CHAPTER – I
INTRODUCTION

1.1. An overview

The study is an attempt to assess the educational status of the youths living in the slum areas of Guwahati City of Assam. Different aspects of education such as dropout rate, out of school youth, economic engagement among the youths and factors affecting education was covered in this study. This study also tries to analyse the parent’s attitude towards education of their children. This study has been conducted in the three slum areas viz. Arikati Basti Harijan Colony, Fatasil Ambari Harijan Colony and Punjabi Patty Harijan Colony of Guwahati City situated under Kamrup Metropolitan District.

The word “Education” has a Latin derivation. In Latin the word “Educere” means “to draw out”, “to bring up”, “to foster”. If this implication is recognized then education becomes the process of drawing out the dormant qualities from within rather than imposition of some qualities from without. Therefore, the appropriate function of education is to bring up or to facilitate the unfolding of the innate capacities and potentialities of the human child. Pestalozzi remarked “All true educative instruction must be drawn out of the pupils themselves and must be born with them” (Das, 2004). Mahatma Gandhi also said “By education I mean an all-round drawing out of the best in the child and man – body, mind and soul.” According to Plato the process of education starts from within and not from without. (ibid., 2004)

Education is a process which is deliberately planning to train a child to lead up a group life and to effectively adjust to the environment. It refines and culturizes the
child. Redden therefore says, “Education is deliberate and systematic influence, exerted by a mature person upon the immature, through instruction, discipline and harmonious development of physical, intellectual, aesthetic, social and spiritual powers of the human being, according to individual and social needs (Cited in Das, 2000-2001).” Thus, a child receives education according to his own needs and the needs of the society in which he lives. The child of today is the citizen of tomorrow and therefore it is the main function of education to prepare a child for his future life. In other words, education should generate such skills and capacities in the child that as he grows older, he is able to face all the problems of life audaciously. As a result, he will not be misfit in society and failure in life. (Dash, 2000-2001)

The pragmatic philosopher John Dewey has put forward a broad aim of education which is known as the socialistic aim. According to this socialistic theory the claims of society are always above the claims of the individual members comprising the society. Therefore, every system of education should try to prepare individuals for social living. Infact, the school should be a ‘Miniature Society’ and everything taught in the school should have social bearing. Education is really a strong tool of social change (Das, 2004).

Educational anthropology, or the Anthropology of Education, is a sub-field of anthropology and mainly associated with the pioneering works of Margaret Mead, George Spindler, Solon Kimball and Dell Hymes. The main focus of educational anthropology is on the cultural aspects of education, both informal and formal education. This field of study is rich with ethnographic research into schools as cultural institutions and schooling as a cultural process.
Anthropologist’s contribution towards educational issues during the first half of the twentieth century were impressive, as Margaret Mead stated at the Stanford Conference in 1954 that they were largely "dependent upon personalities rather than any on-going institutionalized process of any sort" (Eddy et al., 1987). Recognition of the failure of schools to meet the needs of the urban poor and urban minorities, gave anthropologists an opportunity to formalize their contribution to education in specific ways. The formalization and specialization process concluded in 1970, with the development of Council on Anthropology and Education (CAE).

Mead (1928) with her publication of *Coming of Age in Samoa* gave a great deal of attention to the concepts of teaching and learning. She categorized culture as 'learning culture' or 'teaching culture,' defining the former as "small, homogenous group(s) that show little concern for transmitting culture because there is virtually no danger of anyone going astray" and the later as those cultures in which it is necessary for "those who know to inform and direct those who do not know". Mead introduces the book with a general discussion of the problems facing adolescents in modern society and the various approaches to understanding these problems such as religion, philosophy, educational theory and psychology.

Youth studies in Anthropological literatures mostly focused on adolescence, or “youth culture”. Such studies are diverse and cover a wide range of topics, but they reflect some of the larger concerns of late twentieth and early twenty-first century anthropology. These studies pointed out that youth are not only influenced by larger social power structures such as race, class, or gender; they produce, respond to, and manipulate power in different ways. Youth culture studies are also influenced by
anthropology’s cumulative interests in the processes of globalization and transnationalism. “Youth culture” therefore is now seen as a functional domain, dynamic and worthy of study in its own right. (Bhattacharyya, 2010-11)

Whyte (1943) in his book *Street Corner Society* describes about youth behaviour and education. The first part of the book comprises detailed accounts of how local *gangs* were formed and organized, where Whyte differentiated between "corner boys" and "college boys". The life of the "corner boys" revolved around particular street corners and the nearby shops. On the other hand, "college boys" were more interested in good education and moving up the social ladder.

Sociology of education is another field of education where Emile Durkheim was the pioneer. This branch was developed with Emile Durkheim’s pioneering studies of moral education and Max Weber’s analysis of the Chinese scholars as an apparatus of political control. First major expansion of the subject after Second World War was associated with technological functionalism in America, egalitarian reform of opportunity in Europe, and human-capital theory in economics. All these theories emphasized on a causal linkage between amounts of schooling and the economic advancement of both individuals and societies.

Literacy has been considered as one of the most vital features for social development. It is seen as a prerequisite for economic growth, social mobility and political stability. On the other hand, illiteracy has frequently been related to increased poverty, under development, political volatility and economic stagnation (Roberts, 2000). According to Census of India, 2011 "every person above the age of 7 years who can read and write with understanding in any language is said to be literate". Literacy
can also be attained in adult literacy classes or through any non-formal education system. People who are blind but can read in braille have been treated as literates. Literacy and education are important indicators in a society and play an essential role in human development that impacts overall socio-economic development. Higher levels of literacy and education lead to better accomplishment of health and nutritional status, economic growth, population control, empowerment of the weaker sections and community as a whole. Higher literacy rates also improve development indicators consistently (Census of India, 2011).

