of a conducive educational environment and poor living conditions are seen to have prevented the poor and backward classes from taking full benefit of free educational facilities. This is reflected in the poor enrolment of children in school and the high rate of drop-out while only 15.9%³ of children (5-14 years of age) are in schools, only 25⁴ of every 100 children enrolled

in class I reach class VIII. There are variations however in enrollment between the regions. Discrepancies that exist in provision of schooling facilities and their utilisation are found between the urban and the rural areas, between the communities and classes, suburbs and slums. In urban areas there is also the phenomenon of public schools to which only the rich can send their children. On the other hand the relatively inexpensive and usually free schools attract the children of the poorer classes.

SOCIAL CLASS, INEQUALITY AND EDUCATION

So far sociologists of education, especially those concerned with marginalised communities emphasised the need to understand the nature of inequality of educational opportunity that exists in the society among different social groups. The concept of equality of educational opportunity is, however, a complex one. According to the UNESCO "any distinction, exclusion, limitation or preference which is being based on race, colour, sex, language, religion, or birth, has the purpose or effect of nullifying or impairing equality of treatment in education and in particular,

(a) of depriving any person or group of persons to access to education of any type at any level; (b) of limiting any group of persons to education of an inferior standard; or

(c) of establishing or maintaining separate educational system or institutions for persons or groups"⁵ is considered as a impediment to the access to education.

Husen (1975) distinguishes between equality of access to education, treatment within institutions and outcomes.⁶ According to him, every individual, irrespective of sex, colour, race, religion, caste, place of residence or social origins, should have equal access to education. Secondly, equality can be thought of as applied to treatment within institutions irrespective of social background. Each individual should receive equal share of social resources irrespective of ability. Finally equality of educational opportunity is viewed in terms of equal outcomes.

The relationship of social class to the educational attainment of a student has received considerable scholarly attention. Craft observes that this relationship is "by no means the only pattern of social pressures upon the child, nor it is always a necessarily the dominant one, yet it is an important relationship"⁷. However, it is not easy to present a precise definition of the term 'Social Class'. Infact, many scholars have used the term 'Social Class' for 'Family background' or with almost the same connotations whenever they describe social class they cover many of the variables in the manner same as the

description of family background. In this regard Douglas says that "social class..... summarises many different aspects of the home environments".⁸ Similarly Dale and Griffith also argue that "the concept of social class gathers under its umbrella many of the factors in the home"⁹. So social class embraces various variables like parental education, socio-economic conditions as well as ways of life, values, attitudes and aspirations.

The social class of a child has a great influence on his / her educational attainment. In fact, there are fundamental differences between social classes in terms of ways of life, values, attitudes, aspirations and even material conditions which lead the children of different social origins to experience differently, due to which they respond differently to the school environments. Many studies have shown that manual working class are associated with poor educational attainment, while middle classes are associated with good educational attainment. The study of Banks and Finlayson has revealed that "the tendency for successful boys to have fathers in non-manual occupations is completely consistent"¹⁰. Douglas (1970) also has come to the conclusion that ".....not all of the poor achievement of the working class children is explained by their lower measured ability..... with children in the top two percent

of ability, social background is unimportant, but below this, it has considerable influence".¹¹

The social class factor is also reflected in early school leaving and academic performance of children. For example, it has been found that the working class children are more likely to perform poorly and to leave school as early as possible than the middle class children. Craft says that "even at the same levels of ability they (working class children) are far more likely than middle class children to deteriorate in performance and to leave school at the earliest permitted age".¹² Further, Dale and Griffith in their study found that "37 out of 39 deteriorates are from the semi and unskilled and skilled manual working class"¹³ So far as early school leaving, is concerned Husen found that 50 percent of the people from manual working class as compared with only 22 percent from lower middle class and ten from upper middle class left school as soon as they could.¹⁴

From the above mentioned studies it is obvious that formal education is biased towards the middle class and it marginalises the poor and working classes. Instead of reducing the gap between the deprived and the rich, education is another tool to reinforce the existing inequitous structure of society. According to Bourdieu

(1967), the school system is such that it works on behalf and in favour of inherited status. He says that it selects the elite but also forces the children of under-privileged class to drop-out. Three categories of factors are seen to constrain the education of the children among the poor and working classes:

- Family and socialization;
- Neighbourhood and community; and
- The School.

FAMILY AND SOCIALIZATION

Moreover, the nature and pattern of socialization in the family is seen to influence the access to schooling and academic performance of the children. Many research studies have established that socialization patterns are different among different social classes i.e. middle class and working class. This differential pattern of socialization is seen to socially influence the education of children. Among working classes it is noted that the nature of socialization results in low self-concept and low educational and occupational aspirations (Turner: 1976). A poor self-image is developed due to a life of impoverishment and neglect and gets reinforced in the school by academic failure. Bernstein (1961) holds that the lower-class child

experiences inadequate verbal communication in the home where parents are uneducated and have little time or ability to develop the necessary language skills among the children through conversation. All of these factors which are very much selected to social class values and upbringing reflect the deprivation of the children from the economically weaker classes.

Poverty is one of the distinguishing feature of working class families. Oscar Lewis maintains that the residential areas of the working class give rise to a distinct culture because of spontaneous poverty and unemployment. He describes this as the 'culture of poverty',¹⁵ At the family level, the major traits of the 'culture of poverty' are the absence of childhood, early interaction to sex, free unions or concensual marriages and high incidence of the abandonment of wives and children. At the level of the individual, the characteristics include the strong feeling of marginality or helplessness, dependence and sense of inferiority. Children experience material deprivation and develop a weak ego structure and a sense of resignation and fatalism as well, which are outcomes of the culture of poverty.

However, there is a certain amount of heterogeneity within the working class and socialization is

seen to differ even within the class. Carter (1966) divides the working class into three groups.¹⁶ At the lowest level are the 'Roughs', who have little regard for official norms and values and whose life is disorganised. For children from these homes, school is irrelevant for their life experience. Chance seems to be a better explanation for achievement than rational planning. The 'solid' working class is more organised than the roughs. Education is usually undermined and considered irrelevant for the occupations they pursue, the third group is a 'home centered' and 'aspiring' type which tend to have smaller, planned families and value the education of children as one of their priorities. However, majority of the lower class families are described as "adult-centered, present-oriented and interested in enjoying life with extended family and peers. Working class culture teaches children to admire toughness, generosity and practicality".¹⁷

On the other hand, it is believed that the pattern of socialization among middle class families differ from that which prevails among the working class and is also one that is favourable to the school system, Goldthrope¹⁸ observes that "middle class culture is not simply a matter of money, it is a matter of attitudes". John (1966) observes that the middle class family is 'child-centered', 'future-oriented' and interested in achievement and

mobility",¹⁹ The children are taught to respect property and to value neatness and punctuality. This group plans for the future and their children and hence realizes the importance of education. Differential patterns of socialization in the family favour the middle class regarding children's education and reduces opportunities for working class children. Further, the neighbourhood (community) and school also constrain opportunities for the working class.

The Community and Neighbourhood

Another important factor influencing the education of the children in slums is the proximity of the community feeling and the neighbourhood culture. A community is generally known as a small, localised group with a common culture - shared values and ways of living that cater to the needs of individual members. Development of modern industries at urban areas demarcated the settlement patterns for working class and middle classes.

Middle class families concentrate at the places which are characterised by "superior material environment inside and outside the home. The communities of these people offer open spaces, play in open areas and breathe clean air. The homes offer uncrowded accommodation reserved for the young, separate room for home work, garden and other

facilities and home entertainment".²⁰ In contrast, the communities where working classes reside are called the 'Twilight Zones' by Cogleston.²¹ These are slum areas of big cities. They are over-crowded and lack basic amenities. In these areas schools are ill-equipped. The social values of the school are seen to differ from that of the community. At best the school achieves a kind of 'bi-linguism' and 'biculture',²² where children have one set of language and values for home and community and one for school. As a result children may show little enthusiasm to develop skills in the subjects. Consequently, teachers feel that children lack interest in education.²³

The major reason, attributed to the lack of interest in education among slum children is the existence of 'cultural conflict, between that of the school and community'. As the teachers come from middle classes, they are seen to be unwilling to deal 'sympathetically with the community',²⁴ In contrast among the middle classes the values of the home and the community are by and large the values of the school.

THE SCHOOL

Thirdly, the internal dynamics of schools play an important role in defining the nature of inequality in

education among children. Schools makes "tacit social and cultural demands on children"²⁵ Working class children appear to be unable to perceive, cognize, communicate verbally and behave socially as the middle class children do. Social behaviours exhibited by the deprived children are appropriate and adequate for their home environment, but are seen as inadequate for a middle class-oriented curriculum. The concept of 'cultural capital' referred to suggest that schools draw unevenly on the social and cultural resources of members of society. For example, schools utilize particular linguistic structure, authority patterns and types of curricula. Bourdieu maintains that "the cultural experiences in the home facilitates the child's adjustment to the school and his / her academic achievement."²⁶ This perspective points to the structure of schooling and to community life to understand the different levels of participation and performance in schooling. The curriculum in the school is oriented to the interests, needs and values of middle class children.²⁷ It predominantly reflects the language, heritage and values of the middle class. Middle class oriented teachers tend to view unfavourably, children who do not dress neatly and are unable to show socially desirable behaviour as per middle class standards.

The above discussion suggests that the poor and working classes are relatively disadvantaged in availing opportunities in education and their children as compared to the middle classes, (1) working class children and (2) victims of system which has built in structure of inequity based on middle class on upper class values as opposed to the vast majority of the poorer sections living in the 'twilight zones' of the slums in the city. The dynamics of family socialization, community values and ideology of schools contribute to reinforcing the existing system of inequities.

Schooling in Slums in India

In Indian context A study of schooling in Bombay city reveals that the majority of children in the municipal schools surveyed belong to manual and workingclass backgrounds, while the children of white-collar workers were found in the private schools.²⁸ Krishna Kumar observes that these elite schools offer routes of 'Sponsored Mobility'²⁹ to elite jobs and that these routes are clear only for middle classes. Thus, there is clearcut division in education system itself - the minority of private schools charge exorbitant rates of fees meet the needs of upper classes and the vast bulk of the poor people make use of the poor quality of education provided by the government.

Disparities are particularly pronounced in urban areas where there are elite public schools catering to affluent and middle classes. However, Slums, where there are extreme conditions of poverty, lack of civic amenities and poor facilities for schooling lack even primary schools.

There has been a considerable increase in the actual number of schools at all stages in urban India. However, schooling is inadequate. Venkatarayudu (1971) study of Mysore slums found a complete absence of governmental educational facilities, with the result hundreds of children were not attending any school. Wiebe (1978) in his study of 'Social life in slum areas in Madras City' found that only few students are attending a school which is located 1.5 k.m. away from their homes. In a study of slum teachers in Delhi, according to Sharma (1976), the teachers noted that facilities are inadequate and classes are over-crowded in slum schools. Lesser utilisation of educational facilities in slum areas has also been highlighted by 'a Survey of the Slums of Old Delhi' conducted by the Bharat Sevak Samaj and by the Social Survey of J.J. Settlements in Delhi by Town and Country Planning (1977).

Most of the studies on slums have mainly concentrated on a provision of facilities and social and economic indicators. These include Sen (1970), Gadgil (1970)

and D'Souza (1968). The Town and Country Planning Department which has conducted survey of slums of Calcutta, Pune, Chandigarh and Surat focussed on the physical, demographic and health conditions. The places of origin of dwellers, length of residence in the city, occupational patterns and so on have also been studied. Some studies have focussed on the social life of slum dwellers. Shah Manzoor Alam calls slums as 'a Social Canker of the City' (1965 : 118). On the same lines, Gupta believes that the social effects of slum life may include 'family disorganisation, the disturbance of marriage and deterioration of moral standards among the youth through parental neglect (1968:210). Desai and Pillai observe in their general introduction to the edited work 'slums and urbanisation', that the slum is basically an area of darkness, despair and poverty.

Studies on slums in India refer largely to the lack of facilities for schooling, poor quality of education, unequal enrollments and dropout from schools. However, they have not given adequate attention to the sociological factors that underlie the schooling of children in slums. Further, enrollments and drop-out among children belonging to different families suggest that there are threshold levels above which schooling of children is possible. Non enrolment of children and drop-outs from school also stresses the need for studying the quality of education,

teachers attitudes and expectations and so on.

THE PROBLEM

The main objective of the study is the social and economic context of schooling of children belonging to the poorest section of the urban society and who live in the settlements called slums. It attempts -

- * To understand the social and economic constraints in the schooling of slum children.
- * To explore the nature of educational opportunities that are available to slum children at the primary level and their experience in school.
- * Finally, to document the current and future perceived roles of children and parents towards education and occupations.

