

FROM MARGINS TO MAINSTREAM

**Through supplementary education and protection to the vulnerable
children in slums of Kolkata, India**

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“We cannot talk about building strong economies, sustainable democracies, and equitable societies without having educated children. We need boys and especially girls who can read, write, calculate and think critically to lead us to a more peaceful and secure world. This call for a renewed global commitment on learning will help catalyze important actors from around the world to invest time, energy, and resources in improving learning for all.”(-Ellen Johnson Sirleaf, President of Liberia)

- *An inspirational motivation of mine to keep working for children...*

ABSTRACT

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The study specifically aims to explicate the processes of mainstreaming of life and education of vulnerable children in the marginalized slum community of Kolkata, India through the integrated approach of supplementary education and protection by a local NGO, IPER (Institute of Psychological and Educational Research). It also equally elucidates the methods and network used by IPER for integrated intervention in primary education and protection of vulnerable children, its holistic impact on the respective community and parents, and challenges of mainstreaming at local context.

The research followed a qualitative approach with data triangulation methods to ensure validity and veracity. Participant observation, case studies and semi structured interviews were undertaken as primary data collection from the beneficiaries and sub-beneficiaries of IPER projects of education and protection. Relevant secondary data were obtained from internet, published and unpublished official records of the concerned organization, I/NGOs and journals related to the study-subject.

The main findings suggest that universalization of education focusing on compulsory elementary education to those who were not benefitted by public schools have had substantially shaped in Kolkata due to NGOs driving initiatives and government-civil society partnership. The protection cum education intervention to those destitute children of slum and street by arranging individual sponsors or own resources under the aegis of IPER has not only helped to mainstream life and education but also brought the gross happiness in parents motivating them for further education of children. However the problems are in millions but the beneficiaries are in hundreds due to limited means and resources of NGOs and government. Moreover the weaknesses in governance in mapping the problem has resulted many difficulties for poor people to have easy access of education in own areas and negligence of public school's management and teachers towards education of children resulted high drop-out-of school children or discontinuity even at primary level.

In addition, case studies of three educated and empowered youths of slums included in the report assure that it would be the best intervention in community if it was from the people of same community for which they were ready to take up community awareness and development tasks. Similarly another case study of a rescued domestic child labour shows the practical problems of social workers in the cases when social tradition dominates the existing laws.

Key concepts: vulnerable children, slum, Kolkata-India, mainstream, margins, supplementary education

TABLE OF CONTENTS

1 INTRODUCTION	7
1.1 Personal motives and research background	9
1.2 Aims, research-focus and objectives	10
1.3 World context of education for all	11
1.4 Situation of left-out-of-school children in India	14
1.5 NGO-involvement in education and protection of children in India	15
1.6 Main concepts	19
1.6.1 Vulnerable children	19
1.6.2 Margins	21
1.6.3 Slum	21
1.6.4 Supplementary education and protection	23
1.6.5 Mainstream	24
2 LITERATURE REVIEW	27
2.1 Overview of previous studies and research	27
2.2 Issue of vulnerability and child protection in India	31
2.3 Legislation for child protection and education	33
2.4 IPER approaches and partnership in action	34
2.5 India, Kolkata: The study area	35
3 RESEARCH METHODOLOGY	37
3.1 Desk survey and secondary data collection	37
3.2 Primary data collection	38
3.2.1 Participant Observation	38
3.2.2 Semi structured interview	39

3.2.3 Case studies	40
3.3 Data analysis	41
3.4 Sample design	44
3.5 Ethical issues and role of the researcher	45
3.6 Challenges and limitations of the study	47
3.7 Personal and professional developments during the research process.....	48
4 FINDINGS	50
4.1 Findings I: Beneficiary’s perspectives of positive change.....	51
4.1.1 Establishing outreach learning centers: Creation of environment	51
4.1.2 Changes in the life of children	52
4.1.3 Empowered generation: A tomorrow’s leader	54
4.1.4 Boosting hope in parents: Sub beneficiary’s empowerment.....	56
4.1.5 Reaching to the unreached: Increasing inclusion.....	58
4.2 Findings II: Functional methods & mechanism	60
4.2.1 Government-Civil Society partnership	60
4.2.2 National Child Labour Project (NCLP)	61
4.2.3 IPER: Own initiatives	62
4.2.4 IPER: Partnership in action for education.....	65
4.3 Findings III: Local challenges of mainstreaming.....	67
4.3.1 Child in danger: A new definition required?.....	67
4.3.2 Poverty or unawareness: Priority setting dilemma.....	68

4.3.3 Glaring gaps in government system and services	69
4.3.4 Social practices and tradition conflict with the laws: A case study	71
5 COMMUNITY DEVELOPMENT AND EMPOWERMENT DISCOURSE.....	75
5.1 Slum community empowerment: recognition first.....	75
5.2 Capacity cum professionalism building of stakeholders	76
5.2.1 Public schools and teachers.....	76
5.2.2 NGOs and para-educators	78
5.2.3 Local bodies and civil society	78
5.3 The status quo of inter-societal interaction	79
5.4 Participation: Civic, political and employment activities	80
6 CONCLUSIONS	81
7 SUGGESTIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS	85
7.1 To IPER.....	85
7.2 To the civil society, social and community workers.....	85
7.3 To the future researcher and social work practitioner.....	87
REFERENCES.....	89
ACRONYMS/ABBREVIATIONS	95
APPENDIX 1: Questions asked in interview.....	97
APPENDIX 2: Written consent from the educated youths for the interview	102
APPENDIX 3: List of figures and tables	103

1 INTRODUCTION

A country's future prosperity entirely relies on its present environment provided to the children for their well upbringing and timely nurturing because they are the only precious treasures in the form of human sources that can make dreams and hope come true. However only healthy and educated children can be able to do so; others are liability. So every nation's first and foremost priority should be on child protection and education in a holistic way. The United Nations realized this fact and made it a global-concern with the Convention on the Rights of the Child (UN-CRC) in 1989. UN-CRC, 1989 defines a child under the age of eighteen as any human being and sets out their civil, political, economic, social, health and cultural rights as human rights to enjoy. The countries that have signed and ratified this treaty are obliged to act accordingly by making domestic legislation in line with UN-CRC.

In developing countries and in my study in India too, the aspects of protection and education of children come synonymously in the cases of poor children who have lost single or both the parents, been deserted or neglected by the parents, run away from home or they are with parents but in acute needs of minimum standard of living due to extreme poverty. All of these reasons have compelled the children to come to street under the sky being all alone. A huge number of these children neither have any protection nor schools nor access of any education. So they have fallen back and been marginalized in all respects of UN-CRC contents. Thus an early-waste of potential human power not only has added liability to the state but has also equally increased the fear of such children being sexually abused or exploited for cheap labor or fallen in grip of criminals.

In such scenario of multi-faceted children oriented problem, this study was carried out amidst above categorized children of streets and slums of Southern Kolkata, India, who have been protected and educated by national and international individuals (donors and sponsors) & IPER (Institute of Psychological and Educational Research) in a collaborative way. The most vulnerable groups of children are protected in a residential

care of IPER-hostel while others are provided financial support and elementary education in outreach learning centers established by IPER in slums. The government efforts to tackle this problem seem to have been very limited due to financial shortage, resources limitation and its own ineffective governance. So the voluntary sector's involvement and individual's help with physical and mental support in the slums and in other advantaged community have played a significant role for sending their children to school and mainstreaming of those who were dropped out or left-out-of school. This attempt has truly respected the basic human rights of children as all human rights are indivisible, inter-dependent and inter-connected; the right to education is thought to act as a multiplier of other rights.