Literacy teaches mankind the ways and means to fight the misery and insensitive conditions and pushes the individual towards self-dependence and respectable life. The literate person is conferred not only with the visions of farsightedness but also can explore the various options of employment through which he can carry his family and society to a higher level. The main responsibility of education is to modify the behaviour and attitude of younger generation and thereby lay the foundation of all-round progress of society. Level of education varies across developed and underdeveloped countries like the European countries with more than 99 percent literacy, United Kingdom (99%), Finland (100%), France (99%), Denmark (99%) and United States of America (99%) experienced tremendous development in both social and economic sectors; while Asian countries like Bhutan (65 %), Pakistan (55 %), India (74.4%), Bangladesh (71%) etc. are yet to make headway in this count.

India has achieved rapid improvement in the literacy rate during the post-independence period. Universalization of Elementary Education (UEE) has been an esteemed goal of India since Independence. To achieve this goal, Article 45 of Indian
Constitution directs the states to provide free and compulsory education to all the children till they complete 14 years of age. To fulfill this goal, the access to educational facilities has been improved with setting up of large number of new schools and therein enrolment rate has also tremendously increased. The goal has received further motivation with the launching of nationwide programme Sarba Shiksha Abhijan (SSA), which aims at achieving UEE by 2010. Various plans had laid importance on the identified areas for improvement of literacy standard. Commissions have also been constituted to provide expert suggestions for removal of age old hindrances to education and improve the curriculum. However, despite decades of educational reform through various schemes such as Operation Blackboard, District Primary Education Programme (DPEP); available statistics shows that vast majority of children are still out of the educational system and efforts made by the states appear to be insufficient to achieve the goal of UEE (Evaluation Report of SSA, 2010). As per the data provided by Annual Status of Education Report (ASER) 2011, though enrolment rate has been increasing in almost all the states of India; still many children are out of school. These out of school children includes both dropouts and non-enrolled, who are mainly found as adolescents and youths.

As per Census of India 2011, 77,84,54,120 persons have been counted as literates. Among all literates, 33,42,50,358 are females, whereas 44,42,03,762 are males. The literacy rate of India is 74 percent. Among female it is 65.5 percent whereas among the male is 82.1 percent.
Table I.1: Literacy rate in India (1981-2011)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Literacy rate</th>
<th>Gap in literacy (%)</th>
</tr>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Persons (%)</td>
<td>Males (%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1981</td>
<td>43.6</td>
<td>56.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1991</td>
<td>52.2</td>
<td>64.1</td>
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<tr>
<td>2001</td>
<td>64.8</td>
<td>75.3</td>
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<tr>
<td>2011</td>
<td>74.0</td>
<td>82.1</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Census of India Report, 2011.

The above table shows increase of literacy both among males and females and an encouraging reduction in the gap of literacy between males and females in India.

1.2. Importance of education among the slum youth

Slums have become worldwide phenomena in the urban areas and 31.6 percent of the world’s urban population live in slums (Kumar et al., 2007). The slum dwellers belong to among one of the deprived segment of the urban society. In India, 15 percent of total urban population have no option but to get their shelter in slums. Among the underprivileged section of society, slum dwellers are one of the major components who are still unaware about the importance of education. An intra-city analysis on slum literacy was done for Kolkata, Delhi, Ahmedabad, Jaipur, Ludhiana and Indore and the findings as reveals in the paper Regional Dimension of Disparities in Slum Literacy in India shows that a major locational disparity exist in terms of literacy between slums and non-slum areas and that - slum population is educationally deprived. Slums are physical and spatial indicator of growing urban poverty and intra-city inequality. (ibid., 2007)

The Government of India has defined slum areas as those areas where buildings are unfit for human habitation (Slum Area Act, 1956). Physically, slums consist of
groups of hument comprising several rooms constructed with building materials where each room is inhabited by a family sharing a common latrine without arrangement for water supply, drains, dumping of solid waste and garbage within the slum boundaries. Apart from degrading environmental conditions, slums in the urban settlements are also characterized by almost total absence of community and recreational facilities. In any urban area, slums are visible manifestation of urban poverty. These slum pockets develop on their own either near a major employment source like an industry or near a well-established residential area. Most peri-urban slum areas are not legally part of the cities they encircle and thus not commonly viewed as the responsibility of municipal administrators. Many of these areas lack in infrastructure for water supply, hygiene, and solid waste disposal, which results environmental pollution and create a situation hostile to the maintenance of good health. Children living in these communities are most at threat. They suffer the highest rates of mortality and morbidity from diarrhea disease as is observed in most developing countries. Insufficient solid waste collection has also led to contamination of surface water and groundwater resources and of the ambient air from waste burning. (City Development Plan Guwahati, 2006)

There are many problems found in the slum areas and some studies on the slums pointed out that educational backwardness is one of the major problem (Herman, 1966; Aggarwal and Chugh, 2003; Hussain, 2005; Choudhury, 2006; Kumar et al., 2007; Tsujita, 2009; Oketch and Mutisya, 2012; Onyango and Tostensen, 2015). Most of the slum youths dropped out from school in the initial stage of education. These people are still unaware about the importance of education for upgrading themselves. Youths are the precious human resources of every country. But this stage of human life is a very critical stage (Bhattacharyya, 2010-11). Due to major physical, psychological, social
and other changes; this stage, is very vulnerable. Especially among the urban poor, youths are one of the most vulnerable sections and it creates social problems like mental illness, drug addiction, crime, juvenile delinquencies etc. (Onyango and Tostensen, 2015)

CHR. Michelsen Institute (CMI) report 2015 reveals that crime and violence are reported to be normal incidences in slums of Kenya, both children and youth are exposed and vulnerable to these acts. Youths are victims as well as perpetrators of crime. Access to proper housing and education also create a challenge to children and youth living in slum communities. Congested and small houses forced many youths to leave their families and go to live on the streets with groups of peers. In these groups, use of drugs and alcohol is commonplace which leads them to criminal activities. Education is also found to be a major challenge for youth in Kibera. Many of them are out of school as well as unemployed and engaged in informal activities (Onyango and Tostensen, 2015; Bhattacharyya, 2010-11). Young people constitute a vital force and possess aspirations particular to this time in their lives. Potential and energy of such youth must not be lost when confronted by hazardous conditions such as unemployment, exclusion and poverty, which are particularly detrimental to underprivileged youths. Asia alone accounts for nearly 60 percent of the world’s slum population with a total numbers of 581 million slum dwellers (UN-HABITAT, 2003). In India slum youth constitute approximately 30 percent of the total population as per Census 2011. While attempting to develop an identity and a sense of purpose in such an environment, young people are vulnerable to great disillusionment and anger. They run the risk of severing themselves definitely from a full and active life. Hence, the
dimensions of young people must be developed so that they may evolve and become both responsible and active.

