

# **Education and Social Exclusion of Dalits in Slums of Hyderabad**

*A thesis submitted to the University of Hyderabad  
for the award of the degree of*

**Doctor of Philosophy**

**In**

**Study of Social Exclusion and Inclusion Policy**

**By**

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**May 2017**



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## **Acknowledgements**

I am deeply grateful to my supervisors, Dr. Sripathi Ramudu and Prof. N. Sudhakar Rao for their inputs and guidance and for suggesting to work on this topic. I appreciate both of them for their constant encouragement and parenting all through the years of my PhD. I am extremely grateful to Prof. N. Sudhakar Rao, for all the insights and for acquainting me with the intricacies of the study and personal and thorough monitoring the study right from field work and analysis of the data. I am very much thankful to him for guiding me, since my M.Phil days. Without his support this work would not have been carried out. This study was possible only because of the unconditional support provided by him. A person with an amicable and positive disposition, Sir has always made himself available to clarify my doubts despite his busy schedules and I consider it as a great opportunity to do my doctoral programme under his guidance and to learn from his research expertise. Thank you Sir, for all your help and support.

It is my pleasure to express my gratitude to all those who have helped me for the completion of my thesis. Many people have directly or indirectly contributed to the successful completion of this thesis and I am taking this opportunity to thank all of them.

Head of the Department, Centre for Study of Social Exclusion and Inclusive Policy and the Dean of School of Social Sciences deserve my sincere gratitude for support for successful completion of this study.

The work presented in this thesis was accomplished with the help of many colleagues and friends. It is a pleasant opportunity to express my gratitude to thank all the people who have helped me directly or indirectly in their various capacities during the tenure of my Ph.D.

I express my thanks to my colleagues and well-wishers, Dr. G. Nagaraju of Department of Sociology, Prof. G. Sudharsanam, Dr. B. Chandra sekhararao, Dr. K. Yesu Rathnam and Dr. R. Ramdas of Department of Political Sciences, Dr. Sudhakar Babu of HRDC, Prof. Murali Manohar of Humanities, Prof. B.V. Sharma, Dr. Abdul Munaf and Dr. Romesh of Department of Anthropology.

Some faculty members of the Institute have been very kind enough to extend their help at various phases of this research, whenever I approached them, and I do hereby acknowledge all of them. Dr. J. Rani Rathna Prabha, Dr. Vasantha Srinivasa Rao and Dr. Ajailiu Niumai of Centre for Study of Social Exclusion and Inclusive Policy for all the discussions and useful comments and my brother Dr. B.Nageshwara Rao of School of Economics, for his constant support and suggestions related to the field work part of the study. Prof. B. Rajasekhar, School of Management Studies, Prof. S. Rajagopal and Prof. P. Prakash Babu, for their encouragement.

I also express my thanks to all the non-faculty colleagues and friends in the University of Hyderabad- Mr. D. Nagarjuna Rao, Mr. Prasanna Singh, Mr. Chakravarthi, Dr. Varadharajan, Dr. Ravi, Ms. Padmini, Mr. Abraham, Mr. K D V Prasad and Dr. Srinivasulu for their encouragement and concern, Mr. K S Raju, Mr. A P Rajeshwar, Mr.K. Murali Krishna, Mr. Panikkar, Dr. Susheela and Mr. Viqaruddin for their encouragement. I thank Mr. Bhimsen, Research Scholar in Applied Linguistics for help in language correction and editing the thesis, and my batch mate, Mr. R. Ravi Kiran for timely help, and also, Mr. Rajkumar for his help. Many cheerful thanks to 2009 batch, for being good friends.

Prof. N. Sukumar, Department of Political Sciences, Delhi University, Dr. Gurram Srinivas, JNU, Dr. Chandrasekhar, Dr. Krishana Rao and Dr. Srinivas of CESS, Mr. M. Sudhakar, former Registrar of University of Hyderabad, Mr. Gangadhar, Asst. Registrar, Mr. Ramakrishna, Office Assistant, staff of Centre for Study of Social Exclusion and Inclusive Policy, Ms. Lakshmi, Ms. Khan, Ms. K. Uma Devi, Mr. Chandu, and Mr. Dilip Kumar, for their support. I thank all the staff of the administration, School of Social Sciences, my friends and faculty at MANNU and no research is possible without the Library, the center of learning resources. I take this time to express my gratitude to all the library staff for their services. I thank Mr. Balaji, research scholar for his help in collecting the primary data for my study.

I am thankful to the education department officials, GHMC officials, Headmasters, Teachers and Parents of the students studying in the schools under Rajendranagar and Serilingampally municipalities. Most importantly, I am very thankful to every respondent for providing data required for this study.

Since the University provided me with a study leave to complete the study. I thank the Vice-chancellor, Registrar and staff of personnel section for sanction of leave, and all members of the committee who recommended the leave.

I owe a lot to my father, being a veterinarian by profession, encouraged me to pursue higher studies and possess a doctorate degree, but unfortunately, he is no longer to see this achievement come true. I deeply miss him, who is not with me to share this movements of joy.

I thank my brother Sunil Kumar, Associate Professor in Computer Sciences, VNRVJIT, sister-in-law Mrs. Sabitha and their children Susan, Sharon, Sheeba and Sheela, my brother Mr. Chinni and sister in law Mrs. Jolly and their daughter Candy, for their constant support and encouragement.

Last but not the least, my wife Ms.Tabitha has been constant source of unflinching support and encouragement and this has been a great source of strength and motivation for me to accomplish my objectives. My family members have extended all their affection and moral support without which it would not have been possible to pursue my work. My daughter Persis Priyanka, Son-in-law Praveen Kumar, and son Mr. Paul Prashanth and my grand-daughter, Baby Prahya Ivana should be thanked for their unconditional support despite my lack of attention to their genuine needs due to my busy work schedules. Without their cooperation, this study would not have been ever possible.

**V. S. J. WESLY KUMAR**

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## **Chapter- I**

### **Introduction**

#### **1.1 Introduction**

The present study is intended to examine the practices of exclusion from educational needs among the children of scheduled castes in slums of Hyderabad. The ex-untouchables whom Mahatma Gandhi called Harijan are officially known as scheduled castes. Now they call themselves Dalit<sup>1</sup> and are the focus of this study. In this thesis, the term scheduled caste(s) and Dalit(s) are used interchangeably. The study is undertaken in four slums located in different areas of Hyderabad. The literacy rate among the Dalits has been very low at the nation and state levels when it is compared to the general population. All through the years since independence, although the literacy rate is improving in general; there is wide gap between the Dalit and general population. The Dalits are still lag behind the general population. This is due to historical, social and economic deprivation, and its consequent social exclusion, which most probably continues even today. Retrospectively the efforts of emancipation of Dalits can be traced back to the 19<sup>th</sup> century religious movements followed by social reforms against caste- based social hierarchies. However, the concrete efforts were made in the 20<sup>th</sup> century by Jyothiba Phule, Dr. B.R.Ambedkar, Periyar Ramaswamy, Mahatma Gandhi and his followers for the inclusion of the Dalits in the Indian social system as equal partners. The then colonial government called them collectively as depressed class and contributed for their welfare. But the independent India abolished untouchability legally and outlawed discrimination of caste, creed or gender through our constitution. The government initiated several measures for the socioeconomic upliftment of the Dalits in the areas such as education, health, employment, and livelihood and so on. In spite of all the efforts as said above, the education of the Dalits remains deplorable, and needs an enquiry to improve the situation. In this background, the present study is undertaken, and this introductory chapter discusses the research problem, review of literature, gaps in the earlier studies, objectives and methodology adopted for the study.

At the time the the people were able to produce more than their consumption have discovered methods for storage the surplus to accommodate an extensive

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<sup>1</sup>Dalit means oppressed which became popular by Dalit Panthers of Maharashtra during 1972-73.

number of individuals who were far from cultivating, settled on such territories of good condition, an ample dihydrogen monoxide supply, prepared materials for giving safe house and simple access to other individuals. Convergence of population has developed at the crossing points of exchange courses, at harbors and at the banks of waterways with simple access of convey. In India, authentic urban communities were situated proximate to the banks of waterways and ports. The ascendant entities and clerics were lived in the fundamental center point of urban communities though bring down classes, for example, engender people, craftsmans and workers lived around the urban areas. Be that as it may, the general population from fields and little settlements commenced peregrinating to urban communities in view of absence of homestead work. Thus, The urban areas turned out to be capable and tapped the surplus and other sources. The The 19<sup>th</sup> and 20<sup>th</sup> century saw enormous growth of urban population and urban communities were not yare to manage the weight of expanded population and could not provide good environment and basic governments to new entrants as they were not able bear the cost of sensible safe house inside their methods for financial sources and were compelled to live in slums (Khuranaand General2010).

Urbanization in India dates back to the Indus valley civilization (3300-1400 BC). In medieval India, urbanization was a form of social transformation of the rural societies. The urban centers that evolved were subjected to Muslim invasion and were later conquered by the British. They were the consequences of political consolidation, temple constructions, trade, business and economic development. The migration from rural to urban centers was also common owing to employment opportunities. In such centers, the Dalits continued to form important component of the semi-urban population engaged in tanning and leather industry, agricultural development, and so on. The present form of urbanization accelerated the process and initiated slum formation where the Dalits concentrated at some separate habitations, away from the center of the main village. The Dalits had to make their settlements away from the rest of the society as they were considered untouchables by the Hindu social order. Since their touch is deemed polluting the other Hindu communities traditionally, they were forced to live separately. Even though, all the slum dwellers regardless of caste identity are poor, caste norms keep the Dalits separate, and thus, the Dalits live separately from other Hindu castes within the slum. Thus, physical separation and

social exclusion of the Dalits continued to prevail in the course of urbanization process in the 20<sup>th</sup> century.

For centuries, education in India had been the monopoly of the so called twice- born communities. Education outside these confines is strictly prohibited by the Hindu social order and always seen as a crime. It is more so with regard to the *shudra* community getting educated. Any attempt by the *shudra* communities to acquire education had to meet with severe consequences. It was said that if a *shudra* attempted to chant, his tongue would be cut; if he listened to the chanting he would be punished by hot lead being poured into his ears, if he saw chanting his eyes would be removed (Deshpande, 2010). This indicates the serious restrictions imposed on the *shudra* communities to keep them away from the domain of education. This had benefitted certain chapters to occupy the higher echelons of power by denying the basic education for the *shudra* communities of which the Dalits formed a significant segment. Even after centuries, the advantages and disadvantages provided by the Hindu social order are being inherited by the later generations with a degree of variation.

The repressive caste order was resented and protested by various intellectuals, scholars and reformers at different points in history. In the later part of the 19<sup>th</sup> century and earlier part of 20<sup>th</sup> century, they attempted to reduce the caste inequalities in the society. They believed that the discrimination in different walks of life would pose a great danger to the integrity of the country. Some of them went to the extent to challenge the Hindu social order by advocating conversions into other religions. Since education was denied to the Dalits they thought the progress of Dalit was permanently sealed under the social system and this should be questioned. Thus, they could establish a relation between education and empowerment as education is the way to acquire knowledge. Thus, the Dalit intellectuals seem to have believed the ancient saying 'knowledge is power'. Therefore, the means of acquiring knowledge i.e., education was denied to them. To overcome this problem, all Dalit leaders and scholars have demanded education for the Dalits.



The changed social environment resulting from the demand of social reformation movements, and the impetus derived from the colonial administrator's rationality, the Dalits attempted for social mobility. The education provided by the Christian missionaries and others has further encouraged the Dalits for the demand of integration with the larger society. Such efforts were made largely in the urban centers under the leadership of the leaders such as Jyothibha Phule and Dr. Ambedkar. Phule was the first Indian to realize the significance of universalization of education in India. He believed that lack of education made the Dalits innocent which became a curse for them. To make the Dalits realize their conditions, he thought that education was a powerful instrument. To realize this objective apart from starting schools for the Dalits on his own, he also requested the colonial government to allow Dalit into schools. He took initiative to give education to the downtrodden thinking it is necessary for them to regain their social and cultural values and self-respect (Macwan, n.d)<sup>2</sup>.

In fact, it was Dr. B R Ambedkar who consistently advocated education for The Dalits as a means that could help in their liberation. 'Accordingly education was given a very significant place in Dr. Ambekar's perception of social development'. He identified education as a key instrument of liberation from the oppressive structures of Hindu caste order (Velaskar, 2012). In his project of the Dalit liberation the importance he had given to education could be understood through his renowned and most inspiring slogan 'educate, organize and agitate'. There is no wonder if it argued that the slogan has become the bottom line of the Dalit movement across India. The response for this slogan was spontaneous among the Dalits who continued to live in oblivion. All Dalit organizations across India made it a serious point to implement the principle of education as given by Dr. Ambedkar.

While stressing on the significance of education for the Dalits, Dr. Ambedkar contended that we may forego material advantages of human advancement, however we cannot forego our privilege and chances to receive the reward of the most elevated education. Significance of this contention from the perspective of the backward classes that they understood that without education their existence is not protected. Dr.

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<sup>2</sup>Macwan, 'Dalits: An Agenda for Social Transformation', [http://navsarjan.org/dalits/DALIT\\_social\\_transformation.pdf](http://navsarjan.org/dalits/DALIT_social_transformation.pdf); <http://mulnivasiorganiser.bamcef.org> accessed on 15.8.2013.

Ambedkar believed that only through education, the Dalits could be made aware of the necessity of political power for emancipation. Dr. Ambedkar establishes the correlation between the education and Dalit emancipation. Thus, he demanded admission for Dalit children in educational institutions without any discrimination. In a memorandum known as 'the states on minorities' documented the need for Dalit liberation, and education for Dalits and argued that the state should take the responsibility of imparting education to the Dalits(Ambedkar, 1982).

Mahatma Gandhi also considered education for the Dalits as an important tool for their upliftment. It was revealed in the '*Harijan Patrika*' of 25<sup>th</sup> February 1933 when he made a reference to David's scheme. In that issue, he supported the David's scheme for Harijan education. He argued that Mr. David's scheme helps a large number of untouchables for the benefits of the best higher education possible in India. In that issue, he reproduced the provisions of David's scheme under which the financially sound Hindus were expected to bear the expenses of education of at least one Harijan student for a period of five years in fees, books and living expenses. He reiterated the idea of David that to reinstate the self-respect of Harijan students, it should be laid down that each student would reimburse the amount he/she borrowed for educational purposes. Thus, the support offered in the form of a loan was expected to be repaid whenever it was possible for them. He supported the scheme would be able to produce a large number of lawyers, teachers, doctors and engineers from among Harijans. (Gandhi, 1933).This episode indicates that though there was no response to Gandhi's call from the caste Hindu society, and had been acknowledged the necessity of education for the Dalit.

The political tangle became important as Mahatma Gandhi came forward for the inclusion of Dalits, as Dr. Ambedkar wanted independence along with freedom for the Dalits from the caste society. For Gandhi, Dalits must be part of the Hindu society as he feared that the division on the basis of religion and caste would weaken the demand for the freedom. Thus the Congress declared abolition of untouchability.

Thus, there were serious attempts by intellectuals and leaders like Phule and Dr. Ambedkar for the radical transformation of Dalits through education. They never compromised in demanding education for Dalits which was religiously denied for them. Despite all hurdles, they went on to acquire higher education and emerged as

role models for the Dalit community. In fact, their relentless struggle for Dalit dignity and self-respect paved the way for better life of the Dalits in the latter course of action.

The constitution envisaged the overcoming of the civil disability of the Dalits through empowerment with the help of protective discrimination policy and affirmative action. It aimed at transforming the traditional hierarchical and unequal society to be a socialist society. The key formula included the system of reservations in admissions in educational institutions, in employment and in political institutions for the Dalits. Uplifting on the economic front through various schemes and programmes and on the education front through reservations system are considered major means in changing pathos of the Dalits since independence. In fact, as early as 1946, Dr. Ambedkar realized the significance of the constitutional protections to Dalit and submitted to the constituent assembly, a lengthy list of rights. He believed that in the absence of these rights the Dalits could not develop and, therefore, a list of rights is essential for the protection of Dalits as well.(Ambedkar, 1979). Consequent upon appointment of the chairman of the drafting committee of the constitution of India Dr. Ambedkar straight away incorporated several rights in the third part of the constitution under fundamental rights. The safeguards provided to the scheduled castes and scheduled tribes are grouped as social safeguards, economic safeguards, educational, cultural safeguards, political safeguards and government safeguards.

### **1.1.1 Constitutional safeguards**

A brief review of constitutional safeguards (Basu, 2003) provided for all-round development of Dalits is discussed below:

1. Article 14 of the constitution of India guarantees the Dalit uniformity under the steady gaze of the law and equivalent security of the laws. This Article accentuates that 'the state might not deny any individual equity under the steady gaze of the law or the equivalent security of the laws with in the domain of India'. This article, under equivalent assurance of the laws, assumes a significant part as a level player in so far as building up a libertarian social request to the Dalit people group, which had been denied the social balance. This article enables the government to make some exceptional certifiable backings as positive discrimination.

2. Article 15 forbids discrimination on grounds of position, religion, race, sex or place or birth. This Article is exceptionally noteworthy for the Dalits as they have been constantly confronting discrimination on the grounds of standing. Because of caste discrimination, the Dalits are denied access to wells, tanks, showering ghats, streets and spots of open amusement and so forth. Consequently, the state was engaged to rebuff the individuals who deny the roads, This Article helps the Dalits in getting to them.
3. Article 16 gives rise to chance to the Dalits in work out in the public governments. It makes it obligatory for the state to give measure up to chance to all natives in matters of open work without denying any national on the ground of religion, position, race, sex, descent, place of birth, and so forth. As the Indian social order prohibits the Dalits from the decent life consequently, it adds up to dissent of work openings in the public arena. This article gives a comprehensive introduction to the Indian culture by not denying the Dalits in matters identified with public employment. Indeed the policy of reservation adopted by the government of India, to uplift the Dalits, came into existence to satisfy this provision of the constitution only.
4. Article 17 of the constitution abolishes the untouchability and its practices and declares it a punishable offence in accordance with the law. The spirit of this article is directly applicable to stop the practice of untouchability of which the Dalits have been suffering from centuries. Under this article, parliament is empowered to make laws to punish the practice of untouchability. The untouchability (offences) Act 1955, which is also known as Protection of Civil Rights Act 1955 was enacted to give force to this article.
5. Article 19 assigns six freedoms to all the citizens of India and these include freedom of speech and expression; to assemble peacefully without arms; to form associations or unions; to move freely throughout India; to reside and settle in any part of India; to practice any profession or to carry on any occupation, trade or business. This article is significant for liberation of Dalit in several respects. All the above freedoms have been denied to the Dalits in India in different forms. By guaranteeing these freedoms the constitution of India empowered the Dalits to avail all those freedoms.

6. Article 21 lays down that no person shall be deprived of his personal liberty except the procedures established by the law. Since liberty for Dalits is denied by the Hindu social order, this article has a direct bearing on the liberation of Dalits. In a country where the life of a Dalit is less than that of a cat or rat, this prevents the easy killing of Dalits by the upper castes making it a punishable crime.
7. Article 23 prohibits traffic in human beings and forced labour. Tradition glorifies traffic in human beings to the practice of begar and bonded labour. Dalit have been subjected to these inhuman practices for centuries in India. Since this article prohibits such inhuman practices, the Dalits get an opportunity to overcome these disabilities.
8. Article 24 prohibits employment of children in hazardous workplaces. Dalit children in India have been taken for granted for begars and bonded labour. Dalits are made to believe that their children are born to serve the upper caste society and education is not for them. This is one of the reasons for the low literacy levels in Dalit society. By prohibiting employment of children, this article provides a great sigh of relief to Dalit children thereby directing them to school.
9. Article 25 to 28 provides freedom of conscience and free profession, practice and propagation of religion. These articles have revolutionary character with a reference to the emancipation of Dalits from the shackles of caste discrimination in India. It is a fact that untouchability is the peculiar character of the Hindu social order which cripples Dalits in a cruel manner. Dr. Ambedkar argued that as long as Dalits remain in Hindu religious fold, they have to suffer from the disabilities born of the caste order. Therefore, he advocated religious conversion to get rid of this discrimination. He himself offered an example by converting into Buddhism. Since conversions herald the self-respect of Dalits, they always face a threat whenever they recourse to conversions. In the absence of such articles, it would be impossible for the Dalits to give up Hinduism to escape from the practice of untouchability. Today, several Dalits choose the path of conversion into other religions where there is no caste and untouchability. In view of this, these articles place a crucial role in empowering the Dalits to give up their religion and choose any other religion of their choice.
10. Article 32 of the constitution also supports the Dalits with respect to enforcement of fundamental rights. It is noted that the fundamental rights guaranteed to the Dalits

gets violated callously. Therefore, a protective mechanism for the exercise of their rights is a necessary condition for the Dalits. By incorporating this article, the constitution helps the Dalits to seek remedies from the judiciary.

11. Article 243-D provides reservation of seats in panchayatiraj institutions. Under this Article, Dalits are given reservations in panchayatiraj institutions. This is intended to bring Dalits into the mainstream society so as to make the partners in the decision-making process of their villages. Seats of the village heads and ward members are to be reserved to members of these castes in proportion to their population in the village panchayats. In this connection, it is also required to reserve certain number or percent of seats to the women belonging to the scheduled castes.
12. Article 243-T, provides reservation of seats to the scheduled castes in every Municipality in proportionate to their population in the Municipality. For this circumstance additionally, places of chairpersons, leaders, councilors should be reserved for the Scheduled castes. Women belong to scheduled castes need to get their share in these positions.
13. Article 338 accommodates the National Commission for Scheduled Castes in India. This commission is required to investigate the affairs of the scheduled castes in matters of the implementation of their rights and protection.
14. Article 350-A, gives sufficient offices to guidelines in the native language at the primary stage of education of children (Venkatewarlu 2013, Rachana 2013).

#### **1.1.2 Other legal provisions:**

##### **The Protection of Civil Rights Act 1955:**

The Protection of Civil Rights Act of 1955 lays down penalty for the advocacy and practice of untouchability and the disabilities born from it. In this context, civil right implies the right given to a person against the practices of untouchability under the Article 17 of the constitution. This act defines untouchability in its different forms. It has also enlisted the types of punishments for such practice. Under this Act, the central government is assigned with responsibilities to laws against the practices of untouchability.

### **Prevention of the Atrocities Act 1989:**

This Act characterized monstrosity with regards to the Dalits without precedent for the Indian legitimate history. It was important to figure this Act as there was no reference in the Indian penal code with reference to various sorts of types of crimes committed on the Dalits. Further it was noticed that different types of crimes such as forcing the Dalits to consume urine, to eat human excreta, to tonsure the heads and to parade their women naked by the upper caste society that were not recognized earlier and were needed to be recognized.. In this way, the Act incorporate the accompanying as barbarities: (1) Intentional act makes affront or disturbance Dalits by dumping waste, carcasses or some other disagreeable substance in their premises or neighborhood (2) Forcibly expulsion of garments from the Scheduled Caste individual or carrying out any unfeeling comparable act harms human respect (3) Occupying or development of grounds of Dalits (4) Disposing Dalits from their territory or premises (5) Compelling Dalits for constrained or fortified work (6) Forcing Dalits to vote or not to vote to a specific applicant (7) Instituting false, malignant, criminal or other legitimate procedures against a Dalit (8) Giving false data to any open worker to harm or irritation a Dalit (9) Insulting or mortifying a Dalit in broad daylight; (10) Assaulting a Dalit woman to disrespect her humility (11) Exploiting the Dalit women and (12) Prevention from access to an open resort.

This Act gives that an officer over the rank of Deputy Superintendent of Police is required to explore the case. Additionally it was expressed that it is the duty of the legislature to race to the place of outrage and give prompt recovery. Another essential part of the Act is to set up unique courts at where the monstrosity has occurred, so as to help the casualties from dangers that emerge in the repercussions of the occasion. Under this demonstration, a man who is discovered blameworthy of conferring monstrosity is involved a most extreme of life detainment. The national crime records Bureau of Government of India reports that the frequency of violations including atrocities on Dalits from 1997 to 2001 is as given under:

Table 1.1 Crimes including atrocities on the Dalits from 1997 to 2001

S.No	Year	Nature of crimes and atrocities					Total
		Murder	Grievous hurt	Rape	Arson	Other offences	
1	1997	513	3860	1037	389	22145	27944
2	1998	516	3809	923	346	20044	25638
3	1999	506	3241	1000	337	20009	25093
4	2000	486	3298	1034	260	18644	23742
5	2001	553	3256	1127	326	20254	25516
6	Total	2574	17464	5121	1658	101116	127933
	Average	515	3493	1024	332	20223	25587

Source: Annual report 2001-02 of National Commission for SC's, Page No: 119

From the Table 1.1, one can take note of that the atrocities against the Dalits kept on occurring in expansive numbers. The National Commission for Scheduled Castes reports that in number, Uttar Pradesh positions first, Rajasthan second, Madhya Pradesh third and Andhra Pradesh remains in fourth rank. Under the Atrocities Act, the state governments need to set up extraordinary courts for quick trails. In Andhra Pradesh, three special courts have been set up at Chittoor, Guntur and Hyderabad. It is watched that there are 941 atrocity prone areas in the state.

Here are a portion of the occurrences of atrocities reported to the National Commission for Scheduled Castes:

An instance of high incidence of caste discrimination in villages of Varada, A. Kodureu, V. Santhapalem and Yamayogi Agraharam in Vishakapatnam and Vijayanagaram locale of Andhra Pradesh has been reported. For the past 50 years, the Dalits were not permitted to get water from the wells. They were asked to stand aside so that an upper caste man would pour water from a height into their pots. It was asserted that they would be seriously rebuffed in the event that any Dalit brought water specifically from the drag wells. Indeed, even they were not permitted to work in the fields of the upper caste individuals and were questioned go to the call of nature. A research scholar of the Delhi University was manhandled and beaten by upper caste students in the grounds bringing about him genuine harm and admission



to a healing center. For another situation, a Dalit individual was compelled to drink urine by a Hindu constable at Nilakantha Taluk of Dhidigal district<sup>3</sup>.

### **1.1.3 Special Component Plan for Scheduled Castes:**

To address issues related to development of scheduled castes, the Indian government has propelled a plan known as scheduled castes special component plan in 1980. As indicated by this arrangement, the government is required to reserve a sum in the spending which ought to be proportionate to the aggregate scheduled caste population. This implies that under every expenditure of the government, a particular amount needs to be earmarked for the Dalits in the individual concern. This has a heading on the state governments to take after a similar model at the state level (Trivedi,1996).

Several measures have been taken to meet the educational needs, for example, hostel facilities, finding schools near the residences of scheduled castes, free mid- day meal and free supply of books for Dalits dwelling country and urban areas. However, the literacy rate of the Dalits is a long way from fulfillment either in urban or rural areas. There might be some distinction for urban Dalits in such manner because of accessibility of institutions and slight better financial status. All things considered, significantly more should be accomplished.

The above legal safeguards with reference to atrocities and development plans are expected to have an indirect impact in regards to education of Scheduled Castes. The legal safeguards help the Scheduled Castes in educating the children notwithstanding the upper caste intimidation or threat of stopping or discouraging the Scheduled Caste children either in school or college. The economic development schemes are expected to help Scheduled Castes become independent and their children can be free from child labor which will enable them in attending school and, special efforts are made by the government in providing reservations in educational institutions, but also in the establishment of schools in Scheduled Caste localities, establishment of hostels and Ashram schools. The government has provided pre-matric and post-matric scholarships, Book bank for professional and non-professional

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<sup>3</sup>7<sup>th</sup>Annual report (2001-2002) of National Commission for SC's, [www.ncsc.nic.in](http://www.ncsc.nic.in), accessed on 26<sup>th</sup> August 2013.

college students, etc. the education of Scheduled Caste in turn is expected to aid economic development of the community.

Even though the constitution has provided many rights to Indian citizens, including the rights to life and movement, it does not ensure the rights to have secured livelihood, source of earnings and adequate facilities. The living conditions in India's urban slums are clearly related to the general poverty of the slum inhabitants, inequality particularly on the basis of caste (Desai and Pillai, 1990). Even though the slum dwellers form part of urban economy, they are employed in the category of unskilled workers in the informal sector as self-employed in petty trade, repairs and transport. Most of their children are engaged in some work. A study on slums of Vijayawada revealed that 75 percent of its dwellers are illiterates (Rao, 1984). Another study on slums of Old Delhi by Bharat Sevak Samaj revealed that many children could not receive education because of the low income status of their families and the parents could not afford expenses on education (Ramachandran, 1990).

Although many studies covered different aspects of urban life and socio-social, monetary political, health- sanitation issues of slums, we rarely find a study which is devoted to the educational needs, and the culture of education among different social groups in relation to their social class, gender, religion, region, language and caste of the slum dwellers. It is obvious that education is specifically identified with the family and the family background, and its characteristics differ by place. Wealthy family is advantageous for children's education. Attendance of children in school is high in non-slum urban regions, trailed by slums and rural regions. In spite of the fact that India is quickly urbanizing, the disparity is being moved from dominantly a urban-provincial imbalance to an intra-urban imbalance. As education is the best device for decreasing poverty and imbalance, the more prominent points of interest of riches in urban regions are disturbing, especially the riches positively presents extra favorable circumstances in not simply school attendance but rather the quality of schools.

Slums are urban islands that are excluded from the main social intercourse and activities. The slum dwellers are also deprived of the comforts of urban life and they lack minimum facilities for healthy living. These slum dwellers who are mostly Dalits

are historically excluded groups. Given these facts the education of Dalits in slums can be explained and understood in terms of social exclusion, the perspective of which has not been adopted so far (Munck, 2005).

The issue of Dalits in educational institutions is a far reaching issue in caste influenced regions of the nation and at all levels running from primary education to college education, in spite of endeavors of the government and non-governmental organizations. Absence of education and drop-out rates among the Dalits are high because of various social and physical variables. The verifiable social exclusion and hardship is a vital reason. The deep rooted oppressive practices are still have been rehearsed in various or unobtrusive ways, debilitating the Dalits to seek after education. The dropout rate for the Dalit children is high, at the primary level. To be sure, as indicated by United Nations International Children's Emergency Fund (UNICEF), the dropout rate among Dalits in India is 44.27 rates at primary school level. The forms of structural discrimination, distance, and mishandle the Dalit children in schools are stigmatizing to the point that they are generally compelled to drop out of school. One of the stunning issues in this setting originates from the prejudicial practices taken after by teachers (Nambissan, 2009). The Special Report on the Right to Education 2006 uncovers that 'teachers have been known to pronounce that Dalit students cannot learn unless they are beaten (Human Rights Watch, 2007). Biased practices against Dalit children exercised by teachers includes corporal punishment, denial of access to school water supplies, discrimination in class rooms, and forcing Dalit children to perform manual scavenging on and around school premises<sup>4</sup>.

A Nepalese study reported caste based discrimination in schools. It is observed that there is indirect discrimination by teachers towards Dalit students, for example, disregarding, rehashed accusing, and marking as frail entertainers. This prompted social exclusion of Dalit students from schools. The outcome was sporadic participation, less fixation on studies, less interest in school exercises, bring down execution, disappointment, and school drop-out (Bishwokarma, 2010). Also, Dalit children confront oppressive mentalities from kindred students and the group in general, especially from higher position individuals who see education for the Dalits

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<sup>4</sup> IDSN and Navsarjan briefing note, 2010 at [idsn.org/caste-discrimination/key-issues/education](http://idsn.org/caste-discrimination/key-issues/education), accessed on 1<sup>st</sup> July 2013.

as a waste and a risk. This is connected to a discernment among some higher caste people that educated Dalits represent a risk to them, and that Dalits are by and large incapable for being educated (Vasavi, 1997).

## **1.2 Research problem**

According to the Census of India 2001, 607 towns spreading more than 26 States and Union Territories have slum population, the aggregate of which is 40.3 million containing 21.5 million guys and 18.8 million females. India's slum staying population has ascended from 27.9 million in 1981 to 61.8 million in 2001 . Dash reports that India's slum population will surge to 104 million by 2017, as a result of a quickening country to urban move the country over. The slums are probably going to develop exponentially in light of the concentration of industries and governments in urban areas, absence of legitimate government and execution of law with respect to town authorities, unemployment in rural areas forcing rural people to towns looking for employment and after that joining of slums with no property, and the urban areas have no space to oblige immigrants with basic facilities.

In India, the important reason for the migration of the rural population to the metropolitan cities is that better work opportunities. As the improvement of rural areas is lingers a long ways behind, the rural population is pulled in to the amenities and entertainment facilities available in the cities, besides the employment. Housing has neglected to keep pace with stunning rate of relocation into the urban areas and the unavoidable aftereffect of that has been spontaneous development of the urban communities, and the resulting is development of slums. The pay level which is lacking to keep up the way of life and the low paying limit of the transients constrained them to discover low rental zones or to squat on the unused land situated close to their work places. Vicinity of their homes, close to work places particularly because of the low level of transportation cost, and the high measures of rents have urged slums to have congestion and clog issues. Maharashtra tops with more than 10 million slum tenants. Andhra Pradesh has around 5 million slum occupants. Uttar Pradesh and West Bengal towns hold slum population of 4 million each. Data of grave concern is that the slum populations of 40 million likewise incorporate more than 5.5 million infants and children in the age group of 0-6 years. In fact, tragically that such substantial number of children is caught up in the social hardship of slums.

In Andhra Pradesh, 6.8 percent of the population lives in slums are situated in Hyderabad-Secunderabad, the twin-cities, trailed by Adilabad, Ananthapur and Krishna locale. In Hyderabad, there are 1631 slums (see Table 1.2) scattered over the Hyderabad city and surrounding municipalities with most noteworthy population thickness, and the quantity of individuals evaluated is around two million. As indicated by GHMC, 12 percent of Hyderabad is possessed by slums, which represents 80.45 square kilometers of the aggregate 625 square kilometers of the city<sup>5</sup>.

Table 1.2 Slum populations in Hyderabad and surrounding Municipalities  
(Figures in Percentatage)

S.No	Town	Number of slums	Slum Population (2001)	Percentage of Population
1	GHMC	1142	1411000	38.8
2	Serilingampally	59	73866	49.1
3	Kukatpally	81	19585	6.7
4	Qutbullapur	77	138360	61.3
5	Alwal	61	62585	58.8
6	Malkajgiri	44	47396	27.1
7	Kapra	33	47064	29.6
8	Uppal Kalan	21	43586	36.9
9	L.B.Nagar	75	23478	9.0
10	Rajendranagar	38	84287	58.9
11	Total	1631	1951207	37.5

Source: Basic Governments to the urban poor, Chapter-V, Hyderabad- City Development Plan, Government of Andhra Pradesh.

About 26 percent of the city's population lives in slums. Out of 1631 slums, 980 are notified, of which 287 (29 percentage) are identified as scheduled castes and scheduled tribes slums as per the reports of the GHMC (Express News, 2013). There are five such slums in Rajendranagar municipality and another five in Serilingampally municipality.

In view of the above conditions, an attempt has been made here to study the factors that are responsible for the exclusion of Dalits in selected 4 slums of Hyderabad. Though these slums are identified as Dalit *basthis*, there are also families from non-Dalit castes.

<sup>5</sup> Deccan Chronicle 12<sup>th</sup> June 2012

### **1.2.1 Statement of the Problem**

Since the education is one of the important means through which one can increase intellectual and economic productivity with the improvement of skills, it is necessary for the Dalits to make use of all the opportunities to educate their children. But, then why has not the literacy of the Dalits living in slums been improved? How are they excluded from education? It is not known if the environment, that they live, does encourage education. Is it that good educational institutions are not accessible to them? Is it that the educational institutions are badly managed and poorly equipped that the Dalit children cannot get good education? Does the culture of poverty work against the development of educational skills?. In short, it is necessary to find out the linkage among the slum environment, Dalits and their education.

### **1.3 Review of Literature**

In this brief review, it has been attempted to bring out important aspects covered in social exclusion, slums and education. It has been tried to show that the concept of social exclusion, which is quite wide and encompassing process in which various categories of people fall outside the safety net of the main stream and government. Secondly, the studies of slum on which the sociologists have spent considerable time have not paid much attention to the issues of Dalits, particularly their education. Thirdly, the education of Dalits has not attracted the attention of social scientists particularly from the social exclusion perspective.

The urbanization and industrialization are universally considered to have given birth to slums and contributed to their growth, and these two processes are aided by population growth and migration from rural to urban areas partly due to employment opportunities. Since these two processes are not bound by space or time, the formation of slum is universal across the globe. Slums have been generally studied as part of city structure and organization for a long time and as such they have come under the purview of historians, geographers, sociologists and anthropologists in their academic pursuits of understating human societies in the dynamic form of development of cities. They have produced enormous amount of information about cities and slums. But the present review is restricted to sociological and

anthropological studies only as these are directly related to the present study. The review is presented in three respects: studies of slums outside India and in India, studies of the Dalits in urban India and social exclusion of the Dalits with reference to education.

### **1.3.1 Studies of Slums outside India**

The development of urban sociology that drew attention to city as a social organization comprehending its nature and growth and problems therein brought slums under the sociological ambit of inquiry. Thus, the urban sociological studies contributed immensely to our understanding of demographic, conditions of health and hygiene, social organization and problems of slum dwellers. In United Kingdom the studies on slums were initiated by Booth (1889, 1891), a philanthropist and social researcher, and this was followed by Seehohm Rowntree, a sociological researcher, social reformer and industrialist who published extensively about the middleclass in York city (1901), (1941), (1951). Marx (1887) and Engels (1892) who were very critical about the life in London, wrote extensively on the slums where the poor lived in squalor and in unhygienic conditions with the industrialization and the development of capital to the disadvantage of the poor. Their writings were published in various florals. In the United States of America, the works of Park (1915) and Burges (1925), sociologists who established the Chicago school of Sociology, focused on urban living of migrants, developed research methods and sociological theories such as subculture theories etc., and thus, laid background for sociological inquiry into slums and urban life. The researches carried out in Chicago city are very significant that describe the urban life including the middle class and the urban poor. A slum in USA is popularly known as slum which is mostly inhabited by Afro-American poor. These were studied by Wirth (1928), Frazier (1932), Drake (1945), Weaver (1948) Clark (1965), Tabb (1970), Rainwater (1970) and so on. Existence of such kind of ethnic isolations and slum of immigrant Africans, Asians, Muslims and Jews are found in different cities across the USA (Glaeser 1997). Cultural anthropologists whose focus has been to the natives, peasants, and non-western societies also began urban studies with their theoretical and methodological strategies studying the immigrant ethnic groups and isolated communities in cities. Warner

(1963)'s "Yankee City" and Whyte (1943)'s "Street Corner Society" are the forerunners for cultural anthropological studies of cities and slums. Cultural anthropologist Lewis' (1959) concept 'culture of poverty' which developed from his studies of Mexican city and New York has influenced both sociologists and anthropologists in understanding slum in cultural terms rather than entirely on economic fallout. Despite criticism against this concept, the anthropological methodology and analysis of slum life was well recognized by 1960s. There were few anthropological studies about slums in the USA that include Gan's (1962) slum area in Boston, Liebow's (1967) Tally's Corner of Washington, Suttles (1969) inner city of Chicago, Hannerz's (1969) slum culture of Chicago and Stack's (1974) life of black families living in the flats of midwest city.

The above studies mostly carried out in the USA and London inform us the life of poor, ethnic minorities, religious minorities and immigrants which is different from the general population. They describe habitat conditions such as dilapidating housing structures, unhygienic environment, social conflicts and violence, crowded population, outbreak of epidemics, etc. They also discuss the theoretical debates on the nature of slums and strategies of urban research and so on. These studies had immense policy value for poverty eradication strategies, fulfilling housing needs, social inclusion, etc.

### **1.3.2 Studies of Slums in India**

According to Rao and Rao (1991), information about slums of India were collected in connection with poverty studies of rural and urban areas, and also urban planning. In this connection, studies such as publications of Rath and Dandekar (1970) and Planning Commission (1978) are important besides Manefee and Desouza's (1980) work which is a comparative study on the slum and pavement dwellers of Calcutta, Bombay, Delhi and other important cities. It has highlighted the marginalization and exclusion of people by major social indicators of education, employment, health and housing which have implications for policies<sup>6</sup>. In these works, the concentration is on the statistical analysis emphasizing the poverty with

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<sup>6</sup> D'souza has attributed the genesis and persistence of the problem of poverty in cities to the society itself rather than economic forces as the slum dwellers are basically from the marginal sections of the society.



reference to problems of housing in slums, and sociological concerns are not at the centre.

Rao and Rao (1991) state that studies exclusively about slums began with the Bharat Sewak Samaj's study of Old Delhi (1958). The other important ones are : Balasundaram's (1957) and Arangannal's (1971) study of slums in Madras, Chawda and Bhatt's (1979) study of slums in Ahmedabad, Ramachandran's (1972) study of slums in Bombay, Desai and Pillai's study of a Bombay slum (1972), Wiebe's (1975) study of Channanagar in Madras city, Majumdar's (1973) study of two shanty colonies in Delhi, Rao and Rao (1984)'s study of Vijayawada slums, and Rao and Raju's (1992) study of Vishakhapatnam slums (Rao, Bhatt and Narayan (ed. 1991), Siddique's (1969) study of Calcutta slums, and Lynch's (1974) study of a slum in Bombay. Almost all these studies have attempted to examine Lewis' proposition of the 'culture of poverty'. They also describe the life of slum dwellers from sociological perspective.