The slums of Delhi will provide the larger context of the study. One slum has been selected for a more detailed study - Raghubir Nagar in West Delhi, specifically the 'R' block Jhuggies.

Methodology:

- * The field work was conducted in two stages. First at the level that of the community. This included among others were, group discussions conducted with community members and group leaders to understand social and

economic structure of the slum and of specific community within it, and secondly

- * At the level of individual family, to understand the social background of children of school going age belong to that families vary in their response to education. Here attitudes of parents, children are taken into account.

TOOLS

To obtain information from the community, parents, children two different interview schedules were used in the study.

- (a) Children questionnaire and
- (b) Household questionnaire

Household and Children Questionnaires:

To collect information about individual households the questionnaire is used. The questionnaire is divided into two parts. In the first part general information about the household and individual family members were interviewed sought. Information on education, children was also collected. The second part was pertaining to interview with one child per each house, who either never enrolled or continuing in the school. The objective is to obtain the parental and children's attitudes to the education.

Views about the teacher, subjects preferred, educational and occupational aspirations are also obtained from the children. For non-enrolled children, the reasons for not attending school, work involvement and perceptions on education were included.

Group meetings and discussions with Community Leaders:

In order to understand the perceptions of the community especially in the context of education the researcher decided to have group meetings with parents and community members as well as discussions with 'pradhans' (local leaders). The regional language of the Delhi slum is Hindi. Accordingly the questionnaire were translated into Hindi. The questionnaire thus prepared included 'structured' and 'open ended' questions.

Sampling: A slum where a voluntary organisation was working in the field of slum development was selected for field work. This was done in order

- * to facilitate entry into the slum and the limited time available to build-up rapport with the slum dwellers, and
- * to obtain secondary data available with the concerned voluntary organisation which could be used to enhance the understanding of the slum and its environs.

Keeping in view these objectives, Raghbir Nagar, one of West Delhi's resettlement colonies, was selected. Raghbir Nagar is the target area for "Deepalaya", an organisation which is working in the field of Health, education and community development since 1986. It is located 2 kms away from Raja Garden, an upper income locality of West Delhi.

Micro Study

A survey conducted of 5 percent of the slum population with information on Schooling of Children and parental education was made available to the researcher by a voluntary organisation involved in developmental activity. The survey along with the community schedule provided the basis for selection of two communities for a micro study - the Jallads and Gubbarewales.

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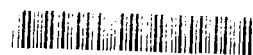
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CHAPTER - II

SLUMS OF DELHI - THE CONTEXT

The development of cities and the process of urbanisation in India are not altogether a new phenomenon. The history of the urbanisation in India dates back to the Indus Valley Civilization. But the process of Urbanization in India has been very rapid recently. Although the Indian urban population constitutes 19.9 percent of the total population 1971, the size and dimensions of the urban population are enormous.¹

The process of urbanisation has been a complex one. It has given rise to a host of problems in the city. On the one hand it projects an image of affluence, progress and development through its well planned and beautifully laid out roads and residential areas, high rise buildings, luxurious life styles, sophisticated public and private schools and so on. On the other side the large city is dotted by the small lands hutments inhabited by the slum dwellers who struggle to survive in a hostile environment without even basic civic amenities. This inherent contradiction of city life is also noted by social theorists like Max Weber. He observed that "as the city grows on one side the rich, hotel and club life is being substituted for home life. At the other extreme, appear homeless masses

living in the lodging house, tenement houses and a migrant class"² A product of industrial slum first emerged as a significant phenomenon in the 19th century western world. The early industrial slum of England have received much attention from historians and social reformers. A U.N. study concluded that slum building was about the fastest growing activity with a 12 percent increase on an average in developing countries.³

No part of the 'developing' world is free from slums and academics and policy planners have been concerned over the inhumane conditions under which people live. Scholars observe that living in slums is a way of life, which is reflected in "poor sanitation and health practices, deviant behaviour and characteristic attribute of apathy and social isolation"⁴ Some others note that slums are "overcrowded with little privacy, so far as children are concerned, the house becomes a variable prison for them. Between 25 to 40 percent of the population in big cities like Calcutta, Bombay, Delhi, Madras, Hyderabad and Ahmedabad live in slums and 'Squatter settlements'. In four metropolitan cities of Bombay, Calcutta, Delhi and Madras alone approximately 5 million people out of a population of 19 million live in squatter settlements, which are known as Jhuggi Jhompri in Delhi, 'Cheris' in Madras, 'Zopadpathis' in Bombay and 'busties' in Calcutta.⁶ One person out of five

in Bombay, one in four in Delhi, one in 3 in Madras and many more in Calcutta live in slums.

In India the origin and growth and slums could be traced to the adverse conditions of the large sections of the people in the rural areas. The underdevelopment of the agricultural economy and migration of the people to the cities had started under the British rule. It received a fresh impetus after independence with the thrust placed on industrialisation under the five year plans. Capital intensive policies to develop agriculture or the desire for 'Green Revolution' infact led to greater marginalisation and poverty in the country side. Concentration of populations in cities of well-to-do people also meant that better services were available in the cities than the country side. People who could no longer find any employment in their own or neighbouring villages moved to cities to search for a means of survival. They were also no longer seasonal migrants looking for work in-between agricultural cycles which still then had been priority; rather they now come to reside in cities permanently.

In the cities the migrants sold their labour to earn a living. The wages the poor migrants earned were not even adequate to meet nutritional standard leave alone those of shelter and other basic amenities. As a result they began

squatter on available, vacant land near their place of work, erecting hutments out of any available materials such as Card board, old wood, straw bamboo, old tin plates etc. A cluster of such dwellings soon acquired all the physical attributes of a slum - substandard housing, high density and unsanitary conditions, absence of basic amenities like water, sewage facilities.

THE DELHI SLUMS

Modern Delhi is spread over an area of 1,483 sq.km. It has been described as "a well planned garden city, with towers and palatial buildings, with charming pleasure houses and lakes full to the brim with crystal clear water".⁷ Delhi has been the hub of activity and seat of power at least seven times in the past. The Delhi of the present day has been named "eighth rebirth".⁸

Delhi's contours are undergoing a rapid and continuous expansion, extending its tentacles to include even what little is left of its rural landscapes. This seems inevitable, "considering the volume of migration that the city is compelled to cope with: unlike Bombay and Calcutta, which were established centres of trade and commerce"⁹ Delhi has been the centre of political power and bureaucracy of the capital of the country. Thus the earliest migrants were

"to the industrial centres and relatively few people came to Delhi till after independence".¹⁰ The first migrants were the refugees from Pakistan following the partition of India. Industry in Delhi grew around the refugees who were aided by the first government of independent India. As urbanisation advanced, Delhi became yet another centre attracting poor rural migrants. The magnitude of migration can be noticed from the annual increase between 1962 and 1965 which varied from 69,000 to 83,000 due to net migration. As estimates put the net influx per year into Delhi at about 2 lakh people, it was predicted that by 2001 AD the capital's population is likely to be within the range of 1.35 crore to 1.40 crore people.¹¹ In comparison with the rate of the population of Calcutta and Hyderabad, Delhi's population figures have doubled and that of Bombay, Madras and Ahmedabad it has tripled. It is no wonder, then that the density of Delhi's population has nearly doubled during the last 15 years or so, and it is projected that 'by 2000 AD at least 8,533 people will be struggling for a foothold in every single sq.km by Delhi's land'.

A very rapid growth of Delhi and ever growing volume of immigrants has created a urban crisis which has led to the creation of slums. The wellbeing of the residents of the city require services such as scavenging, clearing of garbage, sewage and waste disposal. The industrial units

are not providing them with decent housing facilities and the well off people wanted the 'eye-sore' slum settlements, which posed constant threat of disease and epidemics, removed from the immediate vicinity of their residential areas. The politicians too realised the value of migrants as potential vote banks. The stream of migration that began in the sixties received a fresh impetus in the seventies due to a boom in the construction industry and its ancillary units (such as stone quarrying, brick kilns etc.). Education is no less responsible for the phenomenon of migration. With the expansion of educational facilities in the country, the number of literates has more than doubled since independence. The structure of education in India is such that it glorifies the non-agricultural sectors and since living in the town with its more abundant amenities has come to occupy an important place in our value system, many of those villages who are able-bodied or better educated migrated to the cities¹² in search of employment.

Those who are poor erect new slums near their place of work living with absolutely no basic amenities. The growth rate of slums in the city is very rapid. Katras which were the bungalows for bureaucracy of the times then, at old Delhi are reduced to the overcrowded and dilapidated structures as "qualified to be called slums"¹³.

The realization that the housing programmes have lagged behind to provide shelter to people in Delhi prompted Jawaharlal Nehru to remark that "it is bad enough to inherit slums but allow them to grow is the society's fault :the government fault"¹⁴ In 1950, the Delhi Improvement Trust Enquiry Committee submitted its report, known as the Birla Report. It observed that "the growth of Delhi has been proceeding in a haphazard way with little foresight and imagination and without any coordination". It was also noted that the old Delhi has been sliding into the vast slum.¹⁵

To combat the unplanned growth of the city and to provide basic amenities to its population, the authorities evolved various strategies. The Delhi Development Authority (DDA) was created by an 1957 Act with jurisdiction over the Delhi union territory. It was given a total statutory power for preparing, implementing and administering a master plan for Delhi. The Delhi Master Plan in 1962 was the first major exercise in comprehensive urban planning. Its salient features are (i) space standards and schools and other community services in the neighbourhoods, and (ii) reception areas to accommodate 70,000 immigrants annually in self help and designing cheap housing.

One of the significant aspects of the DDA's efforts has been the scheme for rehabilitation of what are

called 'J.J.Clusters'. These were 'settlement colonies' that were established during the period from 1962 to 1975. 'J.J. clusters' were also established during the 18 months of the national emergency between 1975 and 1977. These were rechristened as 'resettlement colonies'. During the period of emergency 1,25,000 dwelling units were demolished. Around 7,00,000 slum dwellers were resettled in the colonies situated on the fringes of the city. This also led to the uprooting of several primary schools which had caused considerable dislocation of educational facilities for the slum dwellers.

At present Delhi has 660 Jhuggies and 44 resettlement colonies. In Delhi there is a clear distinction between slum and a squatter settlement. A slum is a "structure or group of structures or an area which becomes unfit for human habitation due to deficiencies in the nature of living accommodation and deficiencies in the environment. Such an area by notification in the official gazette is declared as a slum area".¹⁶ Slums contain mainly "pucca" houses. Squatter settlements on the other hand are hutments or Jhuggies that are constructed out of mud, bricks, straw, bamboos wood etc. The squatter settlements or J.J. clusters are usually located near residential areas.

SOCIAL CHARACTERISTICS OF DELHI SLUMS

There have been very few studies on the slums of Delhi. Given the vastness of the population it is obvious that survey would be specific to the areas studied. One of the better known studies is Majundar's study "The urban poor and Social change - A study of squatter settlements in Delhi". The study says that slum dwellers of Delhi lie at the bottom of the social and economic structure of the city. Further he says that "65 percent of the slum dwellers belonged to the Schedule Caste and lower classes".¹⁷ Most of the households do not even have access to public toilets and are forced to use open spaces near by for defecation. Life in the slum is a daily struggle for survival. These people sell their labour in the market as casual and regular workers. Generally these people enter informal and service sectors which require little or no education and capital.

Housing:

Ingenious methods are used to construct houses and utilize the available space to minimise costs. Around 60 percent of the houses in Delhi slums had dwelling units with walls of mud, mortar and rubble and thatched roof or other materials. Initially a place that is nearer to the place of employment is selected. Job and steady income are the main

concern at this stage of settlement.¹⁸ The squatter takes care of the minimum needs of sleeping and storing of a few possessions. These people hardly have any interest in improving the shelter at the initial stages. After reasonable degree of safety through employment, squatterers begin to invest in the construction of better home accordingly to their own values of space and amenity. Sometimes the Proliferation of the slum lives near the canal banks and drainage is a common. Here too the pattern of housing is the same as we have noted for other slums in Delhi.

Occupation

The majority of the slum dwellers leave their villages because they are unable to support themselves or their families. Majority of the lower classes even after migration continues to undertake "traditional occupations as scavengers and leather workers". In another study of Mishra and Gupta (1981) are listed various types of occupations as tabled below.

