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**Landholdings, Occupation, and Investments in Education in Rural
India: A Field Survey in Appadurai Village, Tiruchirapalli District,
Tamil Nadu**

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Introduction

Owing to economic reforms that were gradually implemented in India since the early 1980s, the country's economy today receives considerable global attention, despite having suffered long-term stagnation soon after independence. India achieved an annual growth of 8.8% and 9.8% in 1999 and 2007, respectively. Despite the global economic recession in 2008, India's economy made a quick recovery and recorded a 10.3% growth in 2010. Some economists pointed out that the economy gradually slowed down in 2010, when in fact, it actually grew at about 6%.

In the past, owning land often meant improvement in economic conditions owing to the stabilization of household budgets and a rise in social status. Today, however, it appears that the situation has greatly changed. For example, Kurosaki and Wada (2015) pointed out that net agricultural land area had gradually decreased in sections of Indian states, implying that people had abandoned their agricultural practices and had left their villages. Oster and Steinberg (2013) showed that globalized economy raised the importance of education and even people living in rural India began to evaluate investment in education. These previous studies suggest that globalization led some people to invest in education and migrate to secondary and tertiary industries for higher wages.

On the contrary, others focused on landholdings. Yanagisawa (2014) indicated that the proportion of landless households had gradually decreased in the rural areas of South India as they enhanced their landholdings, while upper castes reduced their landholdings. Individuals' behavior related to landholdings can be attributed to the differences in their expectations of economic production. For instance, although economic growth in India was remarkable, not everyone enjoyed the fruits of this growth. Edmonds et al. (2010) suggested that the economic reforms implemented in India in the 1990s had negative effects on individuals' standard of living, at least in the short term. Wada (2013) indicated the possibility that changes in economic circumstances had negative effects on inequality in India, especially for the future generations, owing to differences in investment in education.

To understand the trends, effects, and implications of landholdings, it might be useful to survey previous studies that focused on the effects of land reforms in India, although this study does not directly examine the effects of land reforms on the landholdings of individuals. Some previous studies examined the effects of land reforms in India, but the effects of these reforms were ambiguous. Besley and Burgess (2000), one of the most famous studies that examined the effects of land reforms implemented

in India, divided reforms into four categories: (1) tenancy reforms, (2) the abolition of intermediates, (3) ceilings on landholding, and (4) consolidation. Their study showed that tenancy reforms and the abolition of intermediates contributed to poverty reduction, as well as an increase in the wages of agricultural laborers. Banerjee, Gertler, and Ghatak (2002) examined the effects of land reforms implemented in West Bengal, known as “Operation Barga.” Their empirical analysis showed that “Operation Barga” contributed to improvements in agricultural productivity through the empowerment of tenants, leading to a reduction in poverty and inequality. In addition, they also concluded that there was no trade-off between efficiency and equality.¹ On the contrary, other studies showed that land reforms did not have clearly positive effects on people’s welfare. For instance, based on analysis of the four categories of land reforms, Ghatak and Roy (2007) showed that there was no significant impact of land reforms on land inequality.² Examining household data of West Bengal villages, Bardhan, Luca, Mookherjee, and Pino (2014) found that the tenancy reform ameliorated land inequality through household divisions and land market transactions but its effect was offset by effects of natural population growth, indicating no clear evidence of a reduction in inequality. Some previous studies analyzed the effects of colonial-era institutions. For instance, based on differences in the systems of land revenue, Banerjee and Iyer (2005) divided districts into two groups (landlord system and non-landlord system), and examined the differences between these systems. The empirical analysis showed that the two groups experienced dissimilar conditions after independence; one group, which is characterized by non-landlord system, experienced an enhancement in public goods while the other did not. In fact, they showed that this was not because of the colonial legacy, but rather, because the economic policies implemented in each group after the country’s independence were completely different.³

Taken in its entirety, whether land reforms improved the welfare of people was debatable. According to Besley et al. (2016), some people enjoyed the fruits of land reforms, while others did not; people from the middle classes increased their landholdings but people from the backward classes could not afford to purchase land and therefore, could not improve their living conditions through landholdings.

¹ As for the key determinants of the land redistributive policies carried out in West Bengal, see also Bardhan and Mookherjee (2010).

² They pointed out that it is partly because implementation of land reform is likely to be correlated with other government policies and economic trends, and partly because focusing on average treatment effects conceal a considerable amount of heterogeneity.

³ However, the differences in economic policies after independence were attributed to the differences in the land revenue systems (Banerjee and Iyer, 2005).

Nevertheless, their welfare improved due to an increase in agricultural labor wages that were a result of land reforms.

It is unclear whether lands were acquired or relinquished owing to various factors and whether this could also be attributed partly to the extent of returns expected in future from these lands. This study seeks to understand the current situation in a village in Tamil Nadu. According to Kurosaki and Wada (2015), Tamil Nadu is one of the states where the agricultural sector started to quickly change in terms of crops, fertilizers, intensity, and so on. In February and March 2013, the authors conducted a field survey in Appadurai Village, District, Tamil Nadu. Following a study by Professor Haruka Yanagisawa, this study strives to capture the current situation of people's welfare in southern rural India by focusing on their landholdings. In particular, children's enrollment in school serves as a proxy for people's welfare.