The studies carried out by D' Souza and Victor (1968), Gadgil (1970), Sen (1970), and Shah (1975) focus on the slums of Calcutta, Pune, Chandigarh, Surat, Ludhiana and Amritsar and they give a description of the physical, demographic, health and crowding conditions. Some studies of slums have specific aim such as Gupta's (1968) study which reveals the slum life that affects family, marriage and parental care. Nayak (1968) has observed that urban slum dwellers have low level of community feeling. Madan (1969) has observed that slum conditions cannot allow its members for healthy and socialized community. Nambair (1961) has focused his study on the impact of environment on the health of the slum dwellers in Madras, and Trivedi (1961) argues that the slums are not only confined to industrial area but also non-industrial area and wherever they exist there is unhygienic condition. The health hazards of slum dwellers due to industrial pollution and lack of protection against hazards are observed in some studies (Schenk 2001 and Anderson, 1990). Mann (1991) studied the economic life of Chambhar or leather-workers, Dhors or tanners, Mahars, Mangs and Bhangis or scavengers of Pune. Priyadarshini study focuses on the migration patterns of slum dwellers while Banerji (2005) tries to understand the formation of various slums in Delhi. Kadri et al. (2010) have studied the immunization coverage in the slums of Ahmedabad.

Sudhakar and Joshi (1989) in their studies about slums of Gwalior city of Madhya Pradesh, Indore, Poona, Delhi, and Marathwada region of Maharashtra and have found that most of the slum dwellers belong to scheduled castes. Similarly, the above mentioned studies have also indicated that the slum dwellers are mostly from scheduled caste or tribe or other marginal chapters. But there are hardly any study conducted specifically focusing on the Dalit living in slums. However, there are studies on the Dalit inhabiting cities. A brief review of these studies is attempted here.

Wankhede (1999) in his study on Dalit of New Delhi observes that the social mobility is to be achieved through education and also that the Dalits in cities suffer from an identity crisis in the society. Some Dalits in cities adopt their surnames identical to higher caste by hiding their caste in their day to day life and avoid social mixing. He sees that there is high degree of educational and occupational upward mobility due to their awareness, urban exposure and facilities. Pias (1999) in his study on Mangalore town observes that the Dalits who live in colonies segregated in different parts of the city suffer from deprivations, discrimination and low status.

As per Jodka (2010), Dalits in Panipat and Saharanpur cities of Haryana and Uttar Pradesh constitute 16 and 9 percent respectively. In Panipat, which is one of the important cities of Haryana, the Dalits are working in handloom and floor covering industry. In Saharanpur, which is a district of Uttar Pradesh, the Dalit are working in an assortment of agro based modern endeavors like materials, sugar, paper and cigarette industrial facilities. Some of the Dalits are in business sector and they feel glad that they are out of subjugation, and some of them are additionally in a position to help other people by helping them to setup an enterprise or provide them employment. A number of them take a gander at themselves as fruitful good examples for different individuals from their groups. They need their children to get taught and strikingly enough, they need to send them to the schools keep running by Dalits to avoid exclusion and discrimination in schools. Some of them are notwithstanding ready to spend every one of their funds to send their children to another country, to overcome discrimination. Regardless of a few positive changes, the station keeps on assuming a part in the urban economy, contrarily if there should be an occurrence of Dalits. The Dalits need financial assets, however when they have monetary assets they need social assets. The Chamars, who are generally required with some sort of

organizations, are producers of leather. The experience of caste discrimination is shared over all the position gatherings, however it is felt more by the Balmikis than the Chamars in both the states.

Prashad (2000) provides social history of Bhangis, 'the sweeper and scavenging community', relating it to the Muslim rule in the country while Valmiki (2008) describes his own life as Valmiki in his book *Joothan* and the way he grew up in Gwalior as a Dalit during 1950s. Parmar (2014)<sup>7</sup> provides a detailed account of the problem of identification of Dalits in urban setting with reference to renting a house and even securing a job. They try to pass as non-Dalits by changing their titles or given names as they indicate their caste identity so that they may escape from the discrimination. Cultural Survival, Inc. reports that in a recent survey 65 percentage of the people who live on the streets in Delhi are Untouchables<sup>8</sup>.

There have been a number of studies about the sweepers who belong to one of the Dalit castes and in North India they are mostly Bhangis or Balmikis that experience open discrimination and untouchability, social exclusion and deprivation. In Andhra (including Telangana), Karnataka, and Tamil Nadu, these sweepers belong to Thoti, Mala, Madiga, Adi-Andhra, Adi-Dravida, Adi-Karnata castes and so on who are listed under scheduled castes. These are carried out in various cities by various researchers such as Chaudhary (1988) in Patna; Chaudhary (2000) in Bhopal; Chatterjee (1998) in Banaras; Karlekar (1978, 1982), Prashad (2000), Punalekar (1999) in Maharashtra; Ali(2006), Ali and Singh (1998), and Sharma (1996) in Delhi; Kadetotad (1977) in Dharwar; Sachchidananda (1997) in Bihar; Shinoda (2005) in Western India; Thakar and Khadas (1989) in Maharashtra; Thakar, Sharma and Kaur (1989) in Himachal; Shyam Lal (1992) in Jodhpur; Venketarayappa (1972) in Mysore. All these studies cover sweepers and scavengers in various cities of India and describe the socio-economic conditions, problems faced by these slum dwellers. Though the life styles of different castes are slightly different from one to another,

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<sup>7</sup>Transacting Caste in Neoliberal Cities: A Study of Dalit Changing Family Names in Urban Gujarat, India'.

<sup>8</sup><http://www.culturalsurvival.org/ourpublications/csq/article/indias-untouchables> accessed on 9th July 2015.

they experience the same. Only the studies of Poddar (2001) and Ali (2006) present the general picture of the Dalit slum dwellers in India.

### **1.3.3 Studies of Slums in Hyderabad**

There are three important studies carried out in the twin cities Hyderabad-Secunderabad. The study of the The Indian Institute of Economics (1976) is based on a sample of slums and squatter colonies which provides the socio-economic conditions of the population. Naidu's (1978) study about slums of Hyderabad-Secunderabad discusses the issues of slum dwellers with reference to the urban development. Suvvada (2012) provides an ethnographic description of the life style of the Mehtars, the sweepers, in a slum called Valmikinagar located in the old city of Hyderabad, particularly regarding their identity – self and society - construction given their low status, degrading work and discrimination.

### **1.4 Social Exclusion of Dalits with Reference to Education**

The traditional prejudice against the Dalits in education continues. It is a notion of upper castes and their children also that Dalits are incapable of education, and it is a mere waste, and as such, the Dalit children are discriminated in school (Vasavi 1978). Such a kind of stereotype notion is prevalent even among the teachers as revealed in a recent study in Delhi (Bishwokarma 2010). It is generally observed by some scholars that education either during the colonial or post-independent period the system benefited only the upper castes but not the Dalits. In fact, the upper castes are accused of this sad state of affairs (Satyanarayana, 2002). Some have gone a step further to say that education helped the privileged chapters of the 19<sup>th</sup> century as a potent means of social control. There is an official negligence of the educational claims of the lower castes (Yagati, 2003). It is argued that the educational institutions attended by the upper chapters have better infrastructure facilities, human and non-human inputs in order to get better education. The Dalit and the poor are at the disadvantage to benefit from education (Aikara, 2004). It is argued that there is a need for policy to address the barriers of education among the Dalits in India in order to overcome the structural social exclusion (Jenkins, 2006).

There is a strong correlation between education of the slum dwellers and the occupational patterns (Rao, 1984). Studies reveal the fact that a large percentage of slum children dropout of school and even those who continue in school engage themselves in earning simultaneously which affects their education (Ramachandran, 1990 and Ramana, 2002). Dalits are caught up in multiple exclusion from education, housing, property, health governments, public goods, etc. (Nayak, 1994). The education of the Dalit children is also affected by the location of the school; if the school is located in the upper caste locality, they are reluctant to attend the school because they do not like to enter the upper caste locality due to the practice of untouchability and discrimination. Omvedt (2006) argues that the Dalit rights and dignity have been abused by dominant.

Studies show widespread practice of discrimination by the teachers who generally belong to upper castes. Adding to discrimination, the corporal punishments additionally compel the Dalit children going to schools (Anitha 2000, Jabbi and Rajyalakshmi 2001). The studies of Burra (2001), Franco et al. (2004), Human Rights watch (2007), Kaul (2001), Makwana (2011), Nambissan and Sedwal (2002), Nambissan (2002, 2009), Ramachandran (2005) and Thorat (2005) demonstrate that the privilege to education to Dalit children, a situation from discrimination and exclusion are undermined by the treatment they get in school. Teachers keep up and confer biased states of mind in their classrooms, constrain children to sit in the back of the room, isolate Dalit children from non-Dalits amid lunchtime, prohibit non-Dalit children from sitting beside Dalit youngsters or touch their plates, purposefully restricting Dalit children participation in class, subject them to verbal abuse and grade them with low marks. There are examples of Dalit students being made to sit and eat separately.

#### **1.4.1 Education in Slums**

Very few studies are available on the subject of exclusion of education among the Dalit children in slums. The parents of Dalit children staying in slums are more interested in sending their children to work than school. While the lack of education restricts the employment opportunity, it is aggravated by living in slum for the employer does not like their employee living in a slum (Bhatt 2000; Lobo and Das,

2001). Kundu's (2003) study on slums of Kolkata reveals that there is a positive change of attitude of slum residents towards education.

Some comparative studies show the achievement level of slum children in the government schools in comparison to private schools. In New Delhi, the children having a place with slum regions have made poorer accomplishments contrasted with the offspring of non-slum zones. This demonstrates some connection between's slum life and educational achievement(Aggarwal and Chugh, 2003). In another study in Delhi, it is observed that dropout rate among the slumchildren who go to government school is higher than the other children who go to private schools. Further, it is observed that the education hardship is brought about not just by neediness, but rather likewise by related components. These components are firmly identified with sexual orientation, rank, and the nature of learning and facilities in schools, for example, the divergence between monetary conditions and educationexpenditure in slum families (Sujita, 2009). Shah and Sen (2008) in their study of slums and schools in West Bengal observe that without improving the overall living conditions of the slum dwellers and providing schools near the slums, there may not be any progress in education among the slum dwellers.

The above review of literature makes it clear that though there are some studies focused on education of the slum children, who belong to Dalit or non-Dalitcastes, there is no study that focuses exclusively on the Dalit children of slums. Further, though there is suggestion to develop an education policy for the Dalit children, no attempt has been made as to how the policy can be framed and implemented. Moreover, none of the studies has attempted to examine education of the Dalits in slums from the perspective of social exclusion. In the light of the above the following objectives are framed for the present study.

## 1.5 Objectives

1. To study the educational levels and patterns in the selected slums.
2. To study educational practices in relation to socio-economic conditions.
3. To understand the processes of exclusion in education
4. To understand schooling patterns.
5. To find out the relationship between the educational policy and its relevance to slums.

## 1.6 Study Area

The study is conducted in four slums in Hyderabad. Hyderabad is the fourth crowded city in India, with a population of 6.8 million in the year 2011, and it is one of the quickest developing metropolitan urban cities with a decadal development rate of 32 percentage. The urban agglomeration emanating out of Hyderabad is spread over a range of 778.17 square kilometers alongside twelve municipal entities. The Greater Hyderabad Municipal Corporation (GHMC) regulates and deals with the civic infrastructure.. The GHMC was formed in April 2007 by combining the Municipal Corporation of Hyderabad (MCH) with 12 municipalities of the Hyderabad, Rangareddy and Medak regions covering an aggregate region of 650 square kilometers (250 square miles). Hyderabad's administrative organizations have varied jurisdictions. The Hyderabad Metro Development Authority encompasses the GHMC and its rural areas, stretching out to 54 Mandals in five districts possessing a territory of 7,100 square kilometers (2,700 square miles) (Uma, 2001).

Hyderabad experienced sudden development in the primary decade of the 21st century. As a result, the population expanded by more than 87 percentage, from 3,637,483 in the 2001 enumeration to 6,809,970 in the 2011 census. Migrants from somewhere else in India constitute 24 percentage of the city population of Hyderabad. The Hyderabad urban agglomeration has a population of 7,677,018 making it the 6th most crowded urban agglomeration in the country<sup>9</sup>.

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<sup>9</sup><https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Hyderabad> accessed on 1st July 2013 ;<http://www.hyderabad-info.in/hyderabad-demographics> accessed on 23rd May 2015.

## 1.7 Methodology

Theoretical frame work utilized for the study as stated earlier is the frame work of social exclusion which has been managed in detail in the following chapter. In any case, it ought to be said here that the study depends on a survey conducted in four slums which are chosen from two urban municipalities of Hyderabad.

### 1.7.1 Sampling

The sampling of municipalities and slums has been done on the criterion of poverty line and literacy, since both the components are inter-related and impact each other. According to Hyderabad City Development Plan, the population of Below Poverty Line (BPL) is very significant and constitutes around 13 percent of the aggregate population. It has been noticed that the rate of BPL population is high in Rajendranagar Municipality, constituting 23.66 percent and low in Serilingampally Municipality constituting 3.76 percent. Accordingly there is a huge variation. Curiously enough, the percentage of BPL demonstrates that aside from four districts – Serilingampally, Malkajgiri, Uppal and L.B. Nagar where the rate of BPL population is under 4, it is more than 8 in whatever is left of six municipalities (see Table 1.3).

Table 1.3 Population Below Poverty Line in the Municipalities of Hyderabad  
(Figures in Percentage)

S.No	Town	BPL Population	percentage of BPL Population
1	MCH	429189	14.1
2	Serilingampally	2722	3.8
3	Kukatpally	16434	8.8
4	Quthbullahpur	38990	36.6
5	Alwal	7824	11.8
6	Malkajgiri	4021	3.2
7	Kapra	14982	17.1
8	Uppal	2438	3.2
9	L.B.Nagar	3566	2.3
10	Rajendranagar	20000	23.7
11	Total	540166	13.5

Source: Hyderabad City Development Plan<sup>10</sup>

<sup>10</sup>Hyderabad City Development Plan Basic Services to the Urban Poor, Chapter- V, at [www.ourmch.com](http://www.ourmch.com), accessed on 21<sup>st</sup> January 2015



Keeping the criterion of Below Poverty Line in view, one municipality where the BPL percentage is below 4 percent i.e. Serilingampally and one municipality where the percentage of BPL is more than 4 percent i.e. Rajendranagar are selected for the study.

According to the census 2001, the education rate of slum population shifts from 60 to 80 percent. Female literacy rate in slums is in the vicinity of 52 and 73 percent. Since literacy rates are not accessible for the slums, the researcher has gathered information on slums, schools and enlistment from the concerned government offices, for example, Municipal Corporation and school education departments. The Table 1.4 demonstrates the types of schools and enrolment amid 2012 in slums of Serilingampally and Rajendranagar regions.

Table 1.4 Schools and enrolment

(In figures)

S.No	Name of the slum	Type of the school	Enrolment school
1	Gopinagar	MPP-UPS	419
2	Gopanapally	MPP	114
3	Premavathipet	PS	73
4	Shivarampally	PS	168

MPP-UPS= Mandal Praja Parishad Upper Primary School; MPP-PS= Mandal Praja Parishad Primary School; P.S= Primary School

Since there is highest enrolment in Gopinagar slum and lowest in Gopanapally Weaker Chapter Colony in Serilingampally Municipality, these are selected for the study. Similarly, in Rajendranagar Municipality, Shivarampally Dalit Basti (highest) and Premavathipet Harijanawada slum (lowest) are selected, and hereafter the slums are named as Gopinagar, Gopanapally, Shivarampally and Premavathipet.

In order to cover entire universe, the respondents were selected on the basis of education beginning from primary school to high school and above covering both the sexes approximately in same proportion as shown in Table 1.5.

Table 1.5 Sampling Design for Children

										(In figures)
S.No	School	Serilingampally Municipality				Rajendranagar Municipality				Total
		Gopinagar		Gopanapally		Shivrampally		Premavathipet		
		Boys	Girls	Boys	Girls	Boys	Girls	Boys	Girls	
1	>High School	17	20	6	6	17	20	6	6	98
2	High School	20	14	6	5	20	14	6	5	90
3	Upper Primary School	14	9	5	4	14	9	5	4	64
4	Primary School	5	3	4	2	5	3	4	2	28
	Total	56	46	21	17	56	46	21	17	280

In addition to 280 children, data were also collected from 150 parents of the children in the above slums and 19 teachers in the schools located near the slums to elicit information about studying practices, slum environment, performance of slum children in school, etc. Apart from this information, information about drop-out children has been collected.

The above sample shows that there is a high representation from the children who have completed high school. This is done deliberately because the children from upper primary and below may not be able to articulate about discrimination particularly. To compensate this inadequacy, children who have completed schooling were also included in the sample. However, their responses related to their experiences during their school education are only considered for the study.

### 1.7.2 Study Instruments

Data were collected using a combination of several methods such as group discussions with the elders and leaders in the slums besides individual structured interviews with teachers, students and parents with a schedule. The data collection was more explorative in nature focusing on the interchapter between community and school system. Three interview schedules, one each for school going child, parent and teacher were developed for collecting the relevant data, which are appended to the thesis as Annexure-I, II and III.

### **1.7.3 Pilot Study**

Preliminary test of the schedules was conducted long before the data collection. The pre-tested schedules for the child included 54 questions and similarly the schedule of parents and teachers had 64 and 37 respectively. The data from the respondents were collected using these schedules to study the reliability of the instruments. It was found that some questions were not useful and some needed modification. Therefore, the instruments were modified accordingly and finalized for data collection which is appended to the thesis.

The personal interviews were conducted with the help of structured schedules containing both closed and open ended questions on various aspects of the problem under the study such as social exclusion and discrimination. During the study the researcher could establish good rapport with the respondents which ultimately helped in understanding even subtle aspects of their response towards the problem under study. The researcher never gave the impression that he was only interested in the collection of data. They talked and provided answers to the questions frankly with sincerity and with a genuine desire to bring out their problems.

### **1.8 Limitations of the Study**

The study is limited to four slums of Hyderabad. Moreover, the study covers Dalit children and parents. Therefore, the study is in no way considered as representative of Dalit children and parents in India, but of those living in slums of Hyderabad, as the study is limited to four slums in the state capital. The study completely depended on the information provided by the respondents by way of statements on enquiry.

### **1.9 Chapterisation**

The first chapter is the introduction which includes details of research problem, review of literature on slums and Dalits, objectives of the study, methodology and limitations. It brings into focus the Dalits as the most excluded category of Indian population. Social thinkers in pre-independence articulated forcefully that education is the means by which the Dalits can be meaningfully included into the main streams society with certain constitutional safeguards and

provisions besides ameliorating the socio-economic conditions. The situation of Dalits is no way different in urban centres than the majority rural Dalits who have been living in slums after having been migrated from the rural areas. Though the earlier studies on slums in cities identified the problems of the Dalit, no adequate attention has been paid to the exclusion of Dalits in respect of education. The present study is an attempt to fill this gap. Four slums of Hyderabad are selected for the study to investigate into the exclusion of urban Dalits so far as education is concerned.

The second chapter talks about the connection between social exclusion and education. Social exclusion is the predicament and furthermore a procedure in which individuals and groups are gotten up to speed. While in Europe social exclusion is another phenomenon, and in India it is an old social structural arrangement of groups and categories (Klasen, 2001). The case of the Dalits is the structural exclusion and their exclusion can be noted as the process too. Indian society follows exclusionary practices based on the religious values of pollution-purity principle. This chapter talks about hardship, discrimination and education among Dalit and the instance of Dalits in Andhra Pradesh specifically. These practices proceed in various structures and the Dalits are denied of appropriate to education. The absence of education or the social impede is the aftereffect of social exclusion if there should be an occurrence of the Dalits. The social exclusion causes lack of education among the Dalit as they neglect to access to schools. From childhood, the Dalit children are exposed to such forms. Parents and adults are anxious about the child's learning to escape from humiliation. The education is added to the current disparities, as there are issues in giving equivalent chances to all in education. The Dalits in Slums is helpless because of related impacts of low financial status, bring down parental education rates. From the information on school dropouts of Dalits in Andhra Pradesh, it is comprehended that the Dalit children are pushed out of schools and frequent explanations for dropouts are povrty, quality of education, and absence of enthusiasm for education and examination failure. It locates the clarification as far as a nonattendance of the social standard which elevates a child's entitlement to education<sup>11</sup>.

The third chapter concentrates on the slums of Hyderabad and gives the background to the four slums under thought to comprehend the exclusion of Dalits in

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<sup>11</sup>[www.create-rpc.org](http://www.create-rpc.org), accessed on 5<sup>th</sup> May 2015.

regard of education. Slums of Hyderabad came into existence in 1920. The plantations and the industrial growth around Hyderabad pulled in the specialists and the groups of the workers to live in close-by regions. There has been an enduring development of slums from that point forward. The 106 slums in 1962 with a population of 120,000 have expanded into 1631 by 2001 with most elevated population thickness and an expected population around two million. The slum youngsters confront a few issues in schools. There is backhanded routine with regards to untouchability. parents urge the boys to go to schools while girls are compelled to share family unit errands. They send their children to adjacent government schools where there are sure motivating forces, for example, mid-day meal, free education and free supply of uniform and books. The slum occupants need a decent education to their children, yet it is not inside their means. As the private schools close to the slums are catering the necessities of the slumchildren and numerous poor parents send their children to private schools. The expenses charged by these schools is not moderate to parents, who are to a great extent day-workers and rickshaw-pullers, showcase merchants, and mechanics (Govinda, 2009).

The fourth chapter deals with education and its practices. The data collected from detailed interviews held with 150 parents, 280 students and 19 teachers. There is linkage amongst poverty and schooling patterns. The expenditure is a boundary for education of poor Dalit families. The parents of the children in slums feel trouble in paying different expenses in private school in the start of another scholastic logbook. The expenditure is more than their wages. Accordingly, they are compelled to grasp hand loans for the education of their children. It is troublesome for the families to acquire expenditure on education more than their pay, if the quantity of school going children is more than two. The poorer families send their children to government school while the better off send their children to privateschools. Though the government schools do not charge any fee, and text books and uniforms are given free, there are other costs such as school bag, water bottle and stationery. The proportion of monthly expenditure adds to direct cost of the schooling in poor families. It is contrary to the general feeling that the total cost of the education of Dalit students in the slums is entirely borne by the state. It is in the sense that one can notice exclusion. It is not physical exclusion from educational institution, but lack of engagement of the parents in the educational process of their children. The teachers

feel that slum parents do not indicate much enthusiasm for the education of girls contrasted with boys, and on account of this distinction, girl students do not demonstrate much intrigue contrasted with boys in education. The help of the girls to help their mother and dealing with their younger siblings influences the education of girl students. Three-fourth of the teachers concur that the nature of education in private schools is better contrasted with government schools. From the data of the student, it is clear that the parents are able to spare their time only after their return from work and during holidays. As the parents and children do not get to know each other, there is a gap and distance between them. Such gap would have negative impact on the education of the children as the later relies on upon others or self for taking choices.

The fifth chapter deals the education process in school condition with regards to social exclusion. The connections that occur among the teachers and students in everyday exercises inside the school premises are locales for finding the social exclusion. An examination of the associations uncovers the substance and substance of social exclusion. Social exclusion winds up noticeably tricky if concentrate is on the auxiliary courses of action and formal teaching and learning or teachers and understudy connections and their part exhibitions. It ends up plainly apparent when the concentration is moved to casual and genuine ordinary schedules and the parade examination. In all breadth, the social exclusion is analyzed here as far as station, poor financial background, living arrangement in slum, conduct of parents and support in additional curricular exercises of the Dalit students. The caste may not show up in city in its conventional frame, but rather as a remaining classification, it can show up anyplace. No public or private school discriminates students on the basis of caste at the admission. Therefore, social exclusion cannot be found at this stage, but later only when a child is admitted to school. At the point when Dalit parents in the slum consider education of their children, in the ordinary conditions, the essential concern is the cost of education. The poor family more often than not considers a school that does not charge any expense and that is close by to such an extent that the children will have the capacity to go to class without anyone else or alongside a more established children. Along these lines as an auxiliary drop out, the restrictive high cost of education that incorporates capitation or school expense, transport charges, uniform et cetera of a corporate school would bar the low ranks especially poor

Dalits. The poor socio-economic background of the Dalit can also be a source of exclusion in the inclusive government school. Slum background, the neighborhood and behavior of parents affects the children and it bases the practice of exclusion.

The sixth chapter deals with policy of education, exclusion its interrelationship. Its point is to allow everybody to take in and advantage from education as a privilege. The Indian Constitution gives arrangements to education of the children. The Directive Principles of State Policy of the constitution of India direct the state to give free and necessary education to all children up to the age of 14. The Supreme Court likewise decided that the privilege to education is a principal right spilling out of the Right to Life in agreement to Article 21 of the constitution. Along these lines, in 2002, education was made a fundamental right directly through the 86th Amendment Act to the constitution. Indeed, even to numerous defensive measures, the dropouts of slumchildren are high. Important reason for dropout is the passive learning experiences in schools. The children who are not intrigued by studies prompt dropping out from schools. Poor execution, sporadic participation, review reiteration and overage additionally influence the tutoring of children. In the schools and universities, Dalit children are casualties of quiet exclusion. They are marked as students of no enthusiasm for studies. With regular illness and household issues notwithstanding the marking up as 'understudy of no enthusiasm for studies', the students connect with themselves in incessant irregular, and in the end dropout of school in the wake of going to for quite a while. Many of the children excluded from the studies are first generation learners as their parents are illiterates. The children of illiterate parents face tremendous challenges in schooling and in learning at an acceptable level as they receive no support or little support after school hours. Many face the threat of silent exclusion from the school system. Finally, Conclusion is incorporated in seventh chapter.

The final chapter, the conclusion, brings together the major findings of the study. It asserts and agrees with several earlier studies that Dalits are an excluded group, and their exclusion in the field of education is a reality. Indirect practices of discrimination and untouchability can be noted in the school environment and educational practices. Appropriate policy decisions are needed for saving the Dalits in slums from the educational exclusion.

## **Chapter- II**

### **Social Exclusion and Education – Interrelationship**

In the introduction, statement of the problem of this research, the objectives, and a review of literature on the studies relating to slums and education of the Dalits have been provided. The review of literature shows a solid relationship among the components of Dalit's migration from rural to urban, education and their occupations in the city. The second chapter discusses the connection between social exclusion and education. The absence of education among the Dalits or the social impede of the Dalits because of absence of education, as contended, is the consequence of social exclusion. It is additionally contended that the social exclusion has brought about absence of education among the Dalits as they were kept from access to schooling. In this rationalization talk, we discover Dr. B. R. Ambedkar as the main prominent identity who contended that education is the best weapon to battle against discrimination, inequality and social exclusion (Lal 2003). As indicated by him, education brings general change and its essential objective is to enhance financial standards of Dalits and help taking care of the issues of discrimination and social exclusion. Consequently, education can be the best instrument for freedom. This chapter discuss the poverty, discrimination, education among Dalits and the instance of Dalits in A.P. specifically and educational policies.

#### **2.1 Social Exclusion as the Theoretical Framework**

Social exclusion as a concept has come into currency in recent decades in Indian context for the analysis of social phenomenon existing for centuries. It is well understood as social practice built in the Hindu social order, the caste system of Indian society. The social hierarchy encompasses graded inequality of the social groups or segments of the society as the structural paradigm. This social inequality; based on the social, economic, and religious principles; continues to operate withstanding several challenges that attempted to change the system. Therefore, the caste system is a condition and also a process that maintains the system wherein the structural inequality perpetuates even as the circumstances or situations change under universal processes of urbanization, industrialization or globalization. But the concept of social exclusion is employed to refer to the consequences of poverty in



Europe and elsewhere, and it has found its way in social science discourse since the eighties, especially while discussing social policy first in Europe, and subsequently elsewhere.

According to Oxford dictionaries<sup>12</sup>, exclusion intends to close out whether by pushing out or anticipating affirmation or to suspend somebody from some movement or place. Exclusion is the dissent of passage. The term infers a dismissal of the guideline of correspondence. Exclusion is characterized with reference to gatherings of individuals prohibited socially and financially on the premise of social personality. The idea of social exclusion begun in France, and spread to United Kingdom and somewhere else. It gained a few implications and uses over a timeframe. The idea of social exclusion is advanced on the concept of social cohesion<sup>13</sup>, which goes back to eighteenth century. It relates in understanding the acts of exclusion. The logical reviews on social exclusion have taken the idea from speculations of social imbalance and relative hardship which respect unequal access to pay, fundamental products, public governments and citizenship rights as the beginning stage. The idea of social exclusion is a method for portraying social divisions. It means to distinguish enter parts of exclusion in contemporary Britain, and to interface these to the move to what is asserted to be a “information” to society. It investigates a few ramifications of the social exclusion. Social exclusion relates to lack of material resources, but also to inadequate social participation which includes inadequate access to education. Smith (1776) discovers deprivation as failure to show up out in the public without disgrace. It is a case of social exclusion and furthermore he observes that the the difficulty experienced by deprived people in taking part in the life of the community is the manifestation of social exclusion. Smith is concerned with deprivation in the form of exclusion from social interactions.

Resulting upon World War II, industrialization and globalization that risen in course of time have brought on deprivation influencing the white collar class and common laborers. In France, it created unemployment, which was contemplated for

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<sup>12</sup><http://www.oxforddictionaries.com/definition/english/social-exclusion>, accessed on 11<sup>th</sup> February 2013.

<sup>13</sup>The theories of Durkheim on social cohesion and solidarity, collective values and norms, and the risk of social alienation (anomie) tend much more towards the concept of social exclusion than poverty.

poverty (De Haan, 2001). Along these lines, the idea of exclusion has originated from the unemployment. The term of exclusion has been depicted by Lenior (1974) in his book *Les Exclus*. The European Commission advanced the idea regarding destruction of poverty programmes. The idea of social exclusion was utilized as a part of France to explain the deprivation showed by high unemployment with reference to *persistent and systematic* multiple deprivations.

However, the United Kingdom has recognized the social exclusion as more than poverty. Both poverty and social exclusion can be transmitted starting with one era then onto the next era. The neediness, hardship, and social exclusion are unmistakable. They cover that the vast majority comprehend the term of social weakness, which includes limited access to assets, absence of investment and blocked open doors (Kummitha, 2015). The idea of social exclusion catches the many-sided quality of frailty in present day society. The UK government's Social Exclusion Unit characterizes exclusion regarding a blend of connected issues, for example, unemployment, poor skills, low incomes, poor housing, high crime environments, bad health and family breakdown.

The Europeans have conceived social exclusion distinct from poverty; individuals who are socially excluded need not to be poor but rather all the poor are socially excluded (De Hann, 2003). Poverty occurs in view of deficiency of wage, which would have come about unemployment. In any case, social exclusion occurs by its multi-dimensional deprivations. As indicated by the European Union, which was built up in 1980, social exclusion is a procedure whereby certain people are pushed to the edge of society and are kept from interest because of poverty or absence of competency. It removes the people from education and salary. The principle explanations behind social exclusion are poverty, low salary, unemployment, poor educational achievement, discrimination and living in impeded spots, which obliterate their lives. Such demolition prompts exclusion from the standard bringing on hardship of social, social and financial life. For the Council of Europe, social exclusion is a more extensive idea than neediness, enveloping low material means as well as the

powerlessness to partake successfully in monetary, social, political and social life and in a few portrayals estrangement and separation from mainstream society<sup>14</sup>.

Sen (1998) observes that the underlying background of the social exclusion are spread in deprivation. He says that social exclusion is a perfect estimation to comprehend poverty as capabilities deprivation. Sen attracts regard for different implications and measurements of the idea of social exclusion and he makes a refinement between the circumstances where a few people are excluded and a few people are included. He portrays those circumstances as ominous exclusion and negative incorporation. The horrible consideration with unequal treatment conveys the unfriendly impacts as negative exclusion (Sen, 2000). Either sort can create antagonistic impacts. Sen differentiates between active exclusion and passive exclusion. Discrimination is a sort of exclusion and it can take an active or a passive form. Active exclusion through discrimination will see agents systematically refusing to hire or accept the participation of members of a social group despite their formal qualifications, while favoring members of other groups who are equally or even less qualified. The consequences of discrimination can lead to deprivation indirectly through passive discrimination in which discouragement and lower self-confidence results in poor performance or through direct routes that limit access to income or education (Thorat, Katherine, Newman, 2007).

Buvinic (2005) considered the social exclusion as the powerlessness of a person to take an interest in the political, economic and social functioning of a society, and the refusal of equivalent access to circumstances forced by specific gatherings in the public eye upon others. Social exclusion brings about deprivation or low pay for those excluded (De Hann 2005, Sen 2000). In the Indian context, accomplished attributes are the basis of exclusion.

From the above discussion and furthermore as per Gerda, Jehoel-Gijsbers and Cok Vrooman (2007), it can be noticed that there is not really any distinction amongst poverty and social exclusion (e.g. Somerville 1998; Bhalla and Lapeyre (1997; Nolan and Whelan (2010), however the others contend that the two ideas vary in a general sense from each other in various regards (e.g. Room 1995; Berghman 1995; Vrooman

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<sup>14</sup>Dave Muddiman, Working Paper 1 'Theories of Social Exclusion and The Public Library', [core.ac.uk/download/pdf/11879329.pdf](http://core.ac.uk/download/pdf/11879329.pdf), accessed on 24<sup>th</sup> March 2014.

and Snel 1999; Saraceno (2001; Papadopoulos and Tsakloglou (2001); Abrahamson (1997; 2001); Todman (2004). In this way, the idea of social exclusion is considered in various routes in which disadvantage is compelled to limit the open doors and life odds of people and gatherings in a general public. Financial hypotheses center asset based ideal models of inconvenience, by taking the individual or the individual family unit, as a unit of investigation. When poverty is increasingly recognized as a multi-dimensional phenomenon, encompassing income, assets, education, health, dignity and voice, it is understood in economic terms. The poor within this paradigm are believed to have little or no voice in determining resource allocations and institutional arrangements within a society (Jehoel-Gijsbers, and Vrooman, C., 2008). But consideration of exclusion as a fundamental element of the structure, it encompasses individuals and groups of the social system and the focus is on the groups which require structural and ideological changes to take place for abolition of inequality of all sorts.

Finally, we can say social exclusion is the denial of ownership, access and control over resources. It is the denial of opportunity for education, health care, housing, amenities and basic needs, right of human dignity, social interaction and access to social spaces, and the denial of constitutional and human rights. Social exclusion is a type of biased practice. In the social orders, exclusion appears as isolation of a gathering of individuals from social, monetary and educational domains. It exists in different circles and structures. Social exclusion is absence of access to assets and powerlessness of use. Absence of access to education and employment is a case for social exclusion. Individuals who are socially avoided are defenseless. People of underprivileged are at higher danger of confronting social exclusion. The reasons for social exclusion have been credited to the monetary and social changes and shortcomings in government approaches and benefits. Hence, social exclusion is associated with value, discrimination and hardship (Piron and Curran, 2005). The writing demonstrates that social exclusion is a multidimensional procedure of dynamic social crack, isolating gatherings and people from social relations and establishments and keeping them from full cooperation in the ordinary and normatively endorsed exercises of the general public in which they live (Thorat, 2008).

During twentieth century, in the setting of industrialization, many individuals are getting a charge out of the advantages though few are excluded. The white collar classes are attempting to adapt to the skyscraper of expenses in perspective of unemployment, neediness, and different hardships. The social exclusion perspective draws attention between different experiences of disadvantaged, to the experience of those individuals and groups who, in addition to their poverty, face discrimination by virtue of their identity, undermining their capacity to participate in the economic, social and political functioning of their society on equal terms<sup>15</sup>.

The social exclusion takes a collection outlines between socially excluded gatherings and classifications. Ethnicity, position, and race constitute the revealed instances of social affair based exclusion. Religion is also a fundamental rotate of partition and expect an exclusionary identity particularly settings or at particular conditions. Threatening to Semitism in the European setting, clear in the slumization of Jewish social order in tremendous quantities of the countries of Europe and still exists today. While not all people from religious minorities in the Indian setting are generally poor, the people who need to deal with the distinctive deterrents related with fiscal hardship and social partition, are poor.

Ethnicity is another sort of get-together identity which filled in as a preface of social dismissal over the world. "Indigenous" ethnic minorities are much of the time arranged in troublesome or remote topographical areas which has empowered their way of life to be defended - or to be go around - through genuine circumstances of progress. For instance, in the Asian setting, Jorgensen (1989) raises that the mountain ranges which reach out from Afghanistan to the Gulf of Tonkin have been a sanctuary for indigenous gatherings who have, for various reasons, had a negligible position in association with the overarching prevailing parts in the valleys and courses of action. In Vietnam, the ethnic minorities make up around 10percentage of the people. They are, as it were, assembled in the remote, typically upland and sloping scopes of the northern and central districts of the country with poor access to organizations and with little establishment. Many are transient or semi-meandering in their way of life. The Hmong and the Dao, for instance, were at first from southern China (where the

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<sup>15</sup>[www.socialinclusion.org.np](http://www.socialinclusion.org.np), accessed on 29<sup>th</sup> March 2014.

last are known as Miao). They sharpened Sweden improvement at high statures and continue doing as such today, much of the time walking around seven days to get to their fields which might be arranged over the national edges. Precipitation is low, the land is pointless and access to water for cultivation is particularly unpredictable<sup>16</sup>.

In Nepal, there is an imperative natural urban segment and remoteness extends poverty in mid-western and far-western zones and in remote mountain region and moreover exclusion on social complexities of sexual introduction, position, and ethnicity. Poverty is higher among indigenous get-together minorities reflecting a genuine hardship of chances in all parts of life. The Dalits are being subjected to the social exclusion and separation. In Bangladesh the semantic and religious homogeneity is the standard however there are little pockets of ethnic minorities. Here the dominating tomahawks of uniqueness are those of sexual introduction and ultra-poverty which prompt imbalances in wellbeing and education of poor<sup>17</sup>.

UNICEF refers to that the children are occupants met all requirements for rights and limits, and social exclusion is an issue ignoring their rights. The education can be a wellspring of exclusion and it can be exclusionary if the procedure of education neglects to propel comparable support and get to. Drop-outs of the school are rejected from the trademark and instrumental points of interest. Further, the state and the other obligation bearers i.e., parents and teachers have responsibilities regarding fulfill these rights. Every one of the children are qualified for their rights.

The caste remains strong marker of disadvantage that correlates with a particular occupation or livelihood in the Indian society. Among different economic groups, the agricultural labour and the casual labour are the most vulnerable groups. These groups are overlaps with Dalits. The dual surprising event of being no properties and living on by chance giving birth in either country, not town or of a town areas has made more marked the measure, distance down and seriousness of condition of being poor. Thorat and Attewal (2007) finds the social exclusion of Dalits as the caste favoritism in the modern sector of economy. Sukumar (2008) illustrates the incidents

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<sup>16</sup>Kabeer, Naila, 'Social exclusion: concepts, findings and implications for the MDGs' Institute of Development Studies, University of Sussex, Brighton, [www.gsdrc.org/docs/open/SE2](http://www.gsdrc.org/docs/open/SE2), accessed on 8<sup>th</sup> August 2015.

<sup>17</sup> Tackling social exclusion in Health and education -Case Studies from Asia, <http://www.eldis.org/fulltext/tackling-social-exclusion.pdf>, accessed 10<sup>th</sup> April 2014

of the day to day social exclusion of Dalit students. The Dalit students are being excluded from the cultural festivals, birthday parties and farewell by non- Dalit upper caste peers because they feel that the Dalits lack of proper dress and sophisticated language.

## **2. 2. Social Exclusion: Condition and Process**

There is a progressing open deliberation to consider whether social exclusion is a condition or a procedure. The majority of the researchers consider the both. Silver (1994) is of the view that it is a condition and also a procedure. She expresses that it is the condition in which a gathering or an individual is arranged and it is a failure to request consideration. Barry (1988) says that it is a state of regular destiny. Notwithstanding, Byrne (1999) contends that we should go past the condition with a special end goal to completely comprehend the social exclusion referring to the official definition of the British Social Exclusion Unit. For the British Government, exclusion is a result. Farrington<sup>18</sup> characterizes social exclusion as far as the procedures of exclusion, and its impacts. He characterizes the courses in which social exclusion has been characterized and maps out the structure for his study.

Kabeer (2000) states there are three methods of social exclusion. The first is get together of institutional inclination in which predominant course of action of characteristics, feelings, functions and institutional strategies work to dismiss certain individuals and social occasions. The second is social closure in which social collectivities attempt to extend exclusion by limiting access to resources and opportunities to a confined circle of people eligible. The third is unruly practices in which associations casually maintain exclusion when open fragment workers reflect the prejudices of their overall population through their position; thusly managing some kind of discrimination. According to Silver (2007), social exclusion is a methodology of dynamic social barged in which material and non-material and besides individuals and moreover get-togethers are included. The systems of urbanization, industrialization and globalizations have contributed uncommonly for

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<sup>18</sup>Farrington, Fletcher (2011), 'Towards a useful definition: advantages and criticism of Social Exclusion'. [geoview.iag.org.au](http://geoview.iag.org.au), accessed on 5<sup>th</sup> may 2015

the social exclusion wherein markets expected basic part isolated from competitions for vocations and laborers with lacking aptitudes. According to Sen (2000), some of the policies can be exclusionary that begin the methodology of social exclusion.

The present research takes both the approaches into consideration for examining the case of Dalits in slums of Hyderabad. In the light of above discussion, the following pages describe the educational condition in terms of the educations and educational achievements of the Dalits in general in the combined state of Andhra Pradesh.