The term youth is defined in different manners. It is usually understood as a much ‘looser’ concept, generally encompassing the age group 15 to 24. Statistical definitions of youth also vary from country to country. In Africa, some countries have adopted the United Nations (UN) definition of youth (15 to 24 years) while others use the Commonwealth definition (15 to 29 years). For policy purposes, the age range can be even wider. In some African countries, such as Ghana, Kenya and Tanzania, the definition of youth used for policy purposes ranges from 15 years to 35 years. In Nigeria, it ranges from 12 to 30 years. South Africa’s National Youth Policy defines youth as any person between the ages of 14 and 35 years. Census of India defines youth population in the age group between 15 to 24 years.

As per 2011 Census of India, population age 15-24 years accounts for 229 million of the 1205 million of India’s population. In other words, every fifth person in India belongs to the age group 15-24 years considered as youth. Notably, not all definitions refer to only the age group 15-24 as youth. The 2003 National Youth Policy of India (Ministry of Youth Affairs and Sports, 2003) defines the youth population as those in the age group 15-29 (National Family Health Survey, 2005-06).

Youth unemployment in urban areas is a global concern today. Individuals between the age group 15-24 years termed as ‘youth’ make up over one-sixth of the world’s population and more than half in poor countries are both out of school and out of work, with negative significances of increased crime and anti-social activities. As youths are the future citizens of a country, the role they will play is crucial, for it will
affect the future of the country in the coming years (Bhattacharyya, 2010-11). In any
nation, youth are critical for its continued economic development and demographic
evolution. The youth population, which typically constitutes the inflowing cohort in the
country’s labour force, is expected to bring in freshly learned and updated skills that
will help renew and improve the country’s stock of human capital. Youth also represent
the age group that forms the basis of demographic renewal, as these young people form
unions and begin child bearing (NFHS, 2005-06). The problems found among the youth
can only be removed through spread of education among the younger generation.

Several studies have tried to highlight the educational scenario of the children in
the age group 6-14 years in India (Kumar et. Al., 2003; Hussain, 2005; Shah and Sen,
2008; Tsujita, 2009; Sengupta and Pal, 2010; Evaluation Report on SSA, 2010; ASER,
2011). But hardly any study has been carried out to investigate into the problem of
youths. The present work proposes to study 15-24 year old youths residing in the slums
of Guwahati city with regard to their education and employment.

1.3. Statement of the problem

During the last few decades, Indian society has been undergoing rapid social and
economic changes. Apart from industrialization and urbanization, education is one of
the important causes of these changes. Therefore, education is said to be an important
tool for social development. Though, education has an important role for development
of a society as well as for a nation, the rural population and the socially underprivileged
section in the urban areas are still educationally backward due to various reasons.
Although new schools have been set up and underprivileged sections are receiving
education in ever increasing numbers, still today various social and economic factors
prevent vast majority of children from receiving education and completing the school education (ASER, 2011). Several studies have pointed out that education is still confined to the socially privileged section of the society (Reddy and Bhat, 1977; Kumar et.al., 2007).

The educational status among the slum population is very low (Chugh, 2010). These people are still unaware about the importance of education in their lives and due to educational backwardness they are commonly seen as "breeding grounds" for social problems such as crime, drug addiction, high rate of mental illness, alcoholism and suicide. In many poor countries, they exhibit high rates of disease due to unsanitary conditions, malnutrition, and lack of basic health care.

Different studies have pointed out that when educations as a carrier of development have been stressed, it is looked upon as a secondary requirement in urban slums. It is important to note that a large number of population in the slum have a natural tendency of dropping out of schools at Lower Primary and Middle level which has a significant bearing on the youths. Due to low educational level, job market for the slum dwellers is evidently limited allowing the youth to seek employment in the informal sector. One notable reason for their growing poverty is the lack of education which finally results in lack of skill and limited resources.

In this backdrop, it is obvious that this area presents potential scope for research on education in slums. Guwahati being the gateway of North East India and one of the important cities in India offers scope for such research as it has several numbers of notified slums. It was therefore decided to make a detailed study of the youth education and its various aspects in the slums of Guwahati. The topic was framed as – “An
Assessment on Education among the Youths in the Urban Slums of Guwahati City, Assam.”

1.4. Objectives of the study

The objectives of the study are framed as follows-

1. To assess the educational status of the slum youths in Guwahati city.

2. To understand the phenomenon of out of school youths and its causes.

3. To study the status of dropout among the slum youths and its causes.

4. To understand the parental education and their attitude towards education.

5. To identify the nature of economic engagement of out of school youths.

1.5. Methodology

The details of the methodology adopted during the designing, conducting fieldwork, data collection, data processing and analysis of this research is presented in the succeeding paragraphs.

1.5.1. Selection of area for the study

Guwahati is the capital of Assam and the only metropolitan city in the entire North Eastern Region. This city is the entry point to the whole North Eastern. As per census of India 2011, population of Guwahati under metropolitan area is 962,334; of which 498,450 are male and 463,884 are female. In every urban locality, there are slums and Guwahati is also not free from slums. There are number of slums in Guwahati city. Guwahati Municipal Corporation (GMC) has identified 26 settlements as slums which include a total population of 1.6 lakh people (GMC, 2006; GMDA, 2009). In another survey conducted by GMC in 2012, identified 217 slum pockets with a population of
1.39 lakh (Appendix-I). The drastic change in the number of slums is due to change in the definition of slums. In 2009, a pocket with 25-30 households and lacking basic amenities was considered as slum; while for the survey of 2012, a pocket with 10-15 households and without basic amenities was considered as slum.

Out of the total slum areas in Guwahati, the following three areas have been selected for this study as these three are very old localities, thickly populated and comprises of people belonging to different communities.

i) Arikati Basti Harijan Colony of Uzanbazar

ii) Fatasil Ambari Harijan Colony, and

iii) Punjabi Patty Harijan colony of Ulubari near Nehru Stadium.