Though the concept of education and protection of the children are two different aspects but these have to be practiced together in case of children who have no one to care, are parentless or parents are economically unable to grow them up. This integrated approach was chosen as subject of study in consonance with IPER's mandatory practice to share and promote The Right to Protection of Children in any trainings, workshops and awareness programme conducted by it (IPER 2009). The successful stories of children being mainstreamed in national education and the collective happiness brought by it in the family has helped to generate hope in parents to further invest in child education which are the solid symbol of community being empowered holistically. This is the society where parents feel secured for themselves if their children do better. Obviously the problems are in millions but the beneficiaries are in hundreds, however good initiatives by individuals and NGOs certainly will pressurize the government to come with lasting solutions.

I, myself having been a school teacher for five years in Nepal and having great interest in child education, was strongly motivated to make my international placement in supplementary education and child protection unit of IPER in Kolkata, India during October-December 2012 as a part of regular studies of Social Services in Diaconia University of Applied Sciences, Finland. The idea of developing this work into a university thesis was conceived then as teaching those disadvantaged and destitute children in the outreach centers of IPER and working as a volunteer in a rescue team of child protection for three months brought worthwhile experiences to share in the countries where government alone is neither enough nor able for protection and

mainstreaming of all children in national education. This study specifically explicates the significant changes seen in the scene and scenario of marginalized slum community due to supplementary education provided to their uncared children for their mainstreaming in formal schools with the initiation of IPER in 24 Parganas district of Southern Kolkata, India. It also equally elucidates the partnership mechanism used by IPER for action and challenges of integrated intervention in education and protection of children at local context.

1.1 Personal motives and research background

Personally I was strongly motivated to carry out this research to know all about individual and civil organizations efforts for providing education to those children who have never been to school or remained out of school for different reasons simply because of my teaching legacy. Kolkata, India became the place of my choice for study on the ground of three reasons; first, it has the largest number of school-left-out children in the world (out of school children, UNESCO 2013); second, it is my neighboring country that has almost similar socio-economic, political and cultural back ground besides its comparatively better established democracy than in Nepal so that its practices in this field would be lesson to all those countries that are in similar conditions; and third, it would be practical and easy for me to carry out further follow up research in this field in India in future.

It was decided to carry out research on informal education to the disadvantaged children provided by NGO during my international exchange study program. After I had received the confirmation letter of placement from IPER that read, “primarily you will be helping as assistant teacher in IPER outreach centers to the children for three months”, I made up my mind to carry out qualitative research on the processes of giving education to those children who are all neglected at homes and others who were rescued from their risky situations and given proper environment to grow up. When I reached there and started working, I found that the daily teaching was in two different outreach centers which was just of 3 hours’ work in total between 11am to 2pm; and I was quite a free having spare time. So I joined the child protection unit of IPER as volunteer of a rescue team in order to work both in protection and in education equally as it has been

an integrated task for neglected and disadvantaged children. Conditionally I had to be mobilized even at midnight at times of need for rescue actions; I agreed to face the challenges to be working in any harassed situation that would enable me to perform better in course of future social work profession. Finally the research was focused on integrated attempts of education and protection of child for bringing them from the margins of their vulnerable conditions to the mainstream of education and development as a whole.

1.2 Aims, research-focus and objectives

The study specifically aims to explicate the processes of mainstreaming of life and education of vulnerable children in the marginalized slum community of Kolkata, India through the integrated approach of supplementary education and protection by a local NGO, IPER (Institute of Psychological and Educational Research). It also equally elucidates the methods and network with government and civil society used by IPER for integrated intervention in primary education and protection of vulnerable children, its holistic impact on the respective community and parents, and challenges of mainstreaming at local context. The study was developed during October-December 2012 in specific two projects of IPER (a Kolkata based local NGO); supplementary education to the deprived children and integrated child protection scheme in the slum areas.

In order to find out the appropriate answers to the subject of the study, following three research questions were designed:

1. What are the visible changes in children, parents and their community due to education & protection of children?
2. What kinds of method and mechanism of IPER and its network with government and civil society for inclusiveness of disadvantaged community are in practice?
3. What are the challenges of mainstreaming life and education of children at local context?

As supplementary to the focus-study, the other objectives were to be in the local system of elementary teaching with a participatory approach to find educational and personal attainment got by the children, and to assess the whole empowerment discourse in the disadvantaged community through IPER's community development programmes and policies.

1.3 World context of education for all

History of education has different stories in different countries but the collective strive and global concern for it can be traced back from late nineties. In March 1990, 155 Member States of the United Nations Organization as well as representatives from other governmental and non-governmental organizations announced the World Declaration on Education for All in Jomtein, Thailand which reaffirmed the notion of education as a fundamental human right and urged countries to intensify efforts to address the basic learning needs of all (Jomtein conference on EFA, UNESCO 1990). It concluded to design and to implement the framework of action to meet fundamental educational needs capable of realizing the goals set forth in the declaration. It focused to make primary education accessible to all children and to massively reduce illiteracy by 2000. It was first of this type of global concern for inclusion of children and adult into the mainstream of education. After then the developing nations in the global South started formulating national plan and policies on child and adult education by codifying education in their respective constitutions as a basic human right.

The follow up seminar of this declaration about what the countries so far have done and yet to do was organized in Jordan, Amman in 1994 which concluded with acknowledging some improvements done in this sector and emphasized more on increasing primary school enrolment for marginalized and out of school children (world education report, UNESCO 2000). It was the realization that the children's school enrollment and continuing further study was not satisfying and child education was compulsory as a backbone of strong nation. After this, the process of involvement of private and third sector, civil society and non-governmental organizations globally in basic education seem to have gone up as the poor governments were failed to achieve education for all despite their statutory directives. With the concept of liberalism and

privatization of education, private and third sectors got also involved massively in education for profits, and voluntary sectors like philanthropic trust, individual memorial foundations and NGOs got involved in elementary education of the disadvantaged and excluded to mainstream them and to empower the community through education.

On 25 April 2000, a similar nature of conference but of International Consultation of Non-Governmental Organizations was organized in Dakar, Senegal. It highlighted that the education for all is achievable if governments and international agencies commit themselves to formulate plan and policies and bring in action expressing education as right to all. By then in many countries, NGOs were working almost parallel to the weak governments, so they challenged to the world with a satire that the price for realizing education for all is an additional USD 8 billion a year which amount is the equivalent of four days of global military spending and 9 minutes of international currency speculation (UNESCO 2000). All focus of this challenge was to sincerely pressurize the governments to make a concerted effort to mobilize political will and make availability of financial resources for education of all.