Table : 1

Occupations of Slum Dwellers in Delhi

<u>Occupations</u>	<u>Percentage</u>
Skilled	42.16
Semiskilled	17.84
Unskilled	13.51
Shop keepers	13.24
Professionals lower levels	1.08
Professionals high levels	0.81
Unemployed/retired	1.08
House wife	0.27

Source: Mishra and Gupta (1981), Study of Resettlement Policies in Delhi., p.37.

A study done by Mohammad reveals that women generally work as a domestic servants in the Kothies (upper middle class houses) and men are involved in petty trades like grocery, fish selling, tea, pan, 'kabari' (selling waste materials) and vegetable selling.¹⁹

Consumption Pattern:

The average income of slums of Delhi, as the study of Mishra and Gupta (1981) has found is around Rs. 280.10 per month.²⁰ Of the income earned around 95 percent is spent

on food, and fuel and the remaining 5 percent on transportation and occasional recreation. Some families live perpetually in debt. The occasional expenditure includes those on rituals, marriage ceremonies. Expenditure on those items force them into further debts. The purchase of necessities of life is made on daily basis. The people evolve a dual strategy of maximising sources and minimising expenditure. That is, (1) employment of household labour-force including children; and (2) purchasing low quality of goods and services. With this adoptive measures to cope with the present situation certain negative costs are manifested in poor health and malnutrition and insufficient education for children.

As social life in slums is a struggle for survival, the priority accorded to the education of the children becomes secondary. It is because of objective conditions that most of the children are engaged in child labour to supplement family income.

Schooling

Delhi has experienced tremendous expansion in educational facilities at all levels, but particularly at primary level. All India educational reports show that there is a gradual growth of enrolments in the schools. For example, enrolments increased from 5,74,632 in 1973 to

10,22,511 in Delhi in 1992.²¹ These reports further say that there is a increase in primary educational institutions as well as primary school teachers.²²

These Reports are silent however on educational situation i.e. enrolments and school facilities in the slums. As was already stated, 65 percent of slum dwellers belong to Scheduled Caste backgrounds, but their literacy rate is only 39.50 percent as against the 61.54 percent.²³ of other communities in Delhi. So majority of the slum dwellers especially Scheduled Castes are illiterates in Delhi slums. Mishra and Gupta found that out of 227 families of 370 slum households surveyed. There was at least one child who did not go to the school. In Wazirpur Slum 60 percent of the households did not send their wards to schools. In a study of slum teachers in Delhi, Sharma reported that 'the teachers found inadequate facilities and over-crowding of classes in slum schools'.

Bharat Sevak Samaj surveyed the Old Delhi slums i.e. Katras (slums). Where housing conditions are extremely poor. It pointed to the location of schools in old buildings without ventilations. Studies done on resettlement policies in Delhi by Mishra and Rakesh (1981) further observed that shifting of the people from squatters to resettlements colonies worsened the living conditions. In the process

schools at squatters settlements were not only demolished; There were no schools established to accomodate the dislocated children as the settlement colonies.

Ashraf's study on Alaknanda slums of Delhi shows that the children are without education as tabled below.

TABLE : 2

LEVEL OF CHILDREN EDUCATION IN ALAKNANDA SLUM

Education Nil	Primary education	Class V-VII
73 (61.34%)	40 (33.34%)	6 (5.04%)

Source: Mohmmad, A, (1986), Alaknanda Slums: A Bench mark Study, p.6.

Studies further revealed that there is a gap between the slum and non-slum families in terms of utilisation of education facilities provided by the municipal authorities of the Delhi Administration. Almost half of the school going population are not enrolled in the schools in slums and drop-out is also very high in slums as compared to the non slums.²⁴

The infrastructure of the slum schools like black boards, tables, chairs, facilities like lavatories, play ground, etc. relatively inadequate has compared with the non-slum schools. Most of the slum schools are housed in tents and dilapidated structures. The following table shows a level of disparities between slum and non slum schools.

TABLE : 3

TYPES OF SCHOOL STRUCTURES IN SLUMS AND NON-SLUMS

Type of Structure	Slum Schools %	Non Slum Schools %
Tents	25.00	-
Pre-fabricated sheds	36.35	20.00
Both tents and Pre-fabricated sheds and <u>pucca</u> building	2.30	-
Tents, Pre-fabricated sheds and a <u>pucca</u> building.	2.30	-
Buildings	34.05	80.00
Total	100.00	100.00

Source: Patel, S. Equality of Educational Opportunities in India, A Myth or reality, pp.103.

Thus the quality of life of slum dwellers appears to be extremely poor while these communities are economically vulnerable socially they belong to the lower strata of soccity. The large section of slum dwellers appear

to belong to the scheduled caste communities. In terms of facilities for education slum children appear to be inadequately served. Studies also suggest that schools that are available are being poorly utilised in order to understand the specific context of schooling in a slum, the Raghbir Nagar is one of the slums of Delhi selected.

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CHAPTER - III

THE RAGHUBIR NAGAR SLUMS - SOCIAL AND ECONOMIC STRUCTURE

The chapter makes an attempt to understand the socio-economic structure of the slums in Raghbir Nagar which are located at a distance of 2 km. from Raja Garden, an upper income locality in West Delhi. The earliest settlement of people in the area was in the early sixties "by refugees, displaced persons evicted households and squatters from all over the country".¹ The caste and community structure in the slums, the economic conditions of dwellers and civic amenities in the settlements or 'clusters' have been studied. The response of children to schooling will be explored. While a comparative picture of both Resettlement Colonies and squatter settlements on Raghbir Nagar is presented, the focus is on the pattern i.e. the Jhuggi Jhopdis (J.J) of 'R' Block. The discussion that follows draws heavily upon three reports namely SAGE(1992-96), FOES(1991) and TARU²(1994). These reports are based on an extensive surveys of socio-economic and cultural aspects of life in the Raghbir Nagar slums.

Settlement Patterns

Three distinct patterns of settlements have been identified in the Raghbir Nagar. The SAGE and FOES reports

divide settlements into zones - in terms of the nature of settlements³. There are

- * Squatter settlements referred to as zone I or J.J. clusters.
- * Resettlement, Housing plots of 12.5 sq.yards refer to zone II or 12.5 clusters.
- * Resettlement Housing plots of 25 sq yards refer to zone III or 25 clusters.

The total population of these three clusters of Raghur Nagar is estimated to be approximately 122644.⁴ The population density of the community is ten times that of the state of Delhi. The community is highly heterogeneous in terms of ethnicity and religion. The pattern of the housing and infrastructure differ in zones though they are all included in the category of slums⁵. However the magnitude of problems faced by dwellers differ in the three zones. The Reports (SAGE and FOES) are based on extensive surveys on various aspects of social and physical life of these zones. They reveal that zone I or squatter settlements are the most deprived of the clusters. In the sections that follow a comparative picture of the differential patterns of life in each settlement are discussed. Pattern of life styles i.e. caste and community interactions, occupations and income levels will have influence on education of the children.

Variations in the facilities like housing, play grounds, water and schools reflect in schooling of a child.

Social Structure

The 'R' block Jhuggies (J.J) occupy around 3 ha. of total land of 26 ha. that comprises Raghubir Nagar.⁶. These J.J. cluster settlement is bounded by Nazafgarh Nala (Drain) on one side and road on the other. People of the area are migrants from Utter Pradesh and Bihar. Before settling in the area, they lived in Jhuggies in west Delhi. Following the eviction there families gradually settled down in Raghubir Nagar.

The inhabitants of the J.J. Clusters of 'R' Block in Raghubir Nagar belong to different social and religious groups. The majority of them are Hindus. Among the minorities Muslims and Sikhs are prominent in the area. TARU study estimates that around 1000 families belong to the Hindu community with a few (around 70-80) Muslim families and three sikh families in the R Block Jhuggies. Caste and community structure of squatters is shown in the Table-1.

TABLE - 1
Caste and Communities in J.J. Clusters in
'R' Block, Raghbir Nagar

<u>Caste / Community</u>	<u>Sub Castes</u>
<u>Hindus</u>	
Forward Castes	: Rajput
Trading Castes	: Baniya
Backward Castes	: Dhobhi, Nai, Ghadaria, Dhirand, Lohar
Others	: Gehra, Dhemar and Nepali
Scheduled Castes (SC)	: Jatav Chamar, Jallad, Mochi and Dom.
Others (SC)	: Gubbarwales, Tharu, Ghumeri, sani, Bhand and Bhat.
<u>Muslims</u>	: Sayyads,
	: Sheikhs,
	: Pathan etc.
<u>Sikhs</u>	
----- Source: TARU, (1994), p.22. -----	

There are around 100 Nepali families residing in the same locality. Each caste group inhabits a spatially distinct area in the J.J.Clusters. Forward and Backward Castes maintain a social distance from Scheduled Castes of the area.

The 12.5 sq. yard clusters also have a predominantly Hindu population, though there are Muslim and Christian families as well. "A little less than 10% of the families are muslims, there are 56 christian, and 7 sikh families in the settlement".⁸ The distinct feature of this cluster is that the division is not only based on caste but also region and language as well. This can be observed from the Table - 2.

TABLE - 2

Caste Groups and State of Origin in 12.5 sq.yard clusters.

State	Caste Group
Utter Pradesh	Baniya, Mathur, Brahmin, Jayav.
Rajasthan	Berwa, Balai (Ravidas), Balmiki Bhangi.
Bihar	Chamar, Dhobhi, Jamadar
Gujarat	Parmar, Solanki, etc.
Tamil nadu	Mallai

Source: TARU, (1994), Table no. 22, p.35.

Families in the cluster interact mainly with those in the same locality, i.e., with neighbours belong to the same region, language and caste groups. It is also noticed that language has contributed to the relative exclusiveness of groups and their feeling of social bonding. For example the Christians are referred to as 'Madrasis' and are

perceived as a distinct group because they speak a language no one else understands. The term 'Bihari' is used to categorise people who speak a variety of Hindi and come from Bihar. These people are seen as of having relatively low status. However in the social hierarchy Doms, Jamadars (Balai, Bhangi) and pasi occupy lowest position. Other castes maintains social distance and "refuse to even visualize interaction with these groups".⁹ The Gujarati community form a distinct group and have their own rituals, customs and marriage patterns.

The 25 sq.yard clusters (Zone III) is distinct in social structure from both the 12.5 clusters as well as the J.J. clusters. This is the area where the earliest resettlement of people took place in Raghbir Nagar, i.e., since the early sixties. At present it has highly heterogeneous castes and communities. It is because of "high degree of sale-resale and purchase of flats. There are no spatially distinct community or caste clusters except probably for the earliest blocks, 'N' and 'P'¹⁰. So except in certain blocks remaining part of 25 sq.yards are heterogeneous in nature can be seen with castes. 'N' block is largely inhabited by Punjabis. Jatavs and Balai families who are Scheduled Castes settled in 'P' block. These families moved into Raghbir Nagar in the sixties following

demolition of Jhuggies in various parts of the city. The 'R' block is inhabited by Scheduled Caste groups. They include Jatavs, Khatiks, Doms and Bhangies etc. There are few families of Brahmins and Muslims in the locality.

Family structure differs in the three clusters. Families in J.J. clusters are mainly nuclear, while a larger proportion of joint family system can be found in zone II and III clusters. The average family size in JJ clusters is 6 while it is 10 in the remaining clusters.¹¹ The SAGE (1992-96) report identified some of the serious problems in the three zones. It noted that dowry and child marriages are very common. It says that child marriages are more prevalent in JJ as compared to other clusters and even is of less than 12 years are married. The report note that 6.74 percent of the J.J. cluster families that are surveyed believe that 12 years is the right age for marriage for girls and 44.19 percent opined that the right age was less than 18 years.¹²

A number of festivals are celebrated, the important festivals being Dussera, Deepawali, Holi, Mohurram and Id. Holi is a festival of colours celebrated joyfully by all communities. They spend extravagantly on festivals and wedding ceremonies. Generally the birth of a girl child is not welcome. "As soon as girl child is born the family members begin to weep about the cost of marriage they would

have to bear".¹³ The families tend to dress in their traditional clothes, especially the women. In some cases it is observed that there is a mixed way of dressing - modern as well as traditional. But women invariably wear traditional dress only.

Civic Amenities and Quality of Housing:

For human dignity and hygienic life civic amenities like safe drinking water, proper roads, lavatories and healthy environment is essential. Reports reveal that there are variations in the availability of public and civic amenities in the clusters. Analysis of Table - 3 reveals the variance and deprivation of facilities in the resettlement colonies, 12.5 and 25 square yards and JJ clusters, in particular.