All these three slum pockets are considered as Notified Slum area by the Government (See Map 4).

1.5.2. Fieldwork

Fieldwork was conducted in the three slum areas of Guwahati City viz. Fatasil Ambari Harijan Colony, Punjabi Patty Harijan Colony and Arikati Basti Harijan Colony during the year 2011-2013. It was very difficult to collect data at the initial stage of the field work. Since most of the people are not aware about this type of works. I started my first fieldwork in Fatasil Ambari Harijan Colony along with my sister. At that time I had a different concept about the people of slum areas. When we entered the narrow lanes of the slum both of us were scared. Nevertheless I asked one old person about the Pradhan (Slum chief). He eagerly directed us to the house of the Pradhan. At first I introduce myself along with my sister and told him about the purpose of my visit. Instantly he
agreed and informed that earlier many people came for similar kinds of works in that area. I began my work by moving from house to house, patiently explaining the nature of information that I was looking for. In this manner I began my fieldwork and on the first day I could meet four households and an Anganwadi teacher who stays in that area. She introduced us with some other people of that area. During data collection except few people everybody co-operated with me. Especially some young boys helped a lot at the time of door to door survey and also introduced me with the people very pleasantly. Difficulty faced by the researcher is only for the unhygienic condition of the area. Otherwise entire fieldwork was very memorable in Fatasil Ambari Harijan Colony.

After Fatasil Ambari, I conducted my fieldwork in Punjabi Patty Harijan Colony and then in Arikati Basti. The people of these areas are also very co-operative and helpful. In Arikati Basti, female members are very co-operative then the male members. Most of the male members remain drunk in the day time making it difficult for me to approach them for information. Some of them tried to prevent my work also, but due to the help of some educated boys and girls I was able to complete my study comfortably.

After repeated field visits people became friendly and extend all possible help and co-operation in collecting necessary information. In most of the households people offered tea, cold-drinks, sweets etc. and it was a very good memory in my lifetime.

1.5.3. The sample

A sample of 304 youths was drawn from 124 households of the study areas; comprising three slum areas of Guwahati City.

The youths belong to the age group of 15 to 24 years of age; both male and female.
1.5.4. Methods of data collection

Both qualitative and quantitative data were collected for covering different aspects of education. Primary data was collected by using various research methods like – survey, structured and open interviews, observations, in-depth case studies etc. Basic quantitative data was collected with the help of survey schedules to obtain detail information of the people. Schedule was divided into two sections – (i) Household Survey Schedule and (ii) Respondents Profile. It consists of total 37 numbers of questions. The first schedule gives the details of the households in their demographic and socio-economic aspects. The second schedule was used to collect the details of the youth such as their educational profile, everyday life pattern, their occupation, their family life etc. These data are collected during the fieldwork by way of structured interview method. Qualitative data has been collected through the standard anthropological methods like non-participant observation, unstructured interview and case study method.

Secondary data on the research topic was collected through intensive library work. Relevant information’s was collected from various sources like – books, journals, PhD thesis, dissertations, seminar papers, published and unpublished reports, bulletins etc. from various institutions and libraries of Guwahati. Intensive library work has been undertaken in different libraries such as - Department of Anthropology, Gauhati University, Guwahati; Krishna Kanta Handiqui Library, Gauhati University, Guwahati; Women’s Studies Research Centre, Gauhati University, Guwahati and Omeo Kumar Das Institute of Social Science, Guwahati. The researcher also visited some Government Offices like Guwahati Municipal Corporation, Guwahati Metropolitan Development
Authority and Census office of Guwahati. Apart from these, by interviewing some well-known senior citizens of Guwahati, the data on formation of slums in GMC was collected. With the help of different websites on internet and e-journals also some data was gathered.

1.5.5. Data Processing

The collected data have been processed using statistical tools and then tabulated for better understanding in terms of the objectives. The tabulated data are then analysed and presented in various chapters.

1.6. Review of literature

Social scientists are more concerned about urban slums and different studies were undertaken outside India on slums with special reference to education. A brief review of these studies is discussed below.

Global scenario:

Whyte (1943), in his study *Street Corner Society* found that, the street corner society or a slum district was different from the middle class society. This book describes about various groups and communities within the district. The first part of the book contains a detailed account of how local gangs were formed and organized. This book differentiated between "corner boys" and "college boys". In this study, he had showed the relationship among the groups i.e. structure, mental health, performance and the leadership of the group.
The concept of slum came into the field of anthropology with the most popular writings of Lewis on the urban poor. Lewis, an American anthropologist, was well-known for his studies of poverty in Mexico and Puerto Rico and for his controversial concept of *The Culture of Poverty*. After graduating from Columbia University, where he studied under Benedict, Boas, and Mead, his first major book, *Life in a Mexican Village* (1951), was a restudy of Robert Redfield's village of Tepoztlan, which reached a number of conclusions opposed to those reached by Redfield. Much of the controversy over the Culture of Poverty disappeared when Lewis labelled it a subculture; ironically, conservatives have used the concept to blame the poor for their poverty, whereas Lewis believed the poor to be victims. Many of his books are based on tape recordings of the family members, a technique in which Lewis was a pioneer.

Lewis in his famous book *Five Families* (1959) represented Mexican families in different situations of poverty. It began with the Martinez Family, a family who lives in a Mexican highland village, sixty miles south of Mexico City with a population of 3,5000; where villagers are bilingual in Spanish and ancient Nahuat. The second family is the Gomez Family transitioning from village to city life in a crowded one-room apartment. The poorest family is the Gutierrez Family, a family who lives in the poorest slum tenements in the city. The Sanchez Family marks the fourth case study, an urbanized lower-class family in which the father works as a restaurant worker and giving to his various wives and children. Finally, he ends with the Castro Family, in which the father David Castro is “a self-made post-Revolutionary millionaire”.