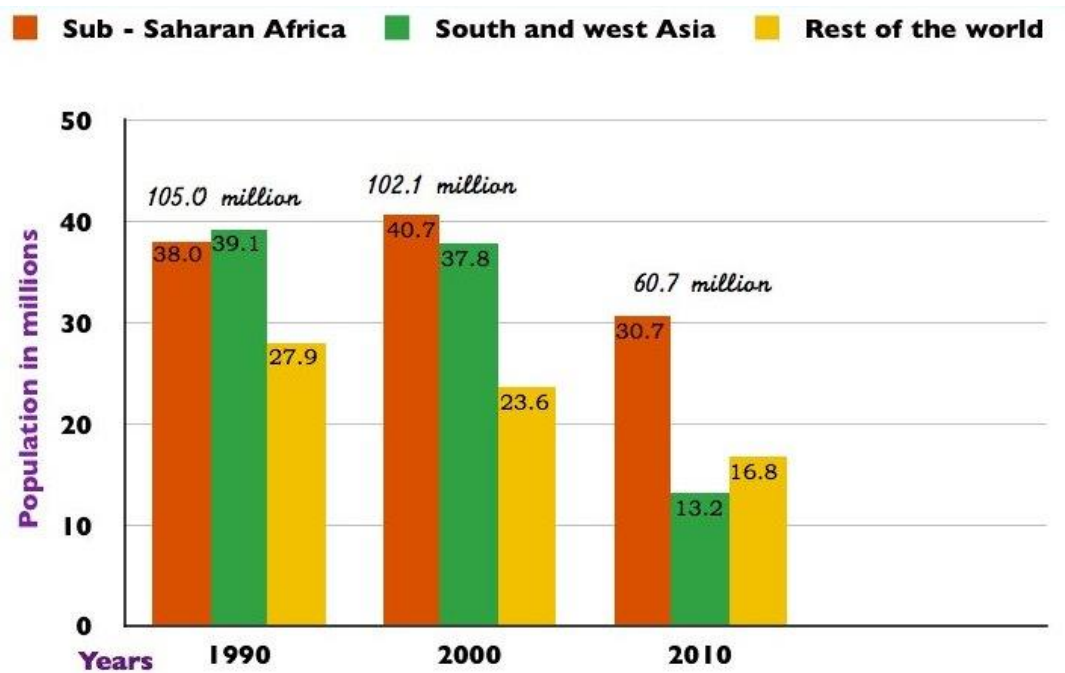
Further concentrating on it in 2000, UN brought the eight millennium development goals (MDGs) to achieve by its entire member nations by 2015 where it prioritized poverty in number one and basic primary education in number two to achieve. It not only urged the governments to make better good inputs in the education but also to show the trustworthy results. As a result of this, Millennium development goals report 2012 published by UN concluded:

That the 3 years ahead of target by 2015 three out of the eight millennium development targets – on poverty, slums and water – have been met, but much remains to be done. It has successfully achieved the improvement in the lives of 200 million slum dwellers and the world has achieved parity in primary education between girls and boys. Driven by national and international efforts and the MDGs campaign, many more of the world's children are enrolled in school at the primary level, especially since 2000. Girls have benefited the most. The ratio between the enrolment rate of girls and that of boys grew from 91 in 1999 to 97 in 2010 for all developing regions. (MDGs report, UN 2012.)

As many targets were yet to get even after 2012, UNDP has put forward the post 2015 development agendas through global conversation where people can help shape the future development agenda on the basis of lesson learned from working in the past in

this sector in own regions even after 2015 when the MDGs expire. (post 2015 agendas, UNDP 2012.)

All of above stated commitments and entire efforts for education to all have given remarkable results in the sector of primary education by reducing the number of children-out-of school in Sub-Saharan Africa, South and West Asia and rest of the world in the decades 1990 to 2010.



Source: UNESCO institute for statistics, 2012

FIGURE 1: Number of out-of-school children in the world (1990-2010).

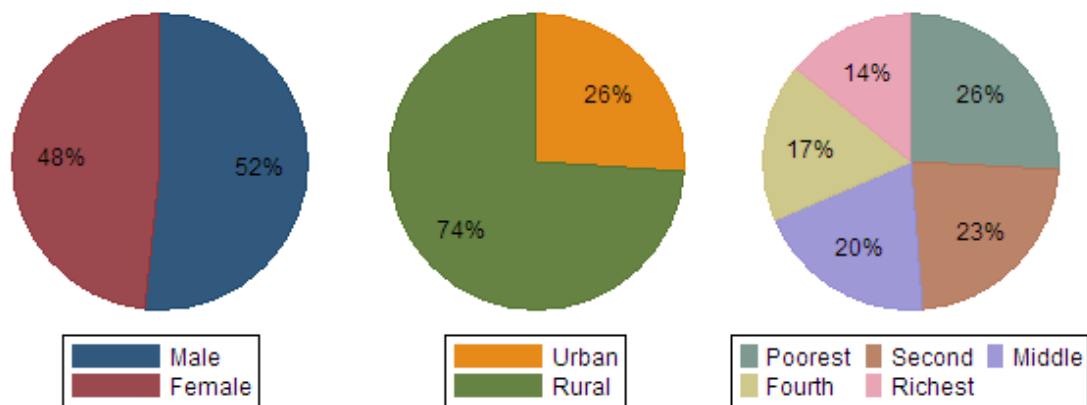
Within 20 years of efforts, total number out of school children has reduced by 45 million in the world by the last of 2010. Due to frequent wars and other volatile political situation, Africa seems to be slower in achieving but South and West Asia has tremendously improved by reducing almost one third of its number from 39.1 million to 13.2 million in 1990 to 2010.

Undoubtedly, the lion's share of this credit goes to the community intervention for education of NGOs, involvement of private sectors and governments' partnership in educational activities as a campaign.

1.4 Situation of left-out-of-school children in India

The entire efforts of government and private sector for education to all since late eighties started showing result from the beginning of new millennium 2000. The total 58.02 million out-of-school children in 2001 reduced dramatically to 13.4 million in 2005(SSA 2007) and it further reduced to 7.5 million by the end of 2006 (SSA 2009), it is the age group of 6-11 years.

The following chart shows the data of 2005-06 about the male and female living in urban and rural areas and their economic status to possibly join the primary school.

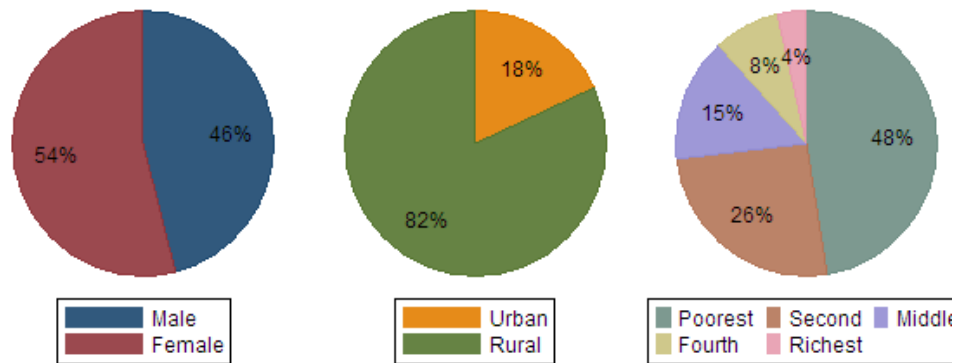


(Source: India Demographic and Health Survey 2005-06.)

FIGURE 2: Population of primary school age by sex, area of residence, and wealth quintile, India 2006.

It shows almost equally a half of the percentage of male and female possibly joining in primary school but the large section (74%) of this population come from rural areas where obviously school facilities and accessibility is lower. Furthermore, the highest percentage (26%) of these is from poorest families.

The following chart of the same above mentioned period shows the out-of-school population:



(Source: India Demographic and Health Survey 2005-06.)

FIGURE 3: Children of primary school age out-of-school (OOS) by sex, area of residence, and wealth quintile, India 2006.

The chart clearly shows from almost equal population of male and female, the OOS female is higher, 54% whereas male are 46%. As predicted in above chart, the largest (82%) OOS population is from rural areas and a total of 48% OOS are from the poorest families.

It can be concluded from these charts that the gender biasness and physical difficulties for girls to join and continue the school, lack of infrastructures, less awareness and less accessibility of education in rural areas and poverty on top of all are the main reasons for keeping the children out of school.

1.5 NGO-involvement in education and protection of children in India

The reality of school education in developing nations that have accepted privatization of education is that the higher amount of fee one can pay at schools the better chances are there to find the best schools for quality-education. As a result of privatization of education, the types of school and quality of education vary greatly as the classes of people vary from the proletariat to the middle class and bourgeoisie to the elite depending on their capacity to pay. So in such countries, a different “levels” of citizens are growing up depending on types of schools they have attended/not attended which

seems to possibly cause revolt or class-struggle in society between “haves” and “haves not” in future.

