



Research Article

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Parental Motivations in Sending Children to School in a Paradoxical Indian Learning System of Declining Learning Curve and Increasing Enrolment: A Case Study of West Bengal

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Abstract

Current studies explain the growth in enrolment in Indian primary schools to be a result of 'cost-effective' incentivized education by the Indian Government. However, this does not explain why parents living below the poverty line (BPL) are forgoing higher opportunity costs and sending their children to school, especially in the context of a declining learning curve. This study investigates the motivating factors among BPL parents and the relative significance of incentives in shaping their decisions regarding their children's enrolment. This study also reveals qualitative and quantitative data based results showing Right to Education (RTE) Act's (2009) 'free and compulsory primary education for all' motivating millions of 'very poor' first generation learners to enroll. However, in these households, incentivized education is not sufficiently cost-effective to substitute child labor. Furthermore, The Right to Education Act's No Fail Policy is shown to have negatively impacted learning in government schools.

Keywords: Schools, Indian Education System, Students, Motivators

1. Introduction

This research sets out to investigate the gap in the research area of qualitative understanding and explaining the causal mechanisms through which the parent's choices lead to child enrollment. King, Keohane and Verba (1994) suggest that qualitative research can add depth to quantitative research by going beyond established correlations and instead investigate causation from descriptive inferences.

The question to be asked is what motivates parents despite falling learning curves to send their children to primary school (whilst increasing opportunity costs – in form of substitutable child labor). The motivation for the question stems from lack of analysis in current research available in gauging parents' viewpoint towards education system, and plain focus upon government frameworks and policies reflecting only increase in enrolments (Fig 1).

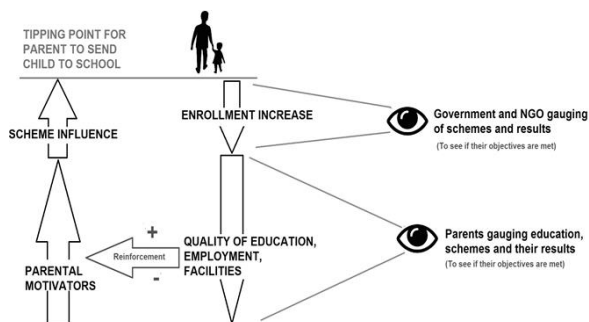


Fig 1: Research motivation: Understanding Parental motivators – the missing link towards successful policies

The millennium has witnessed the introduction of new policy interventions in India's elementary education system and better implementation of existing ones. These include amendments to the Child Labor (Prohibition and Regulation) Act of 1986 in 2006 and 2009, the Sarva Shiksha Abhiyan (the Education for All Movement) at the turn of the new millennium, the Mid-Day Meal Scheme (MDMS) in 2001 as well as the Right to Education Act (RTE) in 2009. The RTE not only made education compulsory and free, it also mandated the 'No Fail Policy' (NFP) till the completion of primary school i.e. Class VIII (age 13 years). Each one of these factors has contributed to the promising enrolment figures. Various national employment schemes, such as Mahatma Gandhi National Rural Employment Guarantee Act (MNREGA) and the National Skills Development Corporation's (NSDC) schemes have also made education an attractive option for millions wanting to avail these schemes.

Research in the field of elementary education in India has established single-dimensional causality between schemes and subsequent increases in enrolment quantitatively without taking into account the complexities of social reality (Zamora, 2010; Barooh and Iyer, 2005). With the exception of Jha and Jhingran's (2005) study, there has been no recent research mapping parental decision-making in school participation (especially in poor households) in the light of these new policy interventions. This study seeks to bridge this gap between policy evaluations of individual schemes by understanding how they collectively influence educational choices and perceptions of parents, rather than 'scheme effectiveness' alone.

Based on the qualitative and quantitative data collected through fieldwork in both rural and urban areas in West Bengal, this study captures the influences of social stratifications such as differences in community, region, gender, and income groups, in motivating parents regarding their decisions to send their children to school.