Lewis’s another book *The Children of Sanchez* (1961) is about a Mexican family living in the Mexico City slum of Tepito, which he studied as part of his program to
develop his concept of Culture of Poverty. Another famous book of Lewis is La Vida: A Puerto Rican Family in the Culture of Poverty (1966) is also on the theory of Culture of Poverty.

Kerckhoff’s (1964) paper reveals the impact on disadvantaged children for segregation of city schools in America. The movement of whites into the suburbs and Negroes into the city has created the segregated or resegregated school in the cities of America. The problem of city has created problems in the schools also such as dropouts, crowded school rooms etc. There were some people who treated as second class citizens and given second-class education.

Cohen (1965) had undertaken a study under Stanford University, School of Education. The study showed the influence of parental motivation on their child’s education. Results suggested two types of parental motivation i.e. vocational orientation and status orientation. Vocational orientation emphasizing the desirability of obtains job and status orientation emphasizing the college degree as a key to middle class status. Vocational orientation appeared to be more among fathers and status orientation among mothers.

A journal by Herman (1966) titled Slums and Suburbs Revisited- In Junior High School has undertaken a study in United States. This study has pointed out some problems found in big city slum areas such as dropout, inadequate courses and curriculum for students, need for more vocational guidance programme, more work study programme and employment opportunities, adult programme, decentralized school administration, honest boards of education etc. This journal has emphasized on the overall development of the children of urban slum areas.
Lewis in his Mexican (1967) and Puerto Rican (1965) studies demonstrated how poor economic circumstances will give rise to similar behaviour and expectations. He found this so universal cross-culturally that he coined the phrase Culture of Poverty to indicate the regularities of personality among peoples living under deprived social conditions. A vivid sociological study was conducted by Perlman (1976) on the myth of marginality. Her study shows how urban poverty in the South is related to urban politics and urban government.

Lee and Burkam (2003) have undertaken a study on high school dropouts in United States to explore how high schools, through their structures and organization, influence students’ decisions to stay in school or drop out. This study also focused on traditional explanations for dropout behaviour on students' social background and academic behaviour. This study shows that students are less likely to drop out of high schools where relationships between teachers and students are positive.

Warren and Cataldi (2006) in their paper discussed about employment behaviour and high school dropout rate among students in America. High school students who work many hours per week are more likely to leave school. Among blacks and whites, this has been true for decades. It has been mentioned in the paper that employment behaviour of students influence them to dropout.

The study conducted under UN-HABITAT, The United Nations Development Programme (UNDP) and Government of Sierra Leon (2006) under the title *The Improvement of Slums and Informal Settlements in Freetown*. This study is conducted on the housing conditions of urban poor in Freetown, a slum location at Susan’s Bay.
The study shows that 52 percent of people of the area are illiterate while only 14.4 percent attended primary school, and only half number (7.6%) completed their primary education. As a whole, educational achievement for the members of households surveyed is very low, only 3.2 percent have post-secondary education. With such a low level of education, the majority of these people cannot access competitive jobs in Freetown. This limited level of educational attainment explains why most of them are unemployed, self-employed as petty traders or are employed in the Informal Sector for example as daily labourers. The authors suggest that slum upgradation initiative should plan to work with the people of relatively lower levels of education who are not likely to access formal employment in Freetown.

A project report prepared by Uganda Youth Development Link (UYDEL) in 2006 on Non Formal Education and livelihood Skills for Marginalised Street and Slum Youth in Uganda aiming at assisting non formal education to the vulnerable and marginalised youth affected by HIV/AIDS and other risk behaviour.

Kathuri and Juma (2007) in their book Slum education focused on mapping of schools in Nairobi and Kakamega to establish their existence, characteristics, and comparison with public schools in terms of pupils, parents, teachers, infrastructure as well as teacher and pupil Intelligent Quotient (IQ). The book not only aims to initiate a discussion that will enable them to be catalysts of change in their immediate environment but also to bring their importance to the fore. Recognizing strategies that will add value to their services will enable the schools to compete favourably in the education system. While recognizing the fundamental role of Government school in
supplementing the government’s effort to provide education for all, private schools serving low income families were found to have many challenges.

A report was published on _Improving Quality, Increasing Access to Reproductive Health Care in African Urban Slums_ by Jhpiego, an international non-profit health organization in 2008. This report focused on the changing aspects of health in Africa due to urbanization, and those living in the densely-packed and underserved informal settlements, or slums, are among those who suffer the most as a result. For many reasons, quality health care is limited in the slums.

Bagheri (2012) sheds light on the findings from a survey carried out by the Informal Settlement Development Facility in the Ghale Chenan area of city of Ahwaj situated on Southern Iran. The study showed that, about 16 percent of the active populations in Ghale Chenan are jobless or seeking a job. During the time of study, it was observed that one of the important problems in Ahwaz is, water pollution, due to the flow of hospital, industrial, and domestic sewage in the nearby Karron River which supply drinking water to the residents of the slum. Another problem of the vulnerable, poor, and disadvantaged youth of Ghale Chenan is illiteracy and unemployment. They engaged in robbery, arson and looting, blocked the main road of Ahwaz to Mahshar for extortion and armed robbery. In fact, not only the education but also income levels of residents of this slum is very low. Education level in this slum is low mainly because there is no high school in the locality and youths and children are unable to go to school due to distance. Moreover, insecurity, family fanaticism, cultural lag and family illiteracy contribute to girl’s drop out. High poverty and unemployment rate especially among the youth is a severe problem that threatens the security of the area and the
surroundings. They deliberately indulge in rioting and antisocial activities to fulfil their goals. Lack of economic facilities and resources for productive employment for the youth has on the one hand increased poverty and on the other increased social de-stability.

Oketch and Mutisya (2012), observed that majority (nearly 3 million) of the youth aged between 14-17 years do not have opportunities for secondary education, while many have been exposed to low level of quality education at the primary level, with inadequate literacy and numeracy skills. They urged that Kenya needs to pay attention, on identifying the skill areas where slum youth can be trained to get employment. These opportunities include training in youth leadership, artisan skills, securing markets for the products produced by the youth and developing a national training scheme that targets those who have not completed school, and those who have completed some secondary but have not had the opportunity for any form of tertiary level of training. Youth living in slum dwellings of Nairobi and Kibera face numerous challenges as they transit from adolescence into adulthood.