### **2.3 Dalits : The Most Excluded**

The Indian society is characterized by the most brutal sort of exclusionary practices in view of the religious values of pollution-purity principle. Social reformers have condemned it in various ages, yet these practices keep on existing in various structures with little change in the content. The Dalits were denied of appropriate to education, ideal to property, and ideal to security specifically in obvious frame till the demonstration of achieving a goal of the British. Yet, today, such hardships are found in various settings and drilled in various ways and structures. They are restricted from cooperation customarily in religious, education and political areas, and the discrimination means support with negative refinement. Such routine with regards to exclusion, dissent of passage and discrimination are an assault on human poise in unconcealed shape. The Dalits are additionally peripheral gatherings by being pushed to the edges of the general public physically and socially moreover. This has driven them to poverty, deprivation and economic exclusion. thus, they are put in unequal appropriation of benefits and value. In this way, the Dalits constitute the most excluded category in India in all aspects (Lee and Thorat, 2006, Kantha, 2003)<sup>19</sup>.

The Dalits have been serving upper castes throughout history and they are forced to work for them with the skills that they have developed. The children of Dalits are socialized into the system in which they remain as marginal, deprived and

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<sup>19</sup>[www.pria.org](http://www.pria.org), accessed on 1<sup>st</sup> may 2013.



discriminated. Though the constitution guaranteed them equal rights and untouchability is abolished and discrimination is outlawed, the traditional practices continue to exist. Their touch pollutes the upper caste people, they cannot enter into the houses of upper caste people, and do not share the seating place, do not share food and water with upper castes. Since childhood, the Dalit children are exposed to such practices and they learn to live in indignity and tolerance. Parents and adults are anxious about the child's learning to escape from humiliation caused to him or her by upper castes due to their innocence about the traditional norms of inter-caste relations built on the practices of social exclusion. The study of Dalit children in selected villages of Gujarat and Rajasthan reveals the fact that the Dalit parents give many educations and teach restrictions to maintain their interaction with the upper caste people. Many protective and preventive educations are given specifically to the girl children with regard to dressing and behavior in the presence of the people of dominant castes. There are certain do's like – bow before so and so, say *namaste*, stand when so and so comes, provide government when demanded, do physical labour when demanded, do menial work, not to enter into conflicts, say good things about so and so, praise so and so. There are thus clear educations given to a Dalit child about physical distance and geographic boundaries to be maintained (Acharya, 2010).

Social exclusion in view of rank is honed in India in different structures. Victimization certain standings is a practice seen in Hindu society which distinguishes Dalits as the excluded classification. Standing framework is a component for social and monetary government of the general public since ages. It separates individuals in social gatherings with attributed rights and obligations. It conceives a division of work. A man has a place with a gathering by birth and heredity, not by any procured qualities. The unmistakable element of the rank framework is progressive as higher and lower, and predominant and subordinate, and this relates to prevalent and mediocre occupations. Social exclusion of lower standings from occupations and exercises, and ominous incorporation in second rate and contaminating employments has been drilled over hundreds of years. The scars of long stretch verifiable discrimination and abuse are as yet noticeable, and separation is as yet rehearsed in a few routes in various circles of financial, social, and political exercises. In financial circles, the outcome is found in differential access to assets, for example, land, capital

and credit and to work in respectable occupations. The aftereffect of social exclusion and discrimination is found in the lives of the excluded gatherings (Papola, 2012).

The United Kingdom perceived the social exclusion as more than poverty. Both poverty and social exclusion can be transmitted beginning with one period then onto the following time. The poverty, hardship and social exclusion are specific. They cover that by far most grasp the term of social disadvantage, which incorporates kept access to resources, nonattendance of support and blocked open entryways. Europeans imagined that social exclusion is unmistakable from poverty. People who are socially excluded require not be poor but instead all the poor are socially rejected (De Hann, 1997). Poverty occurs in perspective of inadequacy of wage, which would have come to fruition due to unemployment. Regardless, social exclusion happens by its multi-dimensional hardships. Sen (1998) observes that the roots of the social exclusion are spread in deprivation. He feels that social exclusion is an immaculate estimation to understand poverty as capacities hardship. Sen draws attention with regards to various implications and measurements of the idea of social exclusion and this distinct is drawn between the conditions where some people are excluded and some people are included. He depicts those conditions as shocking exclusion and inauspicious inclusion. The inauspicious inclusion with unequal treatment passes on the disagreeable effects as troublesome exclusion (Sen, 2000).

Exclusion is the foreswearing of proprietorship, get to, and control over assets. It is the refusal of chance for education, medicinal governments, housing, amenities and essential needs, ideal to human nobility, social communication and access to social spaces, and the foreswearing of established and human rights. Social exclusion is a type of discriminatory practice. In the social orders, exclusion appears as isolation of a group of individuals from economic and educational domains.

Buvinic (2005) views that the social exclusion is the feebleness of a man to appreciate the political, fiscal and social working of an overall population, and the foreswearing of equal access to conditions constrained by particular get-togethers in general society eye upon others. Social evasion happens in light of hardship or low wage for those disallowed (De Hann 1997; Sen 2000). In the Indian setting, fulfilled

qualities are the preface of exclusion, Sen (2000) has drawn refinements between conditions in which individuals are kept out and conditions of joining on significantly troublesome terms. Either sort can make hostile effects. Sen, in like manner isolates between powerful dismissal and dormant evasion. Partition is a kind of restriction and it can take a dynamic or an idle shape. Dynamic disallowance through isolation will see administrators productively declining to contract or recognize the collaboration of people from a get-together despite their formal capacities, while favoring people from various social events who are comparatively or even less qualified. The results of division can provoke hardship roundabout or through uninvolved isolation in which crippling and bring down courage achieves poor execution, or through direct courses that bind access to wage or preparing education(Thorat, Catherine,Newman, 2007).

Social exclusion exists in different circles and structures. Social exclusion is lack of access to assets and inability of utilisation. lack of access to education and business is another case for social exclusion. Individuals who are sociallyexcluded are powerless. Underprivileged people are at higher danger of confronting social exclusion. The reasons for social exclusion have been ascribed to the economic and social changes and shortcomings in government policies and governments.

As indicated by Lenior (1974), socially excluded individuals are the individuals who are not secured by the welfare states. Silver (1994) additionally sees that the social exclusion is the aftereffect of reseducation infrastructure worldview where some different segments keep a few areas outside. Rationally impaired, mishandled children, single parents, self-destructive individuals, and different oddballs are considered as socially avoided. Haan (2001) clarifies a few sorts of exclusions. He explains that the landowners bars the general population from access to land or housng; minorities are excluded from communicating their personality, priests bar Dalits from access to temples. Exclusion occurs at any level of the society.

In India, the Dalits (Scheduled Castes) who constitute 16.48 percent of India's population have endured the scourge of untouchability and are victimized socially, financially, and educationally for a very long time. They are denied access to arrive and regularly even water. The Dalits experience the ill effects of the social and monetary viciousness of the standing (Haque, 2005). As Lee and Thorat (2006) watch that the Dalits in Indian culture consult with social and monetary exchanges in

numerous circles of life. The untouchability and discrimination avoids exchanges with overwhelming position society. They are as yet compelled to work in corrupting conditions even after of autonomy and all sacred guarantees of the constitution.

Table 2.1 Profile of Dalits

S. No	Area	(In Percentage)
		Representation of Dalits
1	Dalit Population	16.5
2	Literacy – Total	54.7
3	Male	66.6
4	Female	41.9
5	Dropout from schools	79.9
6	Cultivators	25.4
7	Agricultural labour	49.0
8	Agricultural and allied activities	76.2
9	Below the poverty line	56.0
10	Manual scavenging	100.00
11	Discriminated against	100.00

Source: Prakash Louis in 'Towards inclusion and equity',<sup>20</sup>

From the above Table, Louis observes that almost all the Dalits are being excluded in various forms in their everyday life. Out of the total population, the Dalits represent 16.5 percent and only about 54.7 percent are literate. Even to many safeguards and acts, about 80 percent are dropped from schools. Thus the Dalits are excluded from education. About 76 percent of Dalits still depend on agricultural and allied activities.

Social exclusion has been used as a part of understanding caste based discrimination. There are diverse sorts of social exclusion of the Dalits. Verifiably the Dalits were denied securing education, and right to property. The Dalits experience social exclusion socially and financially. Omvedt (2006) observes that the Dalits rights and poise have been abused by the dominant. There are occasions where Dalits are not allowed to draw water from average wells, and Dalits children are made to sit at the back of the classroom . The constitution of India permits the Dalits certain benefits in education, and government bodies, and affirmation against caste based

<sup>20</sup>[www.infochangeindia.org](http://www.infochangeindia.org), accessed on 10<sup>th</sup> February 2013.

discrimination. In spite of arrangements Dalits are subjected to monstrosities and social exclusion. Ascend in the occurrence of savagery against the Dalits is likewise ascribed to the expanding level of mindfulness and affirmation among them. In this manner, social avoidance is identified with absence of access to administration and products offered by society. The social exclusion can be comprehended through horrible consideration. In the event of finish avoidance or finish refusal of administrations and access to assets, individuals are totally rejected from governments and assets (Ziyouddin and Eswarappa (ed) 2009).

Dubey (2009) says that education is the most worst form of exclusion, as it excludes from different walks of and areas of activities. Exclusion of education causes the refusal of the constitutional rights. It is acknowledged that the Dalits have been casualties of exclusion so to the extent education is concerned.

## **2.4 Indian education system**

The term 'Education' is derived from the Latin 'educare', which truly intends to 'raise' and the verb "educare" which intends to 'deliver'. The possibility of education is to create propensities and demeanors among the general population with which they may effectively confront in the future<sup>21</sup>.

Education is an important social indicator, linked directly with economic development and recognized as an input for empowerment to individual and overall development of the society. Despite its importance, the education is being neglected at the policy level. (Reddy and Rao, 2003).

Durkheim conceives of education as the socialization of the younger generation. Education is viewed as socialization, as an agent of cultural transmission and implied as an attempt to acquire knowledge. Education as a social institution has a great social importance. According to various social theories, the functions of education includes completion of the socialization process, transmission of the cultural heritage, formation of the social personality, reformation of the attitudes, provision of occupational placements, etc.

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<sup>21</sup>[www.wikipedia.org](http://www.wikipedia.org) accessed on 20<sup>th</sup> March 2015

In many societies, the facilities of education leading to higher levels of occupations and professions are limited. The privileged chapters of the societies occupy the top position in the stratification of the occupational system, as the facilities of the education are available to them. Thus the education serves as a solvent of inequalities (Rao,1990).

The school education system in India is sorted out in stages such as primary education, upper primary education, secondary education and higher secondary education. A class in a school assumes vital part in socialization of people in their occupations. The school goes about as an agency of socialization.

The school education system in India experiences different issues. Access to class is a noteworthy issue. For some children, even school is inaccessible. In spite of the fact that there has been some advance in enlistment, the dropout rate is high. For the nation as entire, the dropout rate from class I to class X was 61.6 percent. Among those dropouts, the rate of the Dalits is 70.6 and around 30.6 percent of children in India are out of the school (Dubey, 2010). The issue of school education in India is the widespread separation describing it. Children of the rich have admittance to great nature of private schools and the Children of most of poor people and the Dalits go to no subjective government schools. The reviews uncovered that the Children of the rich just are being profited with the Indian education framework (Dubey, 2009).

Education builds breaking point of productivity, since it outfits individuals with capacities and data. As benefit is reflected in pay and rates of work market venture, preparing offers an imperative techniques for social flexibility, particularly for needy individuals. Obtaining education is a course out of social exclusion. In spite of the way that evasion and preparing has been between relatedly discussed since late 1980s, in the early stage, the discourse generally fixated on how people were precluded from claiming getting education as a result of social exclusion. Later on, need was given to address that people ended up being discourse. In any case, exclusion theory was overpowering in the discourse of education and exclusion.

Education in India is given by general society part and the private fragment. Education in India falls under the control of both the union government and the states, with a couple of obligations lying with the union and the states having independence

for others. The diverse articles of the Indian constitution give education as a fundamental right. India has made strides the extent that growing basic education support rate and stretching out capability to around 66% of the people. Regardless of creating enthusiasm for education, 25percentage of population is unskilled and incompetent and 15percent accomplish secondary school. The way of education is poor as with critical making nations.

In ancient India, the priest class was imparted knowledge of religion, philosophy, and other ancillary branches, while the working class was deprived of educational advantages. The educational system in India emerged as a primary, secondary, and tertiary centers amid the provincial period. In the vicinity of 1867 and 1941 the percentage of the children in primary and secondary education was around 0.6 percentage of the population in 1867, to more than 3.5 percentage of the population in 1941.

#### **2.4.1 Primary education**

The Indian government underlined the primary education up to the age of fourteen years. Regardless, both free education and the confinement on child labour are difficult to execute as a result of monetary divergence and social conditions. Around 70 percent of each and every apparent school at the basic stage are government run or maintained, making it the greatest provider of education in the country (Anonymous, 2012:5).

Because of deficiency of resources and absence of political will, the educational system experiences colossal openings including high pupil to teacher ratio, shortage of infrastructure and poor levels of teacher training. Figures of the governing body in the midst of 2011 demonstrate that there were 5,816,673 primary teachers in India. As of March 2012, there were 2,127,000 secondary school teachers in India. Guideline has in like way been made free for children of 6 to 14 years old or up to class VIII, under the Right of Children to Free and Compulsory Education Act 2009 (Purohit, 2014).

The primary education scheme has exhibited a high gross enrollment proportion of 93–95 percentage throughout the previous three years in few states.

Critical change in staffing and enrollment of girls has been made as apart of this plan. The present plan for universalization of 'Education for All' is one of the greatest educationinitiative across the globe. The primary level of education is achieved through schooling which is determined by access and affordability. Because of poverty conditions, a large portion of the children from rural and Dalits backgroundare unable to get access to education. Studies have demonstrated that the portrayal of Dalits in education is lower than their proportionate portrayal in the population. (Wankhede, 2001).

#### **2.4.2 Secondary education**

The National Policy on Education (NPE), 1986 accommodated condition mindfulness, science and innovation education, and presentation of conventional components, for example, Yoga into the Indian auxiliary educational system. Secondary education covers 88.5 million children ranging from 14 to 18 years of age, as per Census 2001. However, children going to schools in 2001–02, implies that 66% of the population stayed out of school (Kannan, 2014).

There is tremendous demand for quality of education, and the parents need to send their children to the school to have better life. In any case, the desire of the parents' flops, when they see their children scarcely getting the hang of anything in the packed schools. The individuals who have cash send their children to privateschools, having facilities and nature of education and teachers. Most of the studies show that the average number of teaching days is as low as 140 per year, and many schools are situated away from the main roads and near slums. A study on schools of Delhi reveals that high teacher absenteeism prevails in the schools, whereby teachers come on a rotation basis. In the event that teachers are available, are lounging around drinking tea, or shelling peanuts or smoking or weaving. Scarcely does any educating occur in many schools. Indeed, even dropped out students are additionally set apart to be available in many schools. In functioning of midday meal schemes, children come to school, but learn very little. The urban children studying in private school are unable to adjust with the school system. Despite special classes, tuitions, guide books and parental support, most of the children feel the school as a burden and they are reported to be suffering from depression, low confidence and psychological problems (Ramachandran, 2004).



The reasons for poor quality of the school education are lack infrastructure facilities, inadequacy of teachers, and low quality of teachers. And also, lack of interest of the students in their studies, poverty of the parents, social background and student absenteeism are attributed for the low quality of primary education. (Naik,1975; Premi, 1993; Acharya, 1994; Dreze and Sen, 1995; Chowdhary et. al 1997; Tilak, 1999 and Mytheli, 2002).

Paranjape (2007) analyzed the result of his study in Maharashtra that the distribution of education is to a great degree skewed among the retrogressive segments of the general public. The disparity in education is higher among girls than boys and the position based imbalance is more honed in country regions. The urban boys demonstrate the least disparity whereas rural girls demonstrate the highest disparity in educational attainment (Gorshkov, Scalon and Sharma (eds) 2013).

The world conference on education held during 1990 focused on the universal access and advancement of equity in education. The revelation expresses that each individual, regardless of whether child or youth, might profit by educational opportunities with a specific end goal to meet the essential adapting needs. The education commission discussed the imbalances in the education framework. Over the most recent 50 years, the variations held on and are more terrible today (Rao, 2000).

## **2.5 Education and the Dalits**

Education is considered as an imperative framework for headway, particularly of the Dalits, as they are customarily and generally denied of essential rights, education was far from their achievement (Wankhede, 2001). In spite of the fact that India was acclaimed as a place where there is information and astuteness amid ancient days, the entrance to education was as yet constrained to the selected categories of the general population. The majority population of the society lacked all aspects of education because of poverty. Dr. Ambedkar was worried about the pitiable states of the Dalits and watched that the primary driver of wretchedness was poverty, which credits to poor financial and educational status. He figured a motivation of socialization to educate the Dalits about their own conditions and make attention to enhance their status and to build up educational background.

Dr. Ambedkar noted the importance of education to deal with the problem of exclusion. One of chief characteristics of exclusion of Dalits has been their exclusion from education. It is a cause of exclusion and deprivation of Dalits from social and economic life. They were forced to take up professions where knowledge of letters was not required. It was sort of conspiracy of division of labor forced upon the subjugated groups. Discrimination practiced against them excluded many caste groups from continuous social intercourse through education was rendered unnecessary. He exhorted his followers to seek education and organize themselves. Thus, Dr. Ambedkar exhorted the Dalits seek education and organize themselves (Kantha, 2003).

Dr. B.R. Ambedkar was the first eminent personality who argued that education is the best weapon to fight against untouchability, inequality, and discrimination. Other thinkers, politicians, administrators and social workers followed suit and advocated for education among the Dalits. Since education brings overall development, its primary goal is securing employment and improvement of the economic standards of the Dalits.

Education is a capable instrument to illuminate individuals, stir them, and help them to battle against exploitation and discrimination. The more extensive the education spreads, the more would be the advance and opportunities for improvement. The desire for upliftment of Dalits through teaching them risen up out of the nineteenth century onwards. Numerous Social reformists and pioneers began attempting to teach the Dalits. Jyothirao Phooley began a school for Dalits in 1850, and Ambedkar in 1924 established an organization to promote education and spread culture. He opined that education was important to ingrain a feeling of sense of pride and nobility among the oppressed (Sachidananda, 1992).

As seen from the literature, the opportunities of education and employment were not equally distributed in society, because of deficiency in planning and the disabilities perpetuated by caste. The upper caste people who were politically, economically and socially more powerful, were able to reap the harvest of educational opportunities.

Table 2.2 Gender wise Literacy trend among Dalits (SCs) and Total population  
(Figures in percentage)

Year	All			Scheduled Castes		
	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female	Total
1961	34.44	12.95	24.02	16.96	3.29	10.3
1971	39.45	39.45	29.46	22.36	6.44	14.7
1981	65.60	65.50	43.67	31.12	10.93	21.4
1991	64.13	64.13	52.21	49.91	23.76	37.4
2001	75.30	53.70	64.84	66.64	41.90	54.7
2011	80.90	64.60	73.00	75.20	56.50	66.1

Source: National commission for S.C's and ST's, 5<sup>th</sup> report, 1998-99, vol- I; Census Report, 2001; Report of National literacy mission at <http://www.nlm.nic.in>; [censusmp.nic.in/censusmp/All-PDF/6Literacy21.12, www.scdd.kerala.gov.in/images/Sc\\_Census%202011.ppt](http://censusmp.nic.in/censusmp/All-PDF/6Literacy21.12, www.scdd.kerala.gov.in/images/Sc_Census%202011.ppt), accessed on 12<sup>th</sup> August 2014.

The above Table demonstrates that the Dalits attained comparatively better literacy rate in the last four decades. Literacy rate of the Dalits improved considerably from 10.3 in 1961 to 66.1 in 2011. This trend indicates positive movement among the Dalits marking the proportional to the rhetoric of special provisions made for the weaker chapters. Despite the provisions, the growth of Dalit education was very slow to the literacy level of general population. The socio-economic conditions were also responsible for educational growth. The government of India had confessed that the officials of educational departments were displaying a hostile attitude towards the education of the Dalits. However, the consciousness of the education is being generated among the Dalits (Yagati, 2003). The data shows the variation in the literacy rates among Dalits and general population. In the general population, female literacy rate is poor and the position of Dalit female is worse (5<sup>th</sup> report of National commission for SCs, 1998-99). When we compare the literacy levels of Dalits and other castes, still this community is lagging behind in educational achievements which highlight the significance of their deprivation.

### 2.5.1 The case of Dalits in Andhra Pradesh

The aggregate population of Andhra Pradesh as per 2001 Census is 76,210,007. Out of this, 12,339,496 (16.2 per cent) are Scheduled Castes (SCs). The SC population constitutes 7.4 percent of the nation's SC population. There are 59 SC communities in Andhra Pradesh. The state occupies fourth position as far as SC population in India.

The growth rate of SC population in the midst of the decade 1991 – 2001 at 16.5 for each per cent has been higher appeared differently in relation to general improvement rate of the state masses (14.5 per cent) all things considered. Among the major SCs, Malas have the highest growth rate of 29.7 per cent, trailed by Madigas (25.5 per cent). Of course, Adi Andhra standing, the fourth greatest in the state has negative development (- 80.5 per cent).

Out of the 59 SCs, Mala, Madiga, Adi Dravida and Adi Andhra together constitute 93.6 for each percent of the SC population of the State. Madigas are numerically the greatest SCs with a population of 6,074,250, constituting 49.2 for every percent of the state SC population. They are trailed by Mala population of 5,139,305 (41.6 for every percent). As indicated by 2001 count, 82.5 for each percent of SCs are living in the rural ranges of the state. Among the region, Nellore has stood as highest (22 for every percent) SC population to its total population, while Visakhapatnam has the lowest (7.6 for each percent). The general sex extent of the SC population of Andhra Pradesh is 981 females for each 1000 males, which is higher than 978 for SC population of the State in 2001. The sex ratio of SC population has registered an increase over 969 reported at 1991 census. Among the districts, the most highest sex ratio is recorded in Nizamabad (1046) and lowest recorded in Anantapur (956).

As per 2001 census, percentage of SC literates, (who can read and create with cognizance) matured 7 years or more, is 53.5 percent, which is lower than 60.5 percent uncovered for the state population in general. The literacy information show that in SC population, the state rolled out an improvement in the midst of the decade 1991-2001. The literacy rate, which was 31.6 percent in 1991, extended by 21.9 percentage in 2001. Among the major SCs, Adi-Andhra have been represented with the most bewildering literacy percentage of 69.6 percent, trailed by Adi-Dravida 65.4 percent and Mala 60 percent. Most of the Madigas are untalented with literacy percentage of 47.5 percent. Out of total literates, 34.9 percent are literates having educational level underneath the primary level.

Literates with educational level of graduation or more are 3.7 percent. Individually, Adi-Andhra has highest percentage of 6.3 of graduates and above education. The information demonstrates that the dropout rate is after the primary

level and again after secondary levels. The female literacy rate of 43.3 among SC population, is lower contrasted with the aggregate females of 50.4 percent, as males constitute 63.5 percent. (Rathnam 2008, reports of Census India, 2001).

## **2.6 Causes for the exclusion and inequality in education**

Education is of great help in establishing equality and ensuring social justice. However, the system of education adds to the existing inequalities, as there are problems in providing equal opportunities for all in education. The inequalities arise for the following reasons: Inequalities of educational opportunity occur due to the poverty of a large number of people. The poor cannot afford to meet the expenses of education. Children in rural areas studying in poorly-equipped schools have to compete with the children in urban schools, which are well-equipped. The poor exposure of the children leads to poor performance. Wide inequalities arise from difference in home environments. A child from a rural household or a slum does not have the same opportunity as a child from an upper class home with educated parents, and in the places where there is no educational institution, the children do not get the same opportunity as those who have educational institutions in their vicinity (Rao and Rao, 1991).

The forms of inequality from ancient to modern times were based on caste, and gender, and the inequalities were accepted as a natural thing. Many people supported the Indian tradition, but no one defended the traditional social hierarchy till a resistance from Dr. Ambedkar. Even though it is impossible to root out the inequality from the society, particularly from a dynamic modern society, it is possible to eliminate or reduce poverty, hunger, homelessness and illiteracy and it is possible to make education universal to all (Beteille, 2001).

Since 1990s, exclusion has been studied in the discourse of worldwide education and has turned into a prevalent term in educational discussion. It focused on the issues careful all around and locally to deny people's qualification to education. Inclusive education means a comprehensive education system designed in a way so that all children have equal opportunities to get an equal quality of education. Standard education structure fails to suit all children particularly the people who have phenomenal necessities, and in this manner they are prohibited from the education.

On review, it is found that there is discrimination between topographically rich and poor areas. This is on the ground that the education and financial framework energize discrimination and the minimized and poor children are the most exceedingly awful casualty of it. They confront distinctive types of exclusion and are never ready to conquer it. School both as an individual organization and education framework overall experience the ill effects of exclusion. In spite of the fact that there have been generous measure of writing talking about the issue, the greater part of them are worried with one measurement of exclusion concentration percentages on the reasons of being far from school.

The roots of educational deprivation of Dalits are taken after back to their position as untouchables in the caste structure. The 1961 enumeration uncovered that lone 10% of Dalits were taught. Sixty years after independence, the condition has potentially pushed ahead. Low capability percentage for Dalits shows the failure of the school system. The 2001 population census shows that literacy rate among Dalits is 66.1 percent compared to 73 percent among others. Non availability of schools is one of the basic parts for low education among Dalits. No access to schools is a hurdle for Dalits as compared to the population in general. A study of National Council of Educational Research and Education (NCERT) reveals that schooling is available within a significantly smaller number of Dalits localities. Aruna (1999) in her study on Tamil Nadu says that in numerous habitations, the schools are situated in localities inhabited by upper castes, which are hostile to students belonging to the lower castes.

As indicated by the sixth All India Educational Survey of NCERT (1998), Dalits essentially advantage of government schools. Of the Dalit children in primary schools, 91.3 percent in rural areas and 64.6 percent in urban areas, were in schools managed by state government and local bodies. Many of these schools are plagued by various problems such as lack of basic infrastructure, classrooms, teachers, and teaching aids. Dilapidated buildings, leaking roofs and mud floors appear quite common in schools and provide a depressing atmosphere for children. Debilitated structures, spilling rooftops and mud floors show up particularly basic in schools and give a disheartening air for children. Showing helps, close to blackboards, are generally truant. There is in like way an issue of non-investment of students and

teachers. The government of Andhra Pradesh has identified the government schools that do not have toilets and drinking water facilities. Half of the government schools lack these basic facilities. Though the other half has toilets, they do not function due to lack of water and maintenance. (Deccan Chronicle, Oct 29, 2012). The Dalit children do not have entry to quality education. They moreover stand up to discrimination and discouragement from higher caste community members who see education for Dalits as both a waste and a hazard. Their opposing view towards Dalits' education is associated with the discernment that Dalits are not proposed to be educated, are unequipped for being educated, or if taught, would speak to a hazard to village hierarchies and power relations (Vasavi, 1997).

Dalit children's entitlement to education, free from discrimination is undermined by the treatment they get in school. Teachers keep up and give biased perspectives in their classrooms, driving children to sit in the back of the room, detaching Dalit children from non-Dalits in the midst of lunchtime, disallowing non-Dalit children from sitting close by Dalit children or touching their plates, deliberately compelling Dalit students to stand in class, subjecting them to verbal mistreatment and assessing them low marks. There are instances of Dalit students being made to sit and eat separately. Even Dalit teachers are disengaged from non-Dalit teachers in getting lunch and water in the midst of lunchtime (Human rights watch report, 2007).

The Dalits and their children kept on torment from different types of social disabilities as well as economic deprivation, and education. The drop-out percentage among Dalit students demonstrates the status of their educational development. Around 33.58 percent of Dalit children are dropped out from classes I to V, 64.83 percent in classes I to VIII, and 70.39 percent in classes I to X in mid 2004-05. This demonstrates the issue turns out to be more awful at the higher levels of schooling. The educational status of the Dalits keeps on being much lower than that of others, as figures given prior demonstrate percentage that they hold low literacy percentages (pl. ref. Table 2.2), and there is ever increasing gap between the educational status of the Dalits and others. Further, the educational status of Dalit girls is also very low compared to the total female literacy of indicating a very wide gap. Though 34.40 percent of Dalit girls of classes' I-V drop out from school, the rate increases in higher classes by 72.59 percent.

The enrolment of children of Dalits has increased considerably at the primary stage because of the educational policies, but the participation more or less in proportion to their share in population at the primary level. Notwithstanding the way that the dropouts declining, the sex differences still exists. The Dalits in slums are vulnerable as a result of related effects of low budgetary status, and lower parental capability percentages. From the data on school dropouts of Dalits in Andhra Pradesh, we can understand the factors accountable for children being pushed out of schools and relentless illuminations for dropouts, for instance, desperation, nature of education, and lack of interest in education and examination failure. It locates the explanation in terms of an absence of the social norm which promotes a child's right to education.

Table 2.3 Drop-out percentages of Scheduled Caste Students in Andhra Pradesh from 1997 to 2005 (figures in percentage)

S. No	Year	Classes I-V			Classes I- VIII			Classes I-X		
		Boys	Girls	Total	Boys	Girls	Total	Boys	Girls	Total
1	1990-91	62.4	67.8	64.7	79.4	86.9	82.6	84.0	88.6	86.0
2	1997-98	51.8	57.6	54.5	77.2	81.8	79.2	82.4	86.4	84.1
3	2001-02	47.3	50.3	48.8	67.5	73.9	70.5	75.4	80.2	77.6
4	2004-05	32.8	34.4	33.6	62.2	67.5	64.8	68.4	72.6	70.4

Source: <http://www.indiascstat.com>, accessed on 12<sup>th</sup> May 2013

Burra (2001) observes that lack of education of the parents is the reason for children being kept out of school, and the children out of school are supporting their families, working as either labour or assisting in income generation activities. Singh and Sridhar (2002) observe that a large number of children in government schools are drop out for doing household work and lack of motivation of children. The lack of motivation could be lack of teaching in the schools, no zeal to work hard, and irrelevant curriculum.

The incentive scheme of free distribution of textbooks and uniforms has no doubt improved school attendance and enrolments, as textbooks and uniforms are a major component of school costs. However, it must be noted that not all primary schools in the country were covered by the scheme. The NCERT study (1998 - 1999)



documented that in 1993, only 10 percent of Dalit students were secured by the arrangement of free textbooks, and a negligible 4.6 percent of Dalit students received free uniforms. Only 3.9 percent of the Dalits benefited by Mid-day Meal Scheme (Jabbi and Rajyalakshmi 2001). As per reports, thirty eight of the forty six students who were supposed to stay for mid-day meal reportedly left the school without touching the food, in a government primary school at Kontur in Medak district of Andhra Pradesh, as it was cooked by two Dalit women<sup>22</sup>.

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<sup>22</sup><https://www.scribd.com/doc/54957057/India-Crime-Report-2005>, accessed on 10<sup>th</sup> January 2012; [www.indianet.nl/pdf/dimensionsofdiscrimination](http://www.indianet.nl/pdf/dimensionsofdiscrimination), accessed on 11<sup>th</sup> November 2013.

### **Chapter III**

#### **Slums of Hyderabad**

In this chapter, an attempt has been made to discuss the nature and features of slums of Hyderabad selected for the present study. The slums included for the study are Gopinagar, Gopanapally, Shivarampally and Premavathipet. After providing a brief account on the city of Hyderabad, a description of each slum is given with reference to the origin, population composition, migration, streets, facilities available, and so on. Finally, by comparing all the four slums, a summary has been provided on important features of the slums of Hyderabad. It will be noted that slums selected for the study are the product of urbanization and industrialization. Two of them were originally villages and the other two came into existence with the establishment of an industry and a university respectively. In either of the cases, caste plays an important role in the social organization of the slums. There is no much difference so far as social and hygienic conditions are concerned.

#### **3.1 Hyderabad City and Municipal Corporation**

The city of Hyderabad, built up by Quli Qutub Shah in 1591 A.D., offers a fascinating showcase of mixed social and genuine custom of 400 years. The chronicled background of Hyderabad begun with the establishment of the Qutub Shahi line. Quli Qutub Shah got the reins of vitality from the Bahamani kingdom in 1512 and developed the fortification city of Golconda. Insufficiency of water and average scourges of torment and cholera prompted Mohammed Quli Qutub Shah to meander outward to develop new city with the Charminar at its inside and with four unbelievable roads fanning out four cardinal course. Hyderabad transformed into the capital city overseen by dynamic Nizams until the state was converged into Indian Union in 1948. All the Telugu talking zones in the space of the current august state of the Nizams formed an alternate state. Exactly when the Telugu society in Madras government under the provincial government asked for separation from Tamil talking group, along these lines, Andhra state was formed with Kurnool as its capital.

The state reorganizing committee formed a sepapercentage state by merging the areas of Telugu speaking people under Madras presidency and the areas of Telugu speaking people under Nizams princely state. Thus, the state of Andhra Pradesh came

into existence on 1<sup>st</sup> October 1951. Kurnool was served as the State's capital from 1953 to 1956, before it was replaced by Hyderabad. But the state was again divided into Telangana and Andhra Pradesh on 2<sup>nd</sup> June 2014 after a prolonged agitation by the people of Telangana, and Hyderabad remained as capital of Telangana. The new Andhra Pradesh state has emerged Amaravathi in Guntur district as its capital.

Hyderabad is fifth biggest state in India, in terms of area and population in the Deccan Plateau masterminded at 536 meters above sea level. The Hyderabad Urban Agglomeration (HUA) is arranged inside Rangareddy District (see portray). The region (flanking the peri-urban points of confinement of HUA north of Rangareddy, Medak and Nalgonda zones) towards the east/west of HUA interfacing Quthbullapur, Medchal and Shamirpet in Medak District; towards the east/west of Ranga Reddy District in south of HUA (circumscribing Ghatkesar, Keesara and Balangar) is Nalgonda District. Exactly when the state was so far consolidated, the Greater Hyderabad Municipal Corporation (GHMC) was molded in April 2007 by joining 12 including locales of Municipal Corporation of Hyderabad (Reddy, 1996)<sup>23</sup>.

During the process of development, the downtown area step by step moved a long way from the Old City toward the north of Moosi River, with the advancement of various government buildings around Hussain Sagar Lake. The city nearby the advancement of Secunderabad and neighboring districts has made an immense and swarmed metropolitan zone. Hyderabad has seen improvement in the land and information advancement over the span of the latest couple of years. Enthusiasm for private and business touch base in the sub-urban and nation ranges incorporating the city has gone up exponentially inciting a quick augmentation in land costs. The city has different Central Business Districts, the noteworthy ones being Abids, Ameerpet-Punjagutta-Somajiguda regions, Banjara Hills, Charminar region, Dilsukhnagar and Kukatpally. Hyderabad is known for IT and IT-Enabled Governments (ITES) undertakings. Various item firms and Business Process Outsourcing (BPO) firms came up making it one of the genuine focus purposes of the new economy known as Cyberabad. The headway of Hitech-City has particularly helped this example. Hyderabad is moreover called the second Silicon Valley of India by Bangalore. There

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<sup>23</sup><http://www.cgg.gov.in>, accessed on 16<sup>th</sup> July 2015

have been expansive interests in IT system, with a couple of new grounds coming up generally in Madhapur and Gachibowli. Meanwhile, initiatives such as, Genome Valley, Fab City and the Nano Technology Park are depended upon to make expansive establishment in bio-development. Hyderabad is home to various Fortune 500 Companies like Microsoft, Computer Associates, Amazon, IBM, Google, Motorola, Samsung, Agilent, ADP, Oracle, Yahoo, Dell, Texas Instruments, HP, et cetera. Indian IT goliaths, for instance, Mahindra Satyam, Infosys, Wipro, Cognizant, TCS, Polaris, etc have also set up software development centers in the city<sup>24</sup>.

As per Iyyengar (1951), slums in Hyderabad came into existence in 1920. The plantations and the industrial growth around Hyderabad pulled workers and the families of the servants to live in nearby areas. There has been consistent development of slums from that point forward. In 1962, there were 106 slums with a population of 120,000. By 2001, the slums were expanded to 1631 crosswise over Hyderabad and encompassing districts with most raised population thickness, and the quantity of individuals assessed was around two million. According to a report of the GHMC, 22 percent of the total slums, staying families had migrated from different parts of India in the latest decade of the twentieth century, and 63 percent declared to have lived in the slums for over 10 years. General education in the slums is 60-80% and female capability is 52-73 percent. 33% of the slums have crucial organization affiliations and 90 percent have water supply lines. There are 405 government schools, 267 government aided schools, 175 private schools, and 528 community halls in the slum areas. According to a 2008 survey of the Centre for Good Governance, 87.6 percent of the slum-dwelling households are nuclear families, 18 percent are very poor, with an income of 20,000 per annum, 73 percent live below the poverty line, 27 percent of the chief wage earners are casual labourer and 38 percent are illiterate. About 3.72 percent of the slum children aged 5-14 do not go to school and 3.17 percent work as child labourer, of whom 64 percent are boys and 36 percent are girls. The main employers of child labour are street shops and construction sites. Among the working children, 35 percent are engaged in hazardous jobs<sup>25</sup>.

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<sup>24</sup>[www.cgg.gov.in](http://www.cgg.gov.in), accessed on 16<sup>th</sup> July 2015

<sup>25</sup><http://en.wikipedia.org>, accessed on 2<sup>nd</sup> May 2013.

Table 3.1 The growth of slums and slum population in MCH area

(In figures)			
S. No.	Year	No. of slums	Population
1	1962	106	120,000
2	1967	194	168,000
3	1972	282	300,000
4	1976	300	320,000
5	1977	not available	380,000
6	1978	377	400,000
7	1979	455	408,000
8	1981	470	540,000
9	1986	662	859,000
10	1994	811	1259,000
11	2001*	1631	1951,207

Source: Urban community development, a report of the MCH (1995)

\*Basic Governments to the Urban Poor, Hyderabad City Development Plan<sup>26</sup>

The reason behind the growth of slums<sup>27</sup> is mainly huge migration of the people in search of employment in the city which results in overcrowding, and this deteriorates the conditions in the slums. The areas are already deprived of basic facilities and the addition of the population worsens the living standard (Ali and Kavita, 2004).

### 3.2 Conditions of Slums in Hyderabad

The slums of Hyderabad as anywhere else suffer from lack of civic amenities, overcrowding, sewerage, drainage problems and poor housing conditions.<sup>28</sup> One important amenity is the supply of water through pipe lines as most of the families in

<sup>26</sup> [www.ourmch.com](http://www.ourmch.com), accessed on 19<sup>th</sup> April 2012.

<sup>27</sup> Hyderabad experienced sudden development in the principal decade of the 21st century. As stated earlier, when the GHMC was made in 2007, the region possessed by the municipality expanded from 175 km<sup>2</sup> (68 sq mi) to 650 km<sup>2</sup> (250 sq mi) and the population developed by more than 87 percent, from 3,637,483 in the 2001 census to 6,809,970 in the 2011 census, making Hyderabad the fourth most crowded city in India. Migrants from somewhere else in India constitute 24 percent of the city population. The population thickness is 18,480/km<sup>2</sup> (47,900/sq mi). The Hyderabad Urban Agglomeration has a population of 7,749,334, making it the 6th most crowded urban agglomeration in the nation. There are 3,500,802 male and 3,309,168 female residents—a sex proportion of 945 females for each 1000 guys higher than the national normal of 926 for every 1000. Among children 0–6 years, 373,794 are males and 352,022 are females—a proportion of 942 for every 1000. literacy remains at 82.96 percent (male 85.96 percent; female 79.79 percent), higher than the national normal of 74.04 percent. (<http://www.traveltheworldaround.com/asia-3900/south-asia/india-981/south-india/andhra-pradesh/20640-hyderabad.html>;

[geoview.iag.org.au/index.php/GEOView/article/download/12/13](http://geoview.iag.org.au/index.php/GEOView/article/download/12/13), accessed on 18<sup>th</sup> July 2014)

<sup>28</sup> <http://www.cgg.gov.in/workingpapers/UPRS%20for%20Hyderabad.pdf>, accessed 3<sup>rd</sup> May 2015

slums struggle to get drinking water. There are several reasons for the shortage of taps in the slums, and most important thing is that the slums are not recognized by the municipalities. Drains are water logged due to location of the slums in low-lying areas, and lack of proper roads and lack of drainage facility make the slums breeding centre for mosquitoes and other kinds of insect vectors and outbreak of epidemics. Most of the slum-dwellers live in semi-*pucca* one room tenements while a few live in RCC houses. A few of them also live in *kutchha* houses made of perishable materials. Open bathing and defecation in open place is common in slum areas. Location of the slums also matters as those located in the industrial areas are exposed to the industrial pollutants which pollute water and air. The scenes of the slums in the old city reflect the historic neglect, dingy lanes, congested thoroughfares and potholes. Slum dwellers are deprived of streetlights, good educational facilities and facilities such as play areas for children. The other issues include security, law and order. Several slums are located near crematoriums or burial grounds as these areas are easily available to the people to encroach. As a result, they get exposed to the soot and smoke emanated from the cremations. An important problem that the slum dwellers face is unemployment. Child labour is common in slums<sup>29</sup>. Most of the slums have come up in private lands, and also there is no ownership for the houses built.<sup>30</sup> Alcoholism is the most uniform social problem across all slums in the twin cities, and in fact, in each slum there is at least one '*kallu* compound', the place where the traditional mild intoxicant, the sap of palmyrah tree, is sold. Several of the slum-dwellers are addicted to this irrespective of sex.<sup>31</sup> Some of the slums are known for sex trade<sup>32</sup> and other anti-social activities.

In one of the studies, it has been found that 46 percent of the elderly people suffer from hypertension, and they usually visit private clinics (Thomas 2012). However, in a different study, it has been shown that the prevalence of hypertension was 25.3 percent and diabetes 16.07 percent among the adult urban slum-dwellers of

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<sup>29</sup><http://sidurindia.org/case-studies.html> accessed on 25th June 2014

<sup>30</sup> Jagjeevanramnagar is one such slum.