According to previous studies (Tsujiya, 2013; Drèze and Kingdon, 2001; Govinda, 2002), enrolment increases when the benefits of attending school outweigh the costs. Sending a child to school involves direct costs (such as uniform, text books, tuition fee) and opportunity costs (such as child's forgone earnings and parents' time and effort required to drop and pick up their child from school).

Hence, in the context of alternate economic opportunities for children (in form of child labor) available to parents, the larger question which this research addresses is why are parents (particularly from poor households) sending their children to school when the learning curve is declining?

2. The Unexplored Paradox

Despite policy interventions and the significant progress in bringing millions of out-of-school children to enroll in primary school and achieving enrolment rates as high as 96% in 2014 (Pratham, 2015), the Indian education system has a new challenge in form of the declining learning curve. While 65.5% children attending Class IV could read at least Class I text in 2010, only 49.2% could do the same in 2014. In 2010, 55.1% children in Class IV could subtract. This figure has plummeted to 32.3% in 2014 (Pratham, 2015).

In the context of this paradoxical scenario of increasing primary school enrolment and the declining learning curve, it therefore becomes crucial to evaluate the motivators for educational choices, especially in the cases of children whose families constitute the 269.8 million that live Below Poverty Line (BPL) (Planning Commission, 2013).

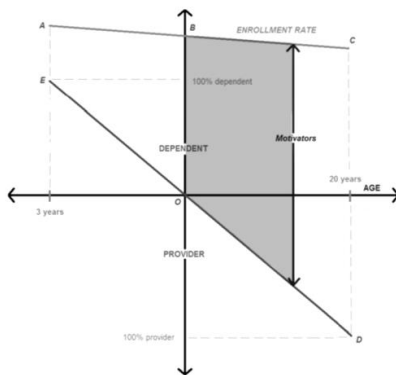


Fig 2: Dependent - Provider Model

The dependent-provider model (Fig 2) identifies the puzzle that this research seeks to solve. Based on the premise that a child is considered to be either a 'dependent' or a 'provider' (or a mix of both) in a family, the two ends of the dependent and provider axis indicate whether a child is perceived to be 100% dependent, or is perceived to be a 100% provider by the parents. The importance and urgency for role-reversal (dependent to provider) vary in extent depending on the socio-economic and local factors influencing households (i.e. earlier and important in extremely poor households).

When a child is a dependent (which exists up to a particular age that is indicated at O), the parent feels compelled to provide for the child. For BPL families, this is representative of the point of time where a family would benefit from a scheme such as Mid-Day Meal Scheme and supervision at school while parents are away at work. Till this point, parents are expected to provide for their child (area ABOE explained by Mid-Day Meal Scheme). When the child reaches an age of O and beyond (unexplained phenomenon is the 'grey' area BCDO), the child is no longer a dependent and is in fact a provider, capable of working. Here, the 'provider' role of a child would be far more beneficial compared to an incentivising scheme, especially to a BPL household. Nawani (2014) is also of a similar opinion that incentives offer only a partial relief to poor parents' financial problems. Singh (2004) also argues that the midday meal is not a sufficient explanation for poor parents to send their child to school when they would earn for many more meals by sending their child to work. However, he does not provide an alternative explanation as to why they are in fact going to school. This is where the paradox emerges leading us to question what are the other motivators (besides schemes and incentives) and factors which ascertain whether children should be sent to school.

The objective of this research is to understand the process and mechanisms through which parents make educational choices for their children and analyse this in light of increasing enrolments and a declining learning curve. At the same time, the research aims at finding an explanation to this paradox, especially in poor households, where opportunity costs are a significant sacrifice.