Onyango and Tostensen (2015) has published a report regarding understanding the problems of youth and children in Kibera in Nairobi which is one of Kenya’s largest slum. The survey was a collaborative attempt between the African Network for the Prevention and Protection against Child Abuse and Neglect (ANPPCAN) and the CHR. Michelsen Institute (CMI). The study reported an improvement in educational achievement of the youths compared to a study made in 2002. However, school dropout was still a major practice among them; the majority of respondents reported being unemployed (74.5%) and only 25.5 percent of respondents are employed. The state of
not being employed and out of school makes the youth in Kenya vulnerable to violence, both as victims and perpetrators. According to the *Ki
bera UK – The Gap Year Company* (2007), the unemployment rate in Kibera is 50 percent. This is higher than the national unemployment rate estimated at 40 percent. This condition makes youth in Kibera vulnerable to criminal activities such as stealing and mugging to robbery and rape. A large number of respondents reported that youth in Kibera are drinking excessively, trafficking drugs and alcohol and a large number of female youth are engaging in prostitution and abort unwanted pregnancies. According to the study, most youth consider their parents to be poor and failed to guide them. Some felt that their parents do not respect and trust them. Some youth stated that their parents were abusing drugs and alcohol which made them incapable to look after their children. However, in the study among street children, majority of them were not living with their parents. Most of them had only their mothers who were single. Therefore, single parenting in slum communities is a real challenge to children and youth. This study also found that these youth find themselves in a rather hostile slum environment characterized by unemployment, poor housing, large family sizes, violence, crime, drug and alcohol abuse, poor education facilities and lack of leisure activities. This situation subjects adolescent in Nairobi slums tend to early sexual activities three years earlier and twice more likely to have multiple partners than adolescents who live in non-slum parts of Nairobi.

**National scenario:**

Many scholars have done different studies on the educational aspects of the slums in India. These studies are discussed below.
Reddy and Bhat (1977) in their book studied among the out of school youth in the three main cities viz. Delhi, Hyderabad and Vishakhapatnam and their surrounding rural areas. It tried to examine the problem of the young people of India. Since, this young people are of major concern to parents, educators, youth leaders and more particularly, to the policy makers.

Azim (1983) in his Ph.D. thesis *A Study of Life Style of Slum Dwellers and its Relation with Education* discussed about the life-style of Kisanwadi slum dwellers in Baroda, Gujarat and its relation with education. Study showed a higher school dropout rate, which is more among the girl’s. The study also stated that gambling, drinking, prostitution and juvenile delinquency are the widespread vices which spoil the social climate among them. Their economic engagement includes collecting and selling scraps, hawking eatables and other useful Commodities, Labour work in the mills and factories, teaching, nursing, vessel repairing, tailoring, bus and truck driving, gardening, tea-canteen-lari, masonry work, welding etc.

Basu (1992), in the study of slum women in Delhi focused on the comparison of women coming from Uttar Pradesh and Tamil Nadu. The study shows that cultural differences between these sets of women resulted in very different educational levels, employment patterns, and lifestyles despite the fact that both groups of women lived in the same slum. She found that the educational facilities in the slum are quite impressive. The government runs nursery and pre-school centres but these remain poorly utilised even by working mothers. There are also some government run primary, secondary and senior secondary schools in the area but attendance in this school is poor. Despite having the facilities, girls in urban slums most unlikely to attend schools whose adult
members work in different low paid and low status occupations or in the un-organised or informal sectors. In such cases they perform the role of mother to look after the household chore.

Santhakumari (1992) in her thesis found that educational status of slum children is low and most of them dropped out without completing education. Parental negligence, poverty, lack of interest, school environment and other reasons are found regarding dropout of children in Tirupati slums.

Thapan (1997) in her paper examines the linkages between culture and tradition, education and women's health among the urban slums in India through an analysis of secondary data. Although education plays a vital role in providing the possibilities for personal growth and independence, the importance of cultural norms, values and customs in determining the life choices and physical and mental well-being of women cannot be denied. Education has to address itself to the needs and competencies of women in their daily life. The study pointed out that health condition is an important factor to achieve good educational level. In urban slums, people live in an unhygienic condition which may cause different diseases.

Mishra et al., (2001) observed that 75 percent of pre-school children were malnourished with 20 percent suffering from severe degree of malnutrition. Similarly, protein energy malnutrition was also significantly high (7.5%) among the girls. It also revealed that gross deficiency in dietary intake found among the preschool children of urban slums. Consumption of calories, iron and calcium was below 50 percent of Recommended Dietary Allowance (RDA). Malnutrition seemed to be universal in the study. Such poor level nutrition is bound to affect their educational performance.
Aggarwal and Chugh’s (2003) paper on *Learning Achievement of Slum Children in Delhi* attempts to study the learners’ achievement level of slum children in the government schools and privately run schools. It is mentioned in the paper that schooling facilities in the urban slums are poor. Authorities hardly make any plan for providing schools for the marginalized population living in urban areas. The findings reveal that the performance of the slum children was much below the expected levels. Children of private unrecognized schools have performed better than the Government schools in mathematics but not in language. Most of the unrecognized schools have English language as medium of instruction and probably these children could not get familiar with this language.

D’souza, Castelino and Madangopal (2003) carried out a study in Mumbai on *The educational and Occupational status of Institutionalized, Slum, and Street Children and their aspirations for the future*. The main aim of the study is to determine the educational and occupational status of institutionalized, slum and street girls and boys. The study also tried to understand their career aspirations for the future. The purpose of this study is to formulate specific intervention strategies based on the needs expressed by the subjects. The sample consists of 571 participants out of which, 223 were girls and 348 were boys. In this study majority of girls were observed to have formal education as compared to the boys. However, almost all the girls (98%) did not continue college education. Many of the participants seemed to have received formal or non-formal training in tailoring, and art and craft activities, with a majority of these being girls. In other areas quite a few had received some kind of training included domestic work, cooking/wadi work, and computers. The fields of training mainly taken up by
boys included welding, printing, hotel work, garage work, electrical wiring, mechanics, carpentry, and driving.