Characteristics of the Study Village

The study area is located in Tiruchirapalli district, which lies in the central part of Tamil Nadu. According to the data provided by the International Crops Research Institute for the Semi-Arid Tropics (ICRISAT), the average annual rainfall in the district is about 800 mm. The fields surrounding the study village are declared as dry areas despite the mighty Kaveri River flowing adjacent to the village. The Kaveri River is one of the principal rivers in South India and its delta comprises the largest paddy cultivating area in Tamil Nadu (Yanagisawa 1983). The village under study is located on the banks of the Coleroon River, which is a tributary of the Kaveri River, and the village is irrigated by the Ayyan Channel, which, in turn, obtains water from the Kaveri River (Yanagisawa 1983). Therefore, the village is a "wet village" in the Kaveri Delta, and is a large producer of rice (Yanagisawa 1983).

The Appadurai Village consists of three hamlets: Appadurai, Melavaladi, and Akilandapuram (Yanagisawa 1981; 1983). Table 1 shows the caste composition of households in Appadurai Village.⁴ The number of households from both the upper castes and the middle castes is relatively small. The proportion of other backward castes (OBCs) is the largest, accounting for 68% of the village population, followed by the scheduled castes (SCs) that account for 23%. Figure 2 and Table 2 demonstrate the demography of Appadurai Village. As seen in the demography of India, the sex

⁴ According to a field survey conducted by Yanagisawa in 2007–2008, Appadurai Village had about 570 households. Owing to people moving and their absence, the number of households investigated in the 2013 field survey was lower than this number.

composition is also skewed in the village: there are more men than women. In line with the skewed sex composition of the rest of India, the demographics of the target village are also skewed with a male to female sex ratio of 0.943. However, the index for each caste shows a somewhat different picture: the sex composition of the middle castes and the upper OBCs (in particular, that of the middle castes) is distorted, while that of the lower OBCs and SCs is not.

Landholdings and Occupation

Table 3 shows the landholdings patterns for each caste. Landless households account for more than 80%. Sixty-one OBC households and 15 SC households owned their lands in 2013. Of these, 37 OBC households and 7 SC households inherited their lands, suggesting that 24 OBC households and 8 SC households had made recent or additional land purchases, suggesting that some people highly evaluated landholdings and acquired recent or additional land. Figure 3 shows the summary statistics of the size of land owned by each caste. In addition, it should be noted that among the 101 SC households, only 15 households owned their lands, but their maximum land size of four acres was not considered small.⁵

Table 4 indicates the main activities of household heads. Farming of their own land comprises 9%, while farming of rented lands comprises 4%.⁶ The proportion of salaried workers is 12% in the non-agricultural sector, and 5% in the public sector. Casual-wage laborers comprise the largest proportion: the proportions of laborers in the public, agriculture, and non-agricultural sectors are 2%, 19%, and 29%, respectively. Tables 5 and 6 were prepared by dividing Table 4 by landownership. Nearly 30% of the landless household heads work in non-agricultural (private) sector as casual-wage laborers and 23% work in the agricultural sector as casual-wage laborers. Almost half of the landowning household heads engage in farming of their own land. More importantly, it is worth noting that 11% of them work as regular salaried laborers in the non-agricultural sector, implying that people have gradually enhanced their livelihood through landholdings and now seek a more stable occupation in urban employment, as pointed out by Yanagisawa (2014).

Table 7 was prepared by dividing Table 4 based on caste. Among the 41

⁵ It should be noted that there were absentee landlords, but in principle the survey was conducted based on interviews with people living in the village.

⁶ In fact, the 2013 field survey did not collect information on land lease markets in Appadurai Village. This is not large as compared with the figure of owned land, but it cannot be ignored. This problem should be dealt with in future studies.

households engaged in farming of their own land, 35 belong to the OBC, while 6 belong to the SC. Regular salaried work is important in terms of the stability of household incomes; attention should be paid to the figure for SC households in which the head works as a regular salaried worker. Thirty-five of the 314 OBC households (11%) and 14 of the 97 SC households (14%) are engaged in the non-agricultural sector as regular salaried workers, indicating that the proportion of SCs is higher than that of OBCs. In addition, the proportion of casual-wage laborers should be noted. As for the proportion of casual-wage laborers in the non-agricultural sector, OBCs account for a higher proportion (31%) than SCs (16%); these figures, however, are the opposite when regarding casual-wage laborers in the agricultural sector.

According to Yanagisawa (1981; 1983), the trend in landholdings has gradually changed in Appadurai Village. Using the data from 1925 to 1979, he showed that the landholdings in Appadurai Village gradually changed hands from the upper classes to the lower classes; the villagers, who mostly consisted of OBC and SC people, increased their landholdings by acquiring land from upper-class people who migrated to urban or other rural areas (Yanagisawa 1981; 1983): For instance, one of the OBC, Muthuraja, expanded their landholdings twice in about 50 years, from 31 acres in 1927 to 66 acres in 1979. In addition, Yanagisawa (2014) showed that the extent of land owned by Brahmins decreased, other forward castes started to secure non-agricultural employment in urban areas, and OBCs and SCs improved their status by acquiring their own lands in villages. Yanagisawa (2014) identified four factors that caused these trends: (1) OBCs and SCs obtained tenancy, (2) OBCs and SCs obtained landownerships, (3) the conditions for long-term employment in the agricultural sector changed, and (4) casual labor markets also changed. Although these factors are considered closely correlated, overall, they contributed to the improvement in OBCs and SCs' living standards.