3. Research Questions

Researchers have suggested that the increase in enrolment was a consequence of cost effective government incentives. However, this needs to be viewed in the context of the prevalence of child labor. This led to formulating the puzzle that if enrolments were as a result of incentives, it leads to the counter argument that the benefits from child labor were higher. When contextualized with the incidence of child labor in India, the puzzle arises to the rationale for the poor for sacrificing opportunity costs (forgone earnings), especially when several Scholars have stated that the cost of enrolment is higher than the opportunity cost.

The dependent-provider model conceptualizes this problem by showing that when a child becomes a provider, he or she would benefit financially by not going to school. Therefore, the main research questions lie in ascertaining what are the factors which influence parental decisions on schooling besides the cost of education.

Fig 3 explains how the questions of enrolment will not be limited to the success of schemes unlike previous studies. Motivators and aspirations need to be assessed from the perspective of region (urban-rural), community, income groups, parental dynamics (i.e. whether the mother or the father is the key decision-maker) and the gender of the child in order to analyze their impact on perceptions and importance of these one-size-fits-all schemes. Perception of the quality of education for meeting future aspirations has also been considered in the design.

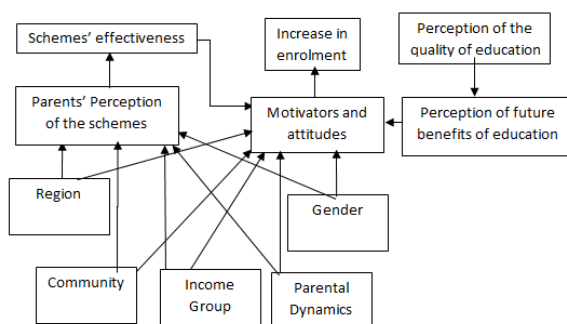


Fig 3: Process tracing: parental motivations

4. Case Selection: West Bengal

West Bengal has been selected for the case study due to its existing contradictions, variation in demographics and high performance in state level and national level incentive schemes.

West Bengal has performed better than most states in reducing the number of out-of-school children (from 7.8% in 2006 to 3.2% in 2014) (Pratham, 2015). At the same time, it has the highest incidence of child laborers in India (144 per 1000, NSSO, 2014), a figure thrice to the next state in comparison. Therefore, it presents a case of children being enrolled in school but still working.

West Bengal has the second highest concentration of a Muslim minority in India (26% of West Bengal's population is Muslim) (Census, 2011). This will help in understanding the role of communities in shaping parental motivations and aspirations across both majority and minority communities.

Bengal also has the second highest number of children taking private tuitions i.e.89% boys and 86% girls in UPS, which is much higher than the national average of 28% and 25% respectively (NSSO, 2015). At the same time, 20% of the population is BPL (Planning Commission, 2013). Therefore, it becomes interesting to understand what motivates parents to spend additionally on their children's education?

Also, at Secondary School and Higher Secondary School level, 89% boys and 92% girls in take private tuitions in West Bengal, much higher than the national average of 38% and 35% respectively (NSSO, 2015). More girls take private tuition than boys at this stage in West Bengal, indicating high aspiration levels for girls as well –a surprising finding in a country in which girls' life-chances are on the whole worse than boys'.

Introduction of state-level schemes such as Kanyashree scheme for girls (2013) makes study of West Bengal a strong case for evaluating the role of 'light at the end of the tunnel' schemes in shaping aspirations for girls as well.2.7 million girls in West Bengal are already beneficiaries of the Kanyashree Scheme aimed at helping poor girls continue with education and postpone marriage to the legally mandated age of 18 years (Press Trust India, 2015). This scheme provides cycles, Rupees 500 annual scholarship after completion of UPS and lump sum Rupees 25,000 upon completion of High School (Class XII). The effect of this scheme on parents' perception on educating their daughters was studied.

Moreover, West Bengal proves to be a suitable case for analyzing the role of schemes in influencing educational decisions. 79.6% of LPS goers in West Bengal receive free education, much above the national average of 59.9%. Also, 84.8% receive a mid-day meal at school, faring better than the national average at 62.5%. These benefits continue into UPS with 74.3% children in West Bengal getting free education which is much higher than the national average at 60.4%. 80.3% UPS children get mid-day meal, which is again much higher than national average at 61.6% (NSSO, 2015).