Karn *et al.* (2003) has conducted a study based on primary data from a survey of 1,070 households in four poor settlements in Mumbai comprising slum- and pavement-dwellers and squatters. The study has been conducted to assess their living environment and health conditions. It attempts to examine the consequences of socio-economic and environmental factors in terms of literacy, sanitation and hygiene for morbidity. It has been mentioned in the paper that the first need of the slum is assurance of being allowed to stay where they are and then provision of basic amenities of toilets, water supply, sewerage and drainage. This study does not cover the study area.

Husain (2005) in his paper *Analyzing Demand for Primary Education: Muslim Slum Dwellers of Kolkata* examines the Muslim Slum dwellers of Kolkata with reference to their demands for primary education. His study was based on economic condition of slums. He found the common view that Muslims reject the value of education is not supported by the survey findings. Rather respondents had argued that education was important for both boys and girls, but findings showed that parents prefer education to sons than the daughters. The study indicates that parents believe that ‘education’ is important and it helps an individual in his daily life. It is needed by male members to undertake various dealings and enter into different contracts. However, the researcher showed using statistical tools that there is actually no gender bias in education in the slums. The study also examines other factors that influence educational decisions such as its cost and components, the choice of educational institutions and the
preferred medium of instruction, presence of gender bias, and the relation between dropouts and child labour.

A paper published for the Commonwealth Civil Society Consultation, Marlborough House, London, by the Commonwealth Action for Human Settlements (2006) stated that human settlements interventions can help to achieve the primary education target of Millennium Development Goal. Security of land tenure and a fixed address are often necessary for children to be allowed to attend school. Improved access to water frees up children’s time, thus allowing them to attend school. Improved health through sanitation and hygiene reduces school absenteeism and installation of girls’ toilet in schools can increase girls’ enrollment and completion rates.

Lakshmanan (2006-07) in his paper entitled *A Statistical Insight into Health and Education in Chennai Slums* reveals that Chennai has more than 1.08 million populations living in slums which constitute about 25 percent of the city’s total population. With an analysis of health and education policy practiced by the corporation of Chennai in slums, he found that with low incomes and free education, corporation schools are the only sources of education for the slum dwellers. As a result, a great number of the students in corporation schools hail from slums. Since barriers to education do not exist in the form of fees, cost of books, materials and transportation, corporation schools are best for slums. The paper also showed that number of persons who can read and write in slums in Chennai is much more than national average.

Kumar *et.al.* (2007) attempted to provide the literacy scenario of slums through their studies *Regional Dimension of Disparities in Slum Literacy in India* on the basis of slum data made available by the Census of India 2001. The study attempted an all India
level analysis for major states and for all municipal corporations having population of one million and above. An intra-city analysis has been done for Kolkata, Delhi, Ahmedabad, Jaipur, Ludhiana and Indore. The study finds out a major locational disparity in literacy i.e. slum population is educationally deprived. They found large scale regional division and gender division in terms of slum and non-slum literacy. Their report reveals that slums in Tripura and Meghalaya have more than 80 percent literate males, whereas males residing in the slums of Delhi and Chandigarh are at the bottoms with 43 and 55 percent respectively. However, the study also found high gender disparity in respect slum- non slum literacy in Meghalaya, Tripura, Assam, West Bengal and Tamil Nadu. The study concludes that the educational status of female living in the slum is not up to mark and is facing significant gender disparity within slum. They also mentioned that slums require special schools where learning and earning can coexist.

Chugh (2008) in the paper focused on the necessity for secured approach to school. According to Chugh, official statistics does not capture the full information of children living in squatter settlements. Informal or illegal settlements do not appear in city maps also. Absence of planning of school locations, access to quality schooling facilities becomes a major hindrance for these children. The people from remote and backward areas have natural geographical barriers like hills, mountains and adverse weather conditions, whereas children living in squatter settlements have hindrances like busy roads, railway tracks and temporary shelter. The school may be available within a reasonable distance but the child may need to cross a busy roads or railway crossing which becomes a barrier for attending school.
Shah and Sen (2008) in their study among the slums of Kolkata found that there is an adequate supply of schools and a considerable demand for education in the slum areas. The parameters measuring the quality of education in these schools and Focus Group Discussions with parents and children reveals that there is a big gap between the expectations of both children and parents and the quality of education imparting by the government and corporation schools. Due to the vulnerable and weak socio economic status of the slum children, they need special attention during their years in primary school. However, not finding a friendly environment in school, these children lose interest in studies and drop out.

Tsujita’s (2009) study revealed an overview of the deprivation of education among slum children aged 5 to 14 in Delhi and to highlight the difference between slum and other children. The household survey in slum areas shows that only just over half the children are in school and a high over-age and dropout ratio exists among them.

Singh (2009) in his study among the Jhugi Jhompri clusters of Delhi in the paper Sheltering Delhi’s Slums, mentioned that there are many problems faced by the slum dwellers. Despite the fact that the slum lack basic amenities like sanitation, water, housing etc. almost all the children go to primary school till the 5th grade, but there is a high level of unemployment amongst the youth of the slum.

Cameron’s (2010) findings show that the educational scenario in the slums of Dhaka is in a bad shape as compared to some of the poorest rural areas of Bangladesh. Twenty three percent of around 3 lakhs primary-school aged children (between age 6-11) living in the slums of central Dhaka were out of school. This study shows that in some areas, lack of physical access to government schools is still the key factor for
stopping children from enrolling. It was also mentioned that poverty in Bangladesh is still seen as a rural issue. Therefore, neither government nor NGOs address the needs of the urban poor. The analysis confirms that children from less wealthy households and with less educated parents were more likely to never enrol in school and dropped out before finishing primary and in between primary and secondary levels.

According to Risbud (2011), educational levels of slum dwellers in Mumbai show significant diversity along with age and generation. She found that “the majority of the older generation over the age of 50 had no formal education, while the middle-aged slum dwellers had completed primary school education and the majority of slum dweller’s children attended the nearest Municipal Corporation School that offered free schooling. Post-schooling education however, was afforded only by better-off households in the slums. It was also observed that the overall literacy rate in slums is lower than the city average.