The Table-3 indicates that there are barely any civic amenities available to the J.J. clusters. They have to 'hunt' for medical services and even for drinking water. Parks, T V centres and community hall are places where people can meet together and share feelings are totally absent. There are no lavatories in Zone I which causes great inconvenience to the people. The TARU survey notes that the lack of facility forced the people to look for open places for defecation. Recent constructions of Jansuvidha Sauchalayas (public lavatories) did not solve the problem as they have to pay Rs. 0.50/- per use of the facility. Free

Sulabh sauchalaya latrines (mobile latrines) are remained as a monument without cleaning and washing. So people rarely use the facility. Water supply is either in the form of hand pumps or taps. The conditions around the water points are very unhygienic. In many cases, the water tap or a hand pump is installed right next to a very badly maintained drain. Water logging is a major problem with all these water points.¹⁴

TABLE - 3

CIVIC AMENITIES IN THREE CLUSTERS

S.No.	Resettlement Colonies		
	Zone I (J.J. Clusters)	Zone II	Zone III
Total Sample Population	12600	12000	99540
1. Hand pumps	15	50	238
2. Lavatories	0	96	926
3. Urinals	0	2	54
4. Park	0	6	35
5. Roads	1	1	116
6. Community Centres	0	1	1500
7. T V Centres	0	1	2
8. Telephone	0	3	8
9. Health Centres	0	0	7

Source : SAGE, III (1992-96), Table 8, p.16.

Facilities in the 12.5 sq. yard clusters seems to be better, than the 'J.J' though inadequate for the "15000 families living in around 800 houses"¹⁵. It has open spaces and parks occupy a area 28 per cent of the settlement. It is observed that these are all badly maintained. Water supply is a problem. People have to go to the 25 sq yards clusters for drinking water. Hand pumps and taps are located at street corners, but they get 'Khara' (hard) water which is undrinkable. People from these clusters have access to community toilets and Sulabh sauchalaya.

The 25 sq yard clusters have improved facilities. Most houses have individual water supply connections and have provision for water storage. Some parts of the clusters have common toilets, but several houses have built their independent toilets. These clusters also have a number of parks and open spaces of different sizes. Small and medium sized parks are better maintained as there are looked after by 'Malis' (gardeners) and "jamaðars" (sweepers) appointed by households living around them.¹⁶

A comparative analysis of civic amenities shows that JJ clusters are practically denied basic civic amenities. The 12.5 and especially 25 sq.yards appear to have better facilities as well as open spaces and parks. The

same is the case with the quality of housing in these localities.

House is a place that can provide rest after work and also space for family interaction. The housing pattern of J.J. clusters are extremely poor. Reports indicate that the entire population lives in the temporary structures of very poor quality.¹⁷ Houses are constructed using 'ad-hoc' technology with loosely arranged bricks or bamboos, covered by either carpets or tin sheets. They need constant repairs to protect them from rain, heat and cold. There is no provision for any open space within the house. Whether there is extra space, people use it for a number of household activities such as cooking, washing, drying, sitting and running¹⁸. Most houses in JJ clusters have only one enclosure which is used for all household activities. These houses have no provision for adequate ventilation. The quality of materials utilised for roofs and walls is sub-standard and, therefore, many houses leak during the monsoon season and become very hot during summer.

Houses of 12.5 sq yards are constructed with bricks and proper roofs. The small plot size of roughly 12.5 sq. yards has little possibility of open space. Open space is more common on first or upper floors. Streets are used for a number of household activities such as washing,

bathing and cooking as houses have only one room on the ground floor. 25 sq yard houses have better comfort conditions than other houses on account of larger plot sizes and larger open spaces. Most of the houses have open space on the first or upper floors. The quality of housing is likely to have important implications for the physical and psychological growth of children and also influence the environment provided for education.

Economic Status:

The occupations that are pursued by people indicates the regularity of income and economic security. Generally regular and constant income of facilitate families to send their children to the school. Like any other slum of Delhi, the dwellers of JJ clusters are largely unskilled workers and street vendors. This is seen in Table-4. In comparison 12.5 and exceptionally 25 sq. yards (zone 3) have a higher percentage of 'service income' earners.

Unskilled workers are casual labourers, washermen and rikshaw pullers. The semi-skilled include painters, turner, fitter and welders etc. Mason, Mechanic, electrician, cutter, tailors, etc., are the skilled workers who are relatively few in number in the squatter settlements.

TABLE - 4

Occupations in the squatter settlements and Resettlements.

	JJ Clusters	Resettlement clusters	
		(12.5)	(25)
	%	%	%
Labour			
Unskilled	28.33	17.52	15.1
Semi-skilled	10.83	22.64	9.4
Skilled	15.41	17.94	19.1
Street Vendors	25.83	19.23	19.1
Artisans	Nil	Nil	0.1
Service			
Class IV category	4.54	17.09	7.6
Class III category	1.66	0.42	6.0

Source: SAGE III (1992-96) Table 10, p.19.

The relatively large percentage of unskilled labour of the irregular income and job insecurity can be seen in the J.J. clusters. Income depends upon the 'chance' or availability of work at labour markets. Opportunities for unskilled labour is also irregular. There is a high degree of unemployment in the squatter settlements. The magnitude of unemployment is high in all clusters. The SAGE(1992-96) report indicates that 77.43 per cent, 84.75 per cent and 85

per cent women were unemployed women zone I, II and III respectively. A large proportion of women are engaged in home based work.¹⁹

In the J.J. clusters women's home based work is hemming, tailoring and making parts of the cooler. Most of the muslim families engaged in tailoring. Making parts of coolers is the most common job available to the women in JJ clusters. On an average women spend everyday 7-8 hours in home based works. Though they earn Rs. 15 on average per day, the availability of work is irregular. Due to which the income is not regular to support their families. As stated by TARU, women also engage in domestic works like fetching water, cooking etc., which also takes atleast 7-8 hours of the day. So generally to copeup with these works parents involve children to share the burden of assisting home based works.

As far work outside the home is concerned, women in J.J. clusters work as domestic servants in the neighbouring flats. Ragpicking as a means of earning a livelihood is also very common in these clusters. Women often take their children and collect left over food from nearby houses. In the 12.5 sq yards women are involved in making paper packets, cutting sticks etc. Women work outside the home mainly as domestic help and as a traders in old

cloths. Women work in the 25 sq yards includes tailoring, making of artificial flowers and so on. Women in poor household work and domestic servants.

The extended nature of families at 12.5 and 25 sq yards, provides care for education even if mothers work outside or within the home. In contrary, we noticed that income of J.J. dwellers is irregular due to the unskilled natures of jobs and its irregular availability. Most of the women who are interviewed by TARU admitted that they have no income earning opportunity within or outside the home. This poor economic status of J.J. clusters forced the parents to involve their children to earn for the families. So children became a source of income due to which majority of children both boys and girls in J.J. clusters involved in child labour at school going age.

Child Labour

Children are involved in remunerative work both in the home and in the factories in and around the Raghbir Nagar. SAGE reports reveal that majority of these children are of school going age as mentioned in the Table-5.

TABLE - 5

Child Labour in the Clusters

Zone	Child workers 5-14 years		
	Male %	Female %	Total %
Zone I (J.J. Clusters)	71.16	65.42	68.29
Zone II (12.5 sq. yards)	20.83	25.17	23.00
Zone III (25 sq. yards)	16.90	12.53	14.7

Source: SAGE Vol, III (1992-96), Table 12, p.22

Around 68 per cent of children are engaged in labour among families of JJ clusters. The incidence of child labour is very high compared to the 12.5 and 25 sq yards. As stated earlier insecure occupational pattern of parents at JJ clusters seems to be the main reason for the children to involve in labour at school going age.

The lack of adequate infrastructure in the area has resulted in the involvement of children in domestic work.²⁰ They participate in filling water and washing clothes as water supply is inadequate. In addition to cooking and cleaning of the home child care is usually taken on by older girl children. Children in Raghubir Nagar are engaged in home based work. Piece rate work is brought to the cluster by middle men from the factories or petty

enterprises in and around Raghur Nagar or by family members who go in search of such work. Such work done by women and children within the home. This is usually done throughout the day. Table-6 describes various types of home based works involving children.

TABLE - 6

Home based work involving children - JJ Colony

Kind of Work	Hours of work/day	Age group of children	Availability	Rate
Assembling TV Parts	5-6	6 - 12	Irregular	Rs.5 for 100 pcs.
Cutting washers	4-5	10 - 15	Irregular	Rs.7 per thousand
Packing cooler	4-5	8 & above	Seasonal	Rs 8-10 per day.
Packing toffees	4-6	9-10 & above	Individual family	Rs 5 per 10 kilos
Making plastic flowers	4-5	13-16 & above	Depends on family	Rs 4 per dozen.
Weaving frames	4-6	Above 12-13	Depends on family	Rs 2 per frame (Rs 18 per day)

Source: TARU (1994), Table 3.10, p.72.

Table-6 indicates that on an average 5 hours are spent on home based works. In interviews, teachers and adults of JJ clusters admitted that child labour (home and in factories) is essential for the family's survival.

Work Outside the Home

The factories, workshops and petty enterprises that have mushroomed in and around Raghur Nagar provide avenues for employment for boys. A survey conducted by TARU²¹ with JJ clusters confirmed the existence of a high proportion of factory workers among young boys. A few boys work as helpers in 'tea' shops while others are apprentices in tool making enterprise. Table-7 give nature and types of work engaged by children.

TABLE - 7

CHILD LABOUR OUTSIDE THE HOME (IN JJ COLONY)

Job Description	Place of Work	Frequency	Age of child worker	Hours of work/day	Earning (Rs.)
Rag picking paper, plastic packets battles	Garbage, bins, Raja Garden	Daily	6-14	7 am to Noon	10-15/day 250-300/ month
Collecting bones	Surrounding Villages	Daily	7-14	6 am to 12.30 pm	Around 1000 p.m.
Factory work Making boxes Slates	Kirti nagar or nearby	Daily / on availability	10-12 10-11	9 am to 5.30 pm	300 p.m. month
Tea shop assistant.	Raja Garden	Daily	12-14	6 am to 8.30 pm	300-400 pm
TV Parts / Frames	Raja Garden	Daily	12-14	6 am to 5.30 pm	300-400 pm

Source: TARU (1994), Table 3.12, p.73.

Majority of children in the galis of JJ clusters are involved in assembling TV parts. As nimble fingers are required for this task, younger children are preferred for such work. The rag picking is also another activity that involves groups of young children, boys and girls. Another group of children from JJ clusters engaged in the collection of bones of dead animals - is source of income for this group.

The child labour outside the home can be seen in remaining zones also. Table-8 gives the nature of works is given in which children involved.

TABLE - 8

CHILD LABOUR OUTSIDE THE HOME (IN 12.5 Sq.M)

Job Description	Place of Work	Frequency	Age of child worker	Hours of work/day	Earning (Rs.)	Comments
Shoe Making	C.P.	Daily / Seasonal	13-16		N.A.	Assistant to father
Ironing clothes	Old Delhi	Daily / Seasonal	15-17		350 p.m.	
Export Factory	Kirti Nagar	Daily / Seasonal	16-18		800 p.m.	Girls work (but not considered desirable)

Source: TARU (1994), Table 3.13, p.74

TABLE - 9

CHILD LABOUR OUTSIDE THE HOME (IN 25 Sq.M)

Job Description	Place of Work	Frequency	Age of child worker	Hours of work/day	Earning (Rs.)	Comments
Factory Work T V Frames	Walking Distance	Daily / Holidays	15	8.45 a.m.- 5.30 p.m.	500 p.m.	Mainly boys employed
Radio, TV Parts	Walking Distance	Daily / Holidays	14	9 a.m. - 5.30 p.m.	300 p.m.	Few Girls employed
Junior Compounder	'Near By'	Daily	14	5.30 p.m. 9.30 p.m.	Free Medical Help	Single case Observed
Petty vending Golgappa/ Kulfi	Lawrence Rd Janakpuri	Daily/ Weekly markets	12-16	9 am to 11 am 1.30 to 10.30 p.m.	50-60 per day	Boys involved with father
Chole Bhature	Tagore Garden Market		12-16	8 am to 10 am 3 pm - 5.30 pm	Rs 600 p.m.	Boys involved with father

Source: TARU (1994), Table 3.14, p.75.

The tables clearly indicate the prevalence of child labour in all clusters. But it is more among the children of JJ clusters. We have seen that children of J.J. clusters involve in various activities like assembling TV parts, sewing, rag picking, collecting bones, factory work, tea shop assistant etc. Factory work is seen as undesirable for girls. Girls are only sent for factory work as a last resort. In survey it was found that most of the boys in the 10-15 year age group were regularly employed in factories. Generally the age of child workers ranges from 8 to 19 years. On an average these children earn Rs. 10 to 15. The low wages and long working hours to supplement family income

is likely to have impact on the development of the child personality. It is obvious that child labour has implications on education and schooling of children.

