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Can Poverty be Educated Out?

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Abstract

The impact of education on earnings and thus on poverty works largely through labour market. Along with some other socio economic factors, education does play a crucial role to alleviate poverty. Better educated people has greater probability of being employed, are economically more productive and therefore capable to earn more income. The present paper tries to make an attempt to show how the universalization of education can be used as a tool to eradicate poverty in near future. In other words, the paper empirically explains how the problem of poverty can be waived off through spreading education among the present generation learners so as to create human capital for future to enhance economic growth and alleviate poverty. The paper brings into light the significance of education in addressing the problem of poverty by way of development of human capital.

Key Words: Poverty, Education, Drop Out

JEL Classification: I21, I22, I25, I32, P46

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I. Introduction

Poverty is a state of deprivation. It is measured in terms of inadequacy of income to produce minimum amount of calories. According to World Bank “Poverty is not only a problem of low income; rather it is a multidimensional problem that includes low access to opportunities for developing human capital and to education”. Hence, poverty is seen as the deprivation of opportunities that enhance human capabilities. The opportunities include, access to education, health, other social services, etc. However, education is considered to be the most important one among such opportunities. This is perhaps the best long term solution to the problem of poverty in the developing countries. Economists as well as social scientists say that educating children, especially girls, is the key to end the “Vicious Cycle of Poverty”. Education increases labour productivity and thereby helps a nation to have a strong economic growth. It is an instrument to raise income and reduce poverty. There is a bi-directional causality between poverty and education: poor people face the problem of access to education and without proper or adequate education people are often constrained to a life of poverty; the *education-poverty nexus*. Access to education might be the key to break this nexus. Keeping the long term goal of poverty eradication, if the present generation learners are provided with proper access to schooling, then they as well as the economy would surely come out of this nexus in near future. Generally it is observed that the probability of finding job is directly proportional to higher levels of education i.e. higher the level of education more is the chance of finding a job. Accordingly better educated person is expected to earn more as compared to a person with low level of education. In other words, if we take care of the education of today’s child, that would lead to better development of human capital and thereby high productivity which would lead to a definite eradication of poverty. Hence, to reduce poverty or to break the poverty trap, the policy makers need to ensure the proper development of human capital by ensuring quality education of all children who are supposed to be future of the economy. For this purpose, accessibility to school for a child is to be ensured. But, what determines the term “access to education” is to be identified. If a child is in school going age, then the proximate determinants of being enrolled and continue schooling for a child is to be found out. However, accessibility to school is merely an issue in today’s India, especially after the introduction of Sarva Shiksha Mission. Schools have been setup in nearby locations of each and every hamlet. So, question comes into mind that, what else is the

factor to be controlled so as to ensure schooling of a child? What determines the chances of being educated for a child is to be analyzed.

In this backdrop, the paper aims to study the interlinkage between education and poverty across the states of India with special reference to West Bengal and tries to find the socio-economic, demographic and parental factors that act as the prime forces for being educated for a child. Based on the entire discussion, the paper tries to put some short and long term policy suggestions to the policy makers so as to provide better chances for a child to be enrolled and form human capital thereby.

The first part of the paper deals with the analysis of interlinkage between poverty and education in a developing country like India and establishes the role of education as the key factor to alleviate poverty in long run. Education having identified as the prime instrument in improving economic wellbeing, the second part of the paper focuses on discussing child education as the escape route from poverty trap for an economy in the long run. The last part of the paper sums up the findings and provides some policy suggestions by finding the proximate determinants of human capital formation by way of finding the causes which acts as a retarding factor for a child to continue schooling.