There is no doubt that factors (1) and (2) improved people's economic circumstances. Factors (1) and (2) led to a gradual shortage of agricultural laborers, thereby changing labor market conditions and leading to improvements in long-term employment in the agricultural sector (factor 3) and to higher wages of casual laborers (factor 4). Consequently, factors (3) and (4) undoubtedly contributed to an improvement in the living standards of the poor. The implications of factors (3) and (4) in Table 7 may be worth noting. Yanagisawa (2014) pointed out that people preferred casual laborers to regular laborers at the time, for two reasons: As casual laborers engaged in various jobs in the non-agricultural sector, casual labor wages rose as a whole, and long-term employment in the agricultural sector meant "subordinate" relationships with landlords. According to Table 7, casual laborers of OBC were more often employed in the non-

agricultural sector than those of SC, implying that OBC preceded SC in casual labors as seen in landholdings.

Factor (1) was brought about by the Dravida Agricultural Labourers Association, and factor (2) was caused mainly by land reforms (Yanagisawa 1983; 2014). In addition, Yanagisawa (2014) pointed out the importance of technological advances, such as the Green Revolution. There are many factors that have brought about changes in the lives of people living in rural areas, but the following three factors should be considered to be critically of importance as exogenous factors: civic movements (as represented by the Dravida Agricultural Labourers Association), land reforms, and technological advances (as represented by the Green Revolution).⁷ These effects should be analyzed empirically in future studies.

School Enrollment

Table 8 shows the main activities of children aged 6 to 14 years in Appadurai Village. Of the 199 children, only three did not attend school. Viewed purely in terms of enrollment, it appears that educational conditions have greatly improved compared with those in the past.⁸ However, it is worth noting that some children entered primary school later than their peers. Normally, children enter primary school at age 6, and should, therefore, be 13 years old in the 8th year of their primary education. However, of the 199 children, 58 (29%) were not the right age for their class (Table 9). Although school age does not have much meaning institutionally in India, this condition would be worth noting because it might reflect people's behaviors based on their perception on education as well as their economic condition. Among the 199 children, not a single child had repeated any class, and therefore, all of the 58 children entered primary school late. According to Table 10, children from SC families were more likely to be late on day one of primary school. No discrimination between sexes was found (Table 11).

A different picture emerged when we focused on the types of schools that the children attended (Table 12). The types of schools are broadly divided into two categories, namely, public schools and private schools. Ignoring middle castes because of the small observation, the higher the castes that the children belonged to, the higher their proportion in private schools; 28% of OBC children attended private schools, while 23% of SC children attended. In addition, sex discrimination was somewhat observed. Ignoring the small number of middle castes, the proportion of boys attending private

⁷ In addition, Yanagisawa (1981) pointed out the effects of remittances from overseas.

⁸ Of course, this does not mean that the number can be ignored as it is small.

schools was higher than that of girls. Among OBC children, 30% of boys attended private schools, while 27% of girls attended these schools. With regard to SCs, 29% of the boys enrolled in private schools, which contrasted with the 17% of girls that attended.

In addition, landholdings provide similar picture. According to Table 13, children from landless households suffered slight disadvantages, which was anticipated because of the economic condition of landless households; a higher proportion of children from landowning households (37%) attended private school compared with children from landless households (21%). Moreover, Table 14 portrays a similar situation; there is a lower probability of children from landowning households commencing their education late (23%) than of children from landless households (33%).⁹

Table 15 provides a snapshot of the activities of children between ages 14 and 19, implying that children from upper-caste families underwent higher education as compared with those from SC families; 57% of the children from SC families continued to enroll themselves in education, while more than 80% of the children from middle and OBC families did so. Table 16 also illustrates the difference, although it is only 6% points, between landless and landowning households. To summarize, the effects of the differences caused by land ownership and the differences between castes remain even today but the former is not so large. The latter, the effect of the differences between castes, is dominant even today, even among lower classes. In terms of cost effectiveness, it might be more important to reduce the differences in people's perception on education between castes than the differences in landholdings.

Table 17 shows parental expectations of children's education for each caste. Generally, the largest proportion expected their children to achieve a college-level education. Table 18 provides the relationship between their expectations and their land ownership, demonstrating that parents with land have higher expectations from their children. Forty-two percent of parents with land expected their children to achieve an education beyond the college level, implying that people with land tend to have long-term perspectives of their futures and those of their children's. In that sense, households with land may precede landless households.