5. Methods of Data Collection

5.1 Qualitative Semi-Structured Depth Interviews

Data for this study were first collected through 48 qualitative interviews. The sample for this study comprised rural and urban regions of Gocharan and Kolkata respectively. The data was collected from 48 respondents spread diversely over the APL and BPL group as summarised in Fig 4.

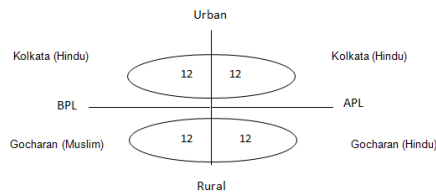


Fig 4: Respondent profile for semi-structured depth interviews

5.2 Focus Group Discussions

The Focus Group Discussions (FGDs) provided a broader and cohesive picture for analysis. They complemented the depth interviews by understanding peer dynamics through debate and disagreements. Focus Group Discussions were carried out in 4 locations with 8-10 low income APL and BPL participants each. Discussant profiles have been summarised in Fig 5.

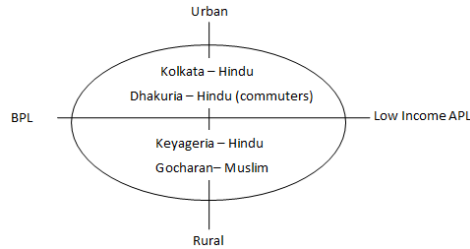


Fig 5: Respondent profile for focus group discussions

6. Research Findings

Previous research has already established that enrolment has increased particularly among the poor and the marginalized, especially for girls after the introduction of schemes and policy interventions such as the MDMS. However, these quantitative studies are limited to using secondary level data, therefore limiting the treatment of the poor (269.8 million Indians who live Below the Poverty Line) as a homogeneous entity. This qualitative study overcame this shortcoming by probing the heterogeneity within the poor. The findings from this study shows beyond doubt that there is variation in educational decision-making within BPL households in terms of the extent of poverty and subsequently, aspirations. There are poor and then there are the 'very poor'. Both constitute the BPL.

Secondly, no other study has evaluated the role of aspirations and attitudes as these cannot be quantified. The findings indicate that parents' perception of the importance of education and attitude towards schemes in helping enrolment varied even within BPL households, depending on region, community, income levels as well as aspirations. For majority of the poor people, the cost of education was not the sole factor determining the choice of education. Aspirations, exposure, changing requirements of the job market, parental education and desire for respect were important drivers of enrolment for poorest households.

6.1 Key role of aspirations among the poor

The findings from this research indicate aspirations to be the key motivator for sending children to school in most of the poor households which were not 'very poor'. This finding highlights the deficiency in the existing understanding of school participation among the poor in research. Researchers over the years have overlooked the possibility of aspirations among the poor as a crucial motivator for sending their children to school, a dimension which has emerged from this study.

6.2 Role of exposure and civil society for higher aspirations in the urban context

Among BPL households, aspirations were highest among parents from Kolkata followed by those families which lived in villages but whose mothers commuted to Kolkata every day for work. The reasons for high aspirations in the city were firstly due to the exposure and constant interaction with educated urban individuals who acted as role models. Secondly, NGOs and civil society played a crucial role in the city in encouraging parents to see the long term benefits of education and helping them acquire skills for good jobs. Aspirations involved white collar jobs which would bring respect. English and Computers skills were perceived to be imperative for meeting these aspirations.

6.3 Growing rural aspirations for formal skills training and desire for mainstream education among Muslims

In the villages, aspirations were limited to the kind of jobs available in the region or community. In both, Gocharan hinterland (Muslim) and Keyageria (Hindu) villages, aspirations involved acquiring formal skills training which required a minimum education. Therefore, education was considered necessary.