II. Brief Review of Current Literature

In order to break the inter-generational transmission of poverty in a developing economy long term action on education is a must. Many studies have been made to establish the interlinkage between education and poverty. A recent significant work among those is by Awan et al. (2011). The paper deals with the fact that experience and educational achievement is negatively related with the poverty and with higher levels of education the chances of a person being non-poor increases. However, from the view point of policy perspective for long run economic growth of a developing economy, controlling school dropout is of special interest to the policy makers and planners. Ensuring enrollment and reducing dropout are the two basic steps for universal education and human capital building to ensure the sustainable growth of a nation. In Indian context the first such attempt to recognize elementary education as a must need for the country to enhance its growth was done by Weiner (1996). The study puts an effort on education of children to be recognized as the basic mean to sustain the continuous expansion of the economy and to cater the growing need of human capital, thereby suggesting to invest in its children. Considering investment on children as necessary condition for long run economic growth, many

researchers has focused on the achievement of sufficient condition latter on, viz. Accessibility, Affordability to those fruits of investment on child. Many studies were made to address the socio-economic determinants of elementary education across varied locations considering caste-class barrier along with some household level factors. Significant among them are by Bhatta (1998), Banerji (2000), Kaul (2001), Sengupta and Guha (2002), Sajjad et al (2012).

In international context also, many literatures are found on the identification of determinants of elementary education with special emphasis on developing/underdeveloped countries. Notable among them are by Levy (1971), Cairns et al. (1989), Stromquist (1989), Ilon and Mook (1991), Fuller et al. (1995), Colclough, Rose and Tembon (2000), Higgins et al. (2007), Mike et al. (2008).

However, to fulfill the sufficient condition, the relative importance of the factors determining elementary education is to be understood. Study discussing this aspect of determinants to school dropout so as to form human capital for future with a goal to come out of poverty trap is sparse and the present authors did not come across any study on this aspect in Indian context. The present paper aims to fulfill this gap in existing literature.

III. Methodology

The paper seeks to analyze the present status of poverty and education and to identify the factors that act as hindrance to spreading literacy among people, especially among child so as to form human capital to be useful for future economic growth of the country. The study is mainly restricted to the state West Bengal. However, reflection of literacy-poverty cobweb has been explored for all states of the country as well. In order to explore the present status of poverty and education a tabulated discussion is made considering all states across country and all districts of West Bengal. Econometric exercises like correlation, regression are used to identify the relation between education and poverty. To explore the educational status of current generation, the concept of drop out from school has been utilized and a discussion based on tabulated analysis on the incidence of dropout over the years of last decade is considered. For better exploration of the current educational attainment among children of school going age, an inter-state tabulated discussion is made so as to identify the better and poor performing states across the country. Focusing on West Bengal as study area, a similar kind of analysis is made for nineteen districts of the state.

After having a discussion of the problem of dropout in Macro level, to the paper tries address some basic question of why do people drop from school or what may be the possible reasons of avoiding the school or in other words, what may be the determinants of a child's school participation? A series of demographic, social and parental characteristics has been taken up for discussion to address this particular issue. Lastly, using the numerical exploration done throughout the paper, some suggestion to the policymakers is provided for the better functioning of the programme of universal literacy to build up future human capital for the economy and thereby to achieve the ultimate goal of poverty alleviation.

IV. Data Source

The present study uses data mainly from District Information System of (DISE). Aggregated data on year wise school enrollment and drop out for India is taken from the World Bank data base. Some data has also been taken from Department of Planning, Government of West Bengal and data related to population and literacy has been taken from Census of India (2001 & 2011) and Ministry of Human Resource Development, Government of India.

V. Education and Poverty: A Bi-Directional Relationship

Education and poverty seems to have a bi-directional relationship from either side. Poor financial condition acts as a retarding factor to afford or access schooling in one way and poor schooling or low educational level retards a person to get him/her employed on the other way. Higher education can have positive impact on productivity, income levels and employment, education of the next generation (intergenerational effects), health, nutrition, social inclusion etc. Educational interventions enable people to realize their full potential and to improve their wellbeing. Improving the level of education of the people and thereby formation of skill helps the economy to eradicate poverty. India is currently having around 30 per cent of its total population living below the poverty line. Among the states of India, both Bihar and Jharkhand is jointly having highest number of people living below the poverty line and Punjab is having lowest number of poor people (Table: 1). It can easily be noticed that states with more number of educated persons is having less number of poor people. Econometric exercise taking literacy percentage and percentage of BPL population across states reveals a negative relation between the two, signifying the fact that literacy helps to reduce poverty or poor level of education increases the extent of poverty.