Yanagisawa (2014) elaborated on the relationship between education and occupation in South India. According to his studies, even in the early 1980s, Brahmin families perceived the importance of higher education and ensured that their children had a college- or university-level education, making it possible for them to obtain jobs as white-collar executives. Forward-caste families also had similar ideas, and they gave

⁹ Owing to some problems that occurred while conducting the field survey and data entry, some of the data were unavailable, resulting in a number of observations not matching.

their children Secondary School Leaving Certificate (SSLC) or Industrial Training Institute (ITI) level education, leading to their becoming skilled workers or managers. In the case of private companies, the types of job were specifically divided. In principle, workers for each type of job were directly employed from extraneous sources that rendered internal promotions impossible. For example, a worker with an SSLC education and who was employed as a manager could not be promoted to a white-collar executive position, as a college or university-level education was required. However, according to Yanagisawa (2014), in 2007, an SSLC education was insufficient for acquiring jobs that people with an SSLC could have normally secured. As higher education is expensive, the hierarchical structure based on castes usually corresponds to the structure found in urban employment (Yanagisawa 2014).

However, it should be noted that SC households had acquired and expanded their own lands in the long term, implying that their standard of living had gradually improved. As shown in Yanagisawa's studies, people escaped from their "subordinate status" as agricultural laborers via civic movements and land reforms etc., accumulated surplus little by little although it was quite small, and gradually raised their standard of living and social status. As already mentioned, it is evident that SC households acquired and expanded their landholdings by making purchases. In addition to landholdings, casual employment in the non-agricultural sector as well as regular employment is also important. Expanding opportunities for the non-agricultural sector, even if it is casual labor, combined with a shortfall of agricultural laborers as a result of land reforms, and so on, coupled with technological advances, led to a significant rise in wages.

In addition, it is worth noting the effect of changes in the village environs. Recently, some areas of Tiruchirapalli City gradually expanded resulting in the transformation of rural areas, which acquired urban characteristics. For instance, owing to the easier access to the city center enabled by highways that were built recently, many people working in Tiruchirapalli have started commuting from their villages. Villagers have access to electricity although not for the entire day, prompting them to own various durable goods such as color TVs, computers, motorcycles, and cell phones, and so on. In addition, as shown in several studies, the effects of globalization also contributed to the changes in people's lives.¹⁰ As suggested by Yanagisawa (2014), Jensen (2010), and Munshi and Rosenzweig (2006), it is very likely that people held strong views on the importance of education because of rapid changes in the economic scenario. In particular, the rising opportunities for employment in the non-agricultural sector brought about

¹⁰ For instance, see Munshi and Rosenzweig (2006), Jensen (2010), Oster and Steinberg (2013), and so on.

more investments in education owing to their large earnings and their perception of the importance of education; both these factors were induced by a rapid transformation of the economic scene in contemporary India. Considering the recent globalization, the effects of such rapid changes in India might be greater than that of changes in landholdings as people's views on the importance of education is undergoing greater change today as compared to the 1980s.

Concluding Remarks

The aim of this paper is to outline the recent trends in landholdings in South India and the factors affecting these trends, and to examine their effects on school enrollment as a proxy of household welfare. Based on these objectives, the analysis focused on landholdings, castes, and enrollment, using the data collected in the 2013 field survey conducted in Appadurai Village, Tiruchirapalli District, Tamil Nadu. The conclusions of the simple analysis based on the summary statistics can be summarized as follows.

Most of upper-caste households had already left their villages, and in their place, OBC and SC households gradually enhanced their land ownership, which possibly led to an improvement in their economic conditions. As for enrollment of children, the difference between castes was not large but was apparent. Similarly, differences between land ownership was also found, although they were not significantly large. It is worth noting that higher-caste households or households with land may precede the other households in terms of investments in education. There exists the differences between castes even among lower classes. Considering that Brahmin households evaluated the advantages of living in urban areas and left their villages, it remains ambiguous whether inequality has been ameliorated through the amendment of landholding patterns. Rather than clinging to expand landholdings, it might be better to focus on investment in education. In order to reduce the differences and inequality between castes, it could be more effective and efficient to change lower class people's perception on returns to education. That said, enhancement of landholdings no doubt contributed to the stability of household economic conditions and it is likely that households with land have long-term perspectives about their future, which significantly improves their standard of living.

Some problems have been left for future studies. First, trends in land lease markets have not been examined owing to the lack of data. Second, for the same reason, trends in credit and labor markets have not been examined. More importantly, it is not clear whether landholdings reduce inequality through stabilizing economic conditions of the

poor, or expand it through inefficient investment. These problems need to be empirically addressed by future studies.