<https://www.bartlett.ucl.ac.uk/dpu/publications/latest/publications/dpu-working-papers/wp102.pdf> accessed on 25th June 2014

<sup>31</sup><http://www.kriti.org.in/images/PDF/Kriti-Moosapet-Survey-Dec-2010.pdf> accessed on 12th March 2012

<sup>32</sup> Times of India. June 5, 2012. <http://timesofindia.indiatimes.com/city/hyderabad/Flesh-trade-thriving-in-Hyderabad-old-city-lanes/articleshow/11369749.cms>, accessed on 23rd August 2014

Hyderabad (Lavanya et.al, 2014). In another study, it has been found that only about 44.1 percent of the children received all the vaccines in the slums of Hyderabad district (Kulkarni et al, 2014). About the nutrition of the selected slums of Hyderabad, a study has revealed that there is a high prevalence of malnutrition in the selected urban slum, and hence health education and nutritional interventions are needed on urgent basis (Shravan Kumar et al, 2014). A study of anemia among the girls in two slums of Hyderabad has revealed that the prevalence of anemia among literate percentage girls was 77.3 percent, while among illiterate percentage girls, it was 90 percent (Naidu et al. 2014).

### **3.3 Slum Clearance/Slum Development**

The dismal picture of slums in Hyderabad was noticed as early as 1908 when the City Improvement Board was created, and as many as 19 slum clearance projects were completed between 1912 and 1956 (Mariganti, 2007). From that point forward a few endeavors have been made to enhance the circumstance of slums and city life. In spite of the fact that checking the development of the quantity of slums begun in 1961, the compelling projects for enhancing the slums occurred at some point after 1967 with the Urban Community Development Project upheld by the Government of India which was exchanged to the state government in 1969, and two more activities were authorized in 1974. In 1976, the UNICEF financed certain plans under the UCD. The Weaker Chapters Housing Scheme was begun in 1979 to address the lodging needs of the slum populations. In 1980, slums were moved and restored in some different areas with least background. The slum change has taken at various stages; stage I (1981-83), stage II (1983-89), and stage III (1989-1996). Subsidizing for the Phase II and Phase III were given by the Overseas Development Agency, United Kingdom. The state government set up Andhra Pradesh State Urban Development and Housing Corporation (APSUDHC) for providing the houses to the poor staying in slums. The state government established Andhra Pradesh State Urban Development and Housing Corporation (APSUDHC) for providing the houses in slums for the poor people. In 1997, the government made the Andhra Pradesh State Housing Corporation Limited (APSHCL) the apex agency for all public schemes for the weaker sections. This agency started a new scheme called Township House for the poor. By 2001, about 18,025 houses were built in Hyderabad by the APSHCL (Uma, 2001).

Apart from the housing, the government and several non-government organizations are engaged to improve the slums of Hyderabad in the areas of health, education, and living conditions. Some of these have been discussed here. Sphoorti runs Children's Homes; Smile and Mahita are providing education and health care support to non-school going slum children and child labours, with special focus on girl child; Sakshum supports education; Rainbow NGO and Help Hyderabad serves in the areas of health; Asha Background supports education of slum children.

### **3.4 Education in Slums of Hyderabad**

Studies about the education in slums of Hyderabad show that the slum occupants do not have the means to gain a decent education. Yet, private schools close to the slums are taking into account the requirements of the slum children, and numerous poor parents are sending their children to private schools. The expenses charged by these schools are not affordable to parents, who are to a great extent day labour, rickshaw-pullers, petty vendors, and mechanics. The parents respect the esteemed education very, and they ration and save some money and see that their children get the best education<sup>33</sup>.

With a specific end goal to give education to the slums of Hyderabad, CLAP<sup>34</sup>, a NGO, has begun a school on wheels. This has been begun with over a hundred children who have no access to education. It takes into account the educational needs of street dwellers, slum children, and unfortunate children. The children of labour, rag-pickers and maids in Hyderabad are going to school by hopping onto a converted school bus that makes the rounds. The 'school on wheels'<sup>35</sup>, a bus which is equipped with a school environment, takes education to the doorstep of disadvantaged children for two hours every day. The greater part of these children going to this school either have never been to a school or have dropped out in the wake of being selected. They are prepared at this school to be mainstreamed into government schools in the wake of picking up the required capability. These children have no opportunity to go to class, until the school comes to them.

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<sup>33</sup> Tooley, James et al (2007). <http://www.cato.org/publications/commentary/schools-slums-hyderabad-part-II> accessed on 10th September 2014.

<sup>34</sup> [www.clapfoundation.org](http://www.clapfoundation.org), accessed on 10<sup>th</sup> September 2014

<sup>35</sup> The Hindu, August 18, 2011, [www.thehindu.com/.../article2367860.ece](http://www.thehindu.com/.../article2367860.ece), accessed on 19th August 2011.



Alpha<sup>36</sup>, a slum school close Jubilee Hills, is taking into account the necessities of 150 children deprived of education. The school is reasonable as well as near the work environment of their parents. In the urban areas, it is common that a number of small children wander in slums and construction sites while their parents are at work. As the school charges an ostensible educational cost expense, not as much as that charged by government schools and nearness to their work environments, it prompts parents to enlist their children in these schools. The 2011 census says that 31.9 percent of every single urban family inside the breaking points of the Greater Hyderabad Municipal Corporation (GHMC) are situated in slum. It remains a reality that the population in slum continues expanding a seemingly endless amount of time, and educational opportunities remain elusive for a large chapter of slum dwelling children.

A study on Moosapet Slum<sup>37</sup> in Hyderabad, conducted during December 2010, reveals that individuals are living in the slum for over 20 years and 60 percent of the houses are let out to tenants with other 40 percent being owner occupied. Most owners are from Rangareddy and Mahboobnagar, though most tenants are from Srikakulam and neighboring regions. Most men work as construction labourers or factory workers in small production centers and warehouses in the area. 30-50 percent of women are working, largely as construction labourers or factory employees. Most people have migrated from Srikakulam District. Most children are studying in private schools. Main expense heads are food, education, and health. The Rasoolpura slum has government school with no fee, provision for free mid-day meals, free books, and hassle free admission, whereas a private school situated in close proximity charges a monthly fee of Rs.150 to 200 along with a donation of Rs.2000, and Rs.500 payable for books. The private school does not have play area office and early afternoon dinner. Despite the fact that the parents of the slum are in extraordinary poor conditions, living in little one-room houses with lacking sanitation and wellbeing offices with low salary, they incline toward the private school. Children are once in a while not permitted to go to class since they need to help the ladies to convey pots. This example is rehashed in the entire city of Hyderabad. According to the official

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<sup>36</sup>‘Slums schools in Hyderabad provide a ray of hope’, <http://aggregate.commuoh.in/slums-schools-in-hyderabad-provide-a-ray-of-hope/> accessed on 9<sup>th</sup> August 2013

<sup>37</sup><http://www.kriti.org.in/images/PDF/Kriti-Moosapet-Survey-Dec-2010.pdf>, accessed on 12th March 2012

figures, 61 percent of students are enrolled in the private unaided sector. These figures are most likely going to overestimate the numbers in government schools (Modi, 2006).

Another study shows that the slumchildren confront a few issues in schooling. There is indirect practice of untouchability in schools as the majority of the students considering in government schools have a place with weaker sections. The majority of the Dalit students are confronting various issues of untouchability in some form or other in education. With respect to parental consolation, the boys are urged to go to schools while girls are compelled to share household tasks. A teacher says that the Dalit children must be given good support and enthusiastic support for improvement of education (Prashanthi, 2012).

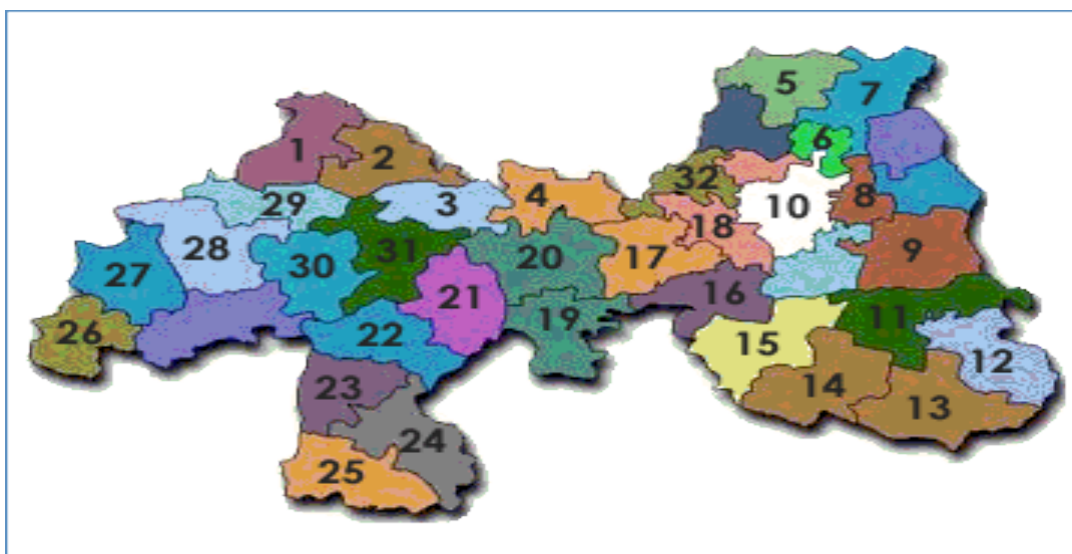
### **3.5 The Present Study - Slums of Hyderabad**

In this background, some important features of Serilingampally and Rajendranagar municipalities (see map at Appendix- i) are selected for the study as mentioned in the Introduction chapter. According to Table 3.1, there is almost equal number of households in slums in both the municipalities though the proportion of urban households is more in Serilingampally. Ali and Kavita (2004) observe that the migration of the population to Hyderabad and surrounding areas is mostly from Telangana because of the proximity. Migration from other places is very negligible. The migration causes environmental, socio-economic and other problems, and is also responsible for urban crime. The majority of the migrants prefer slum areas because of cheap accommodation costs as they cannot afford higher rents in the city (c.f. Jagannadham and Palvia, 1997)<sup>38</sup>.

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<sup>38</sup>Jagannadham and Palvia (1997) in their study of Kanpur observes that the slums dwellers are rural migrants with diverse occupation as hawkers of largest variety of goods or holding menial jobs in offices and factories or working as domestic servants.

**Map 3.1-Distric Map of Rangareddy District**  
(Includes Serilingampally and Rajendrenagar Municipalities of Hyderabad)



1	Marepally	11	Ibrahimpatanam	21	Pudur
2	Mominpet	12	Manchal	22	Parigi
3	Nawabpet	13	Yacharam	23	Doma
4	Shanker pally	14	Kandukur	24	Kulkacherla
5	Medchal	15	Maheshwaram	25	Gandeed
6	Balanagar	16	Shamshabad	26	Basheerabad
7	Shamirpet	17	Moinabad	27	Tandur
8	Uppal	18	Rajendranagar	28	Peddemul
9	Hayathnagar	19	Shabad	29	Bantwaram
10	Malkajgiri	20	Chevella	30	Yalal
				31	Vikarabad
				32	Serilingampally

### **3.6 Social representation in the Municipalities of the Slums**

Serilingampally is a municipality and mandal in Ranga Reddy District. It frames a part of the Greater Hyderabad Municipal Corporation. In view of its proxximity to Hitech City, Gachibowli, Nanakramguda, Manikonda, and Kondapur, there has been a considerable surge of IT organisations. It contains educational institutions like University of Hyderabad and IIIT. As of 2011 census, Serilingampally has a population of 229,677. The populationincludes 118,508 men and 111,169 women. As of 2011 census, Serilingampally has a average

literacypercentage of 61.81 percent, of which male literacy is 67.54 percent and female literacy is 55.69. In Serilingampally, 11.48 percent SCs are living in the slums and 10.09 percent are in urban regions of the Municipality.

Rajendranagar Municipality comprises of an agricultural university and research related institutes besides various industrial estates in Kattedan, Shivarampally, and so forth. As of 2011 India Census, Rajendranagar had a population of 228,446 with 1,19,036 men and 1,09,410 ladies. It has a averageliteracypercentage of 52.27 percent, out of which male literacy is 59.04 and female literacy is 44.85 percent. Rajendranagar has around 10.55 percent scheduled castepopulation and 37.30 percent of the population is living in slums (Table 3.2).

Table 3.2 Social representation in slums and urban area of municipalities  
(percentage in parenthesis)

S.No.	Percentage distribution of persons by area and social group						
	Category	Serilingampally			Rajendranagar		
		Slum	Urban	Total	Slum	Urban	Total
1	SC	8314 (35.71)	14966 (64.29)	23280 (100.00)	9611 (39.24)	14883 (60.76)	24494 (100.00)
2	ST	1784 (38.35)	2868 (61.65)	4652 (100.00)	878 (33.07)	1777 (66.93)	2655 (100.00)
3	Others	66215 (32.82)	135530 (67.18)	201745 (100.00)	74717 (37.12)	126580 (62.88)	201297 (100.00)
4	Total	76313 (33.23)	153364 (66.77)	229677 (100.00)	85206 (37.30)	143240 (62.70)	228446 (100.00)

Source: <http://www.andhrapradeshstat.com/table/urbanareas/31/slums>, accessed on 29th December 2013.

### 3.7 Serilingampally Municipality and slums

Serilingampally Municipality was constituted in December 1987 by merging 23 revenue villages. It coversan area around 96.99 sq. kilometers spread more than 24 wards. According to the 2001 Census, the aggregate population of Serilingampally was 153,364. The aggregate population of Serilingampally Municipality is evaluated to past of 300,000. Quick urbanization in Serilingampally is epitomized in escalating land prices. This is a key drill sergeant for the turn around from agronomical to private and business arrive utilize. Consequent upon formation of the Greater Muncipal Corporation of Hyderabad, municipalities of L.B. Nagar, Gaddiannaram,

Uppal Kalan, Malkajgiri, Kapra, Alwal, Qutbullahpur, Kukatpally, Serilingampally, Rajendranagar, Ramachandrapuram, and Patancheru were invalidated and focalized into GHMC. Serilingampally is an imperative business, mechanical, and educational focal point of the city for associations, for instance, Hi-Tech City, The National Academy of Construction (NAC), Indian Institute of Information Technology (IIIT), Indian School of Business (ISB), National Institute of Fashion Technology (NIFT), Computer Maintenance Center (CMC), Infosys, Microsoft, Wipro, Indian Immunologicals Limited, and Hyderabad Central University. Various mechanical and business focuses are arranged in this municipality.

### **3.7.1 Gopinagar**

Gopinagar is one of the 59 notified slums of the Serilingampally Municipality and it is situated on the old Bombay interstate, on the bank of Gopi cheruvu (water tank), near aluminum industry (Alind Factory) and close to Bharat Heavy Electrical Limited (BHEL). It was built up in 1974 and around 1,000 poor people were laying their huts in the range of 60 acres of land in the survey no. 341/1 of Serilingampally Village under Rajendranagar Taluka. Its limits includes; in north, a slum named Papireddy colony; in the west, the old Bombay interstate road; in the south, ALIND factory; and in the east, Gopinagar cheruvu and a private residential colony, Doyens Township. The aggregate population of the slum is 9,920 and the number of households is 2530. There is a primary school with an enrollment of students around 316 amid the academic year 2012-13 which includes 45 SC children. It has been built on government land.

The slum can be approached from main road that connects Mehdiapatnam and Serilingampally. Actually, it is located three kilometers away from Serilingampally. There is a city bus stage at ALIND, where people travelling by bus or car can go inside the slum. From the main road, one can reach Gopinagar within a few minutes. The main road of Gopinagar divides into two, where there is a big pine tree and a temple. There is some space where four wheeled vehicles can be parked. The right side road runs into short distance and houses are located on either side. The left side road after short distance branches into two and the left one leads to the primary school where a huge boulder on which another old temple is located. The right side road branches further into small lanes and by-lanes and one of them goes further to meet a

stream and water of which falls into Gopi *cheruvu*. On the one side of the stream, there is the western end of the multi-storied houses of Rajiv Gruhakalpa. On the other side of the stream, there is a burial and cremation ground which form the northern boundary of the slum of Gopinagar.

In Gopinagar, a portion of the houses have pucca structures. Some are semi-pucca with tiled rooftops, and few are with mud dividers and asbestos rooftops. The mud walled houses are old and customary houses which are being supplanted by semi-pucca houses. In this manner there is change situation of the houses. Prior, the streets were mud streets, yet they are presently replaced by concrete roads. On either side of the streets and paths, there are drainage,s into which the waste water from the houses accumulates. As there is open drainage,, the air is loaded with terrible smell.

Very few households have the privilege of having drinking water connection with independent tap. The municipality supplies drinking water through tankers. Though there is a water tank (Gopi *cheruvu*), it has been polluted with sewerage of the nearby residential colonies and it emits foul smell. Children collect drinking water from the municipal tankers. They also collect water from public taps when there is supply. This task is entrusted to the children by the parents while they leave home for work. As it consumes about two or three hours a day, some children skip their school for this assignment.

Even though electricity connection is available in many of the households, there is interruption of power supply. During peak hours, and rainy days the electricity is delibepercentagely stopped. Few houses that lack electricity depend on kerosene lamps.

It comprises of backward castes, scheduled castes, and scheduled tribes who are migrants from villages and other slums. While majority are daily-wage workers, there are few regular employees working as low-paid attenders, peons, sweepers, etc. in ALIND, University of Hyderabad, GHMC, shops and stores in serilingampally. There are around five families that wash clothes. Though located close to the tank, they actually use municipality water for washing clothes. In one of the lanes, there is a little open house called 'kallu compound' (Toddy Shop), where hard stuff is sold in bottles. The toddy shops are found for the most part far from the residential houses. In

any case, in Gopinagar, it is amidst the houses. On either side of the main road, there are small shops that provide provisions or other everyday needs. These streets and lanes do not have any name or label. Butchers and fish sellers put up temporary arrangements on Sunday in the space between the slum and the main road.

The houses are not segregated either by caste or religion. There are Christians, Hindus, and Muslims. There is a small church close to the entrance on the right side road. As stated before, there is an old temple on the huge boulder, and there is a new temple near the entrance of the slum. There is another old temple of goddess Maisamma and a wooden post of Potharaju facing the Gopi *cheruvu*. Close to Gopinagar on the west, there is a mosque where the Muslims offer prayers.

The slum of Gopinagar comes under 112<sup>th</sup> ward of the Greater Hyderabad Municipal Corporation. People are not divided by any political affiliations, but divisions occur at the time of elections, but later these divisions disappear. Compared to several other slums, Gopinagar appears to be clean because the rain water drains away quickly as the land slopes down to Gopi *cheruvu*. The house structures of poor people are changing, and therefore the slum shows some evidences of economic development.

### **3.7.2 Gopanapally**

Gopanapally is found near Serilingampally Municipality. It is 8kms far from Gachibowli "X" roads, Cyberabad. The road from Serilingampally to Vattinagulapally and Gandipet goes through Nalagandla and by Gopanapally. A large portion of the houses are situated on the western side of the street, and those on the eastern side, there are expansions of old basthi. On this main street, there are shops of provisions, tea and eateries. There is also, a Registered Medical Practitioner (R.M.P.) doctor, who serves in emergencies. The entrance to the slum is situated on north side of a temple built on a hillock on which red and white stripes are prominent. The main street of Gopanapally weaker section colony connects with the public road of Serilingampally. On either side of the road, all vehicles pass and it takes turn enclosing Gopanapally on the south eastern side. The main street connects on either side parallel streets. The eastern side street again connects with the main public road. The main street connects with other small streets. The houses are built close to each other. There is caste segregation, with the dominant castes being Gouds and Yadavs. This was actually a

village but recognized as a slum when Serilingampally Municipality was formed. It is located near the southern gate of Hyderabad University leading to Serilingampally. The students of the university often visit the shops located on the main road that passes by Gopanapally.

Gopanapally has a population of 4,320 with 950 households. Most of the residents are working as temporary and daily-wages basis in the University of Hyderabad, and some are working in the nearby industrial areas of Patancheru. Most of the residents belong to scheduled castes (Dalits) and backward caste communities. There is a primary school, built on government land. The primary health centre is at a distance of 2 or 3 kilometers located near Gulmohar Park colony.

### **3.8 Rajendranagar Municipality and slums**

Rajendranagar is a rural region and a mandal. As indicated by 2001 census Rajendranagar had a population of 1, 43,184. The men and women are in the proportion of 52 and 48 respectively. The Rajendranagar Mandal has an average literacy percentage of 55 percent, lower than the national average of 59.5 percent; the male literacy is 62 percent, and female literacy is 48 percent. In Rajendranagar, 15 percent of the population is under 6 years old. Some of the prominent establishments located in Rajendranagar include the agricultural university and other research institutes.

#### **3.8.1 Shivarampally**

Shivarampally is situated on the National Highway 7. When it was a town under Rajendranagar Taluk before the formation of Rajendranagar Municipality. It is near the outer ring road and has turned out to be exceptionally prominent since the air port was moved from Begumpet to Shamshabad. Prestigious Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel National Police Academy, which is the pride of Hyderabad, is found near Shivarampally on National Highway 7. It is around five or ten minutes' drive from Nehru Zoological Park, Hyderabad. Shivarampally is a notified slum along with boundaries: on the east, Adarshnagar; on the west, Agricultural university; and on the south, Premavathipet Village. It has a population of 2052 with 417 households. There are 55 self-help groups in Shivarampally. As per the records of the municipality, the land belongs to others. It is located along a *nalah*, a stream of drain water.



Shivarampally was shaped 100 years ago in a private land. The Dalit poor families around 30, began living by laying huts in an area of a village panchayat land known as grama kantam, which was far from the main village. There was a borewell which catered the necessities of the Dalit hutments. The Dalits were distanced from the main village because of caste discrimination. Indeed, even some of them lost their agrarian terrains located at Kattedan industrial area, which were given to them as gift. In light of their financial problems and innocence, the Dalits used to get loans from the landowners by mortgaging their properties. The Dalits were working as coolies and agricultural labour. In this manner, the area was being called as Dalit basthi, as the occupants had a place with Dalit people group. Malas and Madigas are living separately in the basthi. Only a street separates both the castes. The primary school situated at Shivrampally Village is taking into account the educational needs of the the people of the dominant caste of the village, and the Dalits are denied of educational facilities

Sivarampally consists of a total population of 2,052 distributed in 417 households. Most of the houses were built with mud and tiled roofs. Subsequently, most of them were replaced with *pucca* houses with concrete roofing. Still we can find some old houses constructed with mud and tiled roofs. After formation of the Gram Panchayat in 1978, some development works have been taken by the *panchayat*. Tap connections for drinking purpose have been provided. However, at present, the residents face acute shortage of water. Most of the residents have constructed a pit near their houses to collect drinking water supplied by the *panchayat*. The water is supplied through pipes which pass through areas of the upper castes. When there is no supply of water, they use bore wells. But the underground water is completely polluted because of the industries in surrounding area, and it is not fit for consumption. So the residents depend on the municipal water supply. Further, there is discrimination in supply of water. There are no specific timings and duration for the supply of water particularly to the *basthi*. Water is being released first to the areas of upper caste dominant colonies for forty five minutes and afterwards to the Dalit *basthi* for fifteen minutes, with less pressure. As there are no timings for water, the residents are compelled to wait at their homes. This disturbs their activities, particularly the employees who have to attend offices on time.

The streets and lanes in the *basthi* are very narrow and congested. They were spoiled while laying sewers in the area, and the authorities had so far done nothing to repair them. The area is low-lying and prone to floods. Further, the *basthi* faces lot of pollution and health related problems, as the drains of areas of Aramgarh, Reddy colony, Sarvareddy colony, Manikanta colony, Nethaji colony, Chandrika colony, and other higher caste dominated colonies flow through the Dalit *basthi*. The residents face lots of health hazards. The Drains are not covered and grasses are grown. Even the area is prone to mosquito breeding, but the facility of spraying mosquito repellent by the municipality is denied.

Almost 70 percent of the male workforce is engaged in centering work and coolies. Most of the people are working for meager salaries in the nearby Kattedan industrial area and other industrial areas as labourers and workers. Some of them are working as daily-wage labourers such as masons and centering workers. Most of the youth have studied up to 10<sup>th</sup> class. A primary school in Shivarpally Dalit *basthi* was established in 2003. Before construction of the school buildings, the same functioned in the premises of Ambedkar youth club. It was constructed in an area of *kunta*, which was financed by the municipal authorities, adjacent to burial grounds. There are no basic facilities in the school. It has 160 students, and it caters the educational needs of the *basthi* and nearby Hassannagar colony children.

Though the Sivarampally Dalit *basthi* has population of 2052 and 417 households, there is no civil supply dealer. The dealership is allotted to the people of Reddy and Vaishya caste. Even for the ration and other shopping, the residents are forced to travel faraway places.

### **3.8.2 Premavathipet**

Premavathipet is encompassed by Kattedan industrial area, Budvel, Sivarampally, Rajendranagar areas. It is located 10 kilometers from Rajiv Gandhi International Airport. It is notified by the government having a population of 2,254 and 451 families. There are 20 self-help groups in the locality. The boundaries of Premavathipet are the main road on the north, and the Agricultural University on other sides.

Premavathipet was established in 4.5 acres of land owned by Pattabhiramaiah and others. Originally, they were living away from this place. Consequent upon the establishment of the university, the people of Premavathipet and others moved to the present location. They were promised employment in the Agricultural University. But the promise has not been fulfilled till today. Only negligible 40/50 people are working in the university on regular basis. Most of the people in this locality are working on temporary basis and outsourcing basis, in different organizations under the university. Most of the people in the locality are less educated and they are getting very meager earnings. Most of the youths are workers such as painters, masons, plumbers, drainage cleaners, etc. Very few educated youths are running petty trade like *kirana* and provision shops.

Premavathipet has a population of 2,254 in 451 households, consisting of Madigas, Yadavs, Rajakas, Kummari, and Muslims. Half of the locality consists of the families of Madigas. Most of the houses are having one or two rooms. There are no proper drainage facilities and no proper drinking water facility in the locality. Even though some hand pumps are installed in the colony, most of them are not working.

The primary school located near the colony was established in 1965. There are 73 children studying in the school, out of which thirty two belong to SC category. The medium of education is Telugu. There are two teachers working on permanent basis, and two *vidya* volunteers are also working in the school.

In the above background, a comparison of these slums is presented here in terms of sex and marital status of the population, ownership of the houses, type of the houses, duration of staying in the slum and migration, education, economic background, and religion from the primary data collected from 150 household samples for the present study. Through this, the differences among them can be found besides the similarities. The sampled primary data shows that 52.7 percent of men and 47.3 percent of women are living in the four slums. The information given in the Table 3.3 shows that number of men are more when compared to women, as the society is dominated by male population.

Table 3.3 Sex-wise population and slums

(Percentage in parenthesis)				
S.No.	Name of the slum	Male	Female	Total
1	Gopinagar	36 (51.4)	34 (48.6)	70 (100.0)
2	Gopanapally	3 (60.0)	2 (40.0)	5 (100.0)
3	Shivarampally	37 (52.9)	33 (47.1)	70 (100.0)
4	Premavathipet	3 (60.0)	2 (40.0)	5 (100.0)
5	Total	79 (52.7)	71 (47.3)	150 (100.0)

It is clear that slums are dominated by males. It is unrealistic to quality any explanation behind this distinction. One conceivable reason could be be migration of male workers. The establishment of marriage has been given high centrality in Indian culture. The support of the life partner assumes a crucial part in the family. In the economic pressure on the families, the relationship of companion on marriage impacts the living conditions. The Table 3.4 shows that 52.6 percent of the population is married. 46.7 and 0.7 percent are unmarried and widower respectively.

Table 3.4 Marital status of the slum dwellers

(Percentage in parenthesis)					
S.No.	Name of the Slum	Marital Status			
		Married	Un-Married	Widower	Total
1	Gopinagar	37 (52.9)	33 (47.1)	0 (0.0)	70 (100.0)
2	Gopanapally	3 (100.0)	2 (40.0)	0 (0.0)	5 (100.0)
3	Shivarampally	36 (51.5)	33 (47.1)	1 (1.4)	70 (100.00)
4	Premavathipet	3 (60.0)	2 (40.0)	0 (0.0)	5 (100.00)
5	Total	79 (52.6)	70 (46.7)	1 (0.7)	150 (100.00)

The ownership and the type of house are crucial factors to determine the socio-economic conditions of the slum dwellers. The Table 3.5 shows ownership of the house. The houses are owned in majority of the slums, but the percentage of rented houses is more in Gopinagar which is considered the slum of higher income

group. In some cases, the slum dwellers stay temporarily with relatives for some time and these are recent migrants, and they are expected to move into a rented accommodation.

Table 3.5 Ownership of the slum residents

S.No.	Name of the Slum	(Percentage in parenthesis)			Total
		Ownership			
		Own	Rented	Other	
1	Gopinagar	33 (47.1)	36 (52.4)	1 (1.4)	70 (100.0)
2	Gopanapally	3 (60.0)	2 (40.0)	0 (0.0)	5 (100.0)
3	Shivarampally	26 (37.1)	16 (22.9)	28 (40.0)	70 (100.0)
4	Premavathipet	0 (0.0)	4 (80.0)	1 (20.0)	5 (100.0)
5	Total	62 (41.3)	58 (38.7)	30 (20.0)	150 (100.0)

The dwellings of these slum people may be categorized as *pucca*, semi-*pucca*, and *kutcha* houses. The *pucca* houses are those constructed with brick and cement with concrete roof, and the semi-*pucca* houses have brick and cement walls but asbestos roof. The *kutcha* houses are those whose walls are of mud and roof could be of tin sheets or any perishable material. In this categorization, we find all types of houses in these slums, out of which 44.7 percent are in the category of semi-*pucca*, and almost equal proportion in the categories of *pucca* and *kutcha* types. In Gopinagar, the *pucca* and semi-*pucca* houses are more than the rest of the slums. The data given here substantiate that most of the slum dwellers live in one room *kutcha* or semi-*pucca* houses which lacked basic facilities (Table 3.6).

Table 3.6 Type of houses in slums

(Percentage in parenthesis)

S.No.	Name of the Slum	Type of House			Total
		<i>Pucca</i>	<i>Semi Pucca</i>	<i>Kucha</i>	
1	Gopinagar	25 (35.7)	42 (60.0)	3 (4.3)	70 (100.0)
2	Gopanapally	4 (80.0)	1 (20.0)	0 (0.0)	5 (100.0)
3	Shivarampally	11 (15.7)	20 (28.6)	39 (55.7)	70 (100.0)
4	Premavathipet	0 (0.0)	4 (80.0)	1 (20.0)	5 (100.0)
5	Total	40 (26.7)	67 (44.6)	43 (28.7)	150 (100.0)

More than 60 percent of the families have been living in the slums for over 10 years, while 26.7 percent have been living in the slums in the vicinity of 5 and 10 years. These are the ones who migrated within ten years. There are around 12.7 percent of them that migrated. to slum within 5 years. In this manner, the slum population does not stay consistent but rather continues changing by migration. Such migration is by all accounts higher in Gopinagar contrasted with other slums (Table 3.7)

Table 3.7 Residential life in slums

(Percentage in parenthesis)

S.No.	Name of the Slum	No. of Years Present			Total
		0-5 years	5-10 years	10 years and above	
1	Gopinagar	16 (22.9)	12 (17.1)	42 (60.0)	70 (100.0)
2	Gopanapally	0 (0.0)	1 (20.0)	4 (80.0)	5 (100.0)
3	Shivarampally	3 (4.3)	23 (32.9)	44 (62.9)	70 (100.0)
4	Premavathipet	0 (0.0)	4 (80.0)	1 (20.0)	5 (100.0)
5	Total	19 (12.7)	40 (26.7)	91 (60.6)	150 (100.0)

According to the economic status as assessed by the municipality, the slum dwellers are holders of white cards, below poverty line (BPL) cards as well as pink

cards. Majority of them, i.e. about 87.3 percent, are white card holders. However, there are some who do not have any card and a few have applied for the same. This is the category of people who recently migrated to the slum or newly established homes.(Table 3.8).

Table 3.8 Ration card holders in slums

(Percentage in parenthesis)						
S.No.	Name of the Slum	Card				Total
		White	Pink	No Card	Applied	
1	Gopinagar	52 (74.3)	2 (2.9)	9 (12.9)	7 (10.0)	70 (100.0)
2	Gopanapally	5 (100.0)	0 (0.0)	0 (0.0)	0 (0.0)	5 (100.0)
3	Shivarampally	69 (98.6)	1 (1.4)	0 (0.0)	0 (0.0)	70 (100.0)
4	Premavathipet	5 (100.0)	0 (0.0)	0 (0.0)	0 (0.0)	5 (100.0)
5	Total	131 (87.3)	3 (2.0)	9 (6.0)	7 (4.7)	150 (100.0)

Education reduces the social distance between the lower and upper castes in the society. It sharpens and shapes the individual personality. The education among the Dalits in the society is essential pre-requisite for all-round development and it assures them the benefits of safeguards of the constitution.

Table 3.9 Educational level of the Slum residents

(Percentage in parenthesis)							
S.No.	Name of the Slum	Classes					Total
		I-V	VI-IX	SSC	Intermediate and above	Illiterates	
1	Gopinagar	3 (4.3)	24 (34.3)	16 (22.9)	5 (7.1)	22 (31.4)	70 (100.0)
2	Gopanpally	1 (20.0)	0 (0.0)	2 (40.0)	0 (0.0)	2 (40.0)	5 (100.0)
3	Shivarampally	5 (7.1)	14 (20.0)	12 (17.1)	5 (7.1)	34 (48.6)	70 (100.0)
4	Premavathipet	1 (20.0)	2 (40.0)	0 (0.0)	0 (0.0)	2 (40.0)	5 (100.0)
5	Total	10 (6.7)	40 (26.7)	30 (20.0)	10 (6.7)	60 (39.9)	150 (100.0)

The educational background of the households indicates that 40 percent of them are illiterates. While 6.7 percent have studied up to 5<sup>th</sup> class, 40 percent have studied classes between 6<sup>th</sup> and 9<sup>th</sup> classes, and about 20 percent have studied up to 10<sup>th</sup> class. In the rest of the households, 6.7 percent studied Intermediate. Thus majority of them were dropped out after 5<sup>th</sup> class (Table 3.9).

Slum dwellers are the most economically deprived category. Their income levels influence the education of the children. A majority 26 percent work as labourers and workers, and 8 percent help their spouses in self-employment, petty trade and vending. About 8 percent depend on self-employment and 4 percent work in private companies and in government sector. In the non-workers category, 40 percent of the population are students and 6.6 percent are house wives. (Table 3.10).

In all these slums, there are nuclear as well as joint families. There are Christians and Hindus also. As stated earlier, their families are found living side by side, and there are also inter-religious marriages among them. Caste is more important than the religion as there are few cases of inter-caste marriages. The sample consists of Hindu and Christian families in the proportion of 105 (70.0 percent) and 45 (30.0 percent) respectively (Table 3.11).



Table 3.10 Occupations in Slums

(Percentage in parenthesis)

S.No	Name of the slum	Occupation							
		Un- employed	Self- employed	Student	Labour	Others	Private/ government	House wife	Total
1	Gopinagar	2 (2.9)	5 (7.1)	26 (37.1)	13 (18.6)	12 (17.2)	5 (7.1)	7 (10.00)	70 (100.00)
2	Gopanapally	0 (0.0)	1 (20.0)	2 (40.0)	1 (20.0)	1 (20.0)	0 (0.0)	0 (0.0)	5 (100.00)
3	Shivarampally	2 (2.8)	6 (8.6)	29 (41.4)	23 (32.9)	6 (8.6)	1 (1.4)	3 (4.3)	70 (100.00)
4	Premavathipet	0 (0.0)	0 (0.0)	3 (60.0)	2 (40.0)	0 (0.0)	0 (0.0)	0 (0.0)	5 (100.0)
5	Total	4 (2.6)	12 (8.0)	60 (40.0)	39 (26.0)	19 (12.7)	6 (4.0)	10 (6.7)	150 (100.00)

\*includes persons who help their spouse in self-employment, petty trade and vending.

Table 3.11 Religion in slums

S.No.	Name of the Slum	(Percentage in parenthesis)		Total
		Religion		
		Hindu	Christian	
1	Gopinagar	54 (77.1)	16 (22.9)	70 (100.0)
2	Gopanapally	4 (80.0)	1 (20.0)	5 (100.0)
3	Shivarampally	45 (64.3)	25 (35.7)	70 (100.0)
4	Premavathipet	2 (40.0)	3 (60.0)	5 (100.0)
5	Total	105 (70.0)	45 (30.0)	150 (100.0)

## **Chapter–IV**

### **Education and its Practices**

In the previous chapter, a general scenario of socio-economic conditions of slums of Hyderabad has been provided that serves as the background to understand the aspects of exclusion of the people living in the slums under investigation. In the present chapter, an attempt has been made to examine the pattern of education and the practices of learning through institutionalized education in theselected slums. As such this chapter includes a profile of parents, background of children and teachers, family type, education, and occupation of the parents with a focus on the social exclusion. The analysis presented here bases on detailed interviews held with 150 parents and 280 students or child respondents in addition to observations in slums and schools. About 19 teachers were also interviewed, for their opinions on various issues related to education and practices of Dalit students in schools. Dalit children are interviewed at their residences in most cases and at the school in few cases. The teachers are also interviewed at their schools.

#### **4.1 Profile of parents**

As studies have shown, educatedparents assume huge part in the education of children. So it is important to look at the educational status of the parents of the children. As mentioned earlier, the literacy level in the slums of Hyderabad is low which infers that the part of parents in the education of their children would be at the minimum level. Actually, from the dialogs on the slums, it is learnt that the parents are more worried about meeting the base needs, keeping hunger away and dress them appropriately than educating their children. Notwithstanding, they donot imply that there is no need of education for the children. They sincerely want that the children ought to be taught, however they donot have sufficient means. Regularly they characteristic absence of education as the reason for their sufferings. They wished that at any cost, their children ought to have the capacity to get a decent position and have better life.

The survey undertaken for the study shows about 40 percent of the father respondents are uneducated; 26.7 percent have studied between fifth and ninth classes; around 20 percent have studied up to tenth class; and 6.7 percent studied between first and fourth classes. One of the striking focuses is that 6.7 percent of them

have concentrated over the secondary school (pl. ref. Table 3.9). It clearly indicates that the father in Dalit families in the slums is lingering behind in education. About half of the children's fathers are uneducated. Thus, we cannot expect a minimal positive atmosphere for education of their children. Usually, a father in these slums gets satisfied once the child is attending school, yet he is not really mindful of what accomplishment the children have been making. He trusts that the child would have the capacity to get some kind of job later on, so that he just avoid labor work and make a living as an employee which gives comfort of life, social status and good living standard. In any case, he does not know the methods by which the children can advance well in education. He knows that educational cost helps as a few parents send their children to private tuitions, yet many of them have no extra money for this reason.

It is the average practice that an educated man marries an educated woman, though with exceptions. In this sample also, women are less educated than men. In general, women are less educated than men and more particularly in this case. The role of the parents in education of these children is marginal.

It is in the sense that one can notice exclusion; it is not physical exclusion from educational institution, but rather absence of engagement of the parents in the educational process of their children. It is not lack of concern or contempt towards the education. Basically, they do not have awareness about their roles and means for educating their children. Hardly few parents realize that their roles do not end at conceding the child to class. A few parents know minimal more distant than this by providing uniforms and books. Many do not have a clue about that they ought to monitor the progress in education by enquiring the teacher or fellow students or his/her seniors about the progress of the child. If the child is not able to make any progress, they should be able to take some corrective measures. Some parents did articulate that they wanted to know whether the child is attending the school, and whether he is learning what he is expected to learn in the school, but they have no time to do this.

Because of lack of education, most of the parents are working as labourers or manual workers constituting 66.8 percent; 18.2 percent of them are engaged in self-employment; 8.2 percent are in government; and 5.7 percent are in small business

(Table 4.1). As labourers, they are engaged mostly in construction works; some work in Professor Jayashankar Telangana State Agricultural University farms as agriculture workers; and some are unskilled workers in the nearby industries such as Aluminum Industries (ALIND).

Table 4.1 Occupation of the fathers of the student respondents  
(Percentage in parenthesis)

S.No	Name of the Slum	Occupation					Total
		Un-Employed	Self-Employed	Government	Labor/worker	Business	
1	Gopinagar	0 (0.0)	22 (21.6)	4 (3.9)	74 (72.5)	2 (2.0)	102 (100.0)
2	Gopanapally	0 (0.0)	5 (13.2)	3 (7.9)	26 (68.4)	4 (10.5)	38 (100.0)
3	Shivarampally	2 (2.0)	20 (19.6)	13 (12.7)	60 (58.8)	7 (6.9)	102 (100.0)
4	Premavathipet	1 (2.6)	4 (10.5)	3 (7.9)	27 (71.1)	3 (7.9)	38 (100.0)
5	Total	3 (1.1)	51 (18.2)	23 (8.2)	187 (66.8)	16 (5.7)	280 (100.0)

Occupation is one of the major factors that reflect the living conditions of people. It influences the roles, interaction and living standards. Here, it is noticed that among the mothers 75 (26.8 percent) are working as manual workers; 51 (18.2 percent) as construction labor; and 46 (16.4 percent) are working as housemaids (Table 4.2).

From the economic pursuits, it is found that the slum dwellers earn somewhere between Rs 50 and Rs 500 per day, and this amount depends on the number of people in the family that earn and the type of work they do. Among 150 parents, 22.7 percent earn wages between Rs.50 and Rs. 200 per day; 42 percent earn up to Rs. 300; 18.7 percent earn up to Rs. 500; and 16.7 percent earn more than Rs. 500 (Table 4.3). It is noted here that these incomes are not constant; it varies depending on availability of work and health condition of the worker.