Muslims aspirations were significantly lower than that of Hindus in the villages. *Madrasas* have been a popular choice among Muslim households. (UNICEF, 2014 and Jha and Jingran, 2005). Most Muslim parents, being educated in *Madrasas*, found it difficult to secure mainstream jobs – a problem discussed in detail by Dalvi (2015) Jha and Shahjahan

(2010) and Jeffery et al. (2007). Therefore, the type of jobs they aspired for their children were expected pathways associated with their community. Muslim parents now aspired for formal training for their children so that they could work in other Indian states or the Gulf rather than limiting the children to their fathers' footsteps. BPL Muslims were now choosing mainstream education for their children as they found it necessary for entry into government schemes/training. This movement among Muslims from *madrasas* to government schools is taking place despite the government's Madrasa Modernization Program. Studies by the Government of India (2014), Samson et al., (2007) and Drèze and Goyal (2003) attributing increased enrolment among minorities solely to incentives have overlooked the role of future aspirations in motivating parents for this decision.

6.4 Mothers' education and economic position and its impact on educational choices

Households where mothers were more educated than their husbands and earned regular incomes had significantly higher aspirations for their children. In Kolkata, BPL mothers earned more and were better educated than their husbands. They therefore took decisions regarding their children's education and had high aspirations particularly for their daughters. In Keyageria (Hindu village), where mothers did not have regular jobs, the fathers were the decision-makers. This interplay of gender, power dynamics and communal differences could be seen at its other extreme in Gocharan, where Muslim mothers, who were less educated than their husbands, had very little influence on decision making.

While studies by Tsujita (2011), Jalan (2010), Dreze and Goyal (2003) and Behrman and Rosenzweig (2002) have found positive impact of mothers' education on children's learning outcomes, the findings from this study indicate that decision-making processes are more complex than they appear. Decisions are also largely determined by communal and regional factors which shape women's aspirations and inherent position as decision-makers within the household. Aspirations (especially for daughters) are higher when mothers are more educated of the two parents and earn regular income.

Parental aspirations were a critical determinant for economic sacrifices to afford private tuitions for their children. The fact that most BPL parents (both urban and rural) were spending on additional private tuition for their children indicates the importance they assigned to education. They were not sending children to school for the incentives and low cost education; rather it was for a better life, spending in some cases 1/4th to 1/5th of the family income on private tuition.

6.5 Positive role of policy interventions in enrolment among the 'very poor'

Even the poorest and the illiterates were aware of the importance of education. Therefore, the availability of a free meal, free education and no fail policy have replaced the high cost of education and opportunity costs from failure and has made attending school an option even for the very poor. Their children went to school primarily for the benefits such as the school meal and to avoid social exclusion.

School meals were seen as savings for very poor families. The schemes still did not make education financially viable as many researchers have argued, that these children were going to school primarily for the benefits, rather than an education (Afridi, 2010; Vermeersch and Kremer, 2005; Schultz, 2004). Their engagement in economic activities after attending school instead of focusing on education proves that schemes such as MDMS are beneficial but do not make education cost-effective.

The RTE which made education a Fundamental Right and hence 'free and compulsory' for all children till the age of 14 in 2009, has made it legally binding for even the poorest of households to enroll their children in school. However, the Child Labor (Prohibition and Regulation) Act legally permits children to help their parents at work despite RTE's attempt to make education compulsory. After the introduction of the No Fail Policy, children are allowed to progress to the next class even without a minimum attendance or grade. Therefore, children from the poorest households work after school or even go to work while remaining absent from school when opportunity costs become very high (harvest season). Enrolment in schools (not to be confused with attendance) complements work for children instead of substituting it. Jalan's (2010) study in West Bengal found less than 20% children in West Bengal attend school regularly – illness housework, farming and looking after siblings were common reasons.