In India also, this phenomena is common. On one hand the number of schools per need of population is always less while many well facilitated private schools are running with minimum number of students but charging high amount of fee. On the other hand even if the government provides school, children who have no one to take care at home; or have to help their parents to earn their livelihood; or are in traumatic situation of being out of home or losing parents cannot come up with the courses taught in the school due to frequent missing of classes, poor teaching, torture of teachers, differences in their level of understanding to the level of courses taught etc. It ultimately has caused the drop out of them from the schools, and government does not have the effective mechanism of tracking of those phenomena to correct and bring them back to school. Due to these reasons, children are extremely marginalized having had no proper chances of early childhood development, education, healthy life and right to live in most of the cases.

Government of India’s (GOI) sincere efforts on education and protection of the children has long history of constitutional frame of education as a fundamental right since 1950 after it got independence from the British in 1947. The constitutional commitment to make primary and middle grade education for students of 6-14 years of age free and universal came by 1960, but the government’s inability to allocate sufficient budget and resources effectively and efficiently has not achieved the target even after 40 years of it. (Cheney, Ruzzi & Muralidharan 2005, 19-23). So constitutional and practical efforts are still being made to work towards this goal. The latest 86th constitutional amendment Act 2002 has clearly stated:

The State shall provide free and compulsory education to all children of the age of six to fourteen years in such manner as the State may, by law, determine.

To implement it practically, GOI has launched Sarva Shikshya Abhiyan (SSA), education for all movement, nationwide in partnership with state governments targeting cent percent school enrollment (SSA 2007). SSA has allocated significant budget received from GOI and state government too for its effective and widespread result-giving work.

SSA has made such many catchy connotative slogans in folklore like *sab padhe sab badhe* (let's all read, let's all get developed), *ham school jayenge* (I do go to school), *aadhi roti khayenge fir bhi school jayenge* (even a half of bread is ok but I do go to school) etc. so that every people could quickly understand the meaning and get inspired to send their children to school. But many statistical and empirical data show that large number of children and adult are out of basic education till the date. Children with various difficulties like old children (11-14 years), migrants, street and homeless children and other so called unrecognized children (children who live in unregistered slums) cannot be enrolled directly in the regular schools (SSA 2007) that ultimately get left them out. This is the main reason that NGOs intervention is apt in such cases because they are out of such bureaucratic process of identifying roots or categorizing the children than to promptly protect and educate the children at any condition.

A study report about role of NGOs in context of India prepared for World Bank by Shanti Jagannathan (2001) advocates the presence of NGOs in primary education as:

The effectiveness of NGO action is best in evidence in the successful schooling of underprivileged children, communities in remote locations, scheduled caste, scheduled tribe and other children that face social barriers to education. NGOs have demonstrated that targeted actions are required for specific deprived groups, for instance, the urban poor, child workers or street children. (Jagannathan 2001, 19-27.)

Now with the growing problems of extreme vulnerability of children like children with HIV/AIDS, children born in brothels, children of prisoner parents etc., the involvement of NGOs for educating them is necessary more than ever. Government has also realized that NGOs involvement is inevitable, so it has extended its partnership hands with local NGOs with some regular funding from both the state and central government, for collaborative functions at grass root level. For example, CHILDLINE, an NGO, is such a nationwide emergency help line for child in distress which is fully supported by local authorities, especially by police for intervention and rescue of children. Similarly, Smile Foundation, the biggest ever NGO at national level and others like CINI ASHA, IPER etc. working in Kolkata for health and education of children, women empowerment, youth training and community mobilization have so many projects to complete jointly with government agencies. These organizations have been so influential that they have been invited by government at policy making level, for example educationists of IPER

helped to draft the primary and pre-primary curriculum in West Bengal in 2005 (IPER 2009). Similarly IPER has been organizing regular trainings to the government school teachers and giving human rights orientation to the police and so on other tasks jointly with government agencies (IPER 2009).

However NGOs are not free of criticism despite their social services. The blames are that these organizations are not transparent in their motives and fund mobilization and they tend to neglect the local values but fabricate the stories in global aspects. Moreover large section of civil society criticizes their “maximizing policy of miner problem” neglecting the local tradition just in greed of gaining foreign aid. A higher secondary school teacher (personal communication 27.11.2012) had cynical critics on NGOs:

That *seva* (service) has become little more than a label; organizations are empty of the ideals that underpin it. The “mushrooming” of NGOs in the 1980s and 1990s as a result of increased funding opportunities, and high unemployment, resulted in many NGOs being established merely as a means of livelihood.

A retired university teacher, now chairman of a public school management committee, did not disagree (personal communication 28.11.2012) the above critics. However he praised the community development approaches of NGOs and suggested to NGO owners and officials not to have comparatively high standard of life (like use of brand new car, luxurious home and other show-offs) style in society and to make all incomes transparent to respect public sentiment.

1.6 Organization of concern

IPER (Institute of Psychological and Educational Research) was founded in 1971 under the stewardship of a noted Indian educationist, Dr. Arun Ghos, in order to provide the young people of India with facilities and necessary guidance for research in psychology and education. Since then it has been on its service duly but has expanded a lot of its fields of work from research to social work and community development. (IPER 2009.) Its protection and education intervention has benefitted innumerable number of destitute poor children, abandoned or neglected by all, children having no parents or parents-deserted child, street children and slum-children, victim women of domestic violence or aged girls or marginalized and poor women.

Categorically IPER's main roles are on psychological research in education, free protection and education to the neediest child, actively working with child line network for child protection, vocational training to needy women and girls, awareness campaign regarding different social crimes and misconduct, training in the field of social work for international and national students, working together with government agencies for training and improvement of government schools etc. As the problems are hydra heading with the changes of time, so it has to add up many roles to cope up with.

Its main working areas are 5 different slums and street children of 24 Pargaanas district of Southern Kolkata, India. In its two outreach centers where I was involved, there are total of 58 children getting supplementary courses to help better learning in normal school, and other 59 students are studying in IPER School. It has more other 29 rescued girl children in its hostel at the moment getting residential care (IPER, 2012).

1.6 Main concepts

1.6.1 Vulnerable children

UNICEF has defined vulnerability of children in two dimensions; children living in poverty and marginalized children:

Those poor children who experience deprivation of the material, spiritual and emotional resources needed to survive, develop and thrive, leaving them unable to enjoy their rights, achieve their full potential or participate as full and equal members of society or state are vulnerable.

Marginalized Children who persistently lack effective access to needed information and one or more quality basic services, and/or are subject to abuse, violence and exploitation are vulnerable children. (UNICEF 2007.)

In a broad discourse of child protection issue, two terminologies are important to analyze; children at risk and vulnerable children, though both concern a child's all inability to save himself/herself from any forth coming dangers but are different in meaning.

International Symposium on Child Poverty and Development 2012 held in Beijing, China has made it crystal clear to analyze these. According to it:

Any boys or girls between 0-17 years of age are supposed to be at risk if any forms of adversity (e.g. earthquake, drought, family breakdown, lack of access to service etc.) are likely to occur to them. Similarly the same age group of children is vulnerable if they have poor ability to withstand those adversities. Thus vulnerability is a manifestation of poor material and psychosocial assets of individual or family or community; and “especially vulnerability” depends upon the gravity of particular condition measured by high frequency of risks or devastating impact of exposure to adversity due to poor assets. (Beijing Symposium 2012.)