Education

While the overall literacy rate in Delhi was 76.09 percent in 1991, that in the slums of Raghbir Nagar was 58.2 percent.²² Female literacy is lower than that of males and is estimated to be 52.1 percent. According to the SAGE report, literates by and large have only primary education.

Facilities:

Disproportional educational facilities can be seen among various clusters of Raghbir Nagar. Analysis of reports indicates that JJ clusters are marginalised as for educational facilities are concerned.

TABLE - 10

Educational Infrastructure

Facilities	Zone I JJ Clusters	Resettlement Colonies	
		Zone II 12.5 sq.y clusters	Zone III 25 sq.yrd clusters
Primary Schools	1	0	15
Middle Schools	0	0	0
High Schools	0	0	2
Libraries	0	0	12

Source: SAGE, Vol.III (1992-96), p.16

There is only one primary school located within 1/2 a k.m. of the JJ clusters. Children have to walk to the school. There is no middle level school for the whole of the community. For middle level schooling they have to go to Tagore Garden which is 3 km away from Raghubir Nagar. This is one of the reasons stated by the JJ dwellers as to why children discontinue studies after primary schooling. Other educational facilities like libraries also non-existent this clusters. On other hand 12.5 and 25 sq. yards has 15 primary schools, 2 high schools and 12 libraries. Though these facilities are located at 25 sq. yards these are meant for 12.5 sq yards also. These zones are physically closer to the each other seems to be a reason for concentration of educational facilities at 25 sq.yard clusters. Another reason seems to be that there is no open places to have these facilities at 12.5 sq.yards. However children from 12.5 sq yards go to the primary schools located within the walkable distance at 25 sq.yards.

J.J. Clusters have a facility of pre-school education through the system of Balwadies. It provides nutrition and pre-school education to the children. Of a total of 3 Balwadies 2 are managed by Municipal Corporation of Delhi and remaining one is managed by Voluntary Organisation called Deepalaya.

In terms of demographic composition the percentage of children of 5-14 years is higher in the J.J. clusters. As is shown in the table-11, 56.12 percent of the total population of JJ clusters are between 5-14 years of age. This is the highest of the three zones. However the percentage of children attending school in the J.J. clusters is the lowest as compared to the resettlement colonies.

TABLE - 11

Child Population in the three zones

Child Population	Zone I J.J. clusters	Resettlement Colonies		
		Zone II	Zone III	Total
5 - 14	56.12	53.05	49.81	51.59
Below 6	29.59	23.38	18.58	21.59

Source: SAGE Vol.III, Table, 5, p.8.

TABLE - 12

School going children in the Zones

Zones	Children 5-14 years in schools		
	Male %	Female %	Total %
Zone I J.J.Clusters	35.33	27.27	31.46
Zone II	91.57	93.67	92.67
Zone III	50.34	77.70	79.30

Source: SAGE, Vol.III (1992-96), Table no.23, p.48.

Table 12 shows that only 35.33 percent boys and 27.27 percent girls from J.J.clusters attending school. In the case of resettlement colonies Zone II and III 92.67 and 79.30 percent are attending the the primary school against the only 31.46 per cent of children from J.J. clusters.

In order to understand who attends school in the J.J. colony and the social backgrounds. They come from a survey was conducted of 36 families in the Jhuggis of Block-'R'. As stated earlier JJ clusters comprise various social groups like Hindus, Muslims and Scheduled Castes. Six families were interviewed from each social group i.e. upper caste Hindus, Muslims, Backward Castes and Scheduled Castes. The survey revealed that there are variation among the social groups so far as schooling of children is concerned.

TABLE - 13
Education of Children of different Social groups
in 'R' Block Jhuggies

	Social Groups (Castes/Communities)											
	Scheduled Castes			Backward Castes			Muslims			Upper Classes		
	Boys	Girls	Total	Boys	Girls	Total	Boys	Girls	Total	Boys	Girls	Total
Children of School going age	9	6	15	6	6	12	7	2	9	12	9	21
Attending Primary School	2	1	3	5	5	10	6	2	8	10	7	17
Percentage			20			83.33			88.88			80.95

Source: TARU (1994), Field Material

As seen in the table 13 of the 18 families from upper castes, muslims, backward castes 80 per cent of children were sent to primary school. In contrast only 20 percent of children from scheduled caste communities were sent to school. The gap between scheduled caste communities and other is a cause of concern and used to be explored. As for pre school education is concern, the representation from Scheduled Caste communities are once again very low. Only 5 to 6 people from these communities received pre-school education from Balwadies²³.

As stated in the table educational levels of the children from the Scheduled Castes are extremely low. Majority of the children remain out of education. However, what is interesting in some families is that they are able to send children to schooling. It is necessary to explore the perceptions on education of parents children and from these communities as a whole. Perceptions and attitudes formed on the basis of existing social and economic backgrounds of the people. We have seen that civic amenities, particularly educational facilities are very little and people following unskilled occupations with irregular availability of work. These factors influence the people to respond school differently. The following chapter makes an attempt to understand the differential reasons for schooling among scheduled castes of J.J clusters. In the same way teacher perceptions and attitudes on children is also important in influencing the children and parent to send school is also seen.

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6. TARU (1994), p.10.
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18. TARU, p.30.
19. SAGE Vol.III (1992-96), p.21.
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23. TARU (1994) p.26.

CHAPTER - IV

EDUCATION AMONG THE JALLAD AND GUBBAREWALE CASTES

The previous chapter emphasized that the spread of schooling among various groups in the Jhuggie Jhorpad is not uniform. Scheduled Caste Communities have the poorest response to primary schooling as compared to the upper castes, backward castes and Muslims in the J.J. clusters. This chapter attempts to understand the factors that are responsible for the relatively poor response of Scheduled Caste communities to schooling. It focusses on two Scheduled Caste communities in the J.J. of R block in Raghubir Nagar, The Jallad and Gubbarewale. It lays special emphasis on the attitudes and perceptions of parents, children and the community towards education. The response to the schooling depends upon a variety of factors such as the education of parents their occupations and income levels facilitates for education that are available and so on. The social position of families within the community and social structure of the slum is also important.

Jatav, Chamar, Jallad, Mochi, Dom and Gubbarewales are the Scheduled Caste communities in the R block jhuggies. The Jallads and Gubbarewales are numerically the major Scheduled Caste groups among them. They comprise around 100 families, while the remaining scheduled castes comprise only around 8 to 10 families.

The Jallad

Jallad is a sub-caste of 'Dom'¹. The Doms originally belong to Uttar Pradesh, but are found in Delhi and Kashmir. It is one of the oldest 'puranic' Scheduled Caste community. Their main traditional occupation was digging graves and cremating dead bodies. However, presently they are engaged in occupations such as skinning and flaying of dead animals. Specifically, they collect bones of animals, remove dead bodies and pick up dead bodies from the nala (drain). This community is also engaged in other income generating activities. Jallad women and children, for instance, work in home based activities like assembling fibre straw for coolers and some youth are employed as casual labourers in factories. Women are also engaged as domestic help in 'kothis' (flats). Children help elders in collecting bones of animals from neighbouring areas.

Jallads in 'R Block' migrated to the present J.J. clusters from within Delhi. They were earlier residing in Jhuggies at Paharganj and Kashmiri gate of old Delhi. Following the demolition of the slums in which they lived, they formed their settlements in Raghbir Nagar R Block.

Gubbarewales:

The term 'Gubbarewale' is used as a synonym for 'low caste'. The community, however, belonged to the

'Radas' sect of the Chamar² of Uttar Pradesh. There are various sub-castes among Gubbarewales, namely, the Thrace, the Ghumeri and the Bhand. The Gubbarewale are called as such because of their profession of selling balloons. They are also known as 'Ghumeru' because they move from place to place to selling balloons and toys. Traditionally, these communities used to roam the villages of Uttar Pradesh selling knock kanas and toys for special occasions like 'melas', carnivals and functions. As a result, people called them 'Ghumeru" (non-settlers). The city provided a ready market for the toys and balloons which are popular with children. This appears to be the reason why the families have settled in Delhi.

Though their traditional occupation is selling balloons and toys, they are also engaged in other income generating activities like rearing pigs. Others have started small grocery shops near their homes to cater to the daily requirements of the local people. On the other hand women and children are engaged in collecting rags from the garbage bins mainly in Raja Garden area. Children from this community also work in nearby hotels.

The occupation of both Jallad and Gubbarewales affect the activities of children. Children of both groups are involved in economic activities and it is likely to

influence their access to education. Survival is the major priority of the poorest slum dwellers and this invariably may affect the division of the family as to whether children are to be engaged in gainful activity or sent to school. Further the social position of these communities and their interactions with other groups is also likely to influence parental perceptions on education and the child's experience within school.

Social Interaction

As stated earlier, while the J.J. clusters have a predominantly Hindu population, there is a distinct division between the Scheduled Castes mainly 'Gubbarewales' and the 'Jallad' and the rest of the JJ cluster dwellers.³ The Jallad and Gubbarewale live in a spatially distinct area. Their houses are located at the corner of J.J. clusters. The rest of the J.J. clusters describe the 'Gubbarewale' as dirty, uneducated and always looking for a fight. In an interview one of the members of the households at the J.J. clusters said that even the air coming from the side where Gubbarewale and Jallad live is polluted. The rationale given by the JJ dwellers for maintaining a social distance from the Jallad and Gubbarewale is that they are engaged in 'unclean' activities like the collecting of bones and removal of dead bodies as well as rummaging in garbage.

Both communities have however evolved their own mechanisms for social interaction. They have 'panchayats' (community courts) and local pradhans (leaders). These panchayats and pradhans maintain contacts with the community members living in other parts of Delhi. This community networks allow social interaction among people and helps in the sharing of problems and also allows them to intervene to protect their occupations. For instance, the Jallads of Delhi organised a dharna to protest against the entry of the other communities into their profession. The Jallads have their own 'Kali' mandir (mother goddess in the middle of jhuggies (huts)). It is a place for recreation as well as for economic activity. People meet and interact in the temple premises. "Tekkadars" (contractors) who purchase bones from the Jallad generally transact business within the temple only. Bones of dead animals used to prepare attractive ornaments. 'Tekedars' (contractors) generally export bones of dead animals which were collected from Jallad even export it to the other countries like Japan.

Social interaction among these Gubbarewales and Jallads itself is again quite restricted. The Jallad consider themselves as having socially superior to the Gubbarewales. Jallads do not accept food and water from Gubbarewales. (In fact they are surprised to see the

researcher accepting drinking water from Gubbarewales). Spatially houses of both the communities are along side each other. However, there is hardly any interaction between these groups. Though both the groups used same materials for housing such as mud, bricks and iron sheets and carpets for roofs, the condition of houses of Gubbarewale are in poor condition. Gubbarewales houses are without doors, providing easy entry for dogs and pigs which roam in the slums. Thus the Jallad and Gubbarewale are socially isolated from the rest of the J.J. community.

Social distance and isolation extends even to the education of children. It appeared that teachers of 'Balwadi' (pre-school) in R block did not treat the children from these communities with respect.⁴ Balwadi teachers make no visits to the families of the Gubbarewales and the Jallads even though they are requested to do so. This appears to be a major reason for the poor attendance of children from these communities in the pre-school.

Parents' attitudes and children's aspirations as well as the perceptions of the community as a whole may also influence the education of the children. In order to understand what formal education means to the Jallad and Gubbarewale 12 families with children of school going age, 6 from each community are studied. The families are so

selected as to include those among whom at least one child was going to school and those who have not enrolled any child. Thus families were divided into two groups.

- * Those among whom children are going to school or 'continuing' group - 6 families, i.e., 3 from each community is studied.
- * Those among whom no child had ever attended school or the 'never enrolled' group - 6 families i.e. 3 Gubbarewale and 3 Jallads are studied.

Parents and children are interviewed in order to understand the social background of the families, their expectations, aspirations, experiences of schooling and so on. Group meetings with the community are also held in order to understand the context of responses received from parents and children.

Social Background and Education of Children

Research on the schooling of working class and slum children highlights the importance of social background of the family in the education of children. Family variables such as occupations of father and mother, the nature of their work and their education are seen as important factors. Field data from the 'R' block study has been analysed to understand the influence of the family in

facilitating or constraining the children's education among both Jallad and Gubbarewales.