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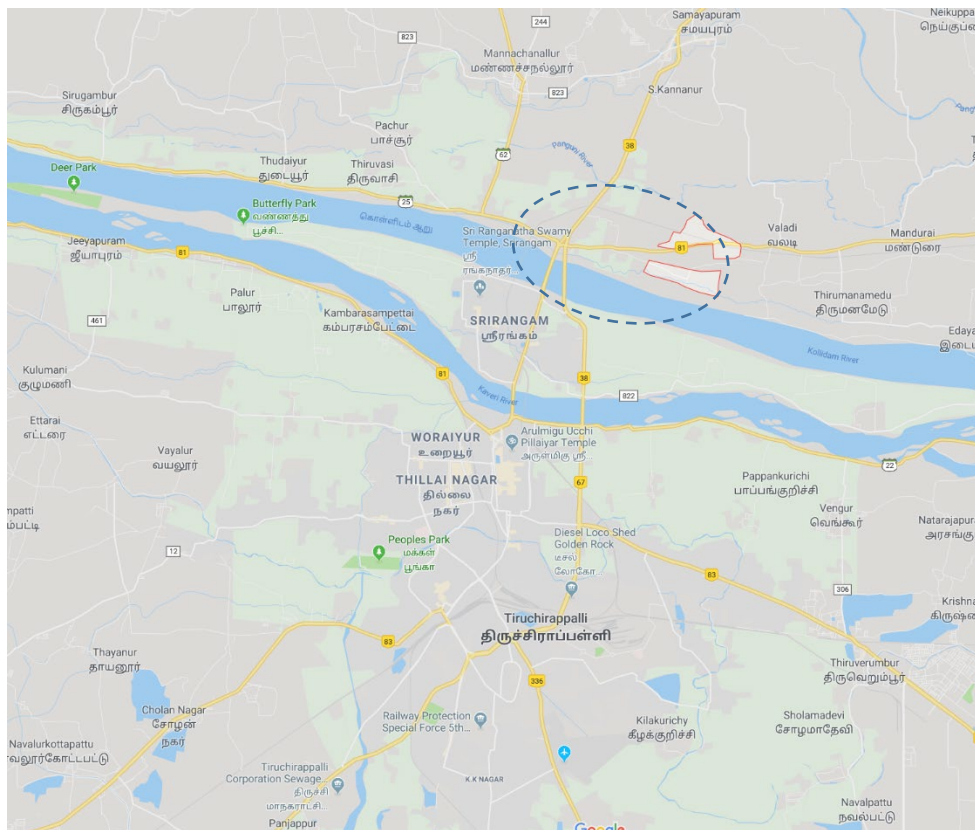
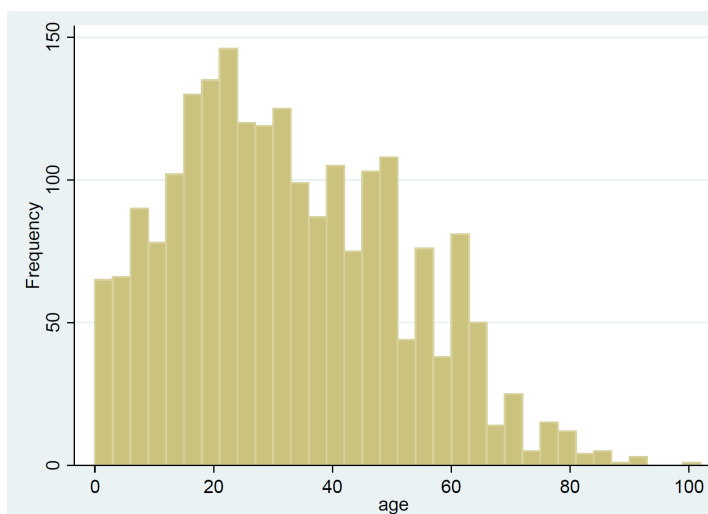