Similar kind of observation is made for our focused state of discussion, West Bengal. Here instead of BPL population percentage we have considered the data on per capita income across districts as representation of earning potential of an individual of any particular district. The state has an average per capita income of little over 12000 rupees. Using per capita income as return to education, the econometric exercise shows that there is a direct proportional relationship between literacy and earning i.e. districts with higher literacy are having higher per capita income. This empirical finding again identifies education as the one of the prime factors which can break the poverty trap.

Hence, if standard of education of the masses can be increased, that would help the economy to get rid of this poverty trap. However that can only be achieved if and only if we can take care of the education of our current generation. However the task of universal enrollment has already been done by the Sarva Shiksha Mission. Now a day the basic problem to achieve the goal of achieving elementary education for all is the problem of retention of the child in school or the problem of drop out.

Table: 1
Status of Poverty and Education Across States

States/UTs	<i>Percentage of</i>		States/UTs	<i>Percentage of</i>	
	BPL Population	Literacy		BPL Population	Literacy
Andhra Pradesh	21.1	67.7	Maharashtra	24.5	82.9
Arunachal Pradesh	25.9	67.0	Manipur	47.1	79.9
Assam	37.9	73.2	Meghalaya	17.1	75.5
Bihar	53.5	63.8	Mizoram	21.1	91.6
Chhattisgarh	48.7	71.0	Nagaland	20.9	80.1
Delhi	14.2	86.3	Orrisa	37.0	73.5
Goa	8.7	87.4	Punjab	15.9	76.7
Gujarat	23.0	79.3	Rajasthan	24.8	67.1
Haryana	20.1	76.6	Sikkim	13.1	82.2
Himachal Pradesh	9.5	83.8	Tamil Nadu	17.1	80.3
Jammu & Kashmir	9.4	68.7	Tripura	17.4	87.8
Jharkhand	39.1	67.6	Uttar Pradesh	37.7	69.7
Karnataka	23.6	75.6	Uttarakhand	18.0	79.6
Kerala	12.0	93.9	West Bengal	26.7	77.1
Madhya Pradesh	36.7	70.6	India	29.8	74.0

Source: Press Note on Poverty Estimates, 2009-10, Planning Commission, Govt. of India, March 2012; Census of India 2011.

Table: 2
Status of Per Capita Income and Education Across Districts of West Bengal

District	Literacy Rate	Per Capita Income (in Rs.)	District	Literacy Rate	Per Capita Income (in Rs.)
Bankura	63.4	10744	Maldah	50.3	9890
Bardhaman	70.2	14115	Murshidabad	54.3	9839
Birbhum	61.5	9429	Nadia	66.1	11065
Dakshin Dinajpur	63.6	9739	North 24 Parganas	78.1	9938
Darjiling	71.8	13329	Paschim Medinipur	70.4	12104
Haora	77.0	14538	Purba Medinipur	80.2	12542
Hugli	75.1	13520	Puruliya	55.6	9346
Jalpaiguri	62.9	10435	South 24 Parganas	69.4	10446
Koch Bihar	66.3	9229	Uttar Dinajpur	47.9	7299
Kolkata	80.9	29362	West Bengal	68.6	12271

Source: www.indiastat.com; accessed on 18th February, 2012 & Census of India 2001.

Note: As the Per Capita Income data is of 2003, the Census 2001 data has been considered.

In most of the areas of our country or state, children are enrolled in school but immediately after one or two years they get dropped out due to certain reasons. Only a very limited percentage of total enrolled children continue to study. Addressing the problem of drop out may lead to a betterment of educational standard of the state as well as of the economy.

VI. Child Education: An Escape Route From Poverty Trap

As identified earlier, it is education which matters to eradicate or aggravate poverty. After knowing the fact that education has the topmost influence in reducing poverty, the Govt. has already stressed on providing elementary education for all its citizens in order to develop human capital so as to increase the productivity and growth of the economy. However, these days the main issue to achieve this objective is observed to be the problem of retaining the child in school. Addressing this problem may lead to the achievement of education for all and thereby improvement of financial condition of the individuals and of the economy in aggregate.