Chugh (2011) in the study among Delhi slum on dropout in secondary education pointed out that both the family and school related factors are responsible and appeared to be highly correlated with each other. It was also found that adolescent dropped out not only due to poverty and financial constraints but also because the schools did not respond appropriately to their special educational needs forcing them to dropout. The paper proposes that the state needs to adopt a holistic approach to dropout issue and not treat it as an isolated problem that can be tackled without reference to the broader socio economic setting and poor delivery of education in which it is rooted. Preventive and restorative approaches have also been discussed in the paper, which are needed to tackle the issue of dropout for children living in slum areas.
Tsujita (2011) in her paper examines the factors that prevent the slum children aged 5 to 14 from gaining access to schooling. The study reveals that overall attendance in slums is much lower than the other children of Delhi as a whole. Even among the school going children, overage mainly due to late admission is a common scenario. Being underprivileged, among the slum children caste, gender, religion and migration affects school attendance.

Nath et al. (2013) in the paper *Elementary Education of Slum Children: An attempt to Reach the Un-reached* assessed the impact of living condition, home and surrounding environment, parental education, school condition on elementary education of slum children of Kolkata. The sample of the study includes children in the age group 6-14 years from 440 households and 42 teachers including headmaster of 18 schools on physical facilities of primary school by using purposive random sampling technique involving both qualitative and quantitative analysis. The study found that migration, health, nature of occupation of the family, mother’s level of education, per-capita income of the family, living condition, home and surrounding environment, school infra-structure has an impact on child’s education.

Priya & Kanaga (2013) in their report made an attempt to study the family environment of slum children in Tiruchirappalli with a descriptive study design. The universe of the study consists of slum children in Kalnayakan Street at Trichy. Census method was adopted and data was collected from 100 respondents from in 2013. It was found that more than half of the respondents (57%) had poor family environment. They concluded that social work intervention is very essential for young children and their
families in slums to enhance their family environment, since family is the first socializing agent of the child.

Gouda and Sekher (2014) in the paper on school dropout in India tried to show the differentials and factors associated with school dropouts in India. Based on the data from National Family Health Survey-3, it was found that only 75 percent of the children in the age group 6 to 16 years were attending school, about 14 percent never attended school and 11 percent dropped out of school for various reasons. It was also mentioned that the dropout was high among the children belonging to Muslim, Scheduled Caste and Scheduled Tribe families. Parental involvement plays a significant role in determining school education. The dropouts among the children belonging to illiterate parents were four times higher than the literate parents. The study suggests that unless and until there is a considerable improvement in the economic status of the households and change in the social attitudes of parents, still achieving the goal of universalization of school education will remain a major challenge for India.

The report of the Centre for Global Development Research (CGDR) on problems of slum prepared with the help of SER Grant extended by the Planning Commission of India, opined that the problems associated with slum life can be linked to prevalent illiteracy. Intervention through improvement in literacy of residents had multifarious benefits. However, the extent of intervention is disappointing across all regions of Delhi slum clusters. They have showed that in case of Adult Literacy Programme launched by Government of India the overall coverage is only 1.68 per cent varying between zero per cent in North Delhi zone and South zone slums to 8.20 per cent in central zone. Similarly, in case of Anganwadi program, area coverage is only
35.01 per cent. The report admitted that wherever the schemes are implemented they worked well and therefore, these interventions are effective and should be extended to the remaining areas quickly.

**Regional scenario:**

Other than these studies made on slum education in India and outside India, certain studies have been done in Assam also, however studies on slums in Assam are very few.

Choudhury (2000) in her Ph.D. thesis *Change and Continuity among Women Workers of Slum Areas in Greater Guwahati Area: A Study in Socio-Economic Conditions and Impact on Literacy* emphasized that rapid urbanization results in the creation of slums in Guwahati City and its impact on the socio-economic condition of the slum women workers. It also pointed out that illiteracy is the main factor of socio-economic backwardness of the women in slum areas.

Majumdar (2000) in her Ph.D. thesis *A Study on Fertility and Family Planning among the Harijans of Guwahati, Kamrup, Assam* stated that Harijan people of Guwahati leading a depressed socio-economic life which affects in their biological lives also. They require awareness in the field of education, health, family planning, immunization of children and age at marriage which may control fertility and child mortality rate among the Harijans.

revealed a detailed profile of urban poor in Guwahati city. It discussed about the formation of slums in Guwahati, socio-cultural background and livelihood pattern.

Choudhury (2006) in his a paper entitled *Revisiting Dropouts- Old issues and fresh perspectives* revealed that familial duties and parental bonding play an important role in determining dropout behaviour of the children. Two factors are mainly involved regarding dropout. First, the importance of meeting basic necessities of citizens such as pure drinking water, shelter etc. Second, the publicity campaign by governments, NGOs with regard to importance of education. As parental bonding play a significant role in dropout behaviour and these aspects needs to be built through publicity campaigns. Parents and guardians needs to spend more time for their children. They not only need to give their children company, they should also interact with them intensely.

A paper published by Bhattacharyya (2010-11) on slum dropout youth regarding their economic engagement attempts to find out the nature and type of economic activity in which dropout slum youths of Guwahati city are engaged. It also discusses the prospects of employment in different sectors such as press and printing, hotel and tourism industry, housekeeping and utility services, driving, construction, tailoring etc.

Medhi and Bhattacharyya (2012-13) published a paper on education of the out of school slum youth in Morashali Harijan Colony, Guwahati. The study found a large number of youths dropped out and not engaged in any formal economic activities. It also mentioned in the paper that since many schemes and policies have been implemented for the development of housing and other basic amenities of slum, but educational sector is still ignorant.
Phukan (2014) wrote a paper on International Journal of Science and Research (IJSR) on Levels of Some Basic Amenities in the Slums and their Impacts on Ecology: A Case Study of Jorhat City, Assam. He discussed about the phenomenon of slum in Jorhat City. This study was conducted in all the seven slums to investigate the level of some basic amenities such as housing, sanitation system, water facilities etc. This study however does not cover analysis of education.