Parents' Occupation

Parents' occupation determine the economic structure of the family, the time that is devoted to children and the extent to which children are required to contribute to household activities. It thus affects parental options on schooling of children as well as expenditure patterns on education. Table-1 presents the occupation of parents of 12 children of school going age from Jallad and Gubbarewale in 'R' block Raghbir Nagar.

Fathers of 'continuing' children follow traditional occupations. Jallad are engaged mainly in collecting bones of dead animals and removing dead bodies from the 'Nala'. Their search for dead animals begins early in the morning. They leave their homes around 5 a.m. for Delhi suburbs and neighbouring villages. The first trip ends at 10 a.m. The second trip is from 3 p.m. to 7 p.m. Gubbarewale are mainly engaged in selling balloons and toys. Some leave in the morning around 8 a.m. They visit nearby localities to sell balloons. Other go out in the evening at 3 p.m. and return only after 10 p.m. Fathers of two children had left their traditional occupations. Subsequent upon

acquiring education upto the high school level, one took employment as a foreman in a factory while other became a home guard.

TABLE - 1
Occupations of parents of 'Continuing' and
'never enrolled' Jallad and Gubbarewale Children.

Occupations of Parents	Jallad	Gubbarewale
<u>Continuing Children</u>		
<u>Father</u>	- Collecting bones (2) - Working in the factory (1)	- Selling balloons and Toys (2) - Home guards (1)
<u>Mother</u>	- House work (2) - Home based income generating activity (1)	- Ragpicking, fetching fire wood and house work (3)
<u>Never enrolled children</u>		
<u>Father</u>	- Father expired (2) - Collecting bones (1)	- Selling balloons (1) - Grocery shop & rearing pigs (2)
<u>Mother</u>	- Domestic services in Kothies (3)	- Ragpicking and fetching firewood (3)
* The number of persons (i.e. from 12 families surveyed) is given in the parenthesis.		

There is a striking difference between Jallad and Gubbarewales so far as mothers' occupation is concerned. Jallad mothers are housewives engaged in domestic work within the home. Only in a few families do women involve themselves in income generating work such as preparing fibre grass for coolers. On the contrary, all Gubbarewale mothers are engaged in rag picking. They leave their homes in the early hours of the morning at 5 am and return only after 12 noon. They leave again at 3 pm to fetch firewood and return at 5 a.m. Thus mothers of Jallad children have relatively more time to devote to the care of their children, prepare them for school and so on. On the other hand, mothers of Gubbarewale children are hardly left with time to concentrate on the child and his or her education.

Of the three families of 'never enrolled' children from the Jallad community that are studied, women are the heads of the household. In the remaining families fathers are engaged in collecting bones of animals. In the women headed families, mothers are forced to seek employment and their earnings are essential for the family survival. Most of the mothers of 'never enrolled' children from Jallad community work as maid servants in nearby Kothis (flats). As a result children are required to help their mother if the family subsistence needs are to be met. Unlike the fathers

of 'continuing' children of the Gubbarewale community, fathers of 'never enrolled' children are mostly engaged in petty business like rearing pigs and selling vegetables. As was the case with continuing children, mothers of these groups are engaged in rag picking, fetching firewood and rearing of pigs.

Economic Status

Occupations of the Jallads appear relatively more organised than that of the Gubbarewales. There is more of a community effort as individuals cannot cope with the collection of bones of dead animals and removal of dead bodies on their own. They thus work in groups and share income collectively. On an average each family earns around Rs. 1500/- per month. Income is relatively regular and adequate for the maintenance of the families. In contrast, the income of the Gubbarewale depends upon 'chance' and hence is irregular. On an average they earn Rs. 30/- per day by selling balloons. The relatively low income of fathers of 'continuing' children of Gubbarewales is an important reason as to why mothers are also involved in rag picking. On an average Gubbarewale parents earn Rs. 1200/- p.m., which is less than what the Jallad earn.

Surprisingly, income levels of the Gubbarewale 'never enrolled' children parents appeared much higher than

that of the families of the school enrolled children. These Gubbarewale families earn an average of Rs. 1800/- per month from rag picking, rearing of pigs and selling balloons. Children are actively engaged in contributing to family income and looking after the home. The 'never enrolled' Jallad families earn an average of Rs. 1400/- per month. In women headed family both the mother and children are involved in economic activity. Following is the table of average income of Jallad and Gubbarewales.

TABLE - 2 : Average Income of Jallad and Gubbarewale Families

Families	Jallad (per month)	Gubbarewale (per month)
Continuing	Rs. 1500/-	Rs. 1200/-
Never Enrolled	Rs. 1400/-	Rs. 1800/-

Mothers of Jallad children who are enrolled in school are not engaged in any income earning activity. However, the low and irregular incomes from balloon selling makes the Gubbarewale women to involve themselves in ragpicking. Parents of Gubbarewale children who have never been enrolled in school earn a higher income as compared to the Jallads and even their counterparts who are sending children to the school. However, the entire family including children are involved in economic activity. This is a

serious impediment to the schooling of children. The nature of economic activity that women are engaged affects the time they can devote to their children and thereby schooling. Jallad mothers who are mainly housewives (other than where economic circumstances are compelling) have adequate time to take care of their children. Gubbarewale mothers are pre-occupied with rag picking and domestic work, have little time for their children. Parents of never enroled Gubbarewale children are engaged in business activities in which children are also involved.

Associated with the income levels is the quality of accommodation that the family can afford. Distinct differences in housing structures were found between Gubbarewales and Jallads. Houses of Jallads are made of bricks and have no ventilation. Jhuggies are covered with iron tins and floors are plastened with the cement. Though these houses are not 'pucca' they afford protection from rain and sun. All families have one room jhuggies only. A few jhuggies have small extension used for bath-rooms outside the jhuggies. Most families have Televisions, Radios, watches and bicycles. The jhuggies of Gubbarewale are constructed with mud. These jhuggies are mostly covered with iron tins and carpets. Floors of the houses are plastened with mud. Most of the houses do not have doors and can hardly protect the family members from rain, cold and

heat. No house has a bath room. It is found that except for bicycles no family either from the 'enrolled' or 'never enrolled' categories has T.V. or Radios. Only one family which is sending a child to school has a pucca house with two rooms. The head of this household is educated and working as a home guard.

Education of Children

On an average each family has six children. It is found that both girls and boys are attending primary schools from Jallads. Pre-school education for both groups is also found in this community. While among gubbarewales no girl child is attending school. Only few boys are enrolled in the primary school. Pre-school education is absent in this community.

On an average each child under the study from both communities has five siblings. The education of siblings is found to be directly influenced by the child either enrolled or never enrolled. Parents who has enrolled their children invariably siblings also utilising schooling facilities, e.g. among Jallads children attend Balwadis (pre-school education) and primary schools. But Gubbarewale children utilise only primary school only. On the contrary, no sibling from 'never enrolled' families from both groups are

not attending the balwadi or primary school. Siblings of never enrolled families from Gubbarewale are engaged in ragpicking while Jallad children are engaged in bone picking. Siblings education shows that only families, who are already sending their children availing the school facility. None of the children from never enrolled families from both communities attend either pre-school balwadis or primary schools. So it lends to examine why parents do not send children to the school. Following section deals with the reasons for not sending their children to the school.

Parents are asked why they are not sending their children to school. The reasons differed in each community and was linked to the economic status of the family and the gender of the child. Gubbarewale parents who do not send their boys to school said it is because of 'majburi' i.e. economic compulsions and the need for the child's earning. Some brushed aside saying that the question do not arise to them to send their sons to the school. No girl child from Gubbarewales are educated. The education of the girl is not a major concern. Parents felt that girls have to look after their houses. Reasons given are : education has no utility for girl children, they have to take care of siblings, and assist their mother, and that custom doesn't permit the schooling of girls.

Unlike Gubbarewale parents, each Jallad family had made conscious attempt to send their children to the school. In some cases children shown no interest in going to the school. Women-headed household forced extreme economic hardships and hence are unable to spare children for schooling. This is also cited as an important reason for not sending children to school. A few Jallad girls have been given primary schooling. A number of reasons are given for not allowing girls to study beyond primary schooling. Future domestic role of women is the most important. The community is critical of parents who sends school even after primary school.

The occupational aspirations of Gubbarewale parents for their children mainly revolves around the day-to-day survival needs of the family. Parents who do not avail of schooling for their children note that they would like their boys to enter into a (Danga) business or petty labour at an early age. Marriage is seen as the main responsibility for their daughters. In contrast, Jallad parents aspire for government jobs for their children. They regret that their children do not have the education required to get such jobs. Without alternative channels of income they settledown to the collection of bone as their major income of earning.

Parental aspirations for school going Children

Parental aspirations for school going children are explored to understand why children are being educated. Majority of parents of Gubbarewale children either said that they want their children to become officers, some specifically mentioned the police. It is to be noted, while parents aspire for education for their children they are unaware of the actual qualifications required to enter specific jobs. They merely say that "unchpadaye" (higher education) is the target. At the same time the actual level of education attained is seen to depend when the 'mukader"(luck). Some families felt that if schools provide assistance in the form of free note books, uniforms and so on education of children's education could be facilitated.

Jallad parents felt differently about the education of their children. They felt that there was no limit if he was interested in studying. They aspired mainly for jobs as police officers for their children. Very few families aspired for lower status occupations like "jamadars" (sweepers), though they admitted that even such jobs are not available to the educated. Though the Jallads are also not in favour of education, they send their girls to primary school. There is a feeling that girls should know how to read and write letters and city bus numbers. One of

the mothers observed that she often took the wrong bus as she is unable to read. At the same time majority of the families felt that educating girls beyond primary school is against to the norms of the community where the domestic role of women is valued. Here the role of the panchayat is important as it often acts as the guardian of community norms and values. It is interesting to note that a few women felt that their daughters should go for higher education and takeup a teaching job.

Parental support and education of children:

The parental contact with the school, the initiative in providing a conducive environment at home for study are important supports for the child's education.

Parents of continuing Gubbarewale children generally visit the school once in a year. Teachers usually call them to obtain their signatures at the time of distribution of books. No parent said that teachers called them to discuss the child's progress. Parents also do not take the initiative to visit the school. They stated that there is no time to visit the school. Jallad mothers visit the school at least once in a month. They meet teachers and attempt to discuss matters related to the education. However, they observed that teachers rarely discuss the

academic progress of the child. Rather they complain about child's behaviour.

Helping the child to get ready and persuading the child to attend school is one of the responsibilities of the parents. This encourages the child to reach school on time. It was found that among Gubbarewales responsibility of sending the child to school every day is that of the father, as mothers leave home in the early morning for rag picking. They are never there when children leave for school. Jallad mothers, however, prepare children for school and are there to receive them when they return from school. As Jallad women mainly are housewives they have adequate time to devote to children in the mornings. In the same manner parents from both communities differ in their awareness of what happens in school - lessons, teachers and so on. The Jallad parents appear more interested in the progress of children in school, daily sessions, teachers and so on. While Gubbarewale parents feel the need for tuitions, they claim that there is no money to pay for it. On an average Rs.50/- per month has to be paid for the most cursory remedial teaching. Among Jallads all school going children attend tuitions. Some are enrolled in the remedial teaching centre started by a voluntary organisation, Deepalaya and others about this in flats of Raghubir Nagar. Thus the Jallad parents appear to be providing relatively greater

support for the child's day to day school as compared to the Gubbarewale.

Entering School

All the school going children are admitted to school at the age of 7 years only. Some children have entered school only at the age of 8 years as a result of the migration their families from place to place. For both Gubbarewale and Jallad parents school admissions have been a problematic. In most cases it takes 10 to 25 days and comprises several stages. Firstly, the concerned teacher has to be requested to view the child's admission favourably. It is only after repeated requests that teachers gave the parents the school application form required for admission. As parents are usually illiterates they have to again request the teacher to fill the form. Jallad parents maintain that they have to give false information about their community, residence and profession. If they truthfully report their caste and place of living, they find teachers appear unenthusiastic about admitting their children to school. They also hold stereotypes of 'lower caste' children from the slums as being 'problem creators' and 'quarrelsome'. Jallads observe that teachers look down upon their profession of collecting bones of dead animals. They are hence forced to hide the true nature of their

profession, caste and place of residence. The other problems encountered in admitted children to school included.