1. Status of Dropout in India

Enrolling the children in school is the basic prerequisite for universal education. However enrolling children in school does not necessarily imply spreading literacy, the most difficult task is to retain children in school so as to provide proper step by step education. Though Sarva Shiksha Mission taken in the year 2000 has been able to bring all children into school, thereby reducing the number of never enrolled children, the dropout between classes is yet to be controlled. Retention as well as completion rate is very high among children. However, impact

of Sarva Shiksha Abhiyan in reducing out of school children as well as to increase Net Enrollment Rate is significant in the sense that, over a decade starting from 1999 the combined NER has increased to 91 in 2008 and Out of School children has also been decreased to half of the figure of 1999 (Table-3). Gender disparity among children in terms of higher enrolment among boys and higher dropout among girls has also come down significantly. Within a span of ten years the disparity in Net Enrollment Rate has been lowered to just three, whereas in 1999 it was 14, similar sort of improvement can be observed for enrolment and retention in school. In last ten years the average annual growth rate of population in the age group of 6-10 age group is somewhere around 1.3, whereas the growth rate of enrollment in that period is around 3.1. This may be a reflection of spreading awareness among people about the education of their next generation. However there are wide disparities across states in terms of both enrollment and dropout as we see while often discussed state of Kerala has reached almost universal literacy, several pockets of Bihar, Rajasthan and Uttar Pradesh have female literacy rates below 40 per cent (Census of India, 2011). State wise comparison of educational attainment may explore the region wise variation and may also identify the regional disparity in terms of educational development

Table – 3
Status of Primary Enrollment in India

Year	6 - 10 Age Population (in lakh)			Enrollment (in lakh)			Out of School Children (in lakh)		
	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female	Total
1999	729	670	1423	627	483	1110	102	188	313
2000	745	688	1438	641	495	1136	104	193	302
2001	753	692	1441	640	498	1138	113	194	303
2002	765	707	1477	643	509	1152	122	198	325
2003	786	726	1513	668	588	1256	118	138	257
2004	796	725	1513	724	638	1362	72	87	151
2005	812	746	1559	739	649	1388	73	97	172
2006	817	745	1564	743	648	1392	74	97	172
2007	818	750	1560	744	660	1404	74	90	156
2008	N A	N A	1598	N A	N A	1455	N A	N A	144

Source: World Bank Database (www.data.worldbank.org); Accessed on 2nd February, 2012

2. Status of Dropout Across States of India

Analytical discussion of Intra State situation on enrollment and drop out may reveal the regional disparity on education and will also be able to reflect the performance of different promotional

programmes to spread literacy. India being the home country of more than a billion people with a wide geographical area, disparity is observed in development of both social and economic spheres as reflected by educational attainment, health status, income distribution, etc. Universalization of education elementarily needs two basic but most important job – firstly, all children in the school going age needs to be enrolled in school and secondly, after enrolling the child it is to be ensured that the child continues to go to school. After the implementation of Sarva Shiksha Abhiyan the most significant issue appears to be the problem to retain children in school and this is observed in some backward states with poor literacy and resulting lack of awareness about the future of education. A discussion on enrollment and dropout across states of the country shows that there are some states where almost all the children in the school going age is being enrolled but drops out just after getting admitted. Significant among those is Bihar, ranks number one in terms of enrolling the children with 99.4 per cent of children gets enrolled in school. But 35 out of every 100 children gets dropped out during their primary education. Similar kind of scenario is noticed for Chhattisgarh, Uttar Pradesh and Rajasthan where enrollment of child is ensured but continuation of study in school of that child is yet to be taken care of. Most importantly in Chhattisgarh majority of the enrolled students (26 per cent) leaves school before they are promoted to the 2nd standard and the rest leaves in transition between higher classes. 71 out of every 100 dropout in primary education in Chattisgarh is observed to happen in between class I and II². For Bihar and Rajasthan, this percentage is 60 and 50 respectively³ implying enrolling the child into school does not necessarily imply a step forward to educational development.