Parents of first generation learners were unable to assess the quality of education. Absence of skills development in the curriculum being taught at school made parents skeptical of sending their child to school. This has been highlighted in Jha and Jhingran's (2005) study as well. Children too lacked enthusiasm to go to school since their irregular attendance and lack of private tuition had made it very difficult for them to cope with their studies.

The poor sympathized with the 'very poor' and stated that in some of these families, education is not even an

option when there is no food to eat at home, thus justifying child labor. According to the BPL parents, no mother would want to see their child work. If they are working while attending school, it is because it is the only option for the very poor. Therefore, the acceptance of child labor continues within Indian society but is limited only to the 'very poor' where long-term aspirations are absent.

6.6 *The No Fail Policy and the declining learning curve*

While assessing the cause for the declining curve, Chavan (2014) raises the question of a coincidence, correlation or causation between learning levels which began to decline since 2010, right after the introduction of the RTE and the NFP in 2009. On basis of qualitative data, this research confirms, based on parents' concerns, that there is indeed a causation of the declining learning curve caused by the RTE's No Fail Policy (NFP).

Parents in Gocharan and Keyagria complained that children had become complacent and disobedient due to the NFP since there was no pressure to qualify for next class. Majority BPL households (88%) in Kolkata appointed private tutors, the remaining had NGO support. However, in Gocharan, 25% of the BPL respondents could not afford private tutors. The NFP has made it extremely difficult for these (mostly illiterate) parents without tutors to keep track of what their children were learning in school in the absence of regular assessments.

The fieldwork in rural Bengal also found that there was a diversion of focus from academics (Rana and Das, 2004, Si and Sharma, 2004; Afridi; 2005; Mohanty, 2014). Many parents felt that absent teachers and the MDMS were the cause of poor learning. However, this claim lacks a credible explanation since learning outcomes have been declining from 2010, whereas the problem of midday meals disrupting education has not had a negative impact on the learning outcomes until the implementation of the RTE and the NFP. This establishes that poor teaching or the lack of teaching due to administering the 15-year-old MDMS may not be a strong factor for the decline in learning levels in the past 5 years as perceived by parents.

6.7 *Declining learning curve: the effect of rising enrolment among the 'very poor' and rising aspirations*

The objective of this research was to understand why parents were sending their children to school despite the declining learning curve. However, this led to the discovery that the declining learning curve was, to an extent, the effect of increased enrolment, rather than a cause for concern for parents seeking enrolment for their children.

The learning curve is declining for the very reasons of enrolment of first generation learners from 'very poor' households who were not able to cope with the system. Jalan's (2010) study in West Bengal had found a direct correlation between educational attainments by parents and test scores. Students from households belonging to the top wealth quartile were found to perform well, irrespective of whether they took private tuition or not. However, for poorer wealth quartiles, private tuition positively impacted test scores. Corroborating Jalan's (2010) findings from student-side learning outcomes with this study's findings based on parental aspirations and perceptions, provides strong evidence that first generation-learners have the biggest handicap, especially in rural areas, without the means to afford private tutors and in the absence of NGO support. The unique challenges they face were accounting for lower mean outcomes.

Secondly, the rising aspirations among Muslim households resulted in the recent shift towards mainstream government schools instead of traditional *madrasas*. The Sachar Committee also found that Muslim parents are open to mainstream schooling for their children (Government of India, 2006). NCERT (2014) shows that 58% of the 15 million new entrants into government's schools during 2007-11 were Muslims who previously went to *madrasas* or were out of school. According to Jalan's (2010) measure of learning outcomes in West Bengal, Muslim girls and first generation learners performed the worst whereas Hindu boys performed the best. Therefore, their inclusion into mainstream education resulted in the twin disadvantages of being a historically deprived community, with a handicap similar to that of first generation learners' since their parents mostly received informal education in *madrasas*.