Table 4.2 Occupation of mothers of the student respondents  
(Percentage in parenthesis)

S.No	Name of the Slum	Occupation						Total
		Housemaid	Constuction Labour	Collie	Others	House wife	Government/ Private job	
1	Gopinagar	18 (17.6)	25 (24.5)	32 (31.4)	5 (4.9)	22 (21.6)	0 (0.0)	102 (100.0)
2	Gopanapally	2 (5.3)	6 (15.8)	18 (47.4)	1 (2.6)	10 (26.3)	1 (2.6)	38 (100.0)
3	Shivarampally	22 (21.6)	13 (12.7)	17 (16.7)	9 (8.8)	32 (31.4)	9 (8.9)	102 (100.0)
4	Premavathipet	4 (10.5)	7 (18.4)	8 (21.1)	1 (2.6)	12 (31.6)	6 (15.8)	38 (100.0)
5	Total	46 (16.4)	51 (18.2)	75 (26.9)	16 (5.7)	76 (27.1)	16 (5.7)	280 (100.0)

Table 4.3 Income of parent respondents  
(Percentage in parenthesis)

S.No.	Name of the Slum	Earners by Income (in Rupees)				Total
		50-200	201-300	301-500	500 and above	
1	Gopinagar	22	26	16	6	70
		(31.4)	(37.1)	(22.9)	(8.6)	(100.0)
2	Gopanapally	2	3	0	0	5
		(40.0)	(60.0)	(0.0)	(0.0)	(100.0)
3	Shivarampally	9	31	11	19	70
		(12.9)	(44.3)	(15.7)	(27.1)	(100.0)
4	Premavathipet	1	3	1	0	5
		(20.0)	(60.0)	(20.0)	(0.0)	(100.0)
5	Total	34	63	28	25	150
		(22.7)	(41.9)	(18.7)	(16.7)	(100.0)

This variability of income itself is the condition of exclusion emerging from the socio-economic background of the Dalits. Lack of education and lack of inherited property remained as precondition to the present low income from which they try very hard to get out and land in an economically comfortable zone through education of their children. It is strongly believed that the education of the children will bring change in the subsequent generations.

The day begins for the mother with cleaning the house and cooking food. She gets the children ready if they are going to school. In fact, a grown-up female child helps in cleaning work and takes care of the younger child till mother is free from cooking work. When the food is ready, the wife and husband if they are both laborers reach *adda*, a place where casual laborers gather, and wait there to be hired by someone. In case they are already engaged by a contractor, they reach the spot of work on the fixed time. If there is a suckling child, they carry it along with food. In some cases where the woman is a domestic maid, she leaves the home early morning, to work in houses of others either in flats or independent houses. If she has grown-up children who can take care of themselves, she starts her work early. A small child is given to the care of the grown-up child when she engages in work as housemaid.

Both men and women, who are municipal sweepers, start the work early morning. A few men who work as watchmen, sweepers, *khalasi* and other low-paid workers in a factory or an office or an establishment, leave home leisurely and also enjoy vacations now and then. The self-employed members who usually engage themselves in petty business in the same locality follow their own rhythm of life. In these cases, women usually remain at home while the husband is in business. In this kind of daily routine, the children mainly pursue education on their own initiatives; it is an activity of self-motivation, and they continue their education. The parents feel that their responsibility ends by admitting them to school, buying books and clothes, and meeting the needs of the children wherever they demand a few rupees for buying the things required in school.

#### **4.1.1 Slum family**

The data show that majority of the respondents are living in nuclear family, trailed by the respondents living in the joint family. The domestic unit in the slum comprises of wedded couples and their unmarried children i.e., nuclear family.



Around 86 percent of the respondents are from the nuclear families and 24 percent from joint families. Joint families are more in Gopinagar. One critical explanation behind the power of nuclear family is movement of young wedded individuals to the city looking for work.

#### **4.1.2 Neighborhood**

The neighborhood has been found in association with kinship, caste, and occupation. Most of the slum dwellers have some relatives in the same locality as well as in other parts of the city. It is so because slums like Premavathipet, Shivrampally Dalit *basthi*, and Gopanapally weaker section colony are originally part of the respective villages. As such each of them consists of two castes, Mala and Madiga, who are Dalit castes, segregated but together in the same locality vis-à-vis other upper and lower castes living together. These castes originally engaged themselves in the traditional *jajmani* relations in the respective villages. With urbanization, they largely lost their traditional relations and grew into the category of urban poor masses and participated in urban socio-economic relation with other castes. In the changing scenario, some family members continued with growing number in their families living in the same place, and some family members migpercentaged to other slums due to marriages, availability of jobs, etc. In few cases, the relatives of the slum dwellers who used to live in the villages far away from the city migpercentaged to the city slums in course of time. In this kind of situation, it is found that out of 150 parent respondents, 59 (39.4 percent) of them have neighbors of same caste, but not related; 47 (31.3 percent) have their relatives; 23 (15.3 percent) are staying with same economic group; and the rest are staying along with their colleagues and workers (Table 4.4).

While caste seems to be the most determining factor, a relative being a neighbor depends on the circumstances. If a family has been there for generations, it is likely that a relative is the neighbor. In case of migration, it would be generally a non-relative. The Dalits feel that they are comfortable in the company of same caste people, and sometimes along with the people of same religion. Religion is also important factor to be a neighbour. Christian Dalits prefer to live along with other Christian Dalits. Same is the case with Hindu Dalits.

Table 4.4 Parent respondents and their neighborhood

(Percentage in parenthesis)

S.No	Name of the Slum	Neighborhood of the family				Total
		Relative	Same caste but not related	Same economic group	Worker at same place	
1	Gopinagar	22 (31.4)	25 (35.7)	14 (20.0)	9 (12.9)	70 (100.0)
2	Gopanapally	3 (60.0)	0 (0.0)	1 (20.0)	1 (20.0)	5 (100.0)
3	Shivarampally	19 (27.1)	32 (45.8)	8 (11.4)	11 (15.7)	70 (100.0)
4	Premavathipet	3 (60.0)	2 (40.0)	0 (0.0)	0 (0.0)	5 (100.0)
5	Total	47 (31.3)	59 (39.4)	23 (15.3)	21 (14.0)	150 (100.0)

The neighborhood of the slum appears different from that of other locations of the city with reference to structures of houses and social atmosphere. As far as the house structures are concerned, one finds a picture of transition from the traditional houses of village, from tiled roof to concrete double-storied houses with modern columns and designs. In between, there are houses with asbestos roofs and mud walls. Obviously, they reflect the change based on economic prosperity. Those who were able to earn more could replace the houses of tiles and asbestos sheets with concrete structures. Nevertheless, there is no change so far as space is concerned either in the plinth of the houses or space between the houses or streets. The type of house thus reflects the economic status of the family. This transition has been found in all the four slums. Houses in the slums are usually of single room with asbestos roof or corrugated iron sheets, and in rare cases, are of RCC. In some cases, the cooking is done in small sepapercentage room, and more often it is done in open space available in front of the house if the weather is good. More often than not, one finds an electrical bulb that provides light to the entire house, and street lights help if they want to eat outside, in front of their house.

#### 4.1.3 Economic factors of the parents

As stated earlier, the major concern of the slum dwellers is the survival, earning for living. A part of the earning should also be invested on the education of the children. The expenditure on education includes the payment of school fees,

private tuitions, stationery, uniforms, books, transport, and so on. Research studies show that there is linkage amongst poverty and schooling patterns. The poor families send their children to government schools while the rich send their children to private schools. Despite the fact that the government schools do not charge any fees, and books and uniform are given free, there are different costs, for example, school bags, water bottles, and stationery. The proportion of monthly expenditure adds to the direct cost of the schooling in poor families (Rukmini 2000). As opposed to the general feeling that the aggregate cost of the education of Dalit students in the slums is borne by the state, just 26 percent of the parents say that the whole cost of education is secured by grants. Thus, for more number of parents, the expenditure on school would cut into their expenditure on food, clothing, and health.

Only few respondents were satisfied with the supply of the text books. Most of them feel that free text books are supplied very late, and they are forced by their children to buy those from market. Regarding the free distribution of uniforms to the Dalit children, almost all the parents feel that the quality of uniforms is very poor. The uniforms are distributed very late and moreover they are inadequate in number. Therefore, it may be said that help from the state is inadequate and untimely. The slum dwellers feel that education of children continues to be a challenge that they shall face.

Around 99 (66 percent) parents say that their earnings are not adequate to meet the use of their children on education. The parents talk about the challenges in paying different charges in private schools, especially in the start of new academic year. The expenditure is more than their income. In this manner, they were compelled to take hand credits for education of their children. This expenditure is an obstruction for education of poor Dalit families. It is difficult for the families to incur expenditure on education more than their income, if the number of school going children is more than two.

About 53 out of 150 residents send their children to private school where there is a charge for schooling for various reasons. About 22 percent of the parents are incurring Rs. 500 and about 18 percent is incurring Rs 300 per month on private education. The cost of private schooling is an excluding factor to access qualitative

education. In spite of low earnings, parents are sacrificing much of their comfort for the sake of children (Table 4.5).

Whether it is government or private school, the slum children attend the school which is very close to them. The schools are located within 5 kilometers for 139 parents (92.67 percent) and beyond 5 kilometers for 11 (7.33 percent) parents. Since the children have to manage themselves to commute to school, safety is one concern, and the other is expenditure. Hence, they prefer to walk down to school. Those children who can use public transport, the city buses, are only few and they travel beyond 5 kilometers.

It is important to note that while some of the parents (58 percent) are meeting the teachers sometimes in the school to find out the progress of their children, about 33.3 percent of parents are not at all meeting the teachers. However, only 8.6 percent of parents are able to meet the teachers regularly. In private schools, it is mandatory for the parents to meet the teacher on specific day, but it is not so in the government schools. Hence, the parents who send the children to private schools meet the teachers more frequently than the parents who send children to government schools.

#### **4.1.4 Parents' preference of schools**

As discussed earlier, the slums of Hyderabad have not been able to escape from the infiltration of private schools, which are most often employed by untrained teachers on low wages with higher school fees. The poor parents either in urban or rural areas choose government schools as far as expenditure is concerned. However, some economically better off ones send their children to low level private schools.

Out of 150 parent respondents, 86 (57.3 percent) prefer government schools and 64 (42.7 percent) prefer private schools<sup>39</sup> (Table 4.6). The choice for government schools is made as it is cheaper to get educated in government schools. In fact, the economic conditions compel them to admit their children to government schools, as there is no fee to pay and there are certain incentives for the students such as midday meal, free clothes, and books.

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<sup>39</sup> It is not true in all cases. Private schools are of different kinds which include even international schools but the slum parents do not think of such elite schools, but they do like to send their children to private schools that they can afford.

About 97 out of 150 (64.7 percent) parents' view that the performance of the government schools is average; for 23.3 percent, it is good; and for 11.5 percent, it is poor and very poor.<sup>40</sup> Most of the respondents feel that the government school teachers are irregular to their schools. Irregular attendance of the teachers in government schools is an important factor quoted by the parents for poor performance of the government schools.

The parents who prefer private schools say that these schools provide quality education which means that the students acquire better knowledge as against the students attending government schools, wherein the students move up in the level of schooling from one grade/class to another but without acquiring required knowledge. The parents are of the opinion that the private schools provide good discipline. Another interesting aspect is the medium of education. It is believed that English medium education has advantage over the Telugu medium. As the government schools are not providing educations in English medium and that the private schools provide educations in English medium, some parents prefer English medium schools. Another reason for preference of private schools is the availability of good facilities such as toilets, benches, black boards, and so on.

Private schooling in these slums is neither strange nor unexpected as this phenomenon has been noticed in several slums as noted in the previous chapter. We may find some correlation with the incomes and government schooling.

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<sup>40</sup> Vimala Ramachandran's study on municipal schools of Delhi reveals that the teachers are sitting around drinking tea, or shelling peanuts or smoking or knitting. There is no teaching activity in the schools for many teachers. Instead teachers complain the parents that their children are not interested in studies. Irrelevant or uninterested curriculums, boring teaching, very little to understand are the disabling experiences of most of the children. Despite private tuitions, study material and parental help in home work, some of the children are finding the school as a burden, and suffering from depression and other psychological problems, teaching activities are limited to reading the text books and writing exercises and making the children read aloud and memorize text from the books. Teachers were found talking with each other and gazing into distance. Research studies reveal that high teacher absenteeism and the prevalence of a system where teachers come to school on rotation basis. ([ssa.nic.in/...studies.../survey...school...studies/National%20Synthesis%2012](http://ssa.nic.in/...studies.../survey...school...studies/National%20Synthesis%2012), accessed on 11<sup>th</sup> March 2014).

Table 4.5 Expenditure on private schooling of slum children

(percentage in parenthesis)

S.No.	Name of the Slum	Private schooling expenditure (in Rupees)						Total
		Less than 200	201-300	301-500	501 and above	No expenditure	N.A	
1	Gopinagar	6 (8.6)	6 (8.6)	9 (12.9)	17 (24.2)	3 (4.3)	29 (41.4)	70 (100.0)
2	Gopanapally	0 (0.0)	0 (0.0)	0 (0.0)	1 (20.0)	0 (0.0)	4 (80.0)	5 (100.0)
3	Shivarampally	5 (7.1)	21 (30.1)	11 (15.7)	13 (18.6)	1 (1.4)	19 (27.1)	70 (100.0)
4	Premavathipet	1 (20.0)	0 (0.0)	1 (20.0)	2 (40.0)	0 (0.0)	1 (20.0)	5 (100.0)
5	Total	12 (8.0)	27 (18.0)	21 (14.0)	33 (22.0)	4 (2.7)	53 (35.3)	150 (100.0)

Table 4.6 Preference of school by the slum parents

(Percentage in parenthesis)

S.No.	Name of the Slum	Type of school		Total
		Private School	Government School	
1	Gopinagar	51 (72.9)	19 (27.1)	70 (100.0)
2	Gopanapally	4 (80.0)	1 (20.0)	5 (100.0)
3	Shivarampally	8 (11.4)	62 (88.6)	70 (100.0)
4	Premavathipet	1 (20.0)	4 (80.0)	5 (100.0)
5	Total	64 (42.7)	86 (57.3)	150 (100.0)

Out of those 64.7 percent of the parent respondents who earn between Rs 50 and Rs 300 per day, which is a low income, 57.3 percent send their children to government schools. This is highest in Shivarampally which shows correspondence between income and government schooling. The parents are aware of the opinion that private schooling is better.

Almost half of the fathers of the children are illiterate, and they work as unskilled laborers. Their daily income ranges mostly between Rs. 200 and Rs. 500 per day. Majority of them hardly meet the required expenditure on education of their children.

They live in nuclear families. A greater part of them lives among their own particular caste individuals and relatives. The slum inhabitants know that the nature of education of children is critical. Further, they also believe that the quality of education in private institutions is better than the government schools. For this reason, in spite of economic hardships, some of them send their children to private schools. From the earlier chapter, it has been noted that the slum dwellers are mostly Dalits except Gopinagar and Gopanapally. In Premavathipet and Shivarampally, the Dalits are spatially excluded. Their lack of education has implications for low wages is a hindering element for education of their children. In spite of the fact that they need their children to have quality education, they cannot bear the cost of it. The private schools welcome them as much as the government schools, but they have no means to get better education. They are weak to make the government to address their issues; they feel they have definitely no influence over the government choices, so far as the

education of their children is concerned. They cannot request the teachers to be consistent to the school and provide good education. They are relied upon to send their children to class yet not to request anything. In private school, they appreciate the privilege to quality education as they pay charges like any other person. Even here also, the school management can discuss such demands by asking them to take away the child from the school if they did not like. In case of government schools there is no such right as the government is powerful.

The education of the children also depends on the habits of the parents and impact of companion group. This is the social environment in which the children carry their education through. Social exclusion shall be examined in this regard and the inclusive environment that provides appropriate support and encouragement to a child that pursues education.

#### **4.1.5 Peer group influence**

As discussed earlier, a slum child grows in the midst of same caste people and relatives who are at the same time friends, playmates, and school mates. The child has, therefore, multiple bonds though they may be of different strengths. In this situation, each is influenced by the other. Various social and religious occasions and functions organized in the slum bring them all together and enable them to work together. Of course, different interests and conflicts, though, separate them at the young age, friendly relations prevail over. On the other hand, the neighborhood environment appears to be negatively affecting the slum children with reference to education.

Social composition of children in a slum predicts their execution level at the school. Students living in slums are probably going to have companions who are probably going to be the dropouts who impact the school-going children to cease or truant themselves from the school. Indeed, even parents also report the same thing. In majority of the cases, the parents leave home for work when the children go to class at around 8 a.m. and they return late at night. Some times when the children grumble about some physical illness, parents abandon them at home. The child frequently leaves the school in middle and does not attend the afternoon session if not interested. While remaining at home, they create companionship with the individuals who dropped out of the school. This friendship regularly distracts the children attending the



school. In this way the children encounter absence of parental pressure in attending the school. In their company, they pick up bad habits such as smoking and drinking as well.

Out of 150 parents, 62 (41.33 percent) say that the neighbors' children always engage their children to play; 53 (35.33 percent) say that the neighbors' children are not allowing their children to go to school; and 23 (15.33 percent) say that the neighbors' children are not allowing their children to study at home. From this, one can infer that attending school and keeping interest in education to some extent depends on the neighbors and neighborhood environment. The parents have little control over the children, and the peer pressure is an important distraction for the children. Freedom enjoyed by the slum children that keep them away from the school. Such environment must be noted as an aspect of exclusion.

As noted earlier, the children get the freedom because their parents are busy in earning their livelihood and have no time to spend with children and monitor their progress in school. The economic exclusion and neighborhood have created an influenced force for social exclusion on education. It has double effect on the social exclusion of education on slum children. Therefore, the environment at home and neighborhood is a factor contributing to the social exclusion in the area of education of a slum child.

While the parents feel that their children's education is affected by neighbors, the information given by the children say that 49 (56percent) students are not studying at home after school, because they are spending their time with friends. About 20 children (23 percent) report that they are working at home, and 18 (21 percent) children report that they are not interested in studies at all and hence do not care about studies either at home or at school (Table 4.7). Usually, children of non- slum areas study at home and complete their homework either immediately after returning home from school and before going out to play or before going to school the next morning. Either of the parents usually mother in the evening and father in the morning help the child while studying at home. Sometimes the grown-ups in the house may also help. But the situation as stated above is different in case of slum children. Neither parents nor grown-ups help the slum children. Studying at home largely depends on the child's own initiative or motivation by the teacher in the school. Slum child in this sense is self-made.

Table 4.7 Reasons for not studying at home

(Percentage in parenthesis)

S.No.	Name of the slum	Reasons			Total
		Not interested	Spending time	Working at home	
1	Gopinagar	4 (18.2)	10 (45.4)	8 (36.4)	22 (100.0)
2	Gopanapally	3 (23.1)	7 (53.8)	3 (23.1)	13 (100.0)
3	Shivarampally	8 (21.1)	23 (60.5)	7 (18.4)	38 (100.0)
4	Premavathipet	3 (21.4)	9 (64.3)	2 (14.3)	14 (100.0)
5	Total	18 (21.0)	49 (56.0)	20 (23.0)	87 (100.0)

#### 4.1.6 Family support

The academic progress of the children also depends on the support and help received from the parents. The parents who are serious about the child's educational progress take certain measures such as enquiring with the teacher whether the child is attending the school regularly, whether the child is staying in the school throughout the day or escaping from the classes in the middle, whether the child is behaving properly with the fellow students, etc. Then based on the reports, the parents take appropriate steps and such are good parents from the point of view of the teacher. The teachers in fact expect the parents to take such interest about their children. They complain against most of the parents of slum children saying that they do not take much interest about their children's education.

However, some parents make enquiries with other children about the education of child when they return home such as whether they had gone to school, and stayed in school till the end. Some enquire whether they are getting good marks to pass the examinations and so on. It is found that since most of the parents are illiterate and are laborers and unskilled workers, they themselves are unable to help their children in studies.

With reference to contribution of parents towards children's education, high percentage (39.7 percent) of the parents of the children make enquiries about the child's education. More than a quarter (26percent) of the parents hardly make any

contribution. While 22.1 percent of the parents arrange tuition, only 12.1 percent help in completing homework (Table 4.8).

About 79 (42.3 percent) of laborers and manual workers just enquire of the children about their studies without serious remedial action. They are unable to help in either completing the homework or arranging tuition. 13 (81.3 percent) parents who are doing business and another 13 (56.5 percent) parents who are in government are able to arrange tuitions for their children (Table 4.9). Arranging tuition is more popular in Gopanapally weaker chapter colony perhaps due to the influence of the university. In Shivarampally, many parents are engaged in helping homework of the child. Those in government and business are able to help their children because they are a little educated and they have some surplus to spend on education of the children.

It is obvious that parental support at home will go a long way to the children in their progress in school. The educated parents support a child in many ways. It has been already noted that in the slums of Hyderabad, many parents have little time to spend with the children. Out of 280 children, 96 (34.3 percent) say that their parents are spending time with them during evenings, 96 (34.3 percent) other children say that their parents are spending time with them during holidays, and 29 (10.4 percent) say that their parents are spending time with them during mornings. It is clear that the parents are able to spare their time only after returning from work and during holidays<sup>41</sup>. As the parents and children do not get to know each other, a gap will be created among them and such a gap would have negative impact on the education of the children as the latter relies on upon others for taking decisions.

#### **4.1.7 Habits of the parents**

Axiomatic that financial constraint, insecurity of job, work pressure, and addiction to alcohol or consumption of other intoxicants by parents would have strong bearing on the well-being of the family members. Disturbances in the family are not favorable environment for the children to grow as a average child. Particularly, they

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<sup>41</sup> Many government school children especially the Dalit slum children cannot depend on family members for help with school work. Even if the illiterate parents comprehend that their children are not making any progress, in most of the cases parents cannot afford to arrange tuitions for their children to cope with. In the absence of remedial help at school, the children usually lag behind in studies and they never go ahead further in studies.

lose interest in academic activities, and the disturbances cause low performance in their studies. The slum children are prone to this kind of situation.

It has been found that out of 280 parents of child respondents, 153 parents (54.6 percent) are habituated to alcoholic drinks. They regularly consume toddy in the toddy shop located in the slums. In fact, it has been a customary practice for ages to establish what is called '*kallu* compound' in every *basthi* (locality of low class people) where toddy and *gudumba* (locally brewed alcohol) are sold. These are found in all the slums under study. Usually, when the adults return home after the day's hard work, they visit the toddy shop. Aged men and women regularly consume toddy. The boys on occasions and when they have handful of money indulge in drinking alcohol. Under intoxication, they quarrel on petty issues which sometimes end up in physical assaults. The drunken men usually misbehave with their wives on various domestic issues and disagreements.

The habit of consuming liquor and other drinks leads to fights and quarrels, which deprives the peaceful family atmosphere, and it affects the child's psychology, leaving the child in distress. It has been found that in 106 (69.3 percent) cases, the husband fights with his wife and children. In most cases (61.4 percent), he abuses his wife (Table 4.10). It becomes naturally difficult for the children to concentrate on studies. Because of this situation, 47 (43.52 percent) children have stated that they were absent from school during the previous week due to domestic problems. Therefore, it may be inferred that family environment is another factor of social exclusion with reference to education among the slum children. It often keeps the children away from school which would have psychological impact, a sense of inferiority, and loss of interest in school.

Table 4.8 Slum-wise Parents' Help to their Children  
(Percentage in parenthesis)

S.No.	Name of the Slum	Parents help				Total
		Completing Homework	Arranging Tuition	Enquiring about studies	Unable to Help	
1	Gopinagar	3	22	57	20	102
		(2.9)	(21.6)	(55.9)	(19.6)	(100.0)
2	Gopanapally	4	16	13	5	38
		(10.5)	(42.1)	(34.2)	(13.2)	(100.0)
3	Shivarampally	24	17	31	30	102
		(23.5)	(16.7)	(30.4)	(29.4)	(100.0)
4	Premavathipet	3	7	10	18	38
		(7.9)	(18.4)	(26.3)	(47.4)	(100.0)
5	Total	34	62	111	73	280
		(12.1)	(22.1)	(39.7)	(26.1)	(100.0)

Table 4. 9 Parents' help in Education  
(Percentage in parenthesis)

S.No.	Occupation	Helping in homework	Arranging tuitions	Enquiring about studies	No help	Total
1	Un-employed	3 (100.0)	0 (0.0)	0 (0.0)	0 (0.0)	3 (100.0)
2	Self-employment	5 (9.8)	15 (29.4)	25 (49.0)	6 (11.8)	51.0 (100.0)
3	Government	3 (13.0)	13 (56.5)	6 (26.1)	1 (4.4)	23.0 (100.0)
4	Laborer/worker	21 (11.2)	21 (11.2)	79 (42.3)	66 (35.3)	187.0 (100.0)
5	Business	2 (12.4)	13 (81.3)	1 (6.3)	0 (0.0)	16.0 (100.0)
6	Total #	34 (12.1)	62 (22.1)	111 (39.7)	73 (26.1)	280 (100.0)

Table 4.10 Consumption of alcohol by the fathers and victims in their families  
(Percentage in parenthesis)

S.No.	Name of the Slum	Victims of drunken father					Total
		Mother	Sister	Both mother and sister	All	No one	
1	Gopinagar	42 (67.8)	2 (3.2)	1 (1.6)	0 (0.0)	17 (27.4)	62 (100.0)
2	Gopanapally	9 (45.0)	2 (10.0)	0 (0.0)	0 (0.0)	9 (45.0)	20 (100.0)
3	Shivarampally	31 (60.8)	2 (3.9)	2 (3.9)	1 (2.0)	15 (29.4)	51 (100.0)
4	Premavathipet	12 (60.0)	1 (5.0)	2 (10.0)	1 (5.0)	4 (20.0)	20 (100.0)
5	Total	94 (61.4)	7 (4.6)	5 (3.3)	2 (1.3)	45 (29.4)	153 (100.0)

## 4.2 Profile of the children

As mentioned in the earlier chapter, there is one government primary school in each of the slums where most of the children attend school. Other than these, there are two private primary English medium schools in Gopinagar and Shivarampally, while there are no private primary schools in Gopanapally and Premavathipet. For the purpose of secondary schools, these children have to go to other places where the schools are located. As stated in the introduction of the chapter, there are altogether 280 child respondents of both the sexes. The data given below reveals that the number of male child respondents is more when it is compared to female child respondents. There are 153 males and 127 females, which constitute 54.6 percent and 45.4 percent respectively (Table 4.11). Majority of them have studied or are studying in upper primary school, high school and junior college. The primary school children are not considered for the study as they will be unable to give proper replies particularly to the caste-related questions.

Table 4.11 Slum-wise and sex-wise data of school-going children  
(Percentage in parenthesis)

S.No.	Name of the Slum	Sex		Total
		Male	Female	
1	Gopinagar	47 (46.1)	55 (53.9)	102 (100.0)
2	Gopanapally	28 (73.7)	10 (26.3)	38 (100.0)
3	Shivarampally	56 (54.9)	46 (45.1)	102 (100.0)
4	Premavathipet	22 (57.9)	16 (42.1)	38 (100.0)
5	Total	153 (54.6)	127 (45.4)	280 (100.0)

#### 4.2.1 Background of the children

Since the educational institutions beyond primary schools are not situated in the slums, the children who need to seek after higher education should go to better places. It implies that they should invest energy and money to achieve these educational levels. As money is a constraint for the slum dwellers, long distance matters for them which has impact on their pursuit of higher education. Usually, parents do not care for their children to be sent to faraway places for higher education as it includes the danger of road accidents. They lean toward the primary education in the same locality. Be that as it may, some attempt to conquer this issue by arranging auto rickshaws and other private modes for transport. The children are grabbed at the houses and are dropped at the school. This component is extremely average on account of non-slum occupants. In any case, in these slums, it is observed that not very many families send their children to faraway places for higher education as they consider that the primary schools situated in the slum do not provide legitimate education. There are financially better off families in the slum send their children even to far away places. For example, Ramaiah, a resident of Gopinagar who runs a little provisions shop in the slum, sends his child (Babu) to Navodaya Vidya Nikethan, a private primary school situated close to Gopinagar. There are couple of such cases in Gopinagar and Shivarampally. The travelling expenses to the schools increases as the children grow and the education level increases. Out of 28 primary school children, 96.4 percent study within a distance of two kilometers which means



that they study either in the same locality or close locality for the parents feel that the children can safely commute to the school and no extra expenditure is involved.

#### 4.2.2 Education levels and the distance from home to school

Out of 280 children, 66.4 percent study at a distance of two kilometers; 20.7 percent study at a distance of 3 kilometers; and 11.9 percent travel more than 4 kilometers daily to get their education. About 126 (45 percent) children go to school on foot; 95 (33.9 percent) go on bicycle; and 53 (18.9 percent) use state road transport corporation buses. Only 2.2 percent use auto-rickshaws (Table 4.12). This makes it clear that slum children to a large extent avoid transport system to cut expenditure for education, and they study at the institutions close to their habitations.

Table 4.12 Mode of transport for the children slum-wise  
(Percentage in parenthesis)

(Percentage in parentheses)						
S.No.	Name of the Slum	Mode of transport			Total	
		On foot	RTC bus	Bicycle		Auto
1	Gopinagar	62	11	29	0	102
		(60.8)	(10.8)	(28.4)	(0.0)	(100.0)
2	Gopanapally	18	5	14	1	38
		(47.4)	(13.2)	(36.8)	(2.6)	(100.0)
3	Shivarampally	32	29	36	5	102
		(31.4)	(28.4)	(35.3)	(4.9)	(100.0)
4	Premavathipet	14	8	16	0	38
		(36.8)	(21.1)	(42.1)	(0.0)	(100.0)
5	Total	126	53	95	6	280
		(45.0)	(18.9)	(33.9)	(2.2)	(100.0)

#### 4.2.3 Academic performance

All agree that only studying in school is not enough to achieve good education. The children have to study at home particularly in higher classes. But at home, the slum children, particularly the girls, are engaged in domestic work such as helping their mothers and babysitting. It has been found that about 130 (46.4 percent) children attend the household work after school; 67 (23.9 percent) children play with their friends; and only 41 (14.6 percent) children do their homework after their school. In case of the children studying in private schools, 32.7 percent children do their homework; about 3.8 percent children literally while away their time; whereas

10.5 percent children studying in government schools do their homework<sup>42</sup> (Table 4.13).

Therefore, the children who attend government school are more carefree and they are not very serious about their studies. One reason for such indifferent attitude towards education could be that the teachers are perhaps not concerned much or not accountable for the progress of the child. The private school teachers are accountable for the payments by the parents for education of the child. Attending to household work is necessary because both the parents have to go for work, and by the time they return, it is sometimes very late. So the grown-up children need to assist the parents. This results in the attitude of laxity towards education and the physical exhaustion also affects studying at home which impacts their progress or grades.

According to the assessment of the teachers in these schools, they are almost unanimous that slum children do not show interest in learning; they are weak students. There is no doubt that the comments are prejudiced. The teachers are unconcerned about the social neighborhood background of the children, though they are sympathetic. Their assessment is based on the performance in the studies in various examinations, attendance, and so on. However, the self-assessment of the students is very different from that of the teachers. It is because their assessment is based on different yardsticks. About 58 percent assess themselves as good and very good. About 80 (28.6 percent) grade themselves as average, whereas only 38 (13.5 percent) grade as poor performers in the school (Table 4.14).

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<sup>42</sup> Generally, the government schools have all pass policy in the schools. Children who attend the school regularly are automatically promoted to the next class regardless of their learning. However, the private schools do not follow the all pass policy. Children who fail are detained in the same class. Studies on slum children in Delhi reveal that they do not have facilities for studies at home, as a result of which the incidence of failure is very high and they are forced to face lot of problems in their academic performance.

Table 4.13 Activities of the Slum Children after School

S.No.	Type of School	(Percentage in parenthesis)						
		Doing Household work	Playing with friends	Helping other Family members	Doing homework	Others	Whiling away time	Total
1	Private	13 (25.0)	8 (15.4)	12 (23.1)	17 (32.7)	0 (0.0)	2 (3.8)	52 (100.0)
2	Government	117 (51.3)	59 (25.9)	24 (10.5)	24 (10.5)	1 (0.4)	3 (1.4)	228 (100.0)
3	Total	130 (46.4)	67 (23.9)	36 (12.9)	41 (14.6)	1 (0.4)	5 (1.8)	280 (100.0)

Table 4.14 Assessment of the children about their own performance in education

S.No.	Name of the Slum	(Percentage in parenthesis)				
		Very Good	Good	Average	Poor	Total
1	Gopinagar	15 (14.7)	44 (43.1)	28 (27.5)	15 (14.7)	102 (100.0)
2	Gopanapally	8 (21.1)	22 (57.9)	7 (18.4)	1 (2.6)	38 (100.0)
3	Shivarampally	11 (10.8)	45 (44.1)	31 (30.4)	15 (14.7)	102 (100.0)
4	Premavathipet	2 (5.3)	15 (39.5)	14 (36.8)	7 (18.4)	38 (100.0)
5	Total	36 (12.9)	126 (45.0)	80 (28.6)	38 (13.5)	280 (100.0)

Out of 38 students, who assessed themselves poor, as many as 39.4 percent of the students attribute their difficulties in comprehension to the fact that the subjects are difficult and they are unable to follow lessons of the teachers. This must be viewed as matter of non-congruence between the teacher and student, and there is perceptual difference given their socio-economic condition and exclusiveness in which they are placed. They require more sympathetic attitude and encouragement from the teachers with empathy and understanding of their environment. It is important to note that they mention that there are no study facilities at home (31.6 percent) and no study materials such as text books, guides, question banks, test papers, etc. available for studying (15.8 percent). These are the reasons for lack of comprehension (Table 4.15).

Table 4.15 Education and reasons for poor performance in studies  
(Percentage in parenthesis)

S.N o.	Name of the slum	Reasons				Total
		No study facilities	No parental encouragemen t	No books	Unable to follow the lessons	
1	Gopinagar	5 (33.3)	2 (13.3)	4 (26.7)	4 (26.7)	15 (100.0)
2	Gopanapally	0 (0.0)	0 (0.0)	1 (100.0)	0 (0.0)	1 (100.0)
3	Shivarampally	5 (33.3)	1 (6.7)	1 (6.7)	8 (53.3)	15 (100.0)
4	Premavathipet	2 (28.6)	2 (28.6)	0 (0.0)	3 (42.8)	7 (100.0)
5	Total	12 (31.6)	5 (13.2)	6 (15.8)	15 (39.4)	38 (100.0)

### 4. 3 Background of Teachers

Teachers play a vital role in educational institutions for imparting education and personality development. The success of a student depends on the interest evinced by teachers. The quality, competence, and character of teachers are most significant factors that influence the quality of education (Sudhershnam, 1991). The background factors, for example, age, education level, and their social class background decide the nature of teacher. The teacher's quality and inspiration significantly affect the learning

and accomplishment of the children. Every one of the teachers should have higher educational qualifications along with pre-government education (Benerjee, 2000)<sup>43</sup>.

The teachers of government schools in the slum areas do not live in the neighborhood. They prefer to be away from that locality. And also, there is communication problem between teachers and poor slum children. Out of 19 teachers, 15 (78.9 percent) come to the school by travelling more than 3 kilometers a day. They live in the vicinity of the residential colonies and travel more than half an hour daily to reach the school. They are not concerned about the enrollment/attendance of the students, but they feel that it is their duty to impart education to those who attend the school. According to them, there are many school-age children in the slums but they are not admitted to the school. Out of 19 teacher respondents, 9 (47.37 percent) say that most of the slum children are not being enrolled into the schools. They cited many reasons for not seeking admission to school. According to them, poverty and child labour (33.3 percent), poverty (22.2 percent), lack of awareness of slum parents on education (22.2 percent), and migration of parents (11.1 percent) are the main reasons for non-enrollment of slum children into the schools.

The majority of the teachers (63.2 percent) are of the feeling that parents are trying their earnest attempts to send their children to the schools. The teachers blame the children, as they are not keen on education. Notwithstanding, whatever is left of them have diverse conclusion that the parents are not intrigued by the education of their children, due to their poverty and lack of awareness. The teachers feel that slum parents do not show much enthusiasm for the education of girls contrasted with boys, and in view of this distinction, girl students do not indicate much intrigue contrasted with boys in education. Additionally, the help required of the girls to help their mother and dealing with younger siblings influences the education of girl students. Three fourths of the teachers concur that the nature of education in private schools is better contrasted with government schools. The explanation behind such contrast is primarily with reference to infrastructure. Infact, 63.2 percent of the

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<sup>43</sup> The study of Agastya foundation reveals that the standard of science teaching is low and teachers are rarely clear on the concepts. At the upper primary level, teachers who have not studied science at their high school level are often compelled to teach science subject. Field studies of Mumbai and Delhi and also Uttar Pradesh observe the inequalities in the government schooling system in the allocation of teachers and their working conditions. (Benerjee, 2000: 795- 802)

government teachers admit their own children in private schools where the medium of instruction is English, as the medium of instruction is Telugu in government schools.. Besides the English medium, the government school teachers also believe that the children are well-disciplined in private schools. They feel that such discipline cannot be implemented in government schools. In another words, the slumchildren are not amenable to discipline. In case the teacher is strict on different perspectives, for example, time of attending class, completion of homework, and execution of clothing regulation, a hefty portion of the school children will dropout from school. Therefore, these children have problem of adaptation to 'disciplined' schooling, as they are used to a carefree life. But the teachers do not feel any need on their part to change the adaptability of the students so that the slum children could be changed and molded into the way they expect them to be. As many as 10 teachers (52.6 percent) feel that the socio-economic background of the slum students determines to achieve top quality education. Most of the teachers about 11 (57.9 percent) are satisfied with the performance of the slum children, whereas the rest are not satisfied about the performance.

About 31.5 percent teachers opine that the slum children are good performers. 21.1 percent of teachers feel that the slum children are still fighting with poverty, and due to many other factors there is high absenteeism among slum children (21.1 percent). As many as 15.8 percent feel that there is a lack of state initiatives towards slum children (Table 4.16).

Consequence of the urbanization, the migration to the cities, causes a serious problem with the increase of population in the urban slums. With urbanization, the Dalits to a great extent lost their customary relations and developed into the classification of urban poor masses. They partook in urban financial connection alongside individuals of different positions. During the time spent urbanization, some relatives proceeded with their families living in a similar place, and some relatives relocated to different slums for marriage, business, and so on. In few cases, the relatives of the slum occupants who used to live in the towns far from the city, moved to the city slums in course of time. The urban Dalits who reside in slums are mostly semi-skilled or unskilled labor. The poor state of Dalits in slums is because of their failure to manage the cost of a tolerable standard of education to their children,

however education assumes a key part in financial and social improvement of Dalits in slums. The children of Dalits in slums are the least to go to schools. The parents wish that their children ought to be taught, yet they do not have sufficient means. Often they attribute lack of education as cause for their sufferings. They wish that at least their children should be able to get a decent job and have better life. Some of the earlier surveys on slums reveal that over half of the children are in the schools, and a high dropout ratio still exists. Non-availability of school at a short distance does not explain why quite a large number of slum children are still less educated. This study reveals that the social and economic problems are the main reasons for the slum children for not attending schools. The slum children, except a few, attend the government schools, as there is no fee and there are certain incentives such as midday meal, free clothes, and books. The parents feel that education of children continues to be a challenge that they shall face. The improvement of quality in government school system remains an important policy agenda for children in the lower echelons of society who have no choice but to attend government schools (Sujita, 2009).



Table 4.16 Opinion of the teachers on Slum Children

S.No.	Designation	(percentage in parenthesis)					Total
		Good performers	Creating awareness	High absenteeism	Poverty	Lack of state's initiatives	
1	Secondary Grade Teacher	1 (14.3)	0 (0.0)	2 (28.6)	3 (42.8)	1 (14.3)	7 (100.0)
2	Primary Grade Teacher	0 (0.0)	0 (0.0)	0 (0.0)	1 (100.0)	0 (0.0)	1 (100.0)
3	School Assistant	3 (37.5)	2 (25.0)	1 (12.5)	0 (0.0)	2 (25.0)	8 (100.0)
4	Head master	2 (66.7)	0 (0.0)	1 (33.3)	0 (0.0)	0 (0.0)	3 (100.0)
5	Total	6 (31.5)	2 (10.5)	4 (21.1)	4 (21.1)	3 (15.8)	19 (100.0)

## **Chapter- V**

### **Social Exclusion in School Environment**

This chapter explores the education practices and processes<sup>44</sup> in school environment in the context of social exclusion. The interactions that occur among the teachers and students in day-to-day activities inside the school premises are locales for finding social exclusion. An analysis of the interactions reveals the contents and substance of social exclusion. The focus of this chapter is on the structural arrangements, formal teaching and learning of teachers and students, and their role performances. It becomes evident when the focus is shifted to informal and real everyday routines and the analysis of processes involved in teaching and learning. In all comprehensiveness, the social exclusion is studied here in terms of caste, poor socio-economic background of the children, stigma attached to slum residence, behavior of parents, and participation in extra-curricular activities of the students. Caste may not appear in city in its traditional form, but as a residual category, it can appear anywhere. For example, a house would not be rented out by an upper caste vegetarian family to a non-vegetarian family on the ground of food habits. Outwardly, it does not appear to be an instance of practicing untouchability or caste discrimination as the stress is on food habits but not on caste. In fact it does speak about caste discrimination for low castes and Dalits are excluded from renting the house as they are invariably non-vegetarians. However, the non-vegetarian upper-caste or lower-caste house owner discriminates the scheduled caste person yet in another way, from the perspective of religion, by stating that the house is meant for only Hindus, not for Christian or Muslims. Since a large number of SCs are Christians, they are denied of renting a house.