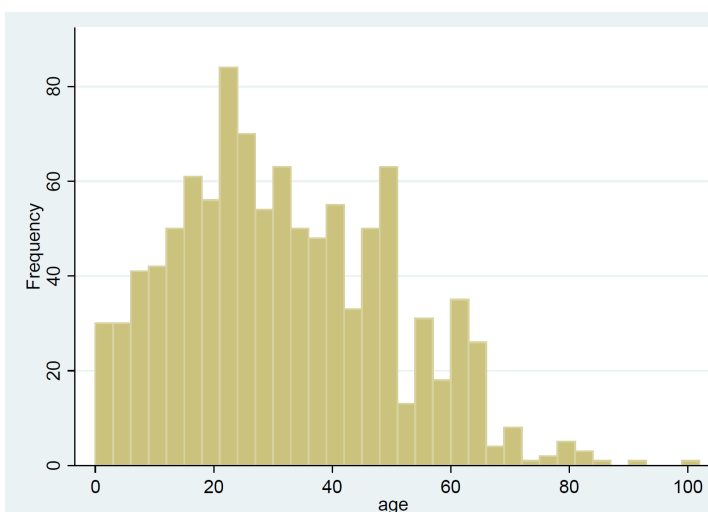
Figure 1

Source: Google Maps

Total



Female



Male

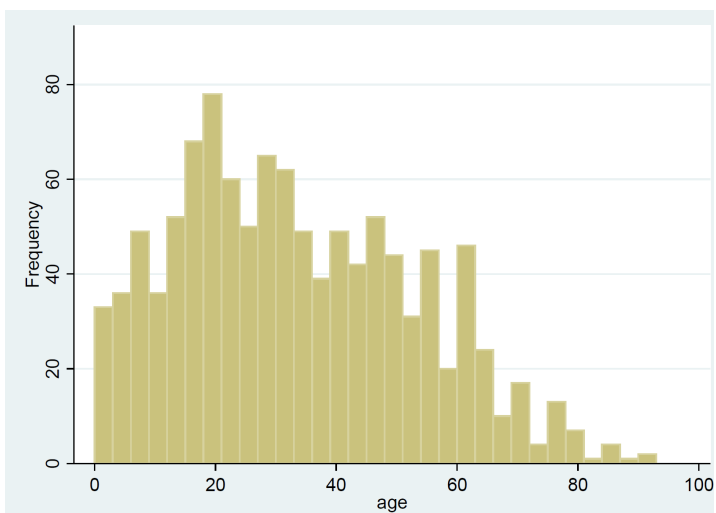
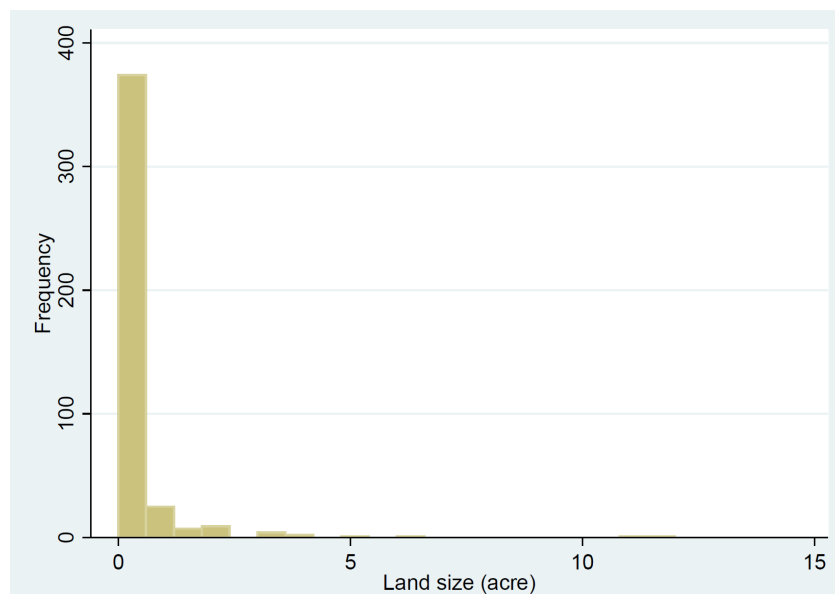


Figure 2 Village Demographics

Source: Field survey by author



	Obs	Mean	SD	Median	Max	Min
Upper castes	1	0		0	0	0
Middle castes	34	0.059	0.205	0	1	0
Upper OBC	264	0.384	1.239	0	12	0
Lower OBC	22	0.023	0.107	0	0.5	0
SC	101	0.151	0.538	0	4	0
Other	1	0		0	0	0
Total	425	0.280	1.022	0	12	0

Figure 3 Land size

Source: Field survey by author

Table 1 Caste composition

Caste	Obs	(%)
Upper castes	1	0.21
Middle castes	37	7.94
Upper OBC	296	63.52
Lower OBC	22	4.72
SC	109	23.39
Other	1	0.21
Total	466	100

Source: Field survey by author

Table 2 Village Demographics

Sex		Total	Upper castes	Middle castes	Upper OBC	Lower OBC	SC	Other
Male	Obs	1,084	3	87	700	47	242	5
	(%)	51.45	75	56.49	51.55	48.45	49.69	71.43
Female	Obs	1,023	1	67	658	50	245	2
	(%)	48.55	25	43.51	48.45	51.55	50.31	28.57
Total	Obs	2,107	4	154	1,358	97	487	7
	(%)	100	100	100	100	100	100	100

Source: Field survey by author

Table 3 Ownership of Landholdings

Landholdings		Upper castes	Middle castes	Upper OBC	Lower OBC	SC	Other	Total
Landowners	Obs	0	3	60	1	15	0	79
	(%)	0	8.82	22.73	4.55	14.85	0	18.68
Landless	Obs	1	31	204	21	86	1	344
	(%)	100	91.18	77.27	95.45	85.15	100	81.32
Total	Obs	1	34	264	22	101	1	423
	(%)	100	100	100	100	100	100	100

Source: Field survey by author

Table 4 Household heads' main activities

Household head's main activity	Obs	(%)
Farming in own land	41	9.13
Farming in rented land	19	4.23
Own accountant worker	31	6.9
Worked as helper in HH enterprise (unpaid family woker)	1	0.22
Regular salaried woker in public sector	21	4.68
Regular salaried woker in agricultural sector	1	0.22
Regular salaried woker in non-agricultural sector	54	12.03
Casual wage laborer in public sector	10	2.23
Casual wage laborer in agricultural sector	85	18.93
Casual wage laborer in non-agricultural sector	128	28.51
Seeking job	1	0.22
Attended domestic duties	18	4.01
Retired	35	7.8
Not able to work due to disability	3	0.67
Other (not known)	1	0.22
Total	449	100

Table 5 Household heads' main activities (landless households)

Household head's main activity (Landless household)	Obs	(%)
Farming in rented land	17	5.11
Own accountant worker	25	7.51
Worked as helper in HH enterprise (unpaid family woker)	1	0.3
Regular salaried woker in public sector	19	5.71
Regular salaried woker in agricultural sector	1	0.3
Regular salaried woker in non-agricultural sector	42	12.61
Casual wage laborer in public sector	8	2.4
Casual wage laborer in agricultural sector	77	23.12
Casual wage laborer in non-agricultural sector	98	29.43
Seeking job	1	0.3
Attended domestic duties	14	4.2
Retired	27	8.11
Not able to work due to disability	2	0.6
Other (not known)	1	0.3
Total	333	100