Thirdly, migration from public to private school among APL households had a negative effect on the mean learning curve. 67% APL respondents in Gocharan had previously enrolled their children in government schools but were now sending their children to the new English medium private schools. These children were all (at minimum) second generation learners whose parents had studied in government schools but now wanted a better education (with English and computer lessons) for their children.

This study therefore indicates that the combined forces of growing aspirations among second generation learners (preferring private schools), growing aspirations among Muslims and the inclusion of first generation learners have all contributed to the decline in mean learning outcomes together with the relaxation of studies due to the No Fail Policy. 7.

7. Conclusion

This research not only identified a paradox emerging within the elementary education system but after extensive fieldwork in rural and urban West Bengal, filled this gap in research.

School participation in poor households has been oversimplified to be dependent on the cost of education (direct and opportunity cost). A dichotomy exists, even within BPL households regarding schooling. While government incentives and policy initiatives have accounted for massive enrolment among the 'very poor' first generation learners of BPL households, there are many living below the poverty line who are sending their children to schools for factors besides the reduced cost of education vis-à-vis these schemes. These include high aspiration levels and the need for respect, findings which have emerged from this study.

Existing research has discounted the strong motivating factor of rising aspirations in the paradigm change of enrolment in India. The rise in enrolment among the poor has been explained by researchers as a consequence of various schemes and policies, excluding the critical role played by parents at the decision-making level.

The Right to Education Act in 2009, making education 'free and compulsory for all' has contributed significantly to the enrolment of first generation learners from very poor households. At the same time, education, even with its incentives is not a financially viable option for them. Their poverty and subsequent compulsion to work does not allow them to benefit beyond the availability of the school meal. They progress through the education system due to the No Fail Policy without learning. The absence of a ban on child labor in India in itself indicates that those living in extreme poverty cannot forsake their children's income in order for their household to survive.

This study has led to the discovery that the increase in enrolment among these 'very poor' and illiterate, combined with growing aspirations among other BPL parents (particularly the historically disadvantaged Muslims, who are now enrolling in mainstream government education instead of *madrasas*) has impacted the learning curve due to the complex nature of challenges faced by first generation learners. This situation, combined with the government to private school migration among the APL households with high aspirations, has further contributed to declining mean learning outcomes in government schools in the recent years. Views about the declining learning curve as a failure of the government education system have not taken these factors into account.

However, there is still scope for the government to improve the existing education system. A segmented learning curve showing variance rather than mean will help in capturing the complexities of different socio-economic groups. This will help in problem identification which can further be addressed through target-based schemes. The education system can become truly inclusive by providing educational support for the first generation learners and introducing languages such as Urdu for the Muslims in all government schools. While the Right to Education has increased enrolment, education can become a reality once every child's right to aspire is recognized.

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Appendix

Interview Responses from Depth Interviews (Summarized)

Table 1: Key decision-makers for children's education (among parents)

Response	Mother	Father	Both	Other	No Answer
Kolkata APL	5	4	3	0	0
Kolkata BPL	7	2	3	0	0
Gocharan APL	3	5	4	0	0
Gocharan BPL	1	5	2	2	2

Note: APL (Above Poverty Line), BPL (Below Poverty Line)

Table 2: Educational attainments of parents

Response	Father>Mother	Mother>Father	No Answer
Kolkata APL	4	5	3
Kolkata BPL	4	8	1
Gocharan APL	6	5	1
Gocharan BPL	8	1	2

Table 3: Employment of fathers

Response	Kolkata APL	Kolkata BPL	Gocharan APL	Gocharan BPL
Seasonal/Daily Wage	0	0	0	5
Regular	9	11	5	4
No Work	3	1	7	3

Table 4: Employment of mothers

Response	Kolkata APL	Kolkata BPL	Gocharan APL	Gocharan BPL
Seasonal/Daily Wage	2	4	0	6
Regular	10	4	12	5
No Work	0	3	0	2