In some cases, the caste discrimination is explicit, as this case reveals. Lakshmi, an eighteen year old Dalit girl of Gopinagar works as a housemaid in two houses in the closest residential area, Doyens Township to contribute from her side for the everyday support of her home. She gains around three thousand rupees a

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<sup>44</sup> Sociologists have identified process is the element in functioning of structures. Social institutions are studied in terms of structure and function, and the latter is understood as what it contributes but also how it performs which can be said as the process. The statuses and the corresponding role performances towards the goals set include various activities and processes.

month through this work. Her parents work as laborers and their earnings are not sufficient to meet the expenditure of a five-member family. Lakshmi stopped her studies in third class, and started working as a maid. Whenever the houseowner offers a cup of tea or surplus or leftover food, they prefer to serve her in sepapercentage vessels which are exclusively reserved for her. They do not touch or use these vessels meant for her. It is her everyday experience of discrimination at the place of work for which she can neither protest nor resist. If she does so, she will lose her job. One has to take a legal course of action if he/she intends any appropriate action to be taken on anybody who practices untouchability according to Protection of Civil Rights Act 1955 and Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes (Prevention of Atrocities) Act 1989, which is not so easy given her situation.

No public or private school discriminates students on the basis of caste at the admission. Therefore, social exclusion cannot be found at this stage, but later when a child is admitted to school, it surfaces slowly. When Dalit parents in the slum think about education of their children, in the average circumstances, the primary concern is the cost of education. The poor family usually considers a school that does not charge any fee and that is close by such that the child will be able to go to school by itself or along with an older child. Therefore, as a structural fall out, the prohibitive high cost of education that includes capitation or school fee, transport charges, uniform, etc. of a corpopercentage school would exclude the low castes particularly the poor Dalits. The structural exclusivity principle opepercentages though at different levels regardless of the caste; the case of Dalits is pronounced more prominently because a large number of them remain outside the schooling when there is no school nearby that provides free education. It can be said that schools do practice exclusion against certain families according to the expenditure that one has to incur for schooling. What counts social exclusion is the structural inability of a large number of Dalit families who cannot send their children to a school other than government schools which do not charge any fee. They are excluded from private schools because they are unable to pay the tuition fees and spend on other expenditures necessary for the schooling. In this sense, government schools are most inclusive. Yet there can be caste discrimination and practice of exclusion in different ways which the present chapter explores. The poor socio-economic background of the Dalits can also be a source of exclusion in the inclusive government school. The slum background, the

neighborhood, and behavior of parents that have substantive effect on a child form the basis for the practice of exclusion. These issues are studied in the background of the school environment.

### 5.1 Schools in slums

In all the four slums, there are government school buildings. The school at Gopinagar is at one corner, at the entrance of the slum, as a part of the locality. It has toilets and sufficient front yard where school assembly takes place. Children can play in the courtyard. There is also water facility. The midday meal is cooked outside, in open space. The plates are kept in a box. There is no separate teachers' room. There is one regular teacher and four *vidhya-volunteers* to teach five classes. There is a compound wall around the school that gives separate identity. In fact the road that passes in front of the compound wall separates the houses of the locality, and if there is any loud noise in the locality, it can easily disturb the students in the school. Most of the children walk to school from their homes in the locality.

The school building at Premavathipet is quite away from the *Harijanawada* slum though it is situated near the locality. The buildings are old, and one of it wherein midday meal is cooked is in dilapidated condition. There are huge trees on the campus and these provide good shade, but they are also a source of nuisance with bird parching, chirping and making a lot of noise. The dried leaves, fruits, dried sticks and droppings of the birds make the open space so dirty that it requires everyday cleaning which is carried out by the students to keep the campus clean. There is no toilet facility for boys. The school is separated by a compound wall. On the southern side of it passes a road that separates Premavathipet colony where upper caste people live. There are five teachers to teach five classes. As the Dalits live in the *Harijanawada*, the children walk for ten minutes to reach the school.

The school building at Shivarampally is at a distance of a half kilometer from the locality of the Dalits. The school is located on the side of the road that connects the main highway and the village whereas the Dalits live in the interior of the slum. Abutting the primary school, there is a high school with several class rooms, and it has a huge courtyard with a compound. The primary school has two buildings, one of which is the hostel for the boys. There is a municipality tap and also a tank. The

students walk to the school from their residences. There are one hundred and twenty students in five classes and there are three teachers to teach in the school.

The school building at Gopanapally is opposite to the weaker section colony slum situated at the busy road which leads to Nanakramguda and Gandipet. There are two regular teachers and three *vidya-volunteers* to teach in five classes. It has no courtyard or playground. The school begins routinely in a average day by ringing a bell twice with a gap of five minutes between the two, and by the time second bell rings all the students are expected to be in the school. This follows an assembly of all students and teachers in front of the school. The students stand in rows according to the class. The Headmaster gives education to the students and the assembly closes with singing national anthem. Then the students march to their respective class rooms and sit according to their choice and convenience in their class rooms. After the teacher has taken attendance of the students, there is a break of ten minutes during which time the students are allowed to come out or go for toilet and get back to classes before teaching begins. Then after the classes, there will be lunch break during which time midday meal is served to the children. Between 3 and 4 p.m., the children are let out to play games on their own or sometimes one of the teachers guide or help students organize themselves to play. The students are given special education for dancing or cultural activities for performing on occasions like Independence Day. On those occasions, competitions in sports and games are conducted for the students and prizes are distributed to them. These extracurricular activities are organized more commonly for high school students than the primary or upper school students. In this physical and social environment, the practices of the exclusion are studied and discussed.

#### **5.1.1 Admissions and Attendance**

Though the parents are expected to admit their children to schools on their own initiative, the teachers of the government schools are made responsible to encourage parents to admit children to schools as a part of government policy. This is to say that the teachers have to visit the locality, meet the parents, and encourage them to enroll the eligible students in school. The teachers are also required to maintain the record of school-age children available in the locality and those attending the school.

While there are a few parents who can concede their children to class at the correct age, there are other people who neglect to do as such. The critical reason in such manner is lack of awareness about the school age of the children. The children underneath five years are not are not admitted to school. It implies that as the parents do not know about the school-going age of the child, they continue deferring the admission of the child in school. For them, sending the children to school implies some additional expenditure that cuts into the family budget for essentials.. Subsequently, the children will be admitted to school at a later time, as an over-aged child, among among several juniors and, in the course of time, he/she will become misfit in the class, and it is likely to lead to a drop-out case. Or else, the child will be later considered too old to go to school.

Migration is another reason for the children being not admitted to school. When parents migrate, the child gets uprooted if he/she is already admitted to the school, and the child has to be admitted again in another school. If the migration is in the middle of the academic year, the child is not admitted or not allowed for admission to school. The migration does not take place for the convenience of the child, rather it depends on the need of the parents. Even if the child is able to get admission to school, the child may have to face initial problems of adaptation with the fellow students and teachers. If he/she finds it too difficult to adjust, he/she may discontinue the school.

According to the teachers (66.7 percent) of these schools of the four slums, not all school-age children of the slums are admitted to the schools. The main reason of this kind of exclusion of children from schooling according to the teachers is poverty and child labor. The poor families want their children to earn at an early age to keep the wolf out of doors as the following case studies indicate:

#### **Case No: 1**

Ramu, 11 year old boy, works as a helper in a *kirana* shop (general store) near his home in Premavathipet besides attending his school. He is in class five. He goes to work in the shop after school hours, from 5 p.m. to 9 p.m. He earns about one thousand rupees a month. The parents allow him to buy books and other required material from his earning, and the rest of the money is used for the household needs. Text books are bought and donated to Ramu as a gesture of philanthropy by the owner

of the shop where he is working. His father Laxmaiah is a truck driver at Malakpet who says that all his children are studying in the government schools for he does not earn enough to send them to private school. He further says that he does not bother about the studies of the children, and he has never gone to their school to enquire about their studies. His daughter, Sravani, and second son, Sandeep, are studying in fourth class and first class respectively in the government primary school. In fact Sravani was with her grandparents who admitted her to a private school, but due to a quarrel between the families, she was brought back and admitted to the government school.

### **Case No: 2**

Shivanand of Premavathipet says that he discontinued his studies to help his mother. They migrated from Karnataka some years ago. His father died when he was a child. As his mother would sell *ayurvedic* or herbal medicines in the nearby locality to earn for their living, he had to help his mother by buying the raw materials from Afjalgunj and bringing them home so that his mother could prepare the medicines and sell them. Since his help was more important than his studies, he discontinued his studies at fifth class. Later he found a job of more fetching and that allowed him helping his mother as well. Now he works for a shop that has engaged him in fixing number plates for motor vehicles at Moosapet, and he earns four thousand rupees a month. His elder brother also stopped his studies when he was in eighth class because of the economic hardships that the family was facing.

### **Case No: 3**

Madhu, 15 years, is studying 10<sup>th</sup> class in the government high school at Shivarampally. His family lives at Babulreddynagar *basthi*. His father Narayana works as a plumber and his mother Chennamma works in Deeksha Biscuit Company. He says that though he is going to school, he actually wants to discontinue his studies, due to financial problems. As the income of the parents is very low and they are finding it hard to meet the family needs, he is forced to work in the biscuit factory very often during night time from 8 p.m. to 6 a.m. for packing the biscuits in cartons. During summer vacation, he works full day. He thinks it will not be possible to work at nights and study during day.

**Case No: 4**

Ramesh of Premavathipet says that when his father met with an accident, he did not get his salary for three months. Ramesh did not have money to purchase books and go to school by bus which is located at a distance of 3 kilometers. At that time, he was studying in class nine. Later also, he missed school quite often and consequently could not understand what was taught in the class. He scored only 30 percent of marks, and so he was discouraged so much that he stopped going to school. With the help of a friend, he was able to secure a job of server-cum-cleaner in a hostel of the Agricultural University which is close to his home. He is paid Rs. 5000 per month.

**Case No: 5**

Anil Kumar, a 10<sup>th</sup> class student, is a fatherless boy. His family lives at Shivarampally. He works sometimes in a canteen attached to Sameer gardens, a function hall at Shivarampally, to earn for his family from 8 p.m. till early hours of next day. He may not attend the school next day if he is too tired due to lack of sleep. He says that poor economic conditions and working after school affects his studies. Hence, he is lagging behind other students in his studies.

**Case No: 6**

Mallesh of Gopinagar says that he used to often work as construction labourer while attending school due to financial need of the family and earned Rs. 200 a day. He worked from early morning till late night, sometimes till the work was over. After going to the school, he used to sleep in the class room, mostly during the drill periods. Once he had to take some amount of money as advance from the supervisor (known as *mesthri*), under whom he was working. For repaying the money, he had to work for many days and finally he had to give up his studies.

The above cases inform beyond doubt the economic burden of the family falling on the school-going children, particularly after class eight or after 13 years. Either the circumstances or economic needs of the family compel the children to take the role of an earner as well as a student. It is extremely difficult for them to do justice to both the roles. The consequences are absenteeism, irregular attendance to school, and poor performance in school that leads to eventually dropping out of the school.



The teachers have also pointed out another fact that there is sex discrimination wherein the female children are not encouraged to go to school after certain age. The main reason for exclusion of the girl child from schooling is the need of their labor at home particularly to take care of the younger siblings and to attend to the household work. Parents think that the primary duty of a female child is homemaking, and since she has to be married off after puberty, the schooling has less meaning. As she is not going to be an earner for the family, any investment on her education is not going to help the family in any way. Hence, educating a female child is not on the priority of the family agendas.

The number of children that drop out of school is high in slums for the reasons stated above and for others. These children are the source of distraction for the school-going children. The child who absents from school either due to sickness of self or a family member or any other reason gets easily attracted by the drop-out children. In fact, after the school hours or on vacation and holidays, the school-going children as well as the school dropouts play together and spend time together. While the school-going children go to school, the drop-outs while away their time without any productive activity. In such situations when a child remains at home absenting itself from school for any reason, the child becomes easy prey for those who absent from school and move around and while away time. Gradually, the child that frequently absents from school becomes the member of the dropout children who waste their time around the slum.

#### **Case No: 7**

Mamatha of Premavathipet School says that some of the boys of her locality spend their time outside the school. In the mornings, they get ready pretending as if going to school. They actually do not go to school, but the parents think that they have gone to school as they leave home taking school bag after eating breakfast. They in fact while away their time with friends at nearby places. Neither the parents nor the teachers could monitor such children. For instance, Anand of the same *basthi* was dropped out from the school while he was in 9<sup>th</sup> class. His friends Ram, Lakhan, and Anil were also dropped out from the school. They used to while away their time by playing outside the school.

The study reveals that 109 parents (72.6 percent) out of 150 have reported about absence of their children from school at least once a week. It is more in Premavathipet and Shivarampally compared to other slums. Out of the 109 absentees, 51 (46.8 percent) were absent due to ill health, domestic problems and disturbances (43.1 percent), and the rest with transport problem, etc. Three children have reported that they did not attend school due to sarcastic remarks made on caste by upper caste students in their school. They got offended when name of their caste was mentioned in a degrading sense. The only defense that they could make was to absent themselves from attending the school. Ill health is the major cause of absenteeism which can be related to poverty. It reflects poor health conditions in the slums due to open drainage system, presence of mosquitoes and houseflies, and dirty physical environment in the slums that make the environment congenial for the outbreak of infectious diseases. In addition to this, low income of the parents and their inability to provide timely treatment keep the children suffer for long time that affects attending school (Table 5.1).

Table 5.1 Reasons for Absence from School during the last week  
(Percentage in parenthesis)

S.No.	Slum	Ill-health	Transport problem	Domestic problems	Caste discrimination	Total
1	Gopinagar	22 (59.5)	0 (0.0)	15 (40.5)	0 (0.0)	37 (100.0)
2	Gopanapally	4 (44.5)	2 (22.2)	2 (22.2)	1 (11.1)	9 (100.0)
3	Shivarampally	17 (36.2)	5 (10.6)	23 (48.9)	2 (4.3)	47 (100.0)
4	Premavathipet	8 (50.0)	1 (6.2)	7 (43.8)	0 (0.0)	16 (100.0)
5	Total	51 (46.8)	8 (7.3)	47 (43.1)	3 (2.8)	109 (100.0)

The second important reason attributed for absenting oneself from school is domestic problems. As already stated, there is high incidence of drinking toddy and alcoholic drinks which are available either in the slum itself or very close to it. The drunken members quarrel and fight in which sometimes even grown-up children are involved. The young children are also affected. As a result, the child fails to attend school due to disturbed peace of mind or physical assault. Often quarrels take place

between two families. The disturbed social environment does not allow the students to study at home or complete their homework which forces them to absent from school in order to avoid reprimands by the teacher.

### **5.1.2 Dropping out from school**

Several Dalit children are prone to dropout<sup>45</sup> due to many factors such as irregular attendance, low-learning levels, and retention in the same class, etc. They do not move further up in education. Due to frequent absenteeism from school, children perform poorly in studies which cause repetition of the same class that in turn makes children vulnerable to drop-out. This group of problems is called 'silent exclusion' (Lewin, 2007). Dropout is a major problem in Indian schools. The private schools are better than government schools with regards to dropout percentages. The dropping out is a concern for the government when children silently get excluded from school. One of the reasons for dropping out of the Dalit children is their low socio-economic background. The cases mentioned above stand proof for this, as Sivanand, Mallesh, Anil and Ramesh actually dropped out from school. In order to overcome this problem, the government introduced the mid-day meal scheme, which is studied later. Another important reason for dropout is the passive learning experiences in schools. Disinterest in studies in combination with others leads to dropping out from schools. Poor performance, irregular attendance, grade repetition and overage also affect the schooling of children (Mukherjee and Das, 2008).

In the schools and colleges, Dalit children are victims of silent exclusion. They are labeled as 'students of no interest in studies'. With frequent ill health, and domestic problem in addition to the branding them up as 'students of no interest in studies', the students engage themselves in frequent absenteeism, and eventually drop out of school after attending for some time. Many children who get excluded from studies belong to first generation learners as their parents are illiterate. The children of illiterate parents face tremendous challenges in schooling and in learning at an

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<sup>45</sup> In Indian education, we can find drop-out and stagnation particularly among the Dalit students. The studies reveal that not even 40 percent of primary school children are completing their primary education. About 80 percent of the children are dropped out before they complete the high school. The reasons for stagnation and drop-out include failure in an examination, denial of promotion to the next class, etc. The incidence of drop-out and stagnation is more acute among the Dalit children than others.

acceptable level as they receive no support or little support after school hours. Many face the threat of silent exclusion from the school system' (Govinda and Bandyopadhyay 2008). About 26 (17.3 percent) parents have cited various reasons for the dropout of their children from the school. These include the following reasons such as disinterest of the student to attend school, busy in household work, unable to pay school fees, having attained puberty, and ill treatment of fellow students and teachers (Table 5.2).

Out of 26 parents, 8 state economic reasons i.e. their inability to pay school fee. In some cases, the children were actually admitted to private schools, but when they were unable to pay school fees, the children discontinued the school, and finally they dropped out of school and did not join the government school or any other. The following cases point to this fact in this regard.

**Case No: 8**

Leelavathi, a resident of Premavathipet aged 15 years, says that her parents are working as construction laborers. She studied first in a private school till 7<sup>th</sup> class. Due to financial constraints and severe family problems, she was shifted to the government school. She could not get more than 35 percent of marks in her examinations due to lack of time and preparation. She was able to study before and after her school hours, besides engaging herself in cooking and attending to other domestic chores.

**Case No: 9**

Kaveri, 12 year old, a drop-out student who resides in Mohanreddy Nagar, says that she studied up to 6<sup>th</sup> class in a government school. She has a sister and a brother. Due to financial problems, she along with her siblings stopped going to school and worked as coolie along with their parents. Two years ago, she got married and her husband is also a labourer who has studied up to 10<sup>th</sup> class. The majority of the children attend the government schools for the reason that their parents are working for meager wages as labourers, they cannot afford to pay the fees of private schools which is too high for them.

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#### **Case No: 10**

Kusuma dropped out of a private school amidst seventh class. She did as such in light of the fact that her parents were not ready to pay the school charges and transport expenses. She neither had the uniform nor the school shoes. She was not ready to buy all the books. She required private tuitions for English and Mathematics. In the wake of dropping out from the school, she began working as a housemaid in three houses. The following imperative explanation behind dropping out of the school is ill treatment of fellowstudents and teachers.

The following case studies explain the kind of treatment that the students had in school that prompted them to leave the school.

#### **Case No: 11**

Meena, a Dalit girl, who studied up to 8<sup>th</sup> class in a government school and dropped out, reveals her experiences of discrimination by her friends during her schooling. In one case, a boy from the same class continued harassing and eve-teasing the girls before and after the school, sometimes in the class itself. She was patiently bearing the harassment and finally discontinued the school. In another case, the girl committed suicide due to harassment by the teacher. Her class teacher Aruna often used to assign them some work to keep the class busy so that she can go out of the class room for relaxing. One day the girl left the school without informing any one and without the notice of the teacher and her friends also. It was noticed at the closure of the school that the girl absconded from the school leaving her school bag in the class. The classmates of her informed the class teacher that the girl had an affair with a boy, and therefore, she must have left the school to meet the boy. The class teacher summoned the parents of the girl on the following day through a student. But the parents did not come to the school. The teacher kept her bag in the class and pressurized her to bring her parents to the school and explain the reasons of her absconding from the school. It is alleged that due to the humiliation of the teacher she committed suicide by hanging herself at her home. She was a bright student though

her parents were daily-wage laborers. The parents lodged a complaint with the police against the teacher, but nothing happened since then. With the political pressure and influence of the Headmaster, the case was finally closed up without action on the class teacher who was responsible for the suicide.

### **Case No: 12**

Suresh, a Dalit boy, who discontinued 9<sup>th</sup> class, and who is a resident of Shivarampally is working as a laborer in the Kattedan industrial estate to pay school fees for his brother's education who is studying Intermediate. He discontinued the school as the teacher used to chasten him practically every other day. As it took him about 30 minutes to reach the school, he frequently reach late by ten minutes and was rebuffed for that. Infact, the teacher utilized injurious dialect regularly which was exceptionally embarrassing. Not being bright student and getting admonished much of the time, he created repugnance for education lastly quit the school. His parents live in a town of Mahabubnagar District and work as agrarian workers. He says that in the factory where he works, his manager of Reddy casteharass the Dalit workers. They relegate more work to the Dalit laborers deliberately. He says that there is indirectdiscrimination in his work place. Thus, Suresh feels that the Dalits suffer everywhere due to the oppression based on caste prejudice.

The girl students tend to drop out due to the demands of the parents for the reasons stated below. The household work and attaining puberty are the two dominant reasons for a girl child to quit school. The traditional sexual division of domestic labor is not favorable for a girl's education. She is supposed to be essentially the home maker, which requires informal education of cooking, washing clothes, cleaning the house, and taking care of young children. The girl child is a helping hand for her mother. So whenever mother falls sick, the grown-up girl becomes the substitute and carries out most of her mother's work. Even when a sibling falls sick, she remains at home to take care of the sibling which allows the mother to continue her work so that there is no loss of income. The girl child also collects water from the tanker that supplies water to the slum whenever there is no water supply through taps. In traditional thinking, the onset of puberty brings along with it a sense of responsibility on the part of the parents and the child. The parents are reminded of their duty of arranging marriage, and before that she should be properly trained in all domestic

works. It is also their responsibility that she should remain virgin until her marriage. The onus is on the part of the girl also to avoid boys. Since school and education come on the way of avoiding boys, the parents think about marriage. In their opinion, as the girl has to leave the natal home and join the conjugal family one day, there is no need for higher education. The traditional life combined together with ill health and domestic demands often encourages the girl to absent from school frequently and finally quit the school one day. The parents also do not mind if the child loses interest in studies and drops out from school, in the above social and cultural backdrop.

Out of 26 households reported for drop-out cases, the children dropped out from the school in 11 (42.3 percent) cases and the remaining from the college. Out of the 11 students who dropped out from the school, 6 (54.5 percent) are from primary school level, 3 (27.3 percent) at high school level, and 2 (18.2 percent) at upper primary school level. Though the number of the dropouts is not significant at primarily level, it does indicate higher proportion of dropouts after high school which strongly correlates with the economic reasons and failure to cope with high demand of time for studies. The reason is the lack of self-motivation and lack of parental initiation due to their preoccupation with earning their livelihood. Further, the migration of the parents and late admission of children into school add to the noxious phenomena. The dropout in high school is mainly due to domestic problems, onset of puberty, and discrimination in school. Teachers think that poverty and lack of initiatives by the government and the parents are important factors for children dropouts from schools in slums (Table 5.3).

Table 5.2 Reasons for Dropping out from School  
(Percentage in parenthesis)

S.No	Slum	Not keen in studies	To help house- hold work	Unable to pay fee	to Attained puberty	Bad company of friend	Ill treatment of teacher and students	Not applicable	Total
1	Gopinagar	2 (2.9)	2 (2.9)	5 (7.1)	1 (1.4)	4 (5.7)	2 (2.9)	54 (77.1)	70 (100.0)
2	Gopanapally	0 (0.0)	0 (0.0)	0 (0.0)	0 (0.0)	0 (0.0)	1 (20.0)	4 (80.0)	5 (100.0)
3	Shivarampally	0 (0.0)	1 (1.4)	3 (4.3)	0 (0.0)	0 (0.0)	4 (5.7)	62 (88.6)	70 (100.0)
4	Premavathipet	0 (0.0)	0 (0.0)	0 (0.0)	0 (0.0)	0 (0.0)	1 (20.0)	4 (80.0)	5 (100.0)
5	Total	2 (1.3)	3 (2.0)	8 (5.3)	1 (0.7)	4 (2.7)	8 (5.3)	124 (82.7)	150 (100.0)



Of all the reasons, poverty seems to be the main reason for dropout from school. In fact lack of initiative from the parents is in a way linked to poverty. The social exclusion, after admission to school, causes low attendance of the child and dropout from school. The discrimination shall be studied in terms of seating arrangement and caste background which are reflections of social exclusion.

Table 5.3 Teacher's Opinion on Drop-out of children from School  
(Percentage in parenthesis)

S.No.	Teacher	Poverty	Lack of initiative of government	Lack of initiative of parents	Poverty, lack of initiative of the government	All the above	Total
1	Secondary Grade Teacher	4 (57.1)	1 (14.3)	0 (0.0)	1 (14.3)	1 (14.3)	7 (100.0)
2	Primary Grade Teacher	1 (100.0)	0 (0.0)	0 (0.0)	0 (0.0)	0 (0.0)	1 (100.0)
3	School Assistant	4 (50.0)	0 (0.0)	1 (12.5)	1 (12.5)	2 (25.0)	8 (100.0)
4	Head-Master	3 (100.0)	0 (0.0)	0 (0.0)	0 (0.0)	0 (0.0)	3 (100.0)
5	Total	12 (63.1)	1 (5.3)	1 (5.3)	2 (10.5)	3 (15.8)	19 (100.0)

### 5.1.3 Seating arrangement and exclusion

After the assembly in the morning, the students go to their respective classes in files and sit on the floor or benches usually in rows according to their choice. Neither the teacher imposes his or her own rules, nor is there any convention about the seating arrangement. They sit next to each other. Usually, girls sit separately from boys on the basis of their friendship. Generally, the students' seating arrangement is made by the teachers on the basis of height of the students. Shorter students sit in front rows whereas taller students sit in back rows. Occasionally, those who come first sit in the front rows, and those who come late sit in the back rows of the class room. However, most of the non-Dalit upper caste students and backward class students who are better performers in studies prefer to sit in front rows or benches. An English teacher of Zilla Parishad High School at Shivarampally has stated that most of the Dalits and scheduled tribe students prefer always back rows or benches due to fear of being questioned about their knowledge in the subject.

Naresh of Indraredy-Nagar slum, who studied up to 9<sup>th</sup> class in the government high school at Shivarampally, while recollecting and sharing his experiences of school days, said that he along with his friends used to sit in the last benches. They used to chat among themselves while the teaching was going on in the class, and it was a great fun for them. Anil Kumar also preferred to sit in the last bench to avoid the teacher as he wanted to relax because he was working in the canteen of Sameer Gardens during the nights. Same was the case with Mallesh who used to sleep in the class room in the last hours because he was getting tired by working as a construction labourer.

It has been also observed that in about 39.3 percent of the cases, Dalit students sit together next to each other. After the caste, the next factor is neighborhood (24.6 percent). Though the students may belong to different castes, sometimes they sit together ignoring the caste factor, as neighborhood is the next important factor that brings them together. From this analysis, it is clear that caste plays very important role in gathering of students in the class.

Out of 280 children, 221 (78.9 percent) children are aware of the caste of the student sitting next to him or her in the class room. In case of Dalits (60.6 percent), the child who sits next is a Dalit and in case of backward class students, the one who sits next is a backward class student i.e., (32.1 percent), (Table 5.4). In case of private schools also, the Dalit children sit along with the same caste person in 32.7 percent of cases. Therefore, to some extent, caste association is a factor in the seating arrangement in the school.

All students and teachers are quite aware of the caste, socio-economic background, and neighborhood of the students. Neither the teachers nor the students think it necessary to break the caste barriers.

#### **5.1.4 Caste discrimination**

Out of 150 parents, 28.7 percent have stated that their children complained about caste discrimination in school, though teachers deny such a thing at least in the primary school. About 14 percent of parents said that their children have complained about remarks on caste by the teachers and almost 25 percent of the parents said that their children complained about remarks on caste by the other students. Some teachers

have noted that sometimes upper caste and backward class students call the Dalits and scheduled tribe students by caste for fun if not for insulting them. But if the latter attempt to do the same, the upper caste and backward class students would not tolerate but retaliate violently resulting in minor clashes. From this, it is clear that school environment is not free from caste prejudices, and it is part of the social life in school environment as in slums of Hyderabad.

Table 5.4 Who Sits Next to a Dalit Student?

		(Percentage in parenthesis)				
S.No.	Slum	Social status of the student who sits next in the class				Total
		SC	ST	Other	B.C	
1	Gopinagar	47 (62.7)	1 (1.3)	3 (4.0)	24 (32.0)	75 (100.0)
2	Gopanapally	13 (46.4)	2 (7.1)	1 (3.6)	12 (42.9)	28 (100.0)
3	Shivarampally	57 (64.9)	4 (4.5)	4 (4.5)	23 (26.1)	88 (100.0)
4	Premavathipet	17 (56.7)	0 (0.0)	1 (3.3)	12 (40.0)	30 (100.0)
5	Total	134 (60.6)	7 (3.2)	9 (4.1)	71 (32.1)	221 (100.0)

It is not unusual for a teacher to verbally abuse students with derogatory remark when the teacher gets angry by the behavior of students, particularly when a student disobeys education of the teacher. Further, it is assumed by the parents that teachers give the menial tasks of cleaning the premises and toilets to the Dalits keeping in their minds the caste status. They claim that such tasks are not given to the students of upper castes, and therefore, it is quite discriminatory, but parents feel they are helpless.

The caste consciousness has been developed well among the students of high school and above. The students of primary school are not so conscious of caste discrimination that they could react. The caste discrimination and a reaction to it can be noted among the mature students. The following cases exemplify this point:

**Case No: 13**

Ravi, a 19 years old resident of Gopinagar slum, belongs to Yerukala, a scheduled tribe community. His father works as a security guard in a university. Ravi discontinued his studies when he was studying intermediate first year in a private college named Chaitanya Bharathi College at Chandanagar because he was humiliated and discriminated by his classmates on the basis of his social status. Because of the discriminatory and derogating remarks and humiliation, he discontinued his studies and started rearing pigs at home, the traditional occupation of the tribe. He collects leftover food from the nearby research scholars' hostel of the university and feeds the pigs, and rest of the time, he spends with his friends at his locality.

**Case No: 14**

Raju is a son of a Dalit Group-D employee of a government organization. He is pursuing his engineering degree in RRS College of Engineering situated near Patancheru. While narrating his experience of caste discrimination at his college, he says that his classmates of lower castes and Dalits do not mix up with the higher caste students. It may be due to inferiority complex exhibited by the Dalits and lower castes. In fact, the higher caste students avoid the Dalit students and maintain minimum interaction with them. About 110 students (39.3 percent) out of 280 reported that they noticed caste discrimination in their careers.

**5.1.5 Discrimination and exclusion at midday meals**

A large number of students i.e. 110 out of 280 (39.3 percent) have asserted discrimination at midday meal. In fact almost 50 percent of the child respondents find that there is discrimination in school in preparation and serving of the midday meal. Interestingly, 46 students out of 280 (16.4 percent) state that there is discrimination at the functions of the school, seating arrangement and even on everyday interactions (Table 5.5).

The midday meal scheme has been started with an understanding by the state that there is an inter-relationship among food, health, and education. In order to increase the enrolment, reduce the absenteeism, and improve the academic performance and lower the dropout percentage, this scheme was introduced (Arfridi 2005).

Table 5.5 Discrimination on Caste basis in the Schools

(Percentage in parenthesis)

S.No.	Slum	Discrimination				
		Mid-day Meal N=110	At other times N=46			Total
			Functions	Seating	Everyday remarks	
1	Gopinagar	41 (37.2)	1 (14.3)	4 (57.1)	2 (28.6)	7 (100.0)
2	Gopanapally	18 (16.4)	5 (83.3)	1 (16.7)	0 (0.0)	6 (100.0)
3	Shivarampally	43 (39.1)	15 (50.0)	11 (36.7)	4 (13.3)	30 (100.0)
4	Premavathipet	8 (7.2)	0 (0.0)	0 (0.0)	3 (100.0)	3 (100.0)
5	Total	110 (100.0)	21 (45.7)	16 (34.8)	9 (19.5)	46 (100.0)

It was assumed that if food is provided in school, there will be increase in attendance of school for it will relieve the parents from the economic burden. The nutritious food provided in the school will help health of the children. But there have been several problems in the implementation of the scheme. Of all these, the important one for the present study is the caste discrimination. It has been reported in several cases that there is caste discrimination in various forms while eating mid-day meal<sup>46</sup>.

In primary school of Shivarampally, there are 435 students who are in different classes. Out of 435, Dalits are 118 (27.2 percent), Scheduled Tribes are 52 (12.0 percent), Backward Classes are 202 (46.4 percent), other categories are 54 (12.4 percent) and 9 (2.0 percent) are Muslim students. Most of the students are migrant Dalit children. There are toilets but non-functional. For cooking midday meal, there is no separate kitchen or shed available in the school. The work of cooking of

<sup>46</sup>In a study of 122 schools crosswise over Uttar Pradesh, Bihar, West Bengal, Jharkhand, Orissa, Chhattisgarh and Madhya Pradesh by the Indian Institute of Dalit Studies (IIDS) parents revealed that Dalit children confront different types of differential treatment. Twenty percent of respondents said Dalit children were left eager as they got deficient amounts of nourishment, absolutely not as much as children from upper castes. Another 20 percent said Dalit children were not permitted to serve nourishment; 14 percentage griped of particular seating game plans amid dinners. Nearly 13 percentage detailed Dalit children had sustenance dropped on their plates from a separation. Around 9 percentage of respondents said Dalit children needed to bring plates from home so their dishes would not get stirred up with those utilized by upper-caste children. Around 8 percentage said upper-caste children were served first. (www.anticaste.org, accessed on first November 2014)

midday meal has been entrusted to an agency that has employed a team of four from self-help group<sup>47</sup>. They are paid Rs.4 per child per day. There is an honorarium of Rs.100 per month. As per the menu prescribed by the government, each child should be given the meal consisting 100 grams of rice, twenty grams of dal, fifty grams of vegetables, and five grams of oil. Twice a week, on Monday and Thursday, an egg must be given to the child. But the agency does not serve egg, they are instead giving a small biscuit packet worth one rupee. The quality of the *rice* is inferior and the *sambar* served is completely diluted. The Headmistress supervises the cooking and serving of food personally. Earlier Nandi Background, an NGO, used to supply the cooked meal. As the quality of the food was not good, government of Nandi Background was discontinued, and the responsibility has been entrusted to a self-help group of the village. Some students both Dalits and non- Dalits help in cooking and cleaning vessels and the place of dining. Before and after serving, a child washes plates. As the government has not provided the plates required to have the meal, a teacher has sponsored the plates to the children while retiring from the government. The students queue up with a plate and one by one receive the food served by a woman who cooked the food. After receiving food, they sit according to their choice as in case of seating arrangement in the class. Then each one cleans the plate and glass and hands over to the woman who again washes them and keeps them at a place.

There is no discrimination at serving food. However, the Headmistress has narrated her own experience while she was working in Patelguda village near Ibrahimpatnam, on the outskirts of Hyderabad. The midday meal in that school was being prepared by a Dalit cook. But, the students of the upper castes refused to have the meal cooked by the Dalit. She was then replaced by a backward class woman, on the intervention of the Sarpanch of the village. It is interesting to note that the Sarpanch also hails from backwards class community<sup>48</sup>.

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<sup>47</sup> A *self-help group*(SHG) is a village based financial intermediary committee usually made out of 10-20 neighborhood ladies or men. A blended gathering is by and large not favored. Most self improvement gatherings are situated in India, however SHGs can be found in different nations, particularly in South Asia and Southeast Asia.

<sup>48</sup> A study of 'Caring Citizens Collective' conducted in Telangana state reveals that untouchability find way even into the food served to Dalit children in the schools of Nalgonda, Medak and Khammam districts and many such cases are being hushed up the teachers, as reported in '*Hindu*' of 25<sup>th</sup> July 2015.

The midday meal scheme is being implemented at Premavathipet School from the beginning. The work of preparing of midday meal has been assigned to Varalakshmi and Anita on the same terms and conditions of the school at Shivarampally during 2003. The school is supposed to supply an egg to every child with the meal on Monday and Thursday as stated above. However, it has been noted that on Thursday, a small biscuit packet worth one rupee is served instead. The agent cited various reasons such as non-availability of eggs, increase in the cost of eggs, etc. As the government has not provided the plates and glasses required for midday meal, the Headmaster got them sponsored by a donor. It is observed that the plates are being washed by the children themselves before and after meal. Interestingly, there is a kind of discrimination in allotting the plates to the children. The plates are marked with roll number of the child and class with paint. The children are instructed to wash their plates before and after meal and have their meal in the allotted plates only. Thus the upper caste children avoid the plates of the Dalit children. There is no kitchen for the preparation of meal. However, it is being prepared in a room of an old building, by using firewood that can cause air pollution and health hazard to the children. As the cost of the cooking gas is increased, they are using fire-wood. The building is in a dilapidated condition, which may collapse at any time. The children sit in the corridors of the building to have their meal. The quality of *rice* and *sambar* is very poor. The rice is of cheap quality and the *sambar* is diluted.

During the meal, most of the Dalit children (70) sit with slum dwellers (25 percent) who may not belong to the Dalit caste. However, the Dalit children (98) sit along with the same caste person (35.0 percent), and few Dalit children (29) sit along with a friend who does not belong to Dalit caste (10.4 percent) (Table 5.6). If the percentage is calculated excluding those children who do not participate in the mid-day meal, the percentage of the children who sit along another Dalit will be about 50 percent. Thus it appears that caste is a factor to some extent in the sitting arrangement at the time of mid-day meal. This fact corroborates with the seating arrangement in the class where 60.0 percent of the Dalit students sit next to another Dalit (see Table 5.6).

Table 5.6 Sitting Arrangement during Midday Meal

(Percentage in parenthesis)

S.No	Education Level of the Children	Slum Dweller	Same Caste Person	Friend of Other Caste	Not Applicable	Total
1	Primary	15 (53.6)	10 (35.7)	1 (3.6)	2 (7.1)	28 (100.0)
2	Upper Primary	16 (24.6)	40 (61.6)	8 (12.3)	1 (1.5)	65 (100.0)
3	SSC	27 (30.0)	41 (45.6)	17 (18.9)	5 (5.6)	90 (100.0)
4	Intermediate	11 (15.3)	6 (8.3)	2 (2.8)	53 (73.6)	72 (100.0)
5	Graducation and Above	1 (4.0)	1 (4.0)	1 (4.0)	22 (88.0)	25 (100.0)
6	Total	70 (25.0)	98 (35.0)	29 (10.4)	83 (29.6)	280 (100.0)

\* Do not take Midday meal

\*\* Secondary School Certificate

One important point to be noted here is that no teacher eats or even tastes the midday meal before it is served to the students. There is no checking done even by the Headmaster who is in-charge of the scheme. Anil Kumar, a Dalit student from Shivarampally, said that when he was in primary classes, he used to eat the midday meal in his own plate and used his own glass because the plates supplied to them were broken by the students. Since everyone preferred to bring his/her own plate and glass, he would do the same. Most of the Dalit students stopped eating midday meal as they grew older due to low quality food, and unhygienic preparations. But now, since he is in a higher class, he is not worried about it as the midday meal is not served in high school.

The parents assert that there is visible discrimination while serving midday meal. The students of different castes sit seaparcentagely and thus maintain distance. Though some students have friends from higher caste, they sit seaparcentagely during the midday meal. Sometimes one hears comments on caste by some of the students and teachers as well. This observation has been made by 43, out of 150 parents (Table 5.7).



## 5.2 Dalit Parents – Students – Teachers

School is an institution wherein the government, parents, and students are stakeholders, each having different interests in it. The government has its representatives, the teachers, to implement the decisions of the government and interact with the citizens, the parents. The students are the ones whom the school is meant for. In their interactional pattern designed, the teachers have to organize meetings of parents and teachers at the school, besides the visit of the teachers at their locality. Of course, the students not only interact with the teachers every day, but also mediate between the parents and teachers. In this direct or indirect course of interaction, each one forms opinions on others which have impact on the stakeholders' relations and the outcomes.

In this context, the parents, about half of the sample, have complained that their children are being discriminated on the lines of caste, economic position, slum background, and poor performance of the child (Table 5.8).

Table 5.7 Parents' Observations of Discrimination in Schools  
(Percentage in parenthesis)

S.No.	Slum	Observations of the parents			Total
		During Midday meal	Maintaining distance	Comments on caste	
1	Gopinagar	3 (25.0)	1 (8.3)	8 (66.7)	12 (100.0)
2	Gopanapally	1 (50.0)	1 (50.0)	0 (0.0)	2 (100.0)
3	Shivarampally	14 (53.9)	5 (19.2)	7 (26.9)	26 (100.0)
4	Premavathipet	1 (33.3)	2 (66.7)	0 (0.0)	3 (100.0)
5	Total	19 (44.2)	9 (20.9)	15 (34.9)	43 (100.0)

Earlier studies<sup>49</sup> reveal the attitudes of the teachers in urban government schools. Social distance between teachers and children of poor families is maintained.

<sup>49</sup> Vimala (2006), 'Urban Schooling', EPW, fourth February, P 383. Smitha, N observes unfair and harsh treatment of Dalit children in schools. The Dalit students sit in the back row of classrooms. She refers to an instance of a school in Dhandhuka town of Gujarat where a thirteen year old Dalit boy was mortified by an teacher of Brahmin community, as the boy was playing with a few students close to the Brahmin teacher's bike. On seeing him, the teacher called his parent and told him that he was going to expel the child from school. On his

Teachers abuse and use derogatory language, and punishment of the teacher affects the self-esteem and confidence of the children.

Out of 150 parents, 51(34.0 percent) have reported discriminatory practices of the teachers such as verbal abuse against the Dalits and giving tasks including cleaning toilets, cleaning class rooms, etc. to Dalit students. About 149 (66.0 percent) parents say that they heard about the discriminatory practices in other schools. They claim that the teachers are not sincere in their duties.