Table 6 Household heads' main activities (landowning households)

Household head's main activity (Landowning household)	Obs	(%)
Farming in own land	36	48
Farming in rented land	2	2.67
Own accountant worker	5	6.67
Regular salaried woker in public sector	2	2.67
Regular salaried woker in non-agricultural sector	8	10.67
Casual wage laborer in agricultural sector	4	5.33
Casual wage laborer in non-agricultural sector	10	13.33
Attended domestic duties	3	4
Retired	4	5.33
Not able to work due to disability	1	1.33
Total	75	100

Source: Field survey by author

Table 7 Household heads' main activities (for each caste)

HH head's main activity		Upper castes	Middle castes	Upper OBC	Lower OBC	SC	Other	Total
Farming in own land	Obs	0	0	34	1	6	0	41
	(%)	0	0	11.6	4.76	6.19	0	9.17
Farming in rented land	Obs	0	0	14	2	3	0	19
	(%)	0	0	4.78	9.52	3.09	0	4.25
Own accountant worker	Obs	0	6	20	3	2	0	31
	(%)	0	17.65	6.83	14.29	2.06	0	6.94
Worked as helper in HH enterprise (unpaid family woker)	Obs	0	0	0	0	1	0	1
	(%)	0	0	0	0	1.03	0	0.22
Regular salaried woker in public sector	Obs	1	0	13	0	7	0	21
	(%)	100	0	4.44	0	7.22	0	4.7
Regular salaried woker in agricultural sector	Obs	0	0	1	0	0	0	1
	(%)	0	0	0.34	0	0	0	0.22
Regular salaried woker in non- agricultural sector	Obs	0	5	32	3	14	0	54
	(%)	0	14.71	10.92	14.29	14.43	0	12.08
Casual wage laborer in public sector	Obs	0	0	3	0	6	0	9
	(%)	0	0	1.02	0	6.19	0	2.01
Casual wage laborer in agricultural sector	Obs	0	6	42	4	32	0	84
	(%)	0	17.65	14.33	19.05	32.99	0	18.79
Casual wage laborer in non- agricultural sector	Obs	0	14	94	4	16	0	128
	(%)	0	41.18	32.08	19.05	16.49	0	28.64
Seeking job	Obs	0	0	1	0	0	0	1
	(%)	0	0	0.34	0	0	0	0.22
Attended domestic duties	Obs	0	0	15	0	3	0	18
	(%)	0	0	5.12	0	3.09	0	4.03
Retired	Obs	0	3	22	4	5	1	35
	(%)	0	8.82	7.51	19.05	5.15	100	7.83
Not able to work due to disability	Obs	0	0	2	0	1	0	3
	(%)	0	0	0.68	0	1.03	0	0.67
Other (not known)	Obs	0	0	0	0	1	0	1
	(%)	0	0	0	0	1.03	0	0.22
Total	Obs	1	34	293	21	97	1	447
	(%)	100	100	100	100	100	100	100

Source: Field survey by author

Table 8 Main activities of children aged 6–13 years

Activity	Obs	(%)
Regular salaried woker in non-agricultural sector	1	0.5
Attended educational institution	196	98.49
Regular salaried woker in agricultural sector	2	1.01
Total	199	100

Source: Field survey by author

Table 9 Number of children enrolled late for primary school

	Obs	(%)
Not late	141	70.85
Late	58	29.15
Total	199	100

Source: Field survey by author

Table 10 Number of children enrolled late for primary school (for each caste)

		Middle castes	Upper OBC	Lower OBC	SC	Total
Not late	Obs	8	86	6	39	139
	(%)	72.73	72.27	100	63.93	70.56
Late	Obs	3	33	0	22	58
	(%)	27.27	27.73	0	36.07	29.44
Total	Obs	11	119	6	61	197
	(%)	100	100	100	100	100

Source: Field survey by author

Table 11 Number of children enrolled late for primary school (for each sex)

		Boys	Girls	Total
Not late	Obs	73	68	141
	(%)	70.87	70.83	70.85
Late	Obs	30	28	58
	(%)	29.13	29.17	29.15
Total	Obs	103	96	199
	(%)	100	100	100

Source: Field survey by author

Table 12 Type of school

		Middle castes	Upper OBC	Lower OBC	SC	Total
Public school	Obs	7	73	3	37	120
	(%)	87.5	73.74	50	77.08	74.53
Private school	Obs	1	26	3	11	41
	(%)	12.5	26.26	50	22.92	25.47
Total	Obs	8	99	6	48	161
	(%)	100	100	100	100	100

		Middle castes	Upper OBC	Lower OBC	SC	Total
Boys						
Public school	Obs	6	38	2	17	63
	(%)	100	71.7	66.67	70.83	73.26
Private school	Obs	0	15	1	7	23
	(%)	0	28.3	33.33	29.17	26.74
Total	Obs	6	53	3	24	86
	(%)	100	100	100	100	100