In context of India, after the long entire efforts of Ministry of Women and Child Development (MWCD) from 2007, finally the Integrated Child Protection Scheme (ICPS) was approved by Indian government to implement nationwide. It is a set of directives to all working in child protection across India which is central government – sponsored program in partnership with state governments and local NGOs in line with Juvenile Justice Act (JJA), 2000. It has defined vulnerability in two categories; children in need of care and protection and children in conflict with laws. According to it (ICPS 2007), children in need of care and protection are vulnerable who:

- Does not have home or shelter and no means to obtain such an abode
- Resides with a person(s) who has threatened to harm them and is likely to carry out that threat, harmed other children and hence is likely to kill, abuse or neglect the child
- Is mentally or physically handicapped, or has an illness, terminal or incurable disease and has no one to provide and care for him/her
- Has a parent or guardian deemed unfit or unable to take care for the child
- Is an orphan, has no family to take care of him/her, or is a runaway or missing child whose parents cannot be located after a reasonable search period
- Is being or is likely to be sexually, mentally, emotionally or physically abused, tortured or exploited
- Is being trafficked or abusing drug substance
- Is being abused for unthinkable gains or illegal activities
- Is a victim of arm conflict, civil unrest or a natural disaster

Children in conflict with laws are other vulnerable juveniles who have allegedly committed a crime under the Indian Penal Code (IPC). This penal code lists the series of

offences committed against child from womb to children under 14 and their legal treatment for crimes.

Catching up with the above concept and definition of vulnerable children, children who live in slums with their parents or without parents; abandoned, neglected or run away children from home who shelter in the open streets; and the children who are bound to domestic work at other's home for minimum paid or without paid are most vulnerable as they are deprived of all forms of child rights. Their early childhood development is disturbed due to hazardous uncared life of extreme poverty and primary education is never started due to no-any access to school. So these children seem to be putting up liability to the nation which is the main hindrance of national development.

1.6.2 Margins

Margin is the state of people being excluded from rest of the society. Knowingly or unknowingly or by unfair institutional system of a country, when people are deprived of basic human rights and limited to the access of means and resources, they are in margins or being marginalized. It is a global phenomenon though the categorizations of the people are different. For example, European Commission (2012) in its policy review paper has put young migrants, long-unemployed youth, homeless and sexual minorities in the group of social margins and talked about giving equal opportunities to them in education and labor market to promote social inclusion and solidarity. (EU 2012, 12-17.) Similarly in the developing world, people like poor, oppressed, disable, minority, aborigine and other that include all sorts of vulnerable people of different categories including children to old people who need ways and means to have equal access to dignity, rights and services are in margins. When the state is failed to provide welfare to its people, all low income, old and uneducated people also are likely to fall in the brackets of disadvantaged margins.

1.6.3 Slum

The concept, perception and definition of slums vary across the states in India depending on their socio economic condition at local context but physical conditions of such slums are almost similar (India Census 2011). Official definitions of slum by the

Registrar General of India for census purpose, by National Sample Survey Office (NSSO) for samples and by respective state governments have reached close to this definition in general:

A slum is a compact settlement of at least 20 households with a collection of poorly built tenements, mostly of temporary nature, crowded together usually with inadequate sanitary and drinking facilities in unhygienic conditions (NSSO 2010).

Similarly UN-Habitat has defined the slums as:

A slum household as a group of individuals living under the same roof in an urban area who lack one or more of the following:

- Durable housing of a permanent nature that protects against extreme climate conditions.
- Sufficient living space which means not more than three people sharing the same room.
- Easy access to safe water in sufficient amounts at an affordable price.
- Access to adequate sanitation in the form of a private or public toilet shared by a reasonable number of people.
- Security of tenure that prevents forced evictions. (UN-Habitat 2003.)

Children who live in above-defined areas with parents or with some of their relatives those who have lost single or both parents are slums-children. Not all slums are homogeneous and not all slum dwellers suffer from the same degree of deprivation depending up on legal status of slum and earning level people living there.

The slums in Kolkata concerned in this study trace back its history prior to the industrialization since the colonization of East India Company. Ghosh (2013) describes the establishment of these slum squatters as:

Slums were a fixture of colonial Kolkata prior to industrialization, but their sustaining pattern of permanent existence and growth took shape as industries of Kolkata demanded for labor. After the middle 19th century, the slum population rapidly accelerated as rural migrants flocked to Kolkata to work with new industries. The Factories did not provide housing which inevitably led to the establishment of slums as close as possible to the factories. (Ghosh 2013, 49-53.)

In this way, the then factory owners brought the labourers and workers from around all neighboring district, they made families and permanently settled there. And, this trend of migrating still continues to seek better earning in towns from rural areas which has added slum population yearly. One third of Kolkata population now lives in registered slums and other in squatters (Ghosh 2013, 55).

1.6.4 Supplementary education and protection

Supplementary education is such a widely interpreted educational concept across the globe in terms of its meaning, characteristics and utility that it is difficult to limit it in a single perspective. Its utility defines its meaning depending upon who it is applied for; for those who are deprived of and never been to school, for those who have problems in coping up with the courses and dropped out or for those who need better courses for better future etc.

Russian educationist, M. Chekov (2004) interpreted it as preparing children to make a better choice of profession, to map out the direction of their future professional education that they want to take in future. (Chekov 2004, 68-71.) This definition fits only to those normally studying children who need early guidance for “what to be in future” but it has nothing to do with those who are deprived of basic education. However his rationalization of supplementary education at present context that it is the process of getting additional knowledge or making understand the subjects of regular school program in a simplest way is close to the reality.

Kevin Myers and Ian Grosvenor (2010) discuss the revolutionary history of supplementary education in British context that African Caribbean and Irish migrants had started supplementary education to their children despite government’s consent in their own-established schools as British mainstream schools who neither let their children get enrolled all nor provided better education in a sense that their culture and identities were badly neglected in mainstream school curriculum. (Myers & Grosvenor 2010, 501-503.) These phenomena still continue in developing countries as we see the categorization of “unrecognized schools” in almost every states of India by the government (8th AISES, 2009). These “unrecognized schools” are run by individuals but

lack all the prerequisites and infrastructures set-required by the government but are targeted to those children of slums and miserably-working class parents who even do not take interest whether children are attending schools. Result is that large numbers of children have already been enrolled and studying in such school but the government keeps ordering to shut down schools without deciding the future of already-studying students. Most badly some cases have been witnessed that passed out students from such schools were rejected to get admission in secondary level in some public schools and the future of children were left at cross road. (Jagannathan 2001, 33-38.)

Today's all forms supplementary education given to the children in an organized way are close to the above stated British case because this is in a way challenge to the mainstream public schools which are failed to cover all levels of students. Though mainstream schools have own problems and limitation as they cannot treat individually due to large number of students per class. Teachers' behaviors and torture have compelled students to get dropped, lack of collective responsibility of school authority and administrators towards students and community etc. have made a large number of students out of school. (Jagannathan 2001, 29-33; Mukherjee 2011.) So alternative schooling, private tutoring, informal education or any form of private sector's efforts to fulfill the gap of student's learning and make them join the national education regardless of their age and sex is supplementary education which can be for free or with minimal tuition fee.

Protection often associates with the education in context of children who are abandoned, run away from home, orphan, street or homeless or the most miserable among many siblings within a poorest family because neither there is a social welfare system for these children nor any state mechanism to keep them in a home and guarantee their life and upbringing. So these children are protected and educated by concerned NGOs in their shelter house or hostels to the limit of their keeping-capacity, individual get adopted by capable individuals or foster caring or sponsorship.

1.6.5 Mainstream

Mainstream is the state of people being included in the national system by providing fair treatment and justice to all. Mainstreaming of children is an attempt of bringing all

disadvantaged and marginalized children into a course of national-counting by protecting them from all sorts of dangers and providing education, guaranteeing basic child rights and letting them conducive environment for their natural physical and cognitive development. Children are living in filthy slums, are on the street without parents, working as a domestic labor or in factories for cheap labor, collecting rags and empty bottle, or living a miserable life helping their parents to earn livelihood who are deprived of education and all forms of human rights. So the state has to approach to these children and make guarantee of their constitutional and fundamental rights so that they also could be a part of nation and contribute in future. To make them able to do so, now at their early age they must be on right track which is mainstreaming of them.