There are some other states where late enrolment is noticed i.e. enrolment in class I is very low and children are enrolled in higher classes. However these states are having almost no drop out. Notable among them are Hariyana, Punjab and Kerala where only 53, 55 and 66 per cent child gets enrolled in class I respectively, rest are enrolled successively in higher classes with zero drop out in primary stage of education. These states are also having minimum number out of school child. Jharkhand and Orrisa are found to be in worst situation with a very low enrollment percentage followed by very high dropout percentage, consequently having a very low completion rate.

² Author's own calculation based on the District Information System for Education (DISE) data for several years.

³ Ibid.

3. Status of Dropout Across Districts of West Bengal

West Bengal is comprised of nineteen districts with a population of more than ten million currently having around 28 per cent of population in the age group of 6 to 10. The state is currently having an enrollment percentage of about 74 per cent. However 17 out of every 100 enrolled child gets dropped out during their primary education. Unlike the state level analysis a discussion on districts of West Bengal also reveals a similar kind of disparity in terms of enrollment and dropout. To speak on status of enrolment Murshidabad, Maldah, Uttar Dinajpur, the so called economically and socially backward districts with majority of the district population belonging to socially backward class is currently having hundred per cent enrollment followed by Koch Bihar, Dakshin Dinajpur and Puruliya with a percentage figure of above 95. However Darjiling, North 24 Pargana, Purba and Paschim Midnapur are among those districts where more than 30 out of every 100 child in the school going age does not even gets enrolled in school, implying a very low enrollment rate, significant among them is Purba Mednipur where the enrollment rate in primary is as low as 38 per cent. After enrolling the children the next important job is to retain the child in school, thereby reducing chance of dropout. In our state, across all the districts considered for discussion, Darjiling is observed to be having the highest percentage of drop out where about 66 child gets dropped out of every 100 enrolled child, followed by Uttar Dinajpur, Maldah, Purulia, Maldah and Dakshin Dinajpur where out of 100 enrolled children, 60 are found to be continuing study in class V⁴. In North 24 pargana, Pashim Midnapur and Birbhum no children is found to be dropped from school and noticeably, for the first two districts enrollment as discussed earlier is low but retention is ensured and late enrollment in higher classes is predominant. However Birbhum and Murshidabad can be called a grand success to have nearly hundred percent enrollment in class I and almost zero drop out. In district like Murshidabad where awareness among people acts as a major hindrance to promote social development because of the traditional beliefs by the socially backward class population, enrolling and retaining a child in school can be called a grand success. This kind of success is yet to be achieved at Puruliya, Malda and some other backward districts.

It appears from the explanatory analysis that the problem of drop out is acting as a major hindrance to the universalization of education as well as to increase the educational standard to the people of the nation. Hence, addressing the causes of drop out will help the policy makers to

⁴ Author's own calculation based on the District Information System for Education (DISE) data for several years.

keep all children in school and to develop human capital; thereby to increase the per capita income of the economy. With the increase in level of education the likelihood of a person to be poor declines. Thus a vicious cycle is witnessed where poverty eradication depends on educational attainment but educational attainment levels are themselves poor, catching future generations in poverty trap. Also it is poor who are more prone to keep their children from attending educational institutions.

VI. Policy Suggestion

From this explanatory analysis it is quite clear that for removal of poverty we need to provide education. But chances of educational attainment among the poor are low. Hence, to propagate continuation of education we need to universalize the education so as to spread literacy. Especially, to break the inter-generational transmission of poverty it is required to build human capital for future. That can only be done by providing quality education to the present learners. Hence, to create human resource, it is to be ensured that all children in the school going age are enrolled and retained in school. In this regard, some short term and some long term policies may be taken up. As a part of short term strategy, parental education and distance to school may be focused. Education of the next generation is highly dependent on the education of the present generation. Child's mother is known to be having more important role behind the education of the child as compared to the child's father. In the short run it is not possible to increase the level of education of the parents as they are not a part of schooling system any more. But as the basic idea is to increase awareness about education among parents which can easily be done by setting up adult education centers where people can come in their leisure time and can enrich their knowledge. And for quick fulfilling of our target i.e. reduce the number of drop out, the policy makers need to ensure a high number of female participation in those centres as female literacy has more influence on child's school participation. Secondly, it is not possible to cover a long distance for a little child who has just completed primary education and is dreaming to be admitted to high school. The problem is more acute especially for girl child. Setting up schools, especially middle and secondary schools in nearby locations of each and every hamlet may reduce the probability of drop out due to aforesaid reason to a large extent.