- * The tedious process of obtaining the child's birth certificate. For this, around Rs. 40-50 has to be paid at dispensary.⁵
- * For issuing a certificate stating that Jallad and Gubbarewale are Scheduled Castes, another payment (Rs. 75) has to be made at the 'Katchery' (Tis Hazari Courts), an additional amount of around Rs. 400/- has to be paid to the police when they come to make an enquiry. Caste certificates are essential for availing special facilities for Schedule Caste communities.⁶
- * After the certificate is obtained a photocopy is to be obtained from Tagore Garden, 3 kms. away from Raghurir Nagar.
- * Finally parents (taking along the necessary certificates) have once again to make requests to teacher to admit their children to school.

The average duration of around 20 days that the admission formalities take cause considerable economic hardship to the families and they loose their earning for this period. This is one of the reasons cited by the Gubbarewale for not involving their children to school. The Jallads appear more willing to undertake the above mentioned

effort to send their children to school. The fact that they are economically better placed, mothers have more time on their hands and the community members have a sense of the importance of schooling are important factors which offer support for the child's education. From the interviews of parents, it is noted that children get one school uniform a year, either shirt or trouser. Children do not get any scholarship or mid-day meal.⁷

Perceptions on Schooling: The Child's View Point

School expect certain modes of behaviour and value orientation from children. For instance, punctuality, neatness and conformity to school rules are the normal expectations from school authorities and the Principal. One school going child from each of the three families of Gubbarewale and Jallad was interviewed to understand their experiences of schooling. Jallad children found to receive greater attention from parents in getting ready for schooling and attending on time. Gubbarewale children usually reach school late and are often sent home by their teacher. This can be related to their occupational pattern of parents and especially mothers who are out for rag-picking in the morning. A major constraint in the schooling of Gubbarewale children is the school uniform and shoes. Gubbarewale children observed that most of the time they are

asked by teacher to return home because of the following reasons:

- * Their uniform is not complete.
- * Uniform is dirty.
- * Hair is uncombed and dirty.
- * They have not taken bath.
- * They are late to school.

These problems faced, especially by Gubbarewale children, can be related to the occupational pattern especially of mothers, who are busy in rag picking in the morning are unable to devote adequate time. Further, some children from this community are also engaged in rag picking before the school hours. This also results in their late arrival in school. Jallad children do not appear to be rebuked by teachers for their uniforms or for being not punctual. This is probably because mothers of Jallad children have enough time to assist children in getting ready for school and reaching on time.

Children's perceptions of teachers is also interesting. All Gubbarewale children said they barely interact with teachers or seek their guidance. They admit that they are afraid of their teachers. Jallad children appear relatively more confident and claim that they

approach their teachers for clarifications if they are unable to understand their lessons. Jallad children feel that teachers "dhyanse padatha hai" (teach with interest), and 'tikse padatha hai' (teaches well). Jallad children said teachers do ask questions, but if they are unable to understand their lessons, they are scolded and at times are also beaten. Gubbarewale children said that though teachers do not pay them any attention, they are afraid of the teachers. They are often scolded, beaten and sent home if their dress is not clean. One child said that his school bag was thrown out when he came late to class. Children also complained that teachers insult them by making derogatory remarks about them. Gubbarewale children say that teacher punished in the class saying 'murg bano' (imitate a hen), and calls them 'Jhuggime rahnewale' (those who are staying in Jhuggies). Comparisons between Jhuggi children and those who live in the flats are often made.

Aspirations of Children and self perceptions

The aspirations of children appear low among Gubbanewales. Jallad children appear more motivated. Some said they will go for higher education and become officers in the government. Children interviewed from both communities say that they do not like to follow their father's occupation. This is because of the poor status that

is given to occupations of balloon selling and collection of bones. In fact such occupations are viewed with contempt even within R block jhuggies. School children mentioned that their peers looked down upon them mainly because of the community to which they belonged and the profession their fathers are engaged.

The self concept of the children of both groups found to be low. They feel that they are not intelligent and are unable to study well. Teachers have impressed upon them that they are weak and not good in studies and are unlikely to advance in their studies. Further, that they are dirty and need to be kept apart from other children. "Good students" are defined as those who are 'intelligent' 'can read and write well' and are called upon to monitor the class in the absence of teacher. Gubbarewale children said that those who can wear clean school uniforms are considered 'good students'.

Child labour and education - The experiences of 'never enrolled children'

All the 'never enrolled children' from the surveyed families are engaged in labour within and outside the home. The activities that never enrolled children of school going age involved are as given below.

Occupations of 'Never enrolled Children'

Community	Occupations	Income
Gubbanewale	* Rag picking	Rs. 30/- per day
	* Working at dhabas	On an average
	* Working at factories	Rs. 300/- per month
Jallad	* Collection of bones	On an average Rs. 1100/- p.m.

Majority of the never enrolled Gubbarewale children are involved in rag picking. Generally they wake up at around 7 am. and leave for work at 8 am. Until 12 noon they collect 'kuda' (Garbage) in the nearby areas. After returning home and subsequently leave to sell the rags, plastic packets and so on. After 3 pm boys from the community are free from any work. However, girls are again sent to fetching firewood and are also involved in domestic work. Children working at Dhabas and factories are engaged in labour from morning to evening. 'Never enrolled' Jallad boy leave for the collection of bones along with their elders and return by noon. From 3 p.m. to 7 p.m. they accompany their elders once again. Bicycles or autorickshaws are used in transportation.

Children who have never enrolled in school found to be interested in continuing their traditional occupations. Gubbarewale boys aspired for continuing their

father's occupation of selling balloons. While girls from this community said that their future is depend upon their parents. So they do not have any specific occupational aspirations. Jallad children would like to continue the collection of bones as it has no supervision. To earn enough money seems to be a reason for continuing this occupation. Some other children from Jallad observed that there is no option, so they have to continue this job.

In spite of many unfavourable conditions Jallad are at what can be called the threshold level of education. The consistency in occupation and income and mothers involvement in child care are seen as the main reasons. Both Gubbarewale and Jallads are looked down upon by the school and are socially kept at a distance by the community in general as they belong to the 'bottom' of the society. In fact they have to hide the social reality of their caste and occupations at school to avoid discriminatory attitudes and behaviour. Tedious school admission processes discourage even those parents who are interested in schooling of their children. Thus social and economic circumstances in which communities live as well as a school system that offers little support to individual children and their families, makes education problematic in the slums.

FOOTNOTES

1. Singh, K.S. (1993) : The Scheduled Castes Vol.II, Oxford University Press, New Delhi, pp.484-87.
2. Singh, K.S. (1993) : The Scheduled Castes Vol.II, Oxford University Press, New Delhi, pp.303-304.
3. TARU (1994), p.22.
4. Ibid, p.23.
5. In the absence of Birth Certificate parents said that child is made to touch the right ear with left hand over the head to prove his age. If the children is unable to do this he denied admission.
6. None of the Children have received certificates till now.
7. It was found that lack of caste certificate is the main reason for the denial of services.

CHAPTER - V

CONCLUSION

The present study attempts to understand the relatively poor response of slum dwellers for schooling. The social background perceptions and attitudes of parents who avail of schooling for children as compared to those who do not, formed the major thrust of the study. The actual sample of the study, is small, only 12 families (living in the R Block slum of Raghbir Nagar) from two specific Scheduled Caste Communities - Jallad and Gubbarewale were studied. While interviews were held with parents and one school going child from each of the specified families, group meeting and informal discussions helped to obtain within the short duration of the study a flavour of the social and economic structure of Delhi slum and the context of schooling that children are exposed to.

The Context

Delhi has around 660 Jhuggies (squatter clusters) and 44 resettlement colonies (buildings). Both have been officially declared as slums. Slum dwellers of Delhi lie at the bottom of the social and economic structure of the city. Around 65 per cent of slum dwellers belong to the 'lower' and scheduled castes. People living in slum do not have access to basic amenities such as the drinking water and

even public toilets. Poor and adhoc methods are used in the construction of houses. Majority of the slum dwellers particularly the lower castes are engaged in 'traditional' occupations such as scavenging and leather work. Women generally work as a domestic servants in "kothis" (flats). Incomes are low and as much as 95 per cent is spent on food and fuel. Little or no money is spent on education. Illiteracy is relatively high in the slums as compared to the rest of Delhi. Government and Delhi administration schools in slums are usually located in tents or dilapidated structures. The number of teachers is inadequate and quality of education is poor.

The Raghubir Nagar Slums

Raghubir Nagar which is located at distance of 2 km from Raja Garden, has three distinct patterns of settlements. There are the Jhuggi Jhopri (J.J) clusters or Zone I and Resettlement colonies having housing plots of 12.5 sq.yards and 25 sq.yards or also known as Zone II and Zone III. All these structures are known as slums. The slum community is highly heterogeneous in terms of ethnicity and religion. JJ clusters have around 1000 families, majority of whom are Hindu with few Muslim and Sikh families. Among the forward castes are the Rajput and Banias, Backward Castes are Dhobhi, Nai, Gadaria, Dhirand and Lohar, while Scheduled

Caste Communities include Jatav, Chamar, Tharu, Ghumeri, Sansi etc. Each caste group inhabits a spatially distinct area in the JJ clusters. The 12.5 sq. yards clusters also have a predominantly Hindu population though there are Muslim and Christians as well. The Doms, Jamadars and Pasi community occupy the lowest position in the social hierarchy. The 25 sq. yards clusters are distinct in social structure. It is a highly heterogeneous cluster, because of the relatively large degree of sale, resale and purchase of flats. There are no spatially distinct communities except in some blocks.

A comparative analysis in these clusters shows the relative disparity of facilities that are available and their utilisation. JJ clusters have barely any civic amenities except hand pumps and a few mobile latrines. Health centres, Telephones, T.V. Centres, Community Centres and parks are absent. On the other hand there are available for the 12.5 and 25 sq yards zones. In fact the JJ dwellers have to cover some distances if they require these services. The housing pattern of JJ clusters are extremely poor. Houses are constructed loosely arranged bricks or bamboos. There is no provision of open space within the house. Most houses of JJ clusters have only one enclosure which is used for all household activities. Houses of 12.5 and 25 sq. yards have parks and open spaces.

The dwellers of JJ clusters are largely unskilled workers and street vendors, while the 12.5 and 25 sq yard clusters have a higher percentage of service income earners. A relatively larger percentage of unskilled labour with irregular income and job insecurity are in JJ clusters. Here income depends upon the 'chance' or availability of work. Due to irregular incomes women and children are forced to work to meet the survival needs of the family. Women work both outside and inside the home. Generally they are engaged in domestic service, rag picking and tailoring, making parts of cooler and other home based work. The poor economic status of J.J. clusters, forces parents to involve their children in contributing to the family income. Children become a source of earning for the family. As a result majority of the children, both boys and girls in J.J. clusters are involved in labour while they are still within the school going age. Around 68 per cent of children from J.J. clusters are involved in income earning activity. In the remaining clusters 23 per cent of children are working. Children from JJ clusters are engaged in rag picking, collection of bones of dead animals, factory work, tea shop assistants and making TV parts and so on. Most of the boys in the 10-15 year age group are regularly engaged in factories. The high proportion of child labour has serious implications for the schooling of children.

School facilities available within the JJ clusters are very limited. There is only one primary school and no middle or secondary school in the cluster. JJ clusters have the highest percentage of population of school going age. However the percentage of children availing the school is lowest in the JJ clusters. Within the JJ clusters the response to schooling is uneven in different communities. While around 80 per cent of children from upper caste communities, backward and Muslims avail of schooling. Only 20 per cent of Scheduled Castes families are able to send children to the school.

The Family, Class and Education

Parental occupation and income as well as the caste and community to which families belong influences the education of children. The interplay of these factors was explored in a small study of 12 families of Gubbarewale and Jallad communities which comprise the major Scheduled Caste groups in 'R'-block of Raghubir Nagar. Families were divided into those who 'never enrolled' their children in school and those who had at least one child 'continuing' in school.