Table 5.8 Parents' Reasons for Discrimination

(Percentage in parenthesis)

S.No.	Slum	Reasons for discrimination					Total
		Slum Dweller	Caste	Poverty	Poor in Studies	Not Applicable	
1	Gopinagar	1 (1.4)	11 (15.7)	10 (14.3)	6 (8.6)	42 (60.0)	70 (100.0)
2	Gopanapally	2 (40.0)	1 (20.0)	0 (0.0)	0 (0.0)	2 (40.0)	5 (100.0)
3	Shivarampally	15 (21.4)	10 (14.3)	12 (17.1)	6 (8.6)	27 (38.6)	70 (100.0)
4	Premavathipet	1 (20.0)	2 (40.0)	0 (0.0)	1 (20.0)	1 (20.0)	5 (100.0)
5	Total	19 (12.7)	24 (16.0)	22 (14.7)	13 (8.7)	72 (47.9)	150 (100.0)

#### Case No: 15

Yadagiri, a parent whose son Neeraj is studying in 3<sup>rd</sup> class in the primary school at Premavathipet, says that the teachers in the government school do not bother about the studies of the students. The Headmaster comes to the school late and sits in the school for some time and leaves before time. The teachers while away their time in gossips and allow the children to play in the ground. He further says that in the families of Dalit children, parental encouragement is lacking and most of the parents do not send their daughter to schools. They prefer them to be at home and complete the domestic work.

father's tendering an apology in writing, the boy re-entered the classroom. But the teacher threatened the child saying that he would not allow him to study and asked him to do anything in life. Later in the evening the boy committed suicide. Studies show that the teachers treat the poor performers in a negative way.

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Out of the 89 educated parents, 55 (61.8 percent) said that there was discrimination when they studied in their village schools. And, out of these 55 educated parents 34 (61.8 percent) said that the students discriminated them on the basis of caste while 16 parents (29.1 percent) found the caste discrimination by the teachers also. (Table 5.9).

Table 5.9 Parents' Experience of Caste Discrimination  
(percentage in parenthesis)

S.No.	Slum	Discrimination by			Total
		Teachers	Students	Both by Teachers and Students	
1	Gopinagar	9 (47.3)	6 (31.6)	4 (21.1)	19 (100.0)
2	Gopanpally	2 (100.0)	0 (0.0)	0 (0.0)	2 (100.0)
3	Shivarampally	5 (15.6)	26 (81.3)	1 (3.1)	32 (100.0)
4	Premavathipet	0 (0.0)	2 (100.0)	0 (0.0)	2 (100.0)
5	Total	16 (29.1)	34 (61.8)	5 (9.1)	55 (100.0)

Out of the 19 teacher respondents, 12 (63.1 percent) say that the reasons for dropout in government schools is mainly poverty, and 2 (10.6 percent) say that it is the lack of government initiatives, poor infrastructure in the schools, and absenteeism of teachers in schools. Another 3 (15.8 percent) claim that all the above reasons are responsible for dropout of the Dalit students from the school.

About 93 (61.4 percent) out of 150 parents feel that the family activities and habits affect the education of the children. The parents in 50 (53.7 percent) cases say that since all of them go to work, there is no one to take care of the child. Therefore, they find it difficult to monitor the child whether he goes to school or not. The parents could not save money because of drinking and other bad habits in 10 (10.8 percent) cases. They are aware that savings help a child's education, but they are unable to come out from the bad habits developed over the years. About 33 parents (35 percent) say that due to illiteracy, they do not know how the child is studying in school (Table 5.10).

### 5.3 Gender and social exclusion

About 8 out of 19 teachers (42.1 percent) observe that there are educational disparities between male and female children. They feel that the girl children are being excluded from education. According to them, many parents in slum societies prefer the girls to stay at home, to take care of siblings, and to attend household works. Economic condition of the families is also a reason for not sending the girl children to school. Besides these factors, there is another important reason for discouraging the girl child's education, apart from the cultural notion of girl child being the homemaker. The reason is to avoid eve-teasing and sexual harassment which occurs during bus journey to cover long distance.

Table 5.10 Parents' Views on Reasons Affecting Education of the Children  
(percentage in parenthesis)

S.No.	Slum	Parents' reasons			Total
		Lack of care	Drinking habits	Illiteracy	
1	Gopinagar	20 (41.7)	5 (10.4)	23 (47.9)	48 (100.0)
2	Gopanapilly	4 (100.0)	0 (0.0)	0 (0.0)	4 (100.0)
3	Shivarampally	24 (63.2)	4 (10.5)	10 (26.3)	38 (100.0)
4	Premavathipet	2 (66.7)	1 (33.3)	0 (0.0)	3 (100.0)
5	Total	50 (53.7)	10 (10.8)	33 (35.5)	93 (100.0)

Sending a girl child to a primary school is not a problem because the school is located close to the slum, and the child is not generally subjected to sexual harassment. When a girl child matures, the parents find that they are in a problematic situation. They can neither provide protection to her nor control her behavior. The girl finds it difficult to defend herself when the boys particularly of upper castes or male teachers tease her or behave in inappropriate manner. For instance, Leelavathi, a 10<sup>th</sup> class student, says that most of the girls do not prefer to take midday meal before the boys because some of the boys make comments on girls.

Some of the teachers have stated that they noticed some upper caste boys in the higher classes cast preying looks at the Dalit and scheduled-tribe girls due to their good looks. The boys even make indecent comments at them sarcastically. Sometimes

it leads to perpetrating child sexual abuse. It is claimed that a Dalit girl named Padma discontinued her studies from Zilla Parishad High School in 2010 due to this kind of incident. These events lead to increasing incidents of dropout among Dalit girls from school.

#### **Case No: 16**

Mamatha was studying in the government high school at Shivarampally. She discontinued her studies while studying in 7<sup>th</sup> class because her mother asked her not to go to school due to the troubles created by boys. Her neighbor Padma discontinued studies since there was no proper transport facility to the high school situated at Shivarampally. Most of the parents do not prefer to send the girls by the public transport facility, as the buses are packed and overcrowded and in those situations, they are subjected to harassment by boys who travel in these buses.

#### **Case No: 17**

Lakshmi, who lives in Premavathipet Harijanawada, walks for about 25 minutes to reach the school which is about three kilometers from her residence. She was 15 years and studying in ninth class. She narrated an episode that she experienced while coming from the school. One day, some boys followed her and prodded her and teased her making unwelcome gestures and comments.. She was terrified and shouted for offer assistance. An old lady, a bystander, helped her. On hearing this, her mother did not allow her to continue to school, even though she was good in studies. She may continue her studies through the open school as her father wants her to study at least up to the intermediate level. Because of the incident, her parents forced her to stop the studies.

#### **Case No:18**

Divya, a 9<sup>th</sup> class student living at Gopanapally, says that her mother attends construction works and her father sells vegetables on a pushing cart. She says that uniform and books have not been provided by the school in spite of her repeated requests. She could not attend the school sometimes due to ill-health. Despite all these problems, she could get 50 percent of marks in her examinations. She is interested to pursue further studies, but her parents wanted to stop her education after 10<sup>th</sup> class because of eve-teasing and sexual harassment by boys.

The Dalit girls are mostly troubled by the upper caste boys even though some Dalit boys also indulge in such activities. However, it is not uncommon for the Dalit and scheduled tribe boys to experience ill-treatment by the upper caste boys. Some upper caste students make fun and ridicule Dalit and scheduled tribe boys for their accent which is considered improper language. Some of these students are from the interior villages and some come from the neighboring states, and so their dialect is slightly different from the city dwellers.

#### 5.4 Self-Assessment

On enquiry about the performance during their schooling, most of the children percentaged themselves as poor performers (72.7 percent) and 27.3 percent were average students (Table 5.11). The reasons for poor performance are that they were unable to follow the lessons of the teachers; there were also no study facilities at home and no parental encouragement.

Table 5.11 Self- Assessment of the Children on their Performance  
(Percentage in parenthesis)

S. No.	Education Level	Self- assessment of the children			Total
		Average	Poor	Very Poor	
1	Primary	0 (0.0)	4 (66.7)	2 (33.3)	6 (100.0)
2	Upper Primary	1 (50.0)	1 (50.0)	0 (0.0)	2 (100.0)
3	SSC	2 (66.7)	0 (0.0)	1 (33.3)	3 (100.0)
4	Total	3 (27.3)	5 (45.4)	3 (27.3)	11 (100.0)

#### 5.5 Slum Environment - Instrumental for Exclusion

The parents in the slums think that some of the children are wasting time and some are engaged in playing cards. They claim that the proximity of liquor shops and disruptive activities in the slums exclude the children from the schooling (Table 5.12). Engagement of children in playing cards and prevalence of antisocial activities take toll on their education. Presence of liquor shops facilitates the early introduction of alcohol to children as several youths are habituated to alcohols in the slums.

## **5.6 Exclusion from Games/sports and Cultural Programmes**

While class room education and learning constitute one facet of education, cultural activities and games and sports activities constitute another. Besides studies, every school is supposed to provide opportunities for every child to participate in games and sports and cultural programmes for holistic development of the child.

However, social exclusion can be studied at these sites within school environments. These are to be viewed from two angles. One is that games and sports involve the concept of physical touch as well as emotional feelings. Though the former discourages the non-Dalits to play with the Dalits, the latter affects both the non-Dalits and Dalits. Neither the non-Dalits nor the Dalits like to be abused or criticized by the others when they are emotionally charged.

Table 5.12 Slum Conditions for Exclusion according to Parents

		(Percentage in Parenthesis)					
S.No.	Slum	Parents' reasons for exclusion					Total
		Child's wasting time	Playin g cards	Nearby Liquor shops	Antisocial activities	Both liquor shops and antisocial activities	
1	Gopinagar	44 (62.8)	13 (18.6)	2 (2.9)	9 (12.9)	2 (2.9)	70 (100.0)
2	Gopanapally	3 (60.0)	2 (40.0)	0 (0.0)	0 (0.0)	0 (0.0)	5 (100.0)
3	Shivarampally	49 (70.0)	10 (14.3)	5 (7.1)	3 (4.3)	3 (4.3)	70 (100.0)
4	Premavathipet	3 (60.0)	1 (20.0)	0 (0.0)	1 (20.0)	0 (0.0)	5 (100.0)
5	Total	99 (66.0)	26 (17.3)	7 (4.7)	13 (8.7)	2 (3.3)	150 (100.0)



Such charging is inescapable in the games and sports when unexpected happenings occur. While such abuses are acceptable by the same caste fellow, they are not at all acceptable when shot by the other caste particularly by the Dalits. So in order to avoid such situations, boys or girls prefer to play with friends of the same caste. Sometimes, the Dalits do not mind the non-Dalits to play with them, but the non-Dalits do not allow the Dalits to play with them for they cannot tolerate percentage abuses hurled by the Dalits. Thus, in this case, there is conscious social exclusion and discrimination practiced by the non-Dalits.

Besides the above, there is an element of financial matter involved in it. Whenever the school organizes games, sports, or cultural programs, the students have to contribute toward the fund required for purchase of prizes to be distributed to the winners as there is no financial support by the government for such events. Therefore, financial contribution is a constraint for the Dalit students. They do not like to participate in the event for which they have not contributed.

### **5.6.1 Games/sports**

It has been found that only 154 (55 percent) out of 280 students participate in sports and games in the school. The Dalit slum children play with friends from their slums and friends from other slums who belong to non-Dalit castes, and friends of same caste from the same slum or different slums. About 59 (38.3 percent) say that they play with the same caste friends, but 62 (40.3 percent) say that they play with friends of other castes from different slums, and only 33 (21.4 percent) play with the friends of other castes from the same slum (Table 5.13).

Thus, it is observed that the children play with their friends of the same slum in many cases. In about 38.3 percent of the castes, the children play with friend of their caste. As majority of the Dalit children play with the non-Dalits, caste does not seem to be a factor that discriminates them. The children who did not participate in games and sports cited various reasons such as economic conditions, inferiority attitude, and discrimination in participation of games and sports. Out of the total 126 students who do not participate in games and sports, as many as 30 (23.8 percent).

Table 5.13 Friends of the Children during Playtime in School

(Percentage in Parenthesis)					
S.No.	Education	Other Caste of Different Slums	Othe Caste of the Same Slum	Friends of the Same Caste	Total
1	Primary	12 (66.6)	1 (5.6)	5 (27.8)	18 (100.0)
2	Upper Primary	13 (43.3)	7 (23.3)	10 (33.3)	30 (100.0)
3	SSC	19 (38.0)	17 (34.0)	14 (28.0)	50 (100.0)
4	Intermediate	18 (36.7)	7 (14.3)	24 (49.0)	49 (100.0)
5	Graduation and above	0 (0.0)	1 (14.3)	6 (85.7)	7 (100.0)
6	Total	62 (40.3)	33 (21.4)	59 (38.3)	154 (100.0)

Table 5.14 Reasons for the Children's Non-participation in Games and Sports

S.No.	Class	Reasons for non-participation in games					(Percentage in Parenthesis)
		Slum dweller	Caste discrimination	Poor background	Poor in studies	Not interested	Total
1	Primary	0 (0.0)	3 (30.0)	2 (20.0)	3 (30.0)	2 (20.0)	10 (100.0)
2	Upper Primary	5 (14.7)	0 (0.0)	14 (41.2)	7 (20.6)	8 (23.5)	34 (100.0)
3	SSC	0 (0.0)	8 (20.0)	5 (12.5)	7 (17.5)	20 (50.0)	40 (100.0)
4	Intermediate	2 (8.3)	2 (8.3)	5 (20.8)	3 (12.5)	12 (50.0)	24 (100.0)
5	Degree and above	2 (11.1)	3 (16.7)	4 (22.2)	0 (0.0)	8 (50.1)	18 (100.0)
6	Total	9 (7.1)	16 (12.7)	30 (23.8)	20 (15.9)	51 (40.5)	126 (100.0)

children do not play because they are poor and unable to pay the sports fees in order to participate in sports; 20 (15.9 percent) do not participate because they are poor in studies; about 21.4 percent give the explanation; about 40.5 percent are not interested in participation; and 16 (12.7 percent) say facing caste discrimination (Table 5.14). This needs a thorough examination as to why the children are not interested in games.

### 5.6.2 Cultural programmes

Out of 280 students, 113 (40.4 percent) participate in the cultural programmes. Of all the activities, the most popular ones among the Dalit students are singing and dancing followed by skits (Table 5.15). However, a majority students do not participate in cultural programmes.

Table 5.15 Cultural Activities of Students in School  
(Percentage in Parenthesis)

S.No.	Slum	Cultural Activities						Total
		Singing	Dancing	Choreography	Skits	Drama	All	
1	Gopinagar	30 (44.1)	22 (32.4)	2 (2.9)	3 (4.4)	4 (5.9)	7 (10.3)	68 (100.0)
2	Gopanapally	8 (38.0)	5 (23.8)	1 (4.8)	6 (28.6)	0 (0.0)	1 (4.8)	21 (100.0)
3	Shivarampally	6 (37.5)	2 (12.5)	4 (25.0)	1 (6.2)	1 (6.2)	2 (12.5)	16 (100.0)
4	Premavathipet	1 (12.5)	0 (0.0)	2 (25.0)	5 (62.5)	0 (0.0)	0 (0.0)	8 (100.0)
5	Total	45 (39.8)	29 (25.7)	9 (8.0)	15 (13.3)	5 (4.4)	10 (8.8)	113 (100.0)

Among the 167 (59.6 percent) students who do not participate in cultural programmes, the dominant reason is that they are basically not interested (43 percent). Poor background and discrimination are the next important reasons. Participating in cultural programmes requires decent dresses which the slum Dalits do not possess. The students also feel that they are discriminated as they are not favoured against the non-Dalit students (Table 5.16).

Table 5.16 Non-Participation in Cultural Activities of Students in School  
(Percentage in Parenthesis)

S.No.	Slum	Slum dweller	Caste discrimination	Poor background	Poor in studies	Not interested	Total
1	Gopinagar	5 (14.7)	8 (23.5)	2 (5.9)	3 (8.8)	16 (47.1)	34 (100.0)
2	Gopanapally	5 (29.3)	2 (11.8)	1 (5.9)	1 (5.9)	8 (47.1)	17 (100.0)
3	Shivarampally	11 (12.8)	14 (16.3)	23 (26.7)	4 (4.7)	34 (39.5)	86 (100.0)
4	Premavathipet	1 (3.3)	6 (20.0)	9 (30.0)	0 (0.0)	14 (46.7)	30 (100.0)
5	Total	22 (13.2)	30 (18.0)	35 (21.0)	8 (4.8)	72 (43.0)	167 (100.0)

The education system is another area of exclusion with regards to the children of poor back ground, Dalits, and slum dwellers. First of all, not all school-age children living in slums are attending schools. The teachers often label the Dalit children as weak, and thus no adequate pedagogic attention is given to them. The majority Dalit children often fail or perform poorly and discontinue studies. These children are categorized as enrolled and dropped-out. The main reason for dropout seems to be poverty, and girls are more vulnerable than boys due to sexual harassment and cultural practice of getting the girl child married off as early as possible after attaining puberty. They are in fact excluded from education. The exclusion leads to the denial of access to education, high percentage in illiteracy, low literacy and high drop-out percentages. It reduces the quality of human resources and reduces the employability for quality jobs and forces them to fall back on low-earning manual wage labor ultimately leading to extreme poverty. Thus, the schools are expected to provide a platform where inclusive and equitable practices can be effectively taught and encouraged. But the reality seems to be different.

As illiteracy of the parents and poverty are the factors that affect the child's education, the antisocial environment in slums distract the children from going to school. The children assess themselves that they are mostly poor in education due to these factors. The parents feel that the children are greatly disturbed and distracted in the cities compared to village situation. Midday meal can be a good strategy for providing a principle of equality and non-discrimination in the schools and strengthen the relationship among them. But the scheme is unable to reach the goals.

School ceremonies and functions can also be used as instruments towards such an end as in case of midday meal. Playing games and sports is a part of childhood, and its manifestation is to a large extent shaped by the place where they play and with whom they play. Almost half of the Dalit children do not participate in games. They are often excluded from co-curricular activities. Teachers are partly complacent with the poor participation of Dalits in sports, cultural programmes, and school functions, and several Dalit children feel that are left out. In fact, these activities provide opportunities to nurture self-confidence and build co-operative relations and secular identities. Thus, teachers have a critical role to play in making sure that all the children have an opportunity to participate irrespective of their ability, gender, ethnicity, caste, and class as the constitution of India guarantees all citizens the right against discrimination and exclusion.

## **Chapter -VI**

### **Policies of Education and Exclusion**

While the previous chapters analyze social exclusion of Dalits in slums with reference to education in slums, the present chapter aims to examine the existing educational practices in connection with educational policies of India. It tries to find out appropriate measures for making education more comprehensive in the light of the analysis completed in the previous chapters.

The Indian education commission and Kothari (1966) has opined that the destiny of India is being formed in its classrooms and emphasized that education is the main instrument for social change and financial improvement. School education is a procedure where children sets itself up for the future life, and for creating important abilities and skills which are enriched with children to confront the future difficulties of life. In this unique situation, the education situation in Andhra Pradesh should be analyzed.

#### **6.1 Education Scenario in Andhra Pradesh**

The state of Andhra Pradesh is at 28th place in literacy rate as per 2001 census of India. Among the areas in the state, Hyderabad is at the top with 78.80%, trailed by West Godavari, Krishna, and Chittoor. The minimum educated district is Mahabubnagar with 44.41%. Among the guys, the literacy rate is 70.32% as against 50.43% among the females. Among the 23 areas, eight district i.e., Hyderabad, Ranga Reddy, East Godavari, West Godavari, Krishna, Guntur, Sri Potti Sriramulu Nellore and Chittoor have recorded higher female proficiency rate in contrasted with the state's average of female literacy rate. Overall, nine areas have demonstrated a higher proficiency rate than the state's average. They are Hyderabad, Rangareddy, East Godavari, West Godavari, Krishna, Guntur, Sri Potti Sriramulu Nellore, Kadapa, and Chittoor. On the whole, Hyderabad and Rangareddy districts, where the present study is carried out, have performed genuinely very much compared with others. This is very reasonable in light of the fact that these districts constituted the state capital from the earliest starting point of the state formation. These have been historically put in the universe of administration, where a several agencies have put resources into education

sector. however, the fact of the matter is distinctive with reference to slumss which are presently concerned with the issues that the study has unfurled.

Education in the state has been offered through various state, central and individual private institutions, including corpopercentage institutions. So as to improve the literacy percentages among the children, the government has been implementing various schemes and projects. The enrolment in the state amid 2010-11 is 133.18 lakhs in all types of schools over the state, out of which 54.64 lakhs are in primary schools; 23.30 lakhs are in upper primary schools; and 53.97 lakhs are in high schools.

## **6.2 Constitutional Provisions with reference to education**

Education for all pronounces that everybody has a privilege to education. Its point is to allow everybody to take in and advantage from education as a privilege. The Indian constitution gives arrangements to education of the children. Article 45 of the Directive Principles of State Policy of the constitution of India guides the state to give free and mandatory education to all children up to the age of 14. In 1993, in the point of interest judgment of Unnikrishnan, the Supreme Court decided that the privilege to education is a major right spilling out of the Right to Life in Article 21 of the constitution. Therefore in 2002, education was made a fundamental right directly through the 86th Amendment Act to the Constitution.

The welfare of the Scheduled Castes has been grounded in the Constitution of India. The six fundamental rights to the citizens of India empower the prosperity of its citizens, particularly SCs and the disadvantaged sections. The Drafting Committee of the Indian constitution distinguished and perceived the relative backwardness and the long battles of the disadvantaged sections including the SCs, and trusted that these rights if practiced can change the Indian society into a modern society in a socialist pattern. The constitution, hence, gives the therapeutic activity to these social diseases by which the Dalits and others disadvantaged sections have been languishing over ages. So here, it is appropriate to have a glance on these constitutional guarantees.

‘The Article 14 of the constitution emphasizes for equality before the law which makes on the part of every citizen to obey the rule of the law, and the



authorities should treat every citizen of India the same before law<sup>50</sup>. In the Article 15(4), the constitution empowers the state to make special provisions for advancement of socially and educationally backward classes. It also authorizes the state in the Article 16(4) to make provisions for reservation in appointment or posts in favor of the Dalits. The Constitution of India also states categorically in the Article 17 that the untouchability is abolished and its practice in any form is forbidden and the enforcement of any disability arising out of untouchability shall be an offence punishable accordance with law. Further, as mentioned in the Article 46, the state is required to promote the educational and economic interests of Scheduled Castes, Scheduled Tribes and other weaker chapters. The state shall protect them from social injustice and all forms of exploitation. Apart from the above provisions, the Constitution of India also guarantees the reservation of seats in democratic institutions (Article 330) and in governments (Article 335). It also empowers the state to appoint a commission to investigate into the conditions of socially and educationally backward classes (Article 340) and to specify the castes to be deemed as SCs (Article 341)'. Despite all the above promises, the plight of the Dalits remained deplorable and the conditions of the Dalits did not change much, as several studies and reports indicate. All these guarantees should have enabled the Dalits to improve their literacy percentage more than what is now.

### **6.2.1 National Policy on Education**

Since independence, the government sponsored various programmes for addressing the problems of illiteracy, with a uniform educational system throughout the country under the government control. The government set up the University Education Commission (1948–1949) and the Secondary Education Commission (1952–1953) to modernize the education framework. In 1961, the government built up the National Council of Educational Research and Education (NCERT) for formulation and implementation of education policies.

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<sup>50</sup> It is in contravention to the traditional and conventional law that had its roots in Manu Dharma Shastra where differential treatment was to be given according to social status of the groups and individuals.

In view of the report and suggestions of the Education Commission (1964–1966), the legislature declared the main National Policy on Education (NPE) in 1968, to equalize educational opportunities in order to achieve national integration and greater cultural and economic development. The policy called for satisfying mandatory education for all children up to the age of 14, as stipulated by the Constitution of India, and for the better education and qualification of teachers. The approach has been concentrating on learning regional languages, illustrating the three language equation in secondary education. English was the language of instruction while Hindi was the official language. The policy for utilization and learning of Hindi was urged consistently to advance a typical language for all Indians. The arrangement additionally energized the educating of the old Sanskrit language. The second NPE was planned in 1986. It accentuated three aspects in connection to primary education, universal access and enrolment in educational organizations, all inclusive maintenance of children up to 14 years in educational institutions, and a significant change in the nature of education to empower all children to accomplish.

The new policy called for removal of disparities and inequality in educational opportunities between the Dalit and non-Dalit communities. The policy called for extending grants, grown-up education, selecting more teachers from the Dalit people group, impetus for poor to send their children to class consistently, advancement of new backgrounds and giving lodging and governments. Endless supply of the NPE in essential education, the government had propelled Operation Blackboard for further change in essential education. The policy extended the open universities and rural universities to advance monetary and social improvement at the grassroots level.

The 1986 National Policy on Education was altered in 1992. Subsequently in 2005, the government adopted a new policy in light of the Common Minimum Program of the government. Program of Action (PoA) 1992, under the NPE of 1986, presented a typical selection test on all India level for admission to proficient and specialized projects in the nation. This is to deal with changing confirmation benchmarks in expert and specialized projects and help keep up proficient principles. This also tackles issues of overlaps and reduces physical, mental, and financial burden on students and their parents due to multiplicity of entrance examinations.

The NPE of 1986 and 1992 declared the significant awareness of instructional development of Dalits and non-Dalits in all stages and levels of education (GOI, 1986) and emphasised on incentives, scholarships, reservations, recruitment of teachers, location of school buildings and verification to make sure the enrolment, retention and successful of entirety (GOI, 1986), but the situation of Dalit children continues to lag behind the country wide average, indicating a trouble. the 11th 5 yr Plan of the government of India (2007-2012), addressing disparities in education between castes and states focused on the development and empowerment of socially disadvantaged groups. Although the schemes of education are meant helping the Dalits, they may be lagging behind the countrywide common in education. (Planning commission, 2006: 64). The crucial government initiatives that centered on access to schools, improvement in pleasant of training and projects which promoted more call for for training by providing incentives did did not help much in improving education of the Dalits to the level of the non-Dalits (Kabeer, 2006).

### **6.2.2 *Sarva Shiksha Abhiyan(SSA)***

*Sarva Shiksha Abhiyan* (SSA) is a government programme aimed for universalization of elementary education in accordance to the 86th amendment of the Constitution of India, incorpopercentaged in 2002. This, being a fundamental right, makes education free to children between age 6 and 14. The programme was pioneered and being implemented in partnership with state governments to cover the entire country in order to address the needs of 192 million children in 1.1 million habitations. The programme is to open new schools in the habitations that do not have schooling facilities and strengthen existing school infrastructure through provision of additional class rooms, toilets, drinking water, maintenance grant, and school improvement grants. Existing schools with inadequate teacher strength are provided with additional teachers, while the capacity of existing teachers is being strengthened by extensive education, grants for developing teaching-learning materials, and strengthening of the academic support structure at a cluster, block and district level. SSA seeks to provide quality in elementary education including life skills, with a special focus on girl's education and children with special needs. SSA also seeks to provide computer education to bridge the digital divide. SSA also aims at countering the poor quality of teaching. One of the objectives of the SSA is full enrolment of

Dalit children into schools. It focuses on enrollment, rather than completion of learning achievements. However, the approach of SSA has failed to address the issues faced by Dalit children. In addition to this, various states make special provisions for Dalit children by providing financial schemes, scholarships, special hostels, concessions in fees and grants for books (de Haan, 2005). Many of these schemes focus on requirements such as providing text books and uniforms, ignoring serious social factors that lead to exclusion of Dalit children from the environment of education. Caste discrimination and practice of untouchability have been identified to be serious hindrances in this regard. Therefore, it is felt that government should take appropriate steps from time to time to arrest these problems which do still remain as stumbling blocks in the schools. Of late, it has been observed that the role of parents has not been considered seriously in improving the enrolment and retention by the state. It is therefore necessary for any strategy to include parents along with communities in this regard. The 73<sup>rd</sup> Amendment of the Constitution, enacted in 1992, delegated various powers and responsibilities to the locally elected bodies such as *panchayats* to overcome the exclusion.

### **6.2.3 National Programme for Education of Girls at Elementary Education (NPEGEL)**

The National Programme for Education of Girls at Elementary Level (NPEGEL) has focused to reach girls, especially those who are not in school. It was launched in July 2003. The programme provides development of a model school in every cluster with intense participation of the community and enrolment of girls. Gender sensitization of teachers, development of gender-sensitive learning materials, and provision of need-based incentives like escorts, stationery, workbooks, and uniforms are some of the endeavors under the programme. The scheme is being implemented in the rural areas where female literacy is less, and in blocks of districts which have at least 5% SC/ST population and where SC/ST female literacy is below 10% and also in select urban slums.

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#### **6.2.4 District Primary Education Program (DPEP)**

Initiated in 1994 in 142 districts, the District Primary Education Program (DPEP) is spread over seven states. It is assisted by the World Bank, European commission, department for international development of the United Kingdom, and the UNICEF. This programme has to support the state governments in improving access to school and retention in school, increase the learning achievement and decrease the drop-out percentages in a manner such that social inequalities are reduced. Its components accordingly include construction of classrooms and new schools, opening of the non-formal/alternative schooling centers, appointment of new teachers, setting up of Early Childhood Education Centers (ECEC), and setting up of block resource centers/cluster resource centers. It aims at operationalizing the strategies for achieving UPE/UEE through district-specific planning and disaggregated target setting in low female literacy districts and builds on the successful Total Literacy Campaign. Eighty-five percent of the funds for the project come from external agencies through the central budget, and the remaining 15 per cent is given by the concerned state governments. Also it comprises teacher education, interventions, development of teaching-learning material, research and emphasis on education of girls and SC/ST students, etc. A new initiative for providing integrated education to disabled children and distance education for teacher education has also been incorporated in the DPEP scheme.

#### **6.2.5 Saakshar Bharat**

*Saakshar Bharat* is an government of India's initiative to make an educated society through an assortment of educating and learning programs for non-literates and neo-literates of 15 years or more. It was propelled on eighth September 2009. It intends to recast India's National Literacy Mission to focus on education of girls and is relied upon to build the literate population by 70 million adults, including 60

million women. The National Literacy Mission focuses on the most profitable and conceptive age of 15 to 35, which has been enlarged to include from 9 to 14 year old children outside formal and non-formal schooling..

#### **6.2.6 Anganwadi, NGOs and others**

The collaboration of *Anganwadi*, and the community-based child care is a central government initiated programme that provides health, nutrition, and non-formal education for pre-school-aged children. It can be a effective agency in finding school-aged children in slums. NGO or community-based organizations provide child-care governments for pre-school children. Improving the provision of pre-school education is important not only as a means of child development and nutrition *per se* but also as a means of improving formal school attendance.

The initiative of the UNICEF shows positive signs for contributing to children's involvement in the management of the school. It, however, does not include the stipulation of ensuring that the cabinet is made up of children from various castes and will not address issues of social exclusion (UNICEF, 2005). For better performance, they must have good environment and access to childhood development opportunities within and outside the home. The Department of Women and Child Development (DWCD), deals the Integpercentaged Child Development Scheme which is intended to reach children from 3 to 6 year old with learning opportunities and also younger children with other governments.

#### **6.2.7 Right to Education Act**

Education is a fundamental right for the strengthening and advancement of an individual and the society. Amid 1950, India made a constitutional commitment to provide free and necessary education to all children up to the age of 14, by including this arrangement in Article 45 of the Directive Principles of State Policy. With 86<sup>th</sup> constitutional amendment in 2002, the state introduced the Right to Education Act (REA). It came into force on first April 2010. It provides free and mandatory education to every one of the children in the age between 6 and 14.

According to the provisions made in the REA, every child between 6 and 14 years shall have the right to free and compulsory education in a neighborhood school, till the completion of elementary education. No child shall pay any fee or charges or

expense, which prevents from pursuing and completing the elementary education. Where a child is above 6 years and has not been admitted to any school or, though admitted, could not complete the elementary education, shall be admitted to a class which is appropriate to its age. For implementation of the Act, the concerned government and the local authority shall have to establish a school; if not established in a given area within a period of 3 years. It is an essential step towards providing access to education and the Act contains special provisions for disadvantaged groups such as child labour, migrant children, and Dalit children.<sup>51</sup>

### **6.2.8 Educational Programmes**

Various poverty alleviation programmes, including education programmes<sup>52</sup>, do not target slum dwellers but often target households below poverty line. There is also reluctance to provide basic infrastructure and governments to slum areas because rural to urban migrants are often regarded as temporary urban residents.

The government has various educational incentive programmes, such as free supply of textbooks, uniforms, stationery, shoes, provision of various scholarships, and midday meals. Certain non-governmental organizations (NGOs) provide basic education for urban disadvantaged children, including children living in slums, child labourers, etc. in various innovative ways (Chakrabarty, 2002). A variety of basic

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<sup>51</sup> Sonia Gandhi headed national Advisory Council (NAC) has come out with an observation on rampant discrimination in schools that makes a mockery of the right to education (RTE) Act in during 2010. The study identifies seven forms of discrimination. for instance, making some take a seat at the lower back benches or in isolation and segregated organizations are made to sit on bags or at the ground, notwithstanding the availability of chairs and benches, verbal abuse in shape of calling by caste, faith and parental etc, to signify violence and terrorism with the aid of the children, physical abuse by kicking, hitting with fists, bodily and sexual abuse of girls. with the help of mother and father of dominant caste children quarrels with Dalit children, intellectual harassment and destroying school bags and books by using tearing pages and the usage of them to make aeroplanes. It also factors out how dalit children are not allowed to take a seat with other children, serving them last, no longer giving them additional servings, and keeping separate plates for them. unique education for teachers has been called for, to forestall training discrimination as a count number of ordinary like never clarifying doubts, discouraging some youngsters from asking questions, not checking their notebooks and humiliating them for giving incorrect solutions to the volume of suggesting that they may turn out to be as sweepers and cleaners or as terrorists, and they do no longer need high marks to get employment as there are reservations, and that they will without difficulty get authorities jobs (the Free Express Journal, 6<sup>th</sup> February 2013).

<sup>52</sup> 18 teacher respondents (94.74%) say that the policy on education encourages the access to education to all the children.

learning opportunities are at least theoretically available for urban deprived children in slum areas. As it is difficult to retain the students at school, the SSA targeted urban deprived children, including street children, child laborers, and domestic workers<sup>53</sup>.

The participation of socially excluded children, for example, the Dalit has a tendency to be more unpredictable than other children. In order to assess and monitor the capacity of the education system the data on enrollment information, retention, transition, average years of schooling data, and most importantly completion, percentages and assessment of basic learning competencies, disaggregated by caste and gender, other social groupings is necessary (Ramachandran, 2004).

### **6.3 The facts emerging from the study**

The present study reveals the fact that about 42.1 percent of teacher respondents have opined that there is a need for reform of educational structure. In this regard, the study points out that there is gender disparity. About 37.5 percent of teachers say that the reasons for gender disparity in education are related to socio-cultural practices of the parents. And also, the grounds for disparity are inequality among gender of the children (45.4%), lack of awareness among the parents with regard to education (36.3%), and difference in birth percentage of the children (18.1%). Thus, the enrolment of girls is lower than boys while dropout of the girls is higher than boys. The major problems of slum children include illiteracy of the parents, poverty, slum environment, dropping out of girl students, and discrimination on the basis of caste in school. The illiterate parents are unable to provide any support to the children to do their homework. They are unable to monitor the progress of the children so as to take any corrective measure if the progress is not satisfactory. Poverty affects a child in many ways, but most importantly, it makes the child to drop out from school, and the child is later forced to earn to support the family as several of the case studies indicate. Poverty in combination with slum environments impacts on the health of the child that leads to absenteeism and eventually dropout situation. The drop-out children create an attractive environment for those who absent themselves from school. The higher drop-out percentage among the girls in slums of Hyderabad is due to several factors, most predominantly poverty, household work and ill

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<sup>53</sup><http://164.100.51.121/ssa-framework/coverage-of-special-focus-groups>, accessed on 18<sup>th</sup> August 2013.



treatment in school. The discrimination practiced by teachers and higher caste students, as the study has revealed, is another significant factor that has been affecting the education of the Dalits in slums of Hyderabad. There is some kind of discrimination in class room and outside as well. Outside the class room, it has been observed during the midday meal, and in sports, games, and cultural programmes as discussed in earlier chapters.

Again, 14 out of 19 (73.7 percent) of the teacher respondents say that there is a disparity between government and private schools. The factors for such disparity in education according to the teachers are; lack of good facilities (64.3%), distractions of the child (21.4%), variations in fee (7.1 percent), and shortage of qualified teachers (7.1 percent). While eight (42 percent) of the teachers feel that there is a need to reform the present educational structure with reference to slums, 11 (57.9 percent) are of the view that there is the need to strengthen the existing system. About 50 percent of the teachers say that pro-poor policies are to be implemented strictly in schools located near the slums. However, about 37.5 percent say that innovative teaching methods help to control the dropout percentages of slum children, and 12.5 percent feel that there is a need to bring awareness among the parents and students, to eradicate high absenteeism and get higher enrolment in the schools (see Table No: 6.1).

Table 6.1 Suggestions for improvement of slum children in education  
(Percentage in Parenthesis)

S.No.	Grade of Teacher	Suggestions			Total
		Pro-Poor Policies	To Conduct awareness programmes	Innovative Teaching Methods	
1	SGT	2 (50.0)	1 (25.0)	1 (25.0)	4 (100.0)
2	SA	2 (66.7)	0 (0.0)	1 (33.3)	3 (100.0)
3	HM	0 (0.0)	0 (0.0)	1 (100.0)	1 (100.0)
4	Total	4 (50.0)	1 (12.5)	3 (37.5)	8 (100.0)

SGT= Secondary Grade Teacher, SA= School Assistant, HM= Head Master

## 6.4 Need for new policy formulation

The National Policies on Education in 1986 and 1992 undoubtedly brought significant changes in education sector in terms of institutions, achievements, and objectives. Yet another policy is being contemplated to be brought in 2016, and the Ministry of Human Resource Development has already brought out the Draft National Education Policy 2016<sup>54</sup>. It is necessary to revisit the policy of education in the background of new developments at the global level and also meeting the targets already set. At this juncture, it is appropriate to examine the draft policy in the light of the findings of the present study.

The draft policy notes that one of the key challenges in education sector is equity issues. Here it says, “Though substantial progress has been achieved in increasing enrolment in pre-school education, children from disadvantaged population groups still lack access to pre-school education. Children from economically disadvantaged groups are more likely to receive less opportunity to participate in pre-primary education”. Therefore it is clear that SC, ST, and minority children need special attention. The present study makes it amply clear that among the Dalits, the slum children need focused treatment.

With reference to Gross Enrollment Ratio (GER) in higher education, there is provincial contrast besides variation among the social groups. The GER stays as low as 18.5 percent for the SCs and 13.3 percent for the STs in 2014-15 as against national level percentage of 23.6. It in this way repeats the way that there is the requirement for extraordinary consideration regarding the SC and ST population.

Further, the National Learning Achievement Survey (NLAS) reveals that there are differences in the average achievements of general, OBC, and SC and ST students. The general and OBC category students performed better than the SC and ST students. Further, the urban students perform better than the rural students.

These observations of the draft policy of 2016 makes it clear that there is an absolute need for the new policy to specify the stpercentages for the Dalits, STs,

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<sup>54</sup> [mhrd.gov.in/sites/upload\\_files/mhrd/files/nep/Inputs\\_Draft\\_NEP\\_2016.pdf](http://mhrd.gov.in/sites/upload_files/mhrd/files/nep/Inputs_Draft_NEP_2016.pdf), accessed on 4<sup>th</sup> May 2016

minorities, and others. But it is unfortunate that the draft policy of 2016 does not make any specific programmes for these disadvantaged social groups, as in the case of earlier policy documents in 1986 and 1992. Thus it is clear that the problems of slum dwellers are different for educating their children. While some parents cannot afford private school education due to high costs, some children are distracted due to bad environment. There is a need to improve the quality of teachers and education should be made attractive to children with innovative teaching methods and with proper policies.

## **6.5 Policy Recommendations**

In the light of above discussion, the following policy recommendations are suggested. Educational policy should lead to increase the Dalit's educational attainment. The adverse impact may be reduced by sanction of scholarships and provision of financial assistance as the financial burden on the parents can be lessened, but these do not seem to be effective or attractive to the Dalit parents. Though these provisions appear to be attractive, they are found to be not properly implemented. As a result, it could not encourage parents in sending their children to the schools. It is believed that Midday Meal Scheme augments the situation, but it has its own problem which shall be discussed at a later stage.

The SCs and STs face different problems for which they need special attention, and the policy should consider suitable solutions for the problems. These should not be pushed under the carpet of general or common problems. It is also necessary to consider the differences with reference to geographical locations as urban and rural. The urban and rural Dalits may share certain common disabilities, but there are differences as well. Most of the urban Dalits live in slums with inadequate common facilities and unhygienic slum environment. Poverty, no doubt, is a general constraint, but when poverty is associated with discrimination and restrictions on employment, this will lead to different consequences. For example, a Dalit woman can be employed as a cook or an assistant in the Midday Meal Scheme, so that the programme can benefit a Dalit family of the nearby slum, but the study reveals that such attempt was met with lot of resistance. A poorly clad scavenger's child can sit only along with a child of similar status and can play games and participate in a cultural programme with a similar child. The social equity issues may be dealt with the provision of

residential schools, vocational courses, infrastructure for midday meal, and professionalization of Midday Meal Scheme.