In other words, mainstreaming is the process of inclusiveness of those who have been excluded due to gender bias, poverty, regional disparity, state un-recognition(people living in unregistered slums) or any social classification in order to have equal access to the services of state. Mainstreaming of all is must now in this democratic age because those excluded are most likely to be exploited or abused or misguided because they are not in position to know their rights and responsibility.

The global perception of “diversity mainstreaming” of excluded like women, blacks, disabled, gay/lesbian etc. promoted by UN or World Bank or European Union is also the process of including them into equal status as of others. So in this perspective recognition of the people by the state or accepting their identities is also mainstreaming because after it they can feel their dignity is respected by all. Whoever or whatever type of people or child is, the most essential component of mainstreaming is development of educational programs to every one because only after getting education they can judge right and wrong, and claim or fight for their rights.

Lindsay (2007) introduces the theoretical background of mainstreaming in terms of inclusive education as a key policy objective for the education of children and young people with special educational needs (SEN) and disabilities. (Lindsay 2007, 2-5.) Besides disability, Lindsay’s concern here is for US and UK children where SEN represent either students with low educational attainment or students with behavioral problems. But when the concept of SEN reaches to the developing countries, it represents the margins of all excluded whether by poverty or state discrimination or by

own ignorance and uneducation. Lindsay's conclusion on advocacy for inclusive education/mainstreaming has been on two bases: the rights of children to be included in mainstream education and the proposition that inclusive education is more effective. (Lindsay 2007, 13-16.) This conclusion is used in my study as a theoretical base for the concept of mainstreaming of disadvantaged children in normal schools.

2 LITERATURE REVIEW

2.1 Overview of previous studies and research

Education is not a new concept as it is an integral part of human life whether by learning or by doing throughout the life. In course of human history, informal learning by doing and gaining life experiences were later felt not a complete learning with the beginning of industrial era and individual competition, so the informal learning in homes, temples, churches were ultimately systemized as formal learning in school, college and universities which represents the modern meaning of education.

The importance of education for all remained not a big concern in many poor countries for long because gaining education was the matter of individual capacity to afford it, though Universal Declaration of Human Rights, 1948 was widely accepted by those nations. This concept got the speedy momentum across the globe only after the Jomtein World Conference of 1990 that put forward decadal goal of Education for All (EFA) to achieve by 2000 through compulsory basic education, early childhood care and education, programs for out-of-school children and literacy programs for adults (Jomtein Conference 1990). Only then the governments brought children and other excluded at center for discussion to provide them education and constitutionalize basic education as fundamental rights in their constitutions. Hence the research and studies about basic education to all in all forms in the world became easy for sociologists, educationists and all curious students.

The existing knowledge of supplementary education discussed by Kevin Myers & Ian Grosvenor (2010) in *History of Education* journal is that that it is education organized and run by political, faith or ethnic groups outside of formal schooling. It was in context of post 1945 British regime when large number of African Caribbean migrants and Irish minorities had softly revolted against British monopoly of formal schooling where their children were not taught properly and it also failed, in their words, to respect the identities of “outsiders & minorities”. So they established their own supplementary education projects for their children to promote their particular identities. (Myers & Grosvenor 2010, 501-505.)

Another study carried (1985-1999) on supplementary educational projects in Leeds (England) and in Oslo (Norway) classified the general nature of such schools which were; entirely community based and relied on volunteers. (Hall, Zulfiqar & Tan 2002, 402-406.) Now the context is different but the relevance of this knowledge and nature of the organizations that provide supplementary education are as-it-is world widely. All forms of supplementary education so far practiced like alternative schools, special education, informal education, private tutoring, residential teaching etc. are the different methods widely used by NGOs and private sectors as a bridge course to help learning of the children. Indeed at present context too, involvement of NGOs and private sectors in education is a soft revolt against weak governances and irresponsible mainstream schools that have been failed to include all in the mainstream of education in one or other way.

Most research done in this sector either document the particular work done by NGOs or focus on fund raising and mobilization of NGOs. Other researches either highlight the one aspect of education like children with physical disabilities or mental retardation but do not discuss enough on education and protection that come together for the children who are under open sky or neglected even in the family due to large number of siblings or parents' inability to take care of.

A study of similar nature of my study on "Combating Child Labor through Education in Kolkata" by Chang, Gruber and Alstein (2007) speaks well enough about child labor problem at local context and NGOs educational intervention over that. It documents the deeds of a local NGO, CINI ASHA and its all functional mechanism of teaching the children. It has also included the children's and parents' perspective towards children education. (Chang, Gruber & Alstein 2007, 29-37.) The research is silent on the issues of interrelatedness of education and protection of vulnerable children that come together at local context. It has spoken about how parents manage and adjust when children go to school but has not assessed the gross happiness, Bhutanese perception of gauging national prosperity(Bhutan news service, 2013), in parents due to children's education.

Wim Hoppers (2006) from the International Institute for Educational Planning, UNESCO, synonymizes all sorts of alternative teaching programs to supplementary initiatives for teaching and strongly advocates the need of it. He says:

The momentum for education to all is strongly enhanced by the increasingly effective participation of civil society organizations in the planning and development of education sector programs in different countries. The realities of this universe of non-formal educational initiatives have been such that it has responded to un-met learning needs of relatively large numbers of people, and that in all its diversity it has de facto become a hothouse for all kinds of new visions, forms, approaches and methodologies for learning, and thus a source of innovation and revitalization for education as a whole. (Hoppers 2006, 23-29.)

Public education handled by government in poor and developing countries became too ineffective to include all in mainstreaming of education due to weak governance and limited resources, so large number of children remained out of education. A lot of sincere efforts from the government for education to all are there both in policies and practice but all these mechanism have failed to educate those who do not/cannot come to school even after the campaign of government. And the number of such children is massive. Then the intervention of private sectors and NGOs in this field became inevitable, and they started functioning almost parallel to the governments in the sense that their strong advocacy and policy activism have made the governments to include them in policy making. Karen Mundy (2006) highlights these aspects of national and international actors' collective activities at non-governmental level as transnational unity for EFA. He says:

Originally viewed by the international community as an under-utilized resource in the provision of educational services, today INGOs have taken on new and unanticipated leadership in international EFA efforts. INGOs have asserted themselves as advocates and policy activists. The GCE (Global Campaign for Education, mainly of OXFAM, CARE, Action Aid and Global March) and other civil-society organizations have increasingly carved out a place for themselves as the makers and monitors of global EFA goals. (Mundy 2006, 29-31.)

Similarly a comparative study by Pauline Rose (2009) about NGO-provision of primary education approach to include the excluded from access to the conventional state education in India, Bangladesh, Ethiopia and Ghana have revealed that:

NGO provision of schooling continues to be seen as `second-best` to state schooling, with state schooling remaining the focus of attention for EFA (Rose 2009, 231).

These findings came with a balanced notion that no matter how better the NGO-provision is; the government still is driving agent where NGOs only can be supplementary to the state.

A research carried out by Shah and Sen (2008) on mapping of education in slums of Kolkata about supply and demand dynamics of primary schools found that non availability of schools was not a problem but the problem was management of quality education and government's failure of tracking the drop outs or absentees from school enrollment and necessary policies to mainstream them. (Shah & Sen 2008, 26-31.)

Similarly Shanti Jagannathan (2001) targets on government's weaknesses and makes a comparative study of six different NGOs working in different states of India says:

There is problem of finding actual number of out of school children because government bodies do not extend data collection to the unrecognized colonies (slums) in urban areas and in remote school-less habitations and hamlets. So the effectiveness of NGO action is best in evidence in the successful schooling of underprivileged children, communities in remote locations, scheduled caste, scheduled tribe and other children that face social barriers to education. (Jagannathan 2001, 13-19.)