The nature of occupations of Jallads and Gubbarewale are strikingly different and this has had different implications for children's education. The

relatively organised and stable nature of employment and regular income of Jallads has enabled parents to invest money in the education of children. They send their children to school for remedial teaching. Clothes and books required for school are also regularly provided. Among Gubbarewales while earnings may equal that of Jallad family income earned is not only irregular but is dependent on the labour of almost all family members including children. Unlike Jallads, where there are mainly 'male' earners, women from the Gubbarewale participate in income earning activity usually from rag picking. The Jallad mother who largely remains at home (unless economic circumstances are compelling), has enough time to prepare children for their class and see that the child reaches school. On the other hand Gubbarewale mothers leave early in the morning (before the child wakes up) for rag picking and returns only after the child reaches school. In the process children are left uncared for and usually arrive in school, late and carelessly dressed. Some Gubbarewale fathers even send school going children for rag picking before the school hours. This is a major constraint in the education of children. The occupation of parents of 'never enrolled' children vary among both groups. Jallad boys who have never enrolled in schools come from economically the most vulnerable families i.e. the women headed households,

mothers work servants in Kothis (flats). In these families 'never enrolled' boys assist their mothers by joining Jallad groups in collection of bones. Interestingly Gubbarewales are involved in a greater variety entrepreneurial activities like starting of grocery shops and rearing of pigs besides selling balloon and rag picking. Thus their income is usually higher than the Jallads. However it is important that income earned by the 'never enrolled' families is precisely because they do not send their children to school. According to Gubbarewale parents, boys are sent to school because of economic constraints which makes it necessary that they contribute to family income. For girls, their future domestic role is seen as all important. It is preferred that girls learn household tasks, and take care of younger siblings. Unlike Gubbarewales, Jallad parents do not totally prohibit education for girls. They are allowed to enter primary school, but beyond that, girls are not sent to school as they are required to involve themselves in household activities. It is felt that any further education will make marriage problematic and invite community criticism.

Jallad parents whose boys do not go school greatly regret their lack of education. While they do aspire for jobs in the government sector for their children. They realise that it is not possible for them to enter the

government sectors due to their lack of education. Gubbarewale parents are content if their children work as mechanics or take up activities such as rearing pigs and rag picking. Children from the community observed that they like their fathers occupation selling of balloons and rag picking. 'Never enrolled' Jallad children are willing to take up their traditional occupations i.e. collecting bones as it brings regular income and more so because there is no alternative occupation for them.

Parents of school going children hold high aspirations for their children. Thus is so among both groups Jallad and Gubbarewale. Government jobs particularly the police are seen as important. While parents are keen to educate their children so that they have the necessary qualifications for their boys, they admitted that schooling was a major expense. For this they require support in form of financial assistance.

Jallad parents provide some support to 'continuing' children by interacting with the school. Jallads visit teachers at least once in a month. While Gubbarewale visits the school only around once a year. Parents felt that teachers rarely discuss the child's progress with them. Schools give only part of the uniform as assistance. Scholarships and midday meals that are provided

to Scheduled Caste children are not availed of this is usually because parent fail to produce the caste certificate which is essential to get official scholarships. The procedure to get caste certificate is tedious. The actual admission of child is also an extremely long process and involves time and money of the parents. Families are often discouraged from enroled children in school due to the complicated process of school admissions.

'Continuing' children especially Gubbarewales while relatively their school experiences mentioned that teachers sent them out of the class if they did not wear the proper school uniform and if they were unclean and not neat in appearance. Jallad children did not experienced similar problems as they came neatly dressed to school. The greater parental involvement in the care and education of Jallad children by parents especially mothers can be linked to the occupational pattern of the two communities. Further Gubbarewale children are also engaged in rag picking before school hours. The burden of work and school, naturally has an adverse impact on the child's education. The self concept of both Jallad and gubbarewale school children is low. Both groups felt that they are not 'good' students and they are not intelligent. But it is more so with Gubbarewales.

Thus the response to schooling of two Scheduled Caste communities - Jallad and Gubbarewale is not uniform. On the whole Jallad reveal a greater awareness of importance of education and are able to utilize school facilities to a larger extent. Gubbarewale on the other hand show less importance to the schooling of their children. However economic compulsions of the families force many Jallad children to go for work rather than school. The foregoing discussion has attempts to relate this differential response to the economic situation of both groups, especially the occupation and income of parents. Gubbarewale families with never enrolled children do not believe in education as a source of mobility. In these families all members including children are engaged in income generating activity.

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NEWSPAPERS

Hindustan Times, May 1st, 1994

ANNEXURE - I

THE JALLAD - A PROFILE

A meeting was organised at the 'Kali' mandir of the Jallad community. Jallad women, men and leaders (elderly persons) attended. The focus of the discussion was on understanding why the response to schooling was poor resulting in relatively low educational attainment of the community.

"Makki Madhu pene ko Ichuk
Jab wah jatha peneko Madhu
Madhu ke metepan se wah
Chua bedever apne samajse
Gaya to na aya kabhi
Kyonki wah to, madhu ne
apne metepan se use
bahar jane to na deya"

(Flies are addicted to the honey. She doesn't realise that she cannot fly as its feathers are over burdened with honey)

In the sameway Jallad elders compare their condition with flies. They are under the addiction of money, and hence do not realise the value of education. They say that earning money was no problem for them. Removal of dead animal brings in Rs. 200/- in as little as five minutes. Hence the need for education was not realized till recently. For them

"Kali akshar - Bhense barabar"

(Words of pen and buffellow are the same).

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ANNEXURE - II

THE 'NON-ENROLLED' CHILD - A PROFILE

Kaliya is 14 years old child and stays with mother and older sister in a dilapidated Jhuggi of Raghbir Nagar. His father died when he was only eight years old. He started rag picking when he was seven years old.

People call him Kaliya but his actual name is Arjun. Because he always is in middle of 'kooda kabada' (garbage dump) and in the sun and he cannot bathe often, he has become dark. So people have changed his name.

Since the death of the father Kaliya and sister survive on whatever he earns. He leaves the Jhuggi every morning at 6'0 clock. Among the many garbage piles he has to search for things that will sell - rags, plastic paper and so on. Broken glasses generally hurt Kaliya. The common problems that Kaliya face is the menace of dogs who also rummage in the garbage heap. He is often beaten by dogs. His sister cleans whatever he has collected. After finishing this, she picks up the bundle, takes into the market and sells it. Around Rs. 10-12 is earned everyday with this money his mother makes the food and the main meal of the day in earn late in the afternoon.

Kaliya sister does 'not go to the 'kabada ke dher' (garbage heap). She is older than Kaliya. His mother feels that it is not safe for her to go rag picking.

Kaliya admits that he would like to study. His mother however say that if we can earn only by working from day to day, how can one of us even dream of being sent to school? In fact there is no time to even think about education or schooling of any child. They earn Rs 12 per day out of which Rs.7-8 is spent on food remaining on repaying debts. Kalias mother say that for them it is first Roti (bread) than education.

- :: -

ANNEXURE - III

CHILDREN QUESTIONNAIRE

Name of Child :

Father's Name:

House No. :

Whether studying

Dropout

Never attended school

-
1. Have your parents visit your school in the last six months? Why?
 2. Do you receive home work regularly?
 3. How much time do you spend on your studies at home?
 4. Do you take tuitions? Details?
 5. When you need help in studies do you get it from parents?
 6. Do you face difficulty in understanding subjects at school?
 7. Do you earn money for livelihood? If yes, through what activity?
 8. Have you ever failed? If so what are the reasons?

9. Do your parents feel that you should earn money rather than going to school?

10. What do you do after school?

School Expectations:

11. Do you attend school regularly? If no what are the reasons.

12. Are you in school in time? If no what is the reaction of teachers to delay?

13. If you do not do your home work what does your teachers say?

14. Without school uniforms are you allowed in to class?

Children attitude toward schooling:

15. Do you like attending school? Why? Why Not?

16. Why do you find it difficult to understand?

(a) Subjects are difficult

(b) Language in the school problematic

(c) Discipline

(d) Any other

Perception on Teachers

17. Do you go to your teacher for guidance?
18. Do teacher take interest in your studies? Name the teacher?
19. Do your teacher asks questions to you?
20. Does your teacher scold to you? For what reason?
21. Are you afraid of your teacher? Why?
22. Does teacher insult you in the class?
23. How does your teacher appear to you?
 - (a) Loving
 - (b) Sympathetic
 - (c) Helpful
 - (d) Disliking
 - (e) Punitive
24. Do most of your classmates like you and are friendly to you?

Aspirations of Pupil

25. What level do you want to study upto?
26. Do you want to join your father / mother occupation? If not what do you want to be when you grow-up?
27. Are you satisfied with present performance, if not reasons?
28. Do you participate in games and competitions at school?

Self Conception

29. Who is considered good student in your class and why?
30. Are you a good student?
31. Will you be able to help your friends in home work?
32. Are you able to answer questions in class/feel nervous?

Never Attended

33. Have you ever desired to go to school? Yes/No.
If yes did you talk about it with your parents?
34. Were your parents interested in sending you to school?
Yes/No.

35. How do you feel of your friends and others going to school?
- (a) I also feel like going
 - (b) I do not know
 - (c) Not interested to go
 - (d) Any other
36. Do you know how to read and write? Yes/ No.
- (a) If yes, are you able to write your name?
 - (b) If yes, who helped you in reading and writing?
37. What do you want to become in future?

QUESTIONNAIRE FOR PARENTS

1. Name of the Head of Household:

House No.: _____ Lane : _____

2. Caste/community _____

3. Language spoken within the home _____

Outside _____

Details _____

4. Whether migrated when place
from where migrated

5. Number of members living together/earning together

6. Household Profile

Members Sex Age Marital Education Occu- Income Expen-
pation diture

* Literate only - L
* Studying - S
* Dropout - D
* Never attended - NA

7. Total family income? (Rough)

8. Educational Profile of all children (5-14 years)

	Child 1	Child 2	Child 3	Child 4
1. Name of child				
2. Sex				
3. Educational Status Level				
4. Whether studying (reasons)				
- Dropout (reasons)				
- Never attended (reasons)				
5. Till what level you educate child, why?				
6. Whether pre-schooling availed, where?				

Specifically about Child respondent

9. Child _____ continuing/discontinued/never attended.

School and class _____.

15. Does your child go regularly to school? If not, give reasons?
16. How many times did the child miss school during the last one or two months.
17. In what way do you encourage your child to go to the school regularly.
 - Mother - Help in child getting ready
 - Father - Take child to school
 - Persuade him/her to go to school.
18. Do you discuss with your child what happens in school? What issues does the child highlight -
 - a. About the school
 - b. About the Teachers
 - c. About the lessons
 - d. About the friends
 - e. Any other
19. Does child receive home work? If so how much time he / she spend on school work at home?
20. Who helps him/her in doing home work?
21. Does the child need tuitions?
22. Are tuitions being taken? by Whom? at what cost?
23. What problems does child face in the school?

24. What are the child's interests? What does he/she do in spare time?
25. Have you visited the school? If so, no. of times in last 2 months -
- a. Mother
 - b. Father
 - c. Any other
26. Are you happy with the school? Why? Why Not?
27. Do you think that going to the school is / was waste of time?
28. Do you think that child has / had the ability to study?

Parental Aspirations

Mother

Father

30. What level of education generally is desirable for (a) Boys, (b) Girls, Give Reasons.
31. Till what level do you wish to educate your child? Give reasons.
- 31a. Will it be possible for you to educate the child to this level? Give reasons?

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32a. What occupation is generally desirable for -

- a. Girls
- b. Boys

Give Reasons

32b. What occupation would you want your child to take up. Give Reasons.

33. What is the total income of the family? What portion is spent on schooling?

34. What does it cost to send the child to school?

Item	Expenditure	Details
a. Fees		
b. Uniforms		
c. Tuition Fees		
d. Any other		

35. Has the child ever visited the following? If so with whom?

- a. Library
- b. Zoo
- c. Museum
- d. Any other

36. List the activities of the child

Nature of work	Activities within Home	
	Time spent	Details

Nature of work	Activities outside Home		
	Place of work	Time spent	Details

37. Give the daily schedule of child e.g. earnings, place of work, shared work etc.

Time	Activity	Details
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38. Does the responsibilities mentioned in Q.36 affect the schooling of child? Elaborate.

39. Has the child ever failed in school? If yes, subjects in which failed? Reasons.

40. Health status of parents and child:

a. Do parents have health problems? If yes, mention illness of -

Mother _____

Father _____

b. Does the illness affect work performed by the mother _____ father _____.

c. Does the child suffer from ill health? Give details.

d. Has it affected the schooling of a child? In what way?

Interaction with School

41. Have the parents visited the school in the

a. Last six months

b. In the last one year

41a. Visited on their own or called on by teachers?

41b. What are the teachers say about the child?

a. Performance

b. Behaviour

42. Is there any P.T.A. in the School? Are parents members?
Yes/No. Reasons?

43. Physical assets and amenities

- a. No. of rooms
- b. Pacca/kacha
- c. Toilet within House/outside the house
- d. T.V/Radio/Watch/Cycle
- e. House other than they live
- f. Cattle etc.

Never attended

1. Why didn't you send child to the school?

- a. Economic reasons
- b. Social reasons
- c. School reasons
- d. Any other

2. Have you ever desired to send your child to school?

3. Do you feel like sending your child to school?

4. Do you regret for your child not attending school?

5. What do you want to make your child?