Table 5: Motivation for sending children to school

Response	Urban (Kolkata)		Rural (Gocharan)	
	APL	BPL	APL	BPL
Better Job	4	8	3	5
Escape Poverty	0	0	0	5
Respect	0	3	0	2
Expected	8	1	9	0

Table 6: Language skills: Importance of learning English

Response	Urban (Kolkata)		Rural (Gocharan)	
	APL	BPL	APL	BPL
Important	12	9	12	3
Not Important	0	0	0	5
Indifferent	0	3	0	4

Table 7: Language Skills: Satisfaction with medium of instruction at school

Response	Urban (Kolkata)		Rural (Gocharan)	
	APL	BPL	APL	BPL
Yes	8	6	9	3
No	2	3	2	6
Don't Know	2	3	1	3

Table 8: Computer skills: Importance for child's future prospects

Response	Urban (Kolkata)		Rural (Gocharan)	
	APL	BPL	APL	BPL
Yes	8	6	9	3
No	2	3	2	6
Don't Know	2	3	1	3

Table 9: Access to internet and satisfaction with computer lessons in school

Question	Response	Urban (Kolkata)		Rural (Gocharan)	
		APL	BPL	APL	BPL
Access to Internet	Yes	8	4	9	3
	Somewhat	4	6	0	4
	No	0	2	3	5
Satisfied with computer lessons	Receives	9	6	7	5
	Yes	6	3	6	3
	No	1	0	0	0
	Don't Know	2	3	1	2
	Doesn't Receive	3	6	5	7

Table 10: Mid-Day meal availability and how it is eaten

Question	Response	Urban (Kolkata)		Rural (Gocharan)	
		APL	BPL	APL	BPL
Availability of MMS	Yes	9	11	5	12
	Private School	3	1	7	0
	Other	0	0	0	0
Meal Function	Meal	0	5	0	7
	Tiffin Only	3	0	4	1
	Combination	6	6	1	4

Table 11: Perception towards Mid-Day Meal Scheme in helping enrolment among poorer households

Question	Response	Urban (Kolkata)		Rural (Gocharan)	
		APL	BPL	APL	BPL
Perception of MMS	Reason to send to school	0	1	0	2
	Useful/convenient	3	8	1	9
	Pointless	9	3	11	1
Necessary for Poorest	Yes	12	12	10	12
	No	0	0	0	0
	Don't Know	0	0	2	0

Table 12: Parents opinion of whether children worked in poorer households

Response	Urban (Kolkata)		Rural (Gocharan)	
	APL	BPL	APL	BPL
Yes	0	1	0	2
No	3	8	1	9
Sometimes	9	3	11	1

Table 13: Parents opinion over reasons of child labor

Response	Urban (Kolkata)		Rural (Gocharan)	
	APL	BPL	APL	BPL
Supplement income	7	5	4	5
Mindset	0	2	0	0
Help/skills	0	0	3	3
Low expectation from education	0	0	2	0
Low patience threshold	0	3	0	1
No reason	5	2	3	3

Table 14: Private tuition and their role

Question	Response	Urban (Kolkata)		Rural (Gocharan)	
		APL	BPL	APL	BPL
Child takes private tuition	Yes	12	10	12	8
	No	0	2	0	4
Reason for tuition	Reinforce school lesson (supplement)	12	9	7	2
	Learn alternatively (substitute)	0	0	5	6
	Other/Don't Know	0	1	0	0

Table 15: Importance of NSDC Schemes and other Government rural skill development opportunities as a motivator for sons

Response	Urban (Kolkata)		Rural (Gocharan)	
	APL	BPL	APL	BPL
Very Important	1	2	0	4
Useful	2	6	1	5
Not Important	5	3	8	0

Table 16: Importance of the Kanyashree Scheme as a motivator for daughters

Response	Urban (Kolkata)		Rural (Gocharan)	
	APL	BPL	APL	BPL
Very Important	1	4	0	0
Useful	5	5	0	4
Not Important	2	0	7	4