### **6.5.1 Urban Residential Schools**

The present study of Dalits in slums reveals that often parents feel the need of establishing special residential type schools in slums to address the educational needs of the slum-dwelling Dalit children. The residential school could be part-time or full-time, which means to say that there would be provision for three time food without boarding facility or three time food with boarding facility. If the school environment is attractive, healthy and encouraging, parents are always ready to send their children to school. Given the slum environment, the thinking is that if the children are kept away from the unhealthy environment, their interest in education and educational achievement would improve. In this regard, establishing special residential schools for slum children in the metropolitan cities would be ideal for improving the education of urban Dalits. Such institutions also need continuous monitoring and special attention. The government may also utilize the governments of local NGO's to establish schools to the possible extent.

These schools should have career and guidance cell besides NCC, Bharat Scouts and Guides, NSS programme that impart discipline and social awareness. Particularly, the career and guidance cell is important for the children, and they should be informed of various opportunities and provisions. They should be informed of different ways of continuing their education such as National Open School, distance education through IGNOU or other distance education programmes, etc.

### **6.5.2 Curriculum and Vocational courses**

One important problem of slum children relates to the parents' inability to monitor their education. This could partly be solved in the residential school system, whether part-time or full-time, as suggested earlier where teachers closely monitor the progress of the child and help in doing homework, etc. Further, the curriculum should also include the Constitution of India which could be made brief or elaborated depending on the level of the class so that the children from the young age will be aware of the rights, responsibilities, and privileges as citizens. Here, it is also

necessary to inform the children about the social equality, and prevention of untouchability and caste or gender discrimination. Legal provisions under the SC/ST Atrocity Act 1989, 2015, Domestic Violence Act 2005, etc. should also be taught to the children along with obedience to civil laws of the country.

Apart from this, introduction of vocational education component in the schools play very significant role for the Dalit families. The education in vocational courses guarantee the parents with the skills for the children that may reduce period of waiting for a proper or desired job for the children. These can also encourage Dalit parents to send their children to schools. This can enhance the potential of the Dalits by making them eligible for different jobs, instead of relying on sporadically available manual labor in the private sector.

The present scenario demands that teachers should make the children feel the classroom as a better place for them than any other. They need to realize that school is not a place for punishment, but for learning new things and fun. This needs a shift from traditional methods of teaching and attitudes of teachers. This change can be made possible by organizing orientation classes to the teachers to make themselves suitable for the current requirements.

### **6.5.3 Implementation of Right to Education (RTE)**

Strict implementation of Right to Education(RTE) with 25 percent reservation to the underprivileged groups could also help in rising the quality and quantity of education of Dalit children. However, RTE can be claimed subject to availability of means to afford this education, but those who have the means are not aware of this. Therefore, there is the need to bring awareness about the RTE among the slum dwellers. NGOs have to be identified and engaged for this purpose apart from the government's efforts to use print and electronic media.

### **6.5.4 Discrimination**

The present study reveals discriminatory practices of naming caste, ill treatment, and untouchability in very discrete forms if not openly. Both teachers and higher class students are engaged in this. The discrimination is observed in class and outside as well, particularly at the midday meal. Even during the participation of

games and cultural programmes, the Dalit students are discouraged while the higher caste students are encouraged. A policy should be devised to control the discriminatory attitude of teachers towards Dalit children. It should be in such a way that there should be strict penalty for discriminatory practices. Funds allocated or scholarships sanctioned to Dalit students are often misused and not utilized. This also amounts to discrimination of Dalits as the benefits of Dalit children are prevented. As suggested earlier, this problem could partly be addressed once the curriculum contains the constitutional safeguards and protective measures are taught to the students.

#### **6.5.5 SC sub-plan**

One important observation made by the Draft Policy 2016 is about the budgetary limitations on education. So far the SC and ST populations are concerned, there is SC sub-plan otherwise known as the Special Component Plan for Scheduled Castes and Tribal Sub-Plan for Scheduled Tribes which may be utilized for improving the education of these disadvantaged populations. In fact the central and state allocations by certain departments such as science and technology, major irrigation, railways, communication, etc. are not made under the SC sub-plan. The reviews of these plans clearly say that these are not properly implemented. Anyhow, it may not be irrelevant to state here that the funds of the departments which cannot be utilized under SC sub-plan or ST sub-plan can be diverted to education for

#### **6.5.6 Incentives for girl child**

With regard to the Dalit girl child education, it is found that very little emphasis has been paid in the policy concerned. In this connection, many people opine that a special policy to encourage Dalit girls' education is the need of the hour. It is expected that additional incentives for Dalit girl children could bring about change in the mental attitudes of the parents in order to send their daughters to schools.

Incentives and awards can be instituted to those teachers who have shown sensitivity and care towards Dalit children in schools. Techniques and methods which could encourage children may be introduced in schools.

### **6.5.7 Mid-Day Meal (MDM)**

The Mid-Day Meal Scheme has a great incentive for the poor families to send their children to school. It has increased the enrollment of children in school. Because of its successes and potential to increase GER, the Draft Education Policy of 2016 intends to extend the scheme to high schools also. However, it should be noted that it is beset with several problems. It is needless to say that the existing problems have to be addressed at first. The general level of awareness towards cleanliness is low during midday meal. Even though there is a scope for improvement in hygiene and cleanliness at schools and its kitchens, it is not done practically.

The introduction of private enterprises to run the MDM scheme is better idea than the governmental agencies in the operational delivery of the scheme. The basic objective of schools is to deliver education and not to prepare meals. If the private organizations and NGOs and Self-help groups are involved in MDM, the government can give a threat of non-renewal or cancellation of contract in case they fail in delivery as expected. The government can act as a disciplining mechanism. In this context, to increase efficiency and quality of the prepared meal government, contracted private parties are required to follow food quality management system, and the system generates income for the food government provider to maintain quality in all its operations. Partnering with private agencies reduces the non-teaching commitments of the teachers.

In some schools, even though separate cooks are assigned for preparing meal, the teachers spend their time in inspecting and serving food to the students. Often the duration of recess is not enough for the teachers to serve food and have their own lunch as well. Therefore, provision of meals to students takes place at the cost of study-time which is meant for student-teacher engagement. So engaging private parties may save this valuable time. Priority is to be given to disadvantaged communities especially Dalits in the appointment of cooks and helpers.

Role of NGOs is commendable in MDM scheme, but the goal of social equity affects from preparing and supplying meals by NGOs. Moreover, serious action should be taken in the event of any form of social discrimination during mid-day meal such as discrimination against Dalit children or Dalit cook. In a majority of schools,

there is no proper kitchen facility and food is often cooked in the open, in a makeshift shed or in a classroom. Aside from inviting dust and dirt, open-air cooking distracts the attention of the students. Using classrooms for cooking purposes is even more inappropriate. Similar remarks apply to storage facilities. In schools where there is no cooking shed, the meal is often cooked very close to the class rooms. Besides its distracting effects on the students, the teachers in these schools also face the sight and smell of hot food. In case, the cook does not have a helper, the students are forced to cut vegetables, fetch water, or collect firewood.

As there is no control or supervision on the standardization of the quality of pulses for preparation of *dal*, it is being diluted and the watered-down *dal* is a recipe for a low protein diet. In this connection, the government may also involve the corporate sector to be a partner in providing nutritious mid-day meal. This is possible as the government is contemplating to bring about a law of corporate social responsibility. The mid-day meal has positive effect on Dalit children and on classroom processes. It is easier to reconvene the classes after the lunch break. In case the children are sent home for lunch, many of them do not come back, especially if the distance is longer. If adequate facilities are available, classroom activity can be readily insulated from the cooking process. Close supervision and regular inspections are essential to achieve higher quality standards. Better monitoring would also help to eradicate petty corruption, such as the pilferage of food by various intermediaries.

#### **6.5.8 Technology - Information Technology (IT)**

Now-a-days, technology has become an encouraging factor and an indispensable tool for imparting education. The use of computers, projectors, laboratories, etc. is becoming absolute need if education in India should meet the global standards. As such the support of the government in providing these facilities to the slum dwelling Dalit children could play a crucial role in rising the enrollment and retention. It is to be appreciated that the Draft National Education Policy 2016 has supportive policy to promote IT in school education. However, a caveat need has to be understood in this connection. IT has become a digital divide across the countries, gender, and development; it is a newly added hierarchy to existing hierarchies in all societies. If the IT should become the part of the curriculum, it is necessary to realize that it should not become digital divide across the social groups.



The SC and ST students should have access to IT without any discrimination; similarly the gender equity is necessary.

In conclusion, thus, an attempt has been made in this chapter to make policy recommendations that could help the slum dwelling Dalit children in the advancement of their education. With regard to the gaps in policies, the study finds two major areas. Firstly, caste discrimination has been preventing Dalit children from attending schools. To overcome this problem, the government is suggested to come out with policies through which it can penalize the persons who are practicing caste discrimination in schools. It is also suggested that accountability is fixed for non-spending or misuse of funds, specially allocated for the education of Dalit children. Secondly, the government is also advised to establish special residential schools in slum areas to encourage Dalit children's education. Thirdly, it is felt that there is a need for a mental revolution towards a shift from traditional methods and practices of the curriculum as well as the attitudes of the teachers to be more human and friendly towards Dalit children.

## **Chapter- VII**

### **Conclusion**

It is a fact that the literacy among the Dalits has been very low at the national as well as state level in compared to the general population. All through the years since independence, in spite of the fact that the literacypercentage is improving,there iscorresponding gap between the Dalit and general population. The Dalits keep on lagging behind the general population. This is because of historic, social and economic deprivation, and its consequent of social exclusion, which is being continued even today. In spite of the fact that the government introduced various measures for the financial advancement of the Dalits by education and employment through reservations, all the efforts as said, the literacy of the Dalits stays deplorable, and the issue of Dalits in the educational institutions is a widespread problem in caste-affected countries at all levels of education, ranging from primary to university level of education. Illiteracy and drop-out percentage among Dalits are very high due to a number of social and physical factors. The historical social exclusion and deprivation is an important reason. The age-old discriminatory practices may still have been practiced in different or subtle ways, discouraging the Dalits to pursue education. The dropout percentage for the Dalit children is generally high, especially at the elementary level. Indeed, according to UNICEF, the dropout percentage among Dalits in India is 44.27percent at primary school level.

The forms of structural discrimination, alienation, and abuse that Dalit children face in schools are so stigmatizing that they are often forced to drop out of school. One of the shocking issues in this context comes from the discriminatory practices followed by teachers. In 2006, the Special Report on the right to education noted that ‘teachers have been known to declare that Dalit pupils cannot learn unless they are beaten’. Discriminatory practices against Dalit children exercised by teachers include corporal punishment, denial of access to drinking water, discrimination in class rooms, and forcing Dalit children to clean on and around school premises.

In India, the context of social exclusion has been predominantly used as a part of understanding castediscrimination and its forms against Dalits. The Dalits are being deprived of right to education, right to property, and right to protection. Social exclusion based on caste is practiced in various forms.Discrimination against certain

castes is seen in Hindu society which distinguishes Dalits as the excluded category. De Hann (1997) and Sen (2000) have employed the conceptual understanding of social exclusion. Buvinic (2005) views that the concept of social exclusion is the inability of an individual to participate in the political, economic, and social functioning of a society, and the denial of equal access to opportunities imposed by certain groups in society upon others. Social exclusion brings about deprivation or low wage for excluded. Education is the worst form of exclusion, as it excludes from other walks of and areas of activities. Exclusion of education causes the denial of the constitutional rights. It is accepted that the Dalits have been victims of exclusion for ages as far as education is concerned. Dr. Ambedkar noted the importance of education in the process of exclusion a long ago. One of the chief characteristics of social exclusion of the Dalits has been their exclusion from education. It is a cause of exclusion and deprivation of the Dalits from social and economic life. They were forced to take up professions where knowledge of letters was not required. It was a sort of conspiracy of division of labor forced upon the subjugated groups.

The data of records shows that the Dalits have achieved comparatively better literacy percentage. In the last four decades, the literacy percentage of the Dalits has improved considerably from 10.27 percent in 1961 to 54.69 percent in 2001. This trend indicates positive development among the Dalits denoting the corresponding to the rhetoric of special provisions made for the weaker sections. In spite of the provisions, the growth of Dalit education has been very slow to the literacy level of general population. The socio-economic conditions were also responsible for educational growth.

### **7.1 Major findings**

The data for the study largely come from the slums known as Gopinagar, Gopanpalli weaker section colony, Shivarampally Dalit *basthi* and Premavathipet *Harijanawada*. The analysis of detailed interviews held with 150 parents and 280 student or child respondents and 19 teachers has been presented as the patterns of education and the practices of learning through the institutionalized education, and educational process in school environment in the context of social exclusion.

Education is of great help in building equality and ensuring social justice. However, The system of education adds to the extant inequalities, as there are issues

of not providing equivalent chances to all in education. The poor cannot afford to meet the costs of education. Children in slums, studying in poorly-equipped government schools have to compete with the children urban private schools, which are better equipped. The poor exposure of the children prompts poor performance, and wide disparities emerge from difference in home environments also. A child from slum does not have the same opportunity as a child from an upper caste home with educated parents of non-slums. In the slums, where there is no school, the children do not get the opportunity as those who have schools in their vicinity. The present study agrees with these observations that were made in earlier studies.

It was found that almost families 86 percent were nuclear with an average family size consisting of six members. Out of the total number of households taken for the study it was found that almost 24.36% families were migrated from different parts of state, and also from adjacent states. One critical explanation behind the power of nuclear family is movement of young wedded individuals to the city looking for work. More than 60 percent of the families have been living in the slums for over 10 years, while 26.7 percent have been living in the slums in the vicinity of 5 and 10 years. These are the ones who migrated within ten years. There are around 12.7 percent of them that migrated to slum within 5 years.

The present study has recognized that adequate, safe and secured housing is another important problem area that still persists among the slum dwellers. Two types of houses were mostly found during this study, brick wall with concrete roof or asbestos roof, no separate kitchen or closed bathroom but one common latrine which is mostly dirty and unhygienic. In this categorization, we find all types of houses in these slums, out of which 44.7 percent are in the category of semi-*pucca*, and almost equal proportion in the categories of *pucca* and *kutchha* types. In Gopinagar, the *pucca* and semi-*pucca* houses are more than the rest of the slums. The data given here substantiate that most of the slum dwellers live in one room *kucha* or semi-*pucca* houses which lacked basic facilities. Dirty water over flowing through broken or cracked pipes spreads foul smell all around. These are the breeding place for diseases. At the entrance of each room utensils, cooking materials, buckets and drums (either filled or empty) are kept. Used utensils with stale left over foods and even garbage are

found to be heaped here and there which gets scattered by street dogs and cats and also spreads foul rotten smell.

The educational background of the households indicates that 40 percent of them are illiterates. While 6.7 percent have studied up to 5<sup>th</sup> class, 40 percent have studied classes between 6<sup>th</sup> and 9<sup>th</sup> classes, and about 20 percent have studied up to 10<sup>th</sup> class. In the rest of the households, 6.7 percent are studying intermediate. Thus majority of the students is dropped out after 5<sup>th</sup> class.

As studies indicate that educated parents play significant role in the education of their children, it is examined the educational status of the parents of the children. As mentioned earlier, the literacy level in the slums is low and it implies the role of parents in the education of their child is at the minimum level. It is observed from the slums that the Dalit parents are more concerned about meeting the minimum needs, keeping hunger away, and clothing them properly than educating their children. However, they do not deny the need of education for their children. They earnestly desire that the children should be educated, but they do not have adequate means. Often, they attribute lack of education as cause for their sufferings. They wish that at least their children should be able to get a better job and decent life.

Occupation, income and education of the slum dwellers it was found that majority of the head of the families were engaged in elementary occupation where income is not only poor but also uncertain and depends upon availability of work. They were hawker, delivery man, porter, sweeper, van puller, rickshaw puller, daily wage labourer, domestic helper, cobbler, people engaged in stitching and embroidery work and so on. Because of lack of education, most of the parents are working as labourers or manual workers constituting 66.8 percent; 18.2 percent of them are engaged in self-employment; 8.2 percent are in government; and 5.7 percent are in small business. As labour, they are engaged mostly in construction works; some work in Professor Jayashankar Telangana State Agricultural University farms as agriculture workers; and some are unskilled workers in the nearby industries such as Aluminum Industries. Slum dwellers are the most economically deprived category. Their income levels influence the education of the children.

Among various problems faced by the slum children in achieving primary education, most significant are large family size, poor living condition, poor health, unfavourable home conditions, and surrounding environment, migration, language problem, unstable occupation and economic condition, poor parental educational background and school environment. A large family size implies higher dependency ratio. In a family consisting of father, mother and three or four children of school going age where father is the only earning member, working in an unorganized sector with poor and unstable income and where all other family members are economically dependent on him then meeting the bare basic necessities becomes quite a tough job. In such situation the chance of providing quality education to their children or even helping them to continue their studies gets affected.

Monthly income of the total number of households taken for study were broadly classified into four groups. It is found that the slum dwellers earn somewhere between Rs 50 and Rs 500 per day, and this amount depends on the number of people in the family that earn and the type of work they do. Among 150 parents, 22.7 percent earn wages between Rs.50 and Rs. 200 per day; 42 percent earn up to Rs. 300; 18.7 percent earn up to Rs. 500; and 16.7 percent earn more than Rs. 500. It is noted here that these incomes are not constant; it varies depending on availability of work and health condition of the worker.

For demarcating poverty line, the economic status as assessed by the municipality, the slum dwellers are holders of white cards, below poverty line (BPL) cards as well as pink cards. Majority of them, i.e. about 87.3 percent, are white card holders. However, there are some who do not have any card and a few have applied for the same. This is the category of people who recently migrated to the slum or newly established homes.

According to the teachers (66.7 percent) of these schools of the four slums, not all school-age children of the slums are admitted to the schools. The main reason of this kind of exclusion of children from schooling according to teachers is poverty and child labor. The poor families want their children to earn in their early age to keep their hunger away.

The poor family usually considers a school that does not charge any fee and that is close by so that the child will be able to go to school by itself or along with an

older child. Therefore, as a structural fall out, the prohibitive high cost of education that includes capitation or school fee, transport charges, uniform and so on, thus the private schools are excluding the low castes particularly poor Dalits. The social exclusion at different levels regardless of the caste, but the case of the Dalits is pronounced more prominently because a large number of them remain outside the schooling when there is no nearby school that provides free education. It can be said that schools practice exclusion against certain families according to the expenditure that one has to incur for schooling. It is quite average and it works on natural principle. But what counts social exclusion is the structural inability of a large number of Dalit families who cannot send their children to a school other than government schools which do not charge anything. They are excluded from private schools because they are unable to pay the tuition fee and spend on other expenditure necessary for schooling. In this sense, government schools can be considered to be the most inclusive. Yet there are caste discrimination and practice of exclusion in different ways. A general complaint made by teachers of primary schools was that the infrastructure itself is the biggest hindrance to teaching-learning. In the large number of cases, the school environment was found to be not learner friendly for children of Dalits in slums.

Some parents who were slightly educated on the other hand opined that quality education is not provided in government schools and so they prefer private schools. Few cases were found where parents admitted specially their sons to private English medium schools- not the so called renowned ones but those that have cropped up like mushrooms in large numbers in almost each and every locality at the initial stage then after sometime either fails to bear the expenses and other requirements of such schools and forced their ward to discontinue their studies or the child himself fails to cope up and keep pace with the school and discontinued their studies and gets drop-out. Major reasons identified by the teachers, for drop-out and irregular attendance were economic, domestic activities, migration, lack of suitable home environment and health related problems.

Though the Dalit parents are expected to admit their children to school on their own initiative, the teachers of the government schools are made responsible as a part of government policy to encourage parents to admit children to schools. This is to say that the teachers are supposed to visit the locality, meet the parents, and encourage

to enroll the eligible students in the school. The teachers are also required to maintain the records about the number of school-age children available in the locality and those who attend school.

A large number of children residing in slums are first generation learners and even in those cases where parents are just literate the children hardly gets any help from parents regarding studies at home. There is also a firm belief among slum dwellers that children cannot learn from school alone. They need additional support and the best option available is that of private tutor. This is again an economic burden on parents. Education of mother has a significant influence on school enrolment of children. Both fathers' and mothers' education have a positive and statistically significant effect on school enrolment.

The teachers have also pointed out the fact that there is gender disparity wherein the female children are not encouraged to go to school after a certain age. The main reason for exclusion of the girl child from schooling is the need of their labor at home particularly to take care of the younger siblings, and to attend to the household chores. Parents think that the primary duty of a female child is to learn to become a home-maker, and since she is to be married off after puberty, the schooling has less meaning from the perspective of the parents. As she is not going to be an earner for the family, investment on her education does not help the family in any way. Hence, educating a female child is not on the priority of the family agendas.

A peaceful environment for concentrating and studying at home is almost missing. Each category of houses usually had a tap connected with municipal corporation water supply or in a centrally located common place in case of clustered rooms which all the inhabitants of that premises uses for washing, cleaning, bathing and for all other purposes. Since corporation water is not supplied throughout the day but only for a fixed time it is a routine practice for the residents to stand in long queue and wait for their chance to use or collect tap water. Regularly it becomes the noisiest part of the premises during the water supply. Usually most household have a tendency to collect drinking water from nearby tap. Everyday collecting water or standing in long queue are usually done by the children or especially by the female members of the family. Small rooms, without any ventilation has been made to accommodate all family members and their belonging - bedding, clothes, utensils buckets, drums,



cooking ingredients and whatever else they possess. In these small rooms on an average six people resides. Different activities are carried on simultaneously in the room like chatting, cooking, listening to music, watching television, cutting vegetables, grinding spices and so on. Such condition is not at all favorable for studying at home.

Most of the children were found to be under nourished and suffered from various diseases due to malnutrition and because of parental unawareness regarding health and hygiene. Some of the adult male members are addicted to alcohol or gambling, thus spending most of the money from whatever little they earn thus depriving the basic necessities of other family members. Under the influence of alcohol, quarrelling using abusive and slang language, beating wife and children is a common daily affair in almost every household. Children very naturally and spontaneously get accustomed with, learn and start using such language and develop a violent and hostile attitude towards others which are often reflected in their behavior with their siblings, playmates or classmates. Specially inter-state migrating families have a general tendency to visit their native place at regular interval along with their family for months or days at a stretch to attend different social ceremonies, festivals or during harvest season which in turn not only hampers their children's education but also their attendance level in school drops down. These children faces problem in understanding what is being taught in school. However they cannot express these problems at home. This in turn affects their performance in school and they gradually losses their interest in studies and becomes irregular in attending school and finally gets dropped out.

Dalit children's right to education free from discrimination is undermined by the treatment they receive in school. Teachers maintain and impart discriminatory attitudes in their classrooms sometimes, forcing children to sit in the back of the room, segregating Dalit children from non-Dalits during lunchtime, forbidding non-Dalit children from sitting next to Dalit children or touching their plates, intentionally limiting Dalit student participation in class, subjecting them to verbal abuse and grading them with low marks. There are instances where Dalit students were made to sit and eat separately.

Out of 150 parents, 51(34.0 percent) have reported discriminatory practices of the teachers such as verbal abuse against the Dalits and giving tasks including cleaning toilets, cleaning class rooms, etc. to Dalit students. About 149 (66.0 percent) parents say that they heard about the discriminatory practices in other schools. They claim that the teachers are not sincere in their duties.

One of the basic objectives of education i.e. all round development of the child can never be provided in such schools. Parents prefer to admit their children mostly to those schools which provide food. However, a large number of students i.e. 110 out of 280 (39.3 percent) have asserted discrimination at midday meal. In fact almost 50 percent of the child respondents find that there is discrimination in school in preparation and serving of the midday meal. During the meal, most of the Dalit children (70) sit with slum dwellers (25 percent) other than the Dalit caste. However, the Dalit children (98) sit along with the same caste person (35.0 percent), and few Dalit children (29) sit along with a friend who does not belong to Dalit caste (10.4 percent). If the percentage is calculated excluding those children who do not participate in the mid-day meal, the percentage of the children who sit along another Dalit will be about 50 percent. Thus it appears that caste is a factor to some extent in the sitting arrangement at the time of mid-day meal. This fact corroborates with the seating arrangement in the class where 60.0 percent of the Dalit students sit next to another Dalit. The parents assert that there is visible discrimination while serving midday meal. The students of different castes sit separately and thus maintain distance. Though some students have friends from higher caste, they sit separately during the midday meal. Sometimes one hears comments on caste by some of the students and teachers as well. This observation has been made by 43, out of 150 parents.

This study reveals the formation of friend circles among the students is influenced by caste of children and friendship is formed with a sense of caste consciousness. The children have complained that the caste discrimination is practiced implicitly in the classroom and the peer group appears friendly in school, but the attitudes of upper caste children change at outside the school. Children of upper castes do not welcome Dalit children to their homes for playing. In this manner, there is no social interaction outside the school. It can be reasoned that these discrimination in schools and discrimination dishearten and estrange Dalit children, adding to their high dropout percentage. It is also, reported that the upper caste boys comment and accost against the Dalit and scheduled tribe girls, while they are coming back from school. This has resulted in discontinuation from school or college.

The concept of social exclusion is the key to analyze the situation of the Dalits. The wider phenomenon of social exclusion needs to be studied in order to identify all the factors and conditions that maintain the power structure of the caste system. The conclusion of this study is that discrimination and exclusion based on caste is a hurdle for Dalit children affects their life and career. Using qualitative research methods, this study was able to explore that there are multiple dimensions and processes of discrimination in dimensions of untouchability: exclusion, humiliation and exploitation. It was observed that discrimination persists in modified forms. Therefore, one must cautious of new forms of discrimination. Dalit children carry the stigma attached to them and they are reminded of their status in statements such as Dalits or SCs which ensure that they never overstep boundaries that are drawn by the dominant caste. This creates a fear in the life of Dalit children.

The social exclusion is examined at the sites within school environment from two angles. One is that games and sports involve the concept of physical touch as well as emotional feelings. Though the former discourages the non-Dalits to play with the Dalits, the latter affects both the non-Dalits and Dalits. Neither the non-Dalits nor the Dalits like to be abused or criticized by the others when they are emotionally charged. Such charging is inescapable in the games and sports when unexpected happenings occur. While such abuses are acceptable by the same caste fellow, they are not at all acceptable when shot by the other caste particularly by the Dalits. So in order to avoid such situations, boys or girls prefer to play with friends of the same caste. Sometimes, the Dalits do not mind the non-Dalits to play with them, but the non-Dalits do not allow the Dalits to play with them for they cannot tolerate abuses hurled by the Dalits. Thus, in this case, there is conscious social exclusion and discrimination practiced by the non-Dalits.

Besides the above, there is an element of financial matter involved in it. Whenever the school organizes games, sports, or cultural programs, the students have to contribute toward the fund required for purchase of prizes to be distributed to the winners as there is no financial support by the government for such events. Therefore, financial contribution is a constraint for the Dalit students. They do not like to participate in the event for which they have not contributed. The study shows only 154 (55 percent) out of 280 students participate in sports and games in the school. The

Dalit slum children play with friends from their slums and friends from other slums that belong to non-Dalit castes and friends of same caste from the same slum or different slums. About 59 (38.3 percent) say that they play with the same caste friends, but 62 (40.3 percent) say that they play with friends of other castes from different slums, and only 33 (21.4 percent) play with the friends of other castes from the same slum.

The problem of irregular attendance due to migration can be taken care of if the teachers and school authorities make the parents aware about the importance of sending children regularly to schools and to encourage them to visit their native place during vacations/holidays only so that their children's studies at school will remain unhampered. To overcome the problems related to acute shortage of teacher can be overcome through recruitment of new teachers as early as possible to fill the vacant posts. Attempt could be made to link primary schools area or locality and medium wise and faculty exchange programme can be undertaken within these groups of schools. Thus, sharing of knowledge, experience and expertise can effectively be used for removing boredom and can help to motivate both the teacher and the student in their respective work/activities. Other important cause for drop-out for boys was found to be lack of interest in studies while among girls it was found to be domestication and household work. Domestic work and sibling care were the chief causes of girls dropping out. Though it took about sixty three years after independence of India to make primary education a fundamental right, but on the other hand it is absolutely true that mere passing of an act will not change the existing scenario of elementary education overnight. What is required more is micro level need based planning, proper implementation of plans under strict monitoring system, evaluating its progress at regular interval and on its basis modifying and updating the strategies if required so that ultimately the very purpose for which it has been made is fulfilled as early as possible. Genuine initiative has to be taken at all levels to overcome the problems and to provide quality education to all. The basic problem from which all other problems crop up in these slums is acute poverty.

Instead of neglecting and underestimating the innate potentialities of the under-privileged children, teacher must develop a positive attitude while teaching as well as while dealing with them in day to day affairs with dignity as this will in turn

help these children to develop confidence and further motivate them to overcome various problems of life in a more challenging manner. Dependency of children on private tuition can be reduced if the teachers prepare the lessons entirely within the school hours. No home work other than practice work is to be given. Improvement of physical facilities in terms of separate class-rooms for each class, separate toilet for girls, provision for good library should be made. Schools should be made more attractive and joyful learning environment should be provided. Computer assisted learning programme can be undertaken. This will not only attract the interest of the students but they will also enjoy learning through it.

It is suggested that schools have to be proactive and create a space for reflection on such inequalities. In addition to changing the most overt forms of discrimination such as separate seating, there must be attempts to change these internalized perceptions. It is crucial to study every aspect of Dalit children's life. However, it is a key to understand how children perceive acts of discrimination and how they negotiate with the world around them. Furthermore, to tackle discrimination in school. Without this holistic approach, one overlooks important power dynamics that infiltrate the boundaries of school.

The study found that children are being excluded, have negative feelings such as powerlessness. Although the quality of primary education is repeatedly emphasized in educational reform, an improved quality must include the principle of non-discrimination in the curriculum in classroom teaching and in teacher education. Only then can schools be inclusive spaces to create forces of societal changes for the children of all caste backgrounds. Although poverty is a major impediment in the education of Dalit children, the present policy of providing incentives does not address the issue of the constraints of poverty. The shift of policies for alternate and innovative schools for Dalit children need serious attention and ensure that those schools do not become inferior for those who have been educationally deprived.

The study reveals discriminatory practices of naming caste, ill-treatment, untouchability in very discrete forms if not openly. Both teachers and higher class students are engaged in this. The discrimination is observed in class and outside as well, particularly during the midday meal. Even in the participation of games and cultural programmes, the Dalit students are discouraged while the upper caste students

are encouraged. A policy should be devised to control the discriminatory attitude of teachers towards Dalit children. It should be in such a way that there should be strict penalty for discriminatory practices. Funds allocated or scholarships sanctioned to Dalit students are often misused and not utilized. This also amounts to discrimination of Dalits as the benefits of Dalit children are prevented from reaching them.

The present study shows the reasons for dropping out of the Dalit children from schools in Hyderabad slums. They are: (a) The child being required to help at home, (b) Poverty and failure to manage the cost of education, (c) lack of awareness of the parents for education of their children (d) discrimination in school environment and (f) gender disparity. Findings of the present research are peculiar and have their educational and social and administrative implications. Some suggestions include:

Periodical public campaigns against discrimination in education should be conducted, so that discrimination is reflected and reinforced in society and schools, proactive efforts are needed to change this mindset and school education. Pre-service training, in-service training and all other areas of teacher education must include special modules on diversity and inclusion so that teachers are sensitized to the challenges faced by Dalit children in slums, and can address them accordingly. An in-depth understanding of the realities of the situation faced by marginalized children at the community and school levels, including an identification of all the points of exclusion, from the level of the household up to the education system, is required. The government must set up high quality residential schools and hostels at the secondary school level and upwards for Dalit children at the block or district levels. It is necessary to make education and schooling under the government system truly secular, without imposing any religious rituals, dominant festivals or practices to ensure all children participate equally in schooling processes.

This may be achieved by giving representation to the parents of Dalit children in the school management committees to ensure their concerns and aspirations are brought into the School development plans. State government should provide an adequate number of seasonal hostels for migrant children at their place of residence, so that they are not compelled to leave school and migrate with their parents.

As suggested earlier, this problem could partly be addressed once the curriculum contains the constitutional safeguards, and protective measures are taught to the students. The caste discrimination has been preventing Dalit children from attending schools. To overcome this problem, the government has been suggested to come out with policies through which it can penalize the persons who are practicing caste discrimination in schools. It is also suggested that accountability is fixed for non-spending or misuse of funds specially allocated for the education of Dalit children. The government is also advised to establish special residential schools in slum areas to encourage Dalit children's education. There is a need for mental revolution, a shift from traditional methods and practices of the curriculum, and a change in the attitudes of the teachers to a more human and friendly towards Dalit children. By taking the soul of the Indian constitution, the teachers and the government of the schools ought to be shown that the infringement of the privilege to uniformity and ideal against exclusion and discrimination would pull in strict punitive activity.

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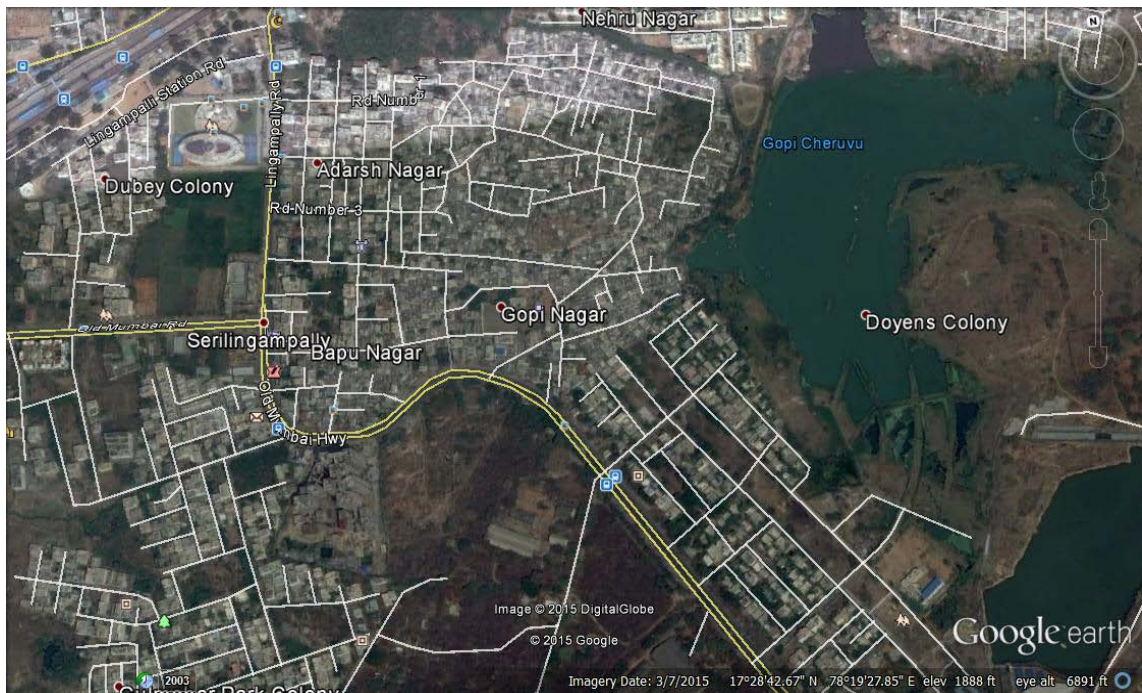
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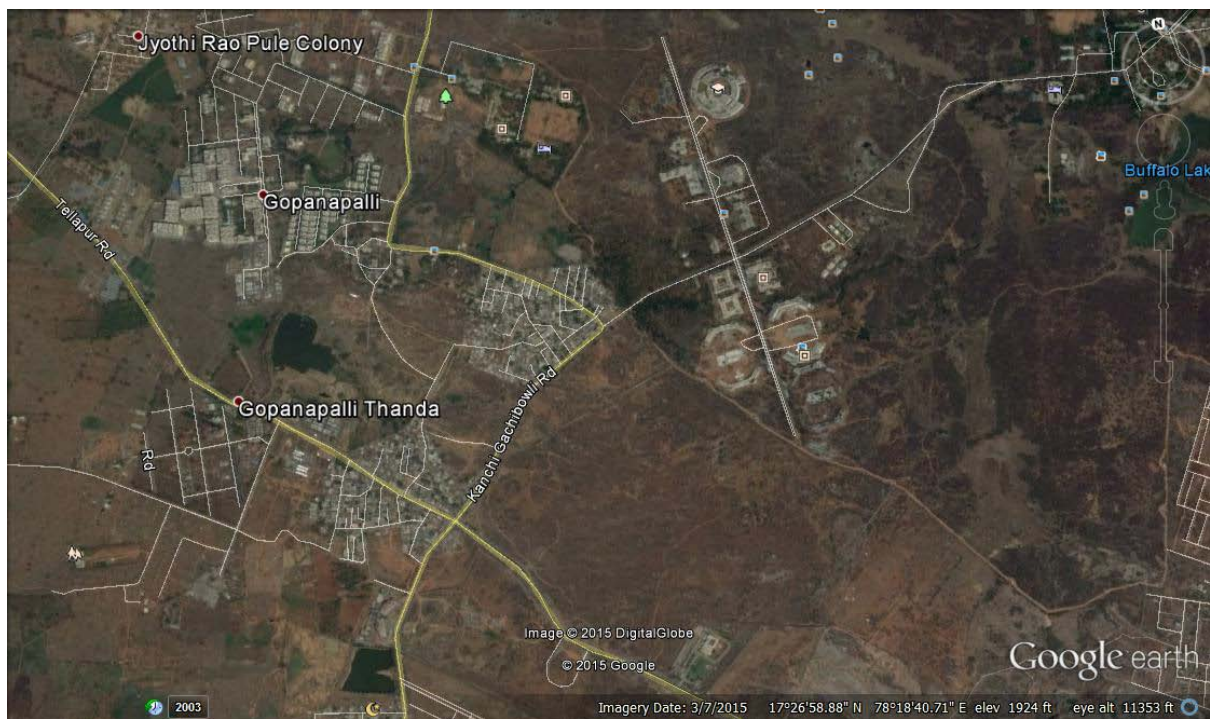
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**Map-1, Map of Gopi Nagar**



**Map-2, Map of Gopanapalli**





**Map-3, Map of Sivarampalli**



**Map-4, Map of Premavathi Pet**





**Plate-1, Primary School in Gopi Nagar**



**Plate-2, High School in Shivarampally**





Plate-3, Primary School in Premavathi Pet



Plate-4, Primary School in Gopanapalli



**Plate-5, Surroundings of Premavathi Pet Slum**



**Plate-6, A Toddy Shop Located in Premavathi Pet Slum**





**Plate-7, Children Cleaning the school premises after Mid-day-Meal**



**Plate-8, Children in Slum Fetching Drinking Water from a Water Storage Tank**



**Plate-9, A Girl cleaning the utensils at her home by absenting the school**



**Plate-10, A Boy whiling away the time at outside of the school**





**Plate-11, Boys playing Cards at their home in Shivarampally slum**



**Plate-12, Aslum boy carrying water to his home**



**Plate-13, A house in Shivarampally slum**



**Plate-14, A house in Gopinagar slum**





**Plate-15, A house without proper protection, located in Premavathipet Sum**



**Plate-16, Girls toilet in a school near Shivarampally slum**



Plate-17, A small room is being used as bathroom in Premavathipet slum

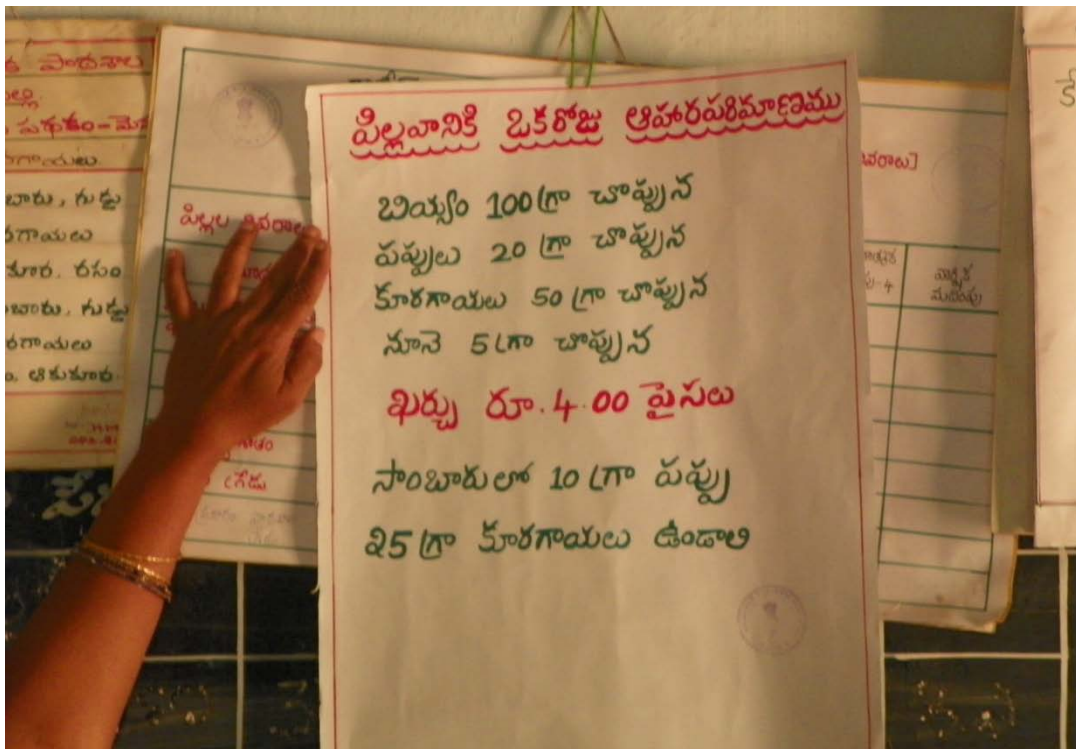


Plate 18, Menu of mid-day meal displayed in a school





**Plate-19, A graveyard located beside Premavathipet slum**



**Plate- 20,A small temple in Shivarampalli slum**