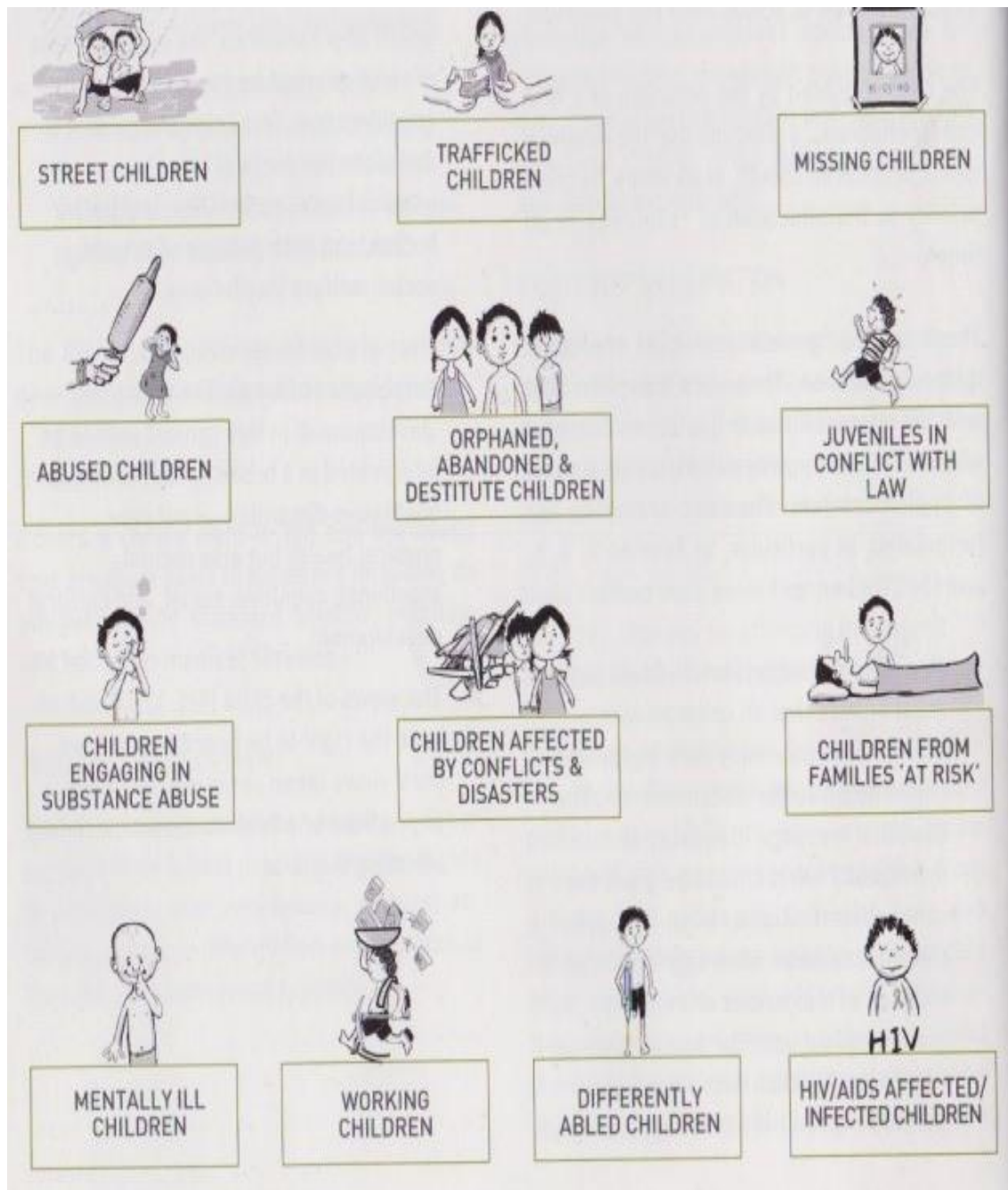
The striking impact of NGOs intervention for universalization of primary education is such seen in practice that it needs to be non-formalization of all formal schools and all alternatives schools should have formal equivalence with normal school if government wants seriously to mainstream all left out children to national schools. Contrary to it, there have been the examples of state's intentionally no-recognition of students when public schools have denied admission in higher classes to the passed out from alternative school. For example, children graduated from a community school (alternative school) tried to get admission in government upper primary classes were often found to be rejecting with complaints that lessons were not understood by them (Jagannathan 2001, 43). Here government and NGOs sector are not and cannot be the competitors to each other's but work together for mass-welfare. The report concludes that the different six influential NGOs involved in education sector in different states of India when surveyed did not aspire to be parallel providers of primary education, but wished to be catalyst to improve effectiveness of the government system.(Jagannathan 2001, 40-45.)

However this research has not pointed out the need of transparency of NGOs in terms of their teachers' pedagogical training, knowledge of child psychology and their academic qualifications because it is often questionable that teachers teaching in such informal education system are not professional or are just para-teachers. It is important also because if teachers are not qualified and trained with child pedagogy, how can they handle the situation of those all vulnerable children who come from different background of sufferings?

In my own research and in casual conversation with officials of the organization during research period, it was not found anybody making research at this level from another country focusing in their endeavors for child education and protection. So to my best knowledge, it is first such deep study on inclusive approach of education and protection of destitute and marginalized children for mainstreaming their life and education at the initiation of individuals and IPER in Kolkata, India.

2.2 Issue of vulnerability and child protection in India

Children are supposed to be the most vulnerable section in society because they are dependent, have the least power, and have less control over their own lives. Marginalized and neglected children due to socio-economic and cultural circumstances of following categories are known as CNCP (Children in Need of care and Protection) in context of India (Mehta 2008, 12):



(Source: Mehta 2008, 12)

FIGURE 4: Vulnerable groups of children.

The children who have been protected by IPER and whom I taught and interacted in study also come from these backgrounds directly or indirectly. When asked to the IPER hostel in-charge and teachers about the background of protected students there, they told at least a student of above category was there.

The National Policy for Children, 1974 in India was made after it ratified The Convention on the Rights of the Child (CRC) in 1992 drafted by UN commission in

1989. Following the norms of the CRC, it took the children as a supremely important asset of the country, and hence made followings obligatory for all to create well-being of the children:

- Respect the participation of rights of children
- Protect, particularly vulnerable groups
- Facilitate equal and effective access to health, educational resources
- Fulfill the basic minimum care/needs/rights of all children. (NPC, 1992.)

2.3 Legislation for child protection and education

Constitution of India, 1949 has made the provision for compulsory free education to all up to grade eight in schools. The articles 14, 15, 19, 21, 23, 24, 39 and 45 with many other sub clauses in this constitution have a direct references and impact on the welfare and development of the nation's children (Mehta, 2008, 13). After a long gap of service and practice only in 1974, GOI declared the national policy for children aiming to ensure the effective services for children in the areas of health, nutrition, education and recreation with special emphasis on the weaker section of the society, and for incorporation of all directed programs of children to the national plans for the development of human resources. After some years, UN set the standard minimum rules for the administration of Juvenile Justice in 1985 followed by the conference held in Beijing, China (Beijing Rules 1985), and in 1986 India in line to this conference made the legislation Juvenile Justice Act (JJA) especially for the care, protection, treatment, development and rehabilitation of neglected or delinquent children (Mehta 2008, 32). JJA is based on the provision of the Indian constitution and four broad rights of the UN-CRC namely; Right to Survival, Right to Protection, Right to Development, and Right to Participation. JJA replaced various Acts practiced on this regard in different states of India. Further then it has been amended and revised in 2000, 2006 and in 2010 to meet the contemporary challenges for care and protection of needy children.