		Middle castes	Upper OBC	Lower OBC	SC	Total
Girls						
Public school	Obs	1	35	1	20	57
	(%)	50	76.09	33.33	83.33	76
Private school	Obs	1	11	2	4	18
	(%)	50	23.91	66.67	16.67	24
Total	Obs	2	46	3	24	75
	(%)	100	100	100	100	100

Source: Field survey by author

Table 13 Landownership and type of school

		Landless	Landowning	Total
Public school	Obs	92	17	109
	(%)	78.63	62.96	75.69
Private school	Obs	25	10	35
	(%)	21.37	37.04	24.31
Total	Obs	117	27	144
	(%)	100	100	100

Source: Field survey by author

Table 14 Landownership and lateness in enrolling for primary school

		Landless	Landowning	Total
Not late	Obs	99	23	122
	(%)	67.35	76.67	68.93
Late	Obs	48	7	55
	(%)	32.65	23.33	31.07
Total	Obs	147	30	177
	(%)	100	100	100

Source: Field survey by author

Table 15 Main activities of people aged 14–19 years (for each caste)

		Middle castes	Upper OBC	Lower OBC	SC	Total
Own accountant worker	Obs	0	2	0	0	2
	(%)	0	1.39	0	0	0.85
Worked as helper in HH enterprise (unpaid family	Obs	0	2	0	0	2
	(%)	0	1.39	0	0	0.85
Regular salaried woker in non-agricultural sector	Obs	1	6	0	8	15
	(%)	5.88	4.17	0	12.31	6.36
Casual wage laborer in public sector	Obs	0	0	0	2	2
	(%)	0	0	0	3.08	0.85
Casual wage laborer in agricultural sector	Obs	0	2	0	1	3
	(%)	0	1.39	0	1.54	1.27
Casual wage laborer in non-agricultural sector	Obs	1	5	0	5	11
	(%)	5.88	3.47	0	7.69	4.66
Seeking job	Obs	0	2	0	5	7
	(%)	0	1.39	0	7.69	2.97
Attended educational institution	Obs	14	117	10	37	178
	(%)	82.35	81.25	100	56.92	75.42
Attended domestic duties	Obs	1	7	0	7	15
	(%)	5.88	4.86	0	10.77	6.36
Not able to work due to disability	Obs	0	1	0	0	1
	(%)	0	0.69	0	0	0.42
Total	Obs	17	144	10	65	236
	(%)	100	100	100	100	100

Source: Field survey by author

Table 16 Main activities of people aged 14–19 years (based on landownership)

		Landless	Landowning	Total
Own accountant worker	Obs	1	1	2
	(%)	0.58	2.13	0.91
Regular salaried woker in non-agricultural sector	Obs	14	1	15
	(%)	8.09	2.13	6.82
Casual wage laborer in public sector	Obs	2	0	2
	(%)	1.16	0	0.91
Casual wage laborer in agricultural sector	Obs	3	0	3
	(%)	1.73	0	1.36
Casual wage laborer in non-agricultural sector	Obs	8	2	10
	(%)	4.62	4.26	4.55
Seeking job	Obs	3	2	5
	(%)	1.73	4.26	2.27
Attended educational institution	Obs	130	38	168
	(%)	75.14	80.85	76.36
Attended domestic duties	Obs	12	2	14
	(%)	6.94	4.26	6.36
Not able to work due to disability	Obs	0	1	1
	(%)	0	2.13	0.45
Total	Obs	173	47	220
	(%)	100	100	100

Source: Field survey by author

Table 17 Expectations regarding children's education (for each caste)

		Middle castes	Upper OBC	Lower OBC	SC	Other	Total
Up to 5th grade	Obs	0	1	0	0	0	1
	(%)	0	0.31	0	0	0	0.2
Up to 8th grade	Obs	0	1	0	0	0	1
	(%)	0	0.31	0	0	0	0.2
Up to 10th grade	Obs	0	5	0	0	0	5
	(%)	0	1.55	0	0	0	0.99
Up to 12th grade	Obs	5	27	0	12	0	44
	(%)	11.11	8.39	0	10.53	0	8.7
Collage level	Obs	25	194	15	76	2	312
	(%)	55.56	60.25	65.22	66.67	100	61.66
Beyond college level	Obs	15	94	8	26	0	143
	(%)	33.33	29.19	34.78	22.81	0	28.26
Total	Obs	45	322	23	114	2	506
	(%)	100	100	100	100	100	100

Source: Field survey by author

Table 18 Expectations regarding children's education (based on landownership)

		Landless	Landowning	Total
Up to 5th grade	Obs	1	0	1
	(%)	0.27	0	0.22
Up to 8th grade	Obs	1	0	1
	(%)	0.27	0	0.22
Up to 10th grade	Obs	3	1	4
	(%)	0.8	1.27	0.88
Up to 12th grade	Obs	38	4	42
	(%)	10.13	5.06	9.25
Collage level	Obs	242	41	283
	(%)	64.53	51.9	62.33
Beyond college level	Obs	90	33	123
	(%)	24	41.77	27.09
Total	Obs	375	79	454
	(%)	100	100	100

Source: Field survey by author