However, development to be sustainable, every policy should be taken on basis of a long term thought. More than 60 per cent of our country's population is working in informal sector and are basically what we call Blue Collar job holders. A large number of people are with Pink Collar

Job i.e. Trade & Service sector leaving a very few people working in White Collar job category. A children with his/her father employed in white collar job has much greater probability of being enrolled in school as compared to a child whose father is employed in any of the other two job categories. What we require is an occupational shift which is basically a long term phenomenon. Considering the child's father as 1st generation and child as 2nd generation, this benefit can be obtained by the third generation learner if and only if there is an inter-generational upward occupational mobility from the current 1st generation to the 2nd generation. To be precise, if we look to ensure universal schooling for all children with no out of school children, an intergenerational upward mobility is to be ensured and that is to be done by increasing literacy of the parents as short term measure discussed earlier. Another important factor to explain a large amount of variation in school participation of a child could be the size of the family to which the child belongs. The family size is expected to have a dampening impact on the chances of school going; greater the family the lower is the probability of child's school participation and vice versa. Hence, it is better to have a small family and that should be considered as the long term goal to the policy makers. To achieve this goal, firstly on short term basis it is to be ensured that the family size does not rise further as of now. This can be done by giving benefits to those who are having less number of children and later on as long term perspective policies are to be taken so as to make people aware of the various benefits of small family and awareness about family planning is also to be spread. Hence, controlling family size could be another long term objective.

VII. Conclusion

It may be thus inferred from our explanatory analysis that education plays a significant role in the eradication of poverty by formation of human capital and thereby accelerating the growth of the economy. Though policy makers has already stressed on the policy of bringing all children into school but retention of those enrolled children in school seems to be the main problem these days. Hence, focus of the policy makers is to be drawn towards addressing the present problem of drop out. Data from District Information System for Education (DISE) reveals the fact that school dropout appears to be the critical problem both across states of India and across districts of West Bengal. Only 31 out of every 100 children in West Bengal complete their middle schooling and rest 69 gets dropped out between classes I to VIII. Exploration of the reason behind the failure of Sarva Shiksha Mission to provide education for all and thereby failure to

develop human capital drives the research work on to the discussion about addressing the causes of drop out. Speaking on affordability of education or supporting the child's education financially, family income or the parental income should not have any impact at least up to class VIII, as education is free and nutritionally supported up to this level. Apart from the discussed socio economic factors to influence schooling of a child, most of the students in rural areas are first generation learners and they do not have the privilege of being tutored by their parents. As a result students from backward families do not progress to higher classes every year. In this way after two or three attempts if they do not succeed, they simply leave school, and with no functional use they forget whatsoever they had learnt in few years and fall back to illiteracy. This Poverty-Illiteracy trap is one of the most vicious cycles operating among in rural India as well as in West Bengal. Under such circumstances, a new central legislation has been tabled and it has been proposed that there will be no *Detention* of students till class-VIII. While this legislation will definitely help in reducing the number of dropouts and thereby increase the completion rate, it will do so at the cost of declining quality of education. Moreover, the problem of poverty will remain unsolved by such piecemeal legislations. To improve the educational situation, we must have a comprehensive policy framework addressing issues of awareness, income augmentation of adults (parents), financial incentive for continuing formal education, and a flexible approach towards the schooling itself including those related to schedule, syllabus, mode of teaching etc. Otherwise it would never be possible to eradicate poverty and ensure a reduction in income inequality.

Note

[Detailed Tables are available with the author. Those tables can be obtained by contacting the author at the corresponding address.]

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