Realizing the fact of serious gender bias in Indian society, GOI prepared a separate plan for the girl child for the period of 1991-2000 with the main goal of survival and protection of the girl child and safe motherhood. Meanwhile there came a turning point

in the international movement on behalf of Child Rights after the General Assembly of UN adopted The Convention on the Rights of the Child (CRC) in 1989, November 30. India also ratified this convention on 11th December 1992 and followed the umbrella principle of the CRC, “The Best Interest of the Child” in its plan and policies.

Indian child welfare system and legislative provisions are almost fifty years of legislative provision from 1949 to 2000 but it has achieved very little in the field of child protection and education. It gained massive concern and started making relevant progressive Acts on it only after Jomtein Conference, 2000. Women, children and weaker section of society were always taken for granted in terms of their human rights and personal dignity despite constitutional equal status of all.

2.4 IPER approaches and partnership in action

41 years down the lane since 1971, IPER has been working for the deprived population at all levels including children, women and youth for education, protection and life-skills trainings. It has been recognized by both Central and State government. With a main mission of research in psychology and education, it has extended its services to all needy people whose life is at risk. Its main approach areas are now all possible vulnerable areas like slum, street and other poverty-stricken areas where the weakest section of local society; children and women are at poor condition. It runs need-based programs rather than pre-planned with a focus on rights for the disadvantaged and deprived children such as street children, child workers, orphans, abandoned, abused and those who are disabled.

Though it is a Kolkata based local NGO, most of the projects undertaken by IPER have national bases that get financial assistance from both the state and the central government. But it is never enough for its budget so it has to raise funds from other sectors like corporate sectors, advertisements done in its annual journal, membership fees and donations from a host of patrons and well-wishers. IPER also receives funds from several national and international funding agencies like LWS, UNICEF, ILO, Brot, DIAK Finland and others. Beside these, it campaigns many fund raising programs from time to time. It is strongly supported by the government of West Bengal,

especially the department of Women and Child Development. The above stated organizations that fund IPER are its best supporter and partner organizations. It collaborates with many other partners depending up on its projects to launch. For example, Reach India, USAID, GOAL India, NIWANO Peace Foundation of Japan, NFICH and SIMAVI of Netherlands are some of it. It has kept the vision of a world without strife, violence, discrimination and exploitation, especially for children and women, and its mission is to work continuously for the society free of such social evils, capacity building and empowerment of women through education and economic independence for the sustainable development of the community. (IPER 2009.)

2.5 India, Kolkata: The study area

West Bengal (WB) is a North-east province of India that shares international border with Nepal, Bangladesh, China (Tibet) and Bhutan. Kolkata was the capital of India in period of East India Company (British colonial government), and now the capital of WB. It used to be a hob center of education, culture and civilization whole in South Asia due to British influence but now struggling to come out of dense population (4th largest out of 35 states of India having population density of 1029/km² as compared to 382/km² of India), mass poverty and uneducation in urban slums and in rural areas. However its literacy rate, 77.08%, is higher by 3.4% than national rate. (Census of India 2011.)

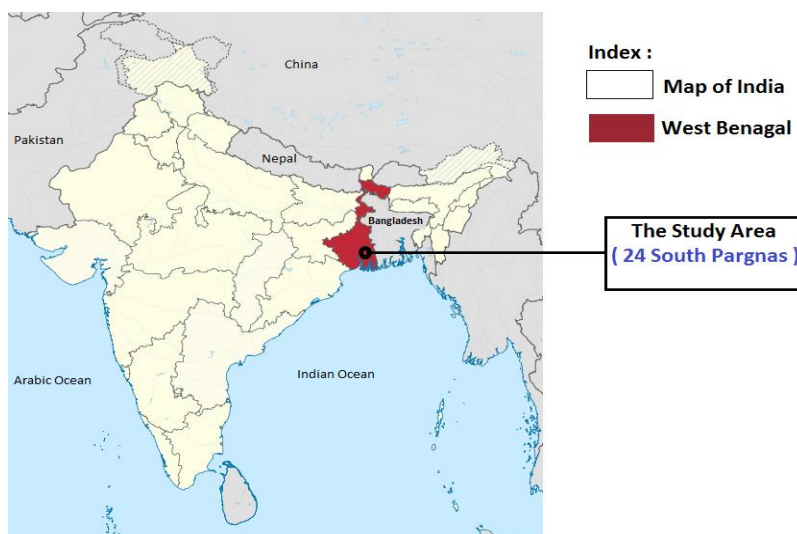


FIGURE 5: Map of India and study area, Kolkata.

The study area was located in the southern part of Kolkata in 24 Parganas district. My focus area was in three slum communities and two learning centers for children in the respective community.

My preconception of slum as it would be somewhere along the banks of river or on sides of large ponds or along the line of vast empty space turned to be partially wrong when seen the slums there even within the towns and some huts made inside the cylindrical large cemented pipes.

3 RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

This research study was carried out in a qualitative research framework with a participatory approach. This frame and approach have so wide approaches to choose that it does not stick to a single method but privilege a set of interpretive activities as inquiry tools. (Denzin & Lincoln 2008, 8-9.) During study, my intention was not to dig on how much and how many; though to some extent it certainly would be a part of analysis, but on how and why as a due process, so this method was chosen. Uwe Flick has explained, “Qualitative research is an investigation of the subjective meaning or the social production of issues, events, or practices by collecting non-standardized data and analyzing texts and images rather than numbers and statics” (Uwe Flick 2010, cited in Pant 2012, 139). In fact this research is also a combined product of existing knowledge developed inductively from the corpus of data (Pant 2012, 142). Participant observation and interviews are backed up with individual case studies as an important way of qualitative research to assess holistic community empowerment and development through education of disadvantaged children.

3.1 Desk survey and secondary data collection

As it was first of its type research at student level of mine, desk survey of secondary sources of information started quite early to make up my mind relating the context, theories and ideas about intended research. It helped to fulfill my research-vacuum of start from where. Desk review of secondary sources continued during primary data collection too in order to immediately triangulate and to cross check the validity, especially of quantitative aspects so as to filter unwanted and wrong matters rather at preliminary stage, even though much attention was given not to miss the chances of enjoying own data collection from real working life situations by curbing digging deeply on secondary sources.

Internal sources like unpublished and published documents of IPER, such as work-progress of current projects, organizational records, annual reports, and external sources like internet, Diak E-brary, published research on the same field and context but of

different organizations, information-notice regarding child protection put publicly in local police stations, Indian government census of population 2011, policy and decision documents in related field of Indian government and its local agencies, UNICEF & UNESCO reports of different time etc. were mainly concerned and consulted as secondary data.

3.2 Primary data collection

Data is the building block of any research. It can be defined as the values collected through record-keeping or polling, observing, or measuring (Pant 2012, 214.) Data collecting and gathering is the most crucial part of any research work because it provides a connecting link to the world of reality for the researcher by own live-experiences and interactions in the field. Triangulation, a multi-method using three most suitable and practical research tools; participant observation, semi structured individual interview and case studies were chosen for whole primary data collection in this research. Though the process was triangular but the central image for research is crystal, not the triangle (Richardson & Pierre cited in Denzin & Lincoln 2008, 487) i.e. focused on the intended theme of my research.

3.2.1 Participant Observation

Observation is the method of recording conditions, events and activities through the non-inquisitorial involvement of the researcher (Walliman 2012, 195). And, Participant observer just does not watch what is going on but become involved in the group that they are being observed (Hawting & Percy-Smith 2007, 85). These two definitions guided me to be a silent reader but open of all sense organs for all observable phenomena every day to capture in my notebook and sometimes in my camera too. I was Nepali and study setting was in Kolkata where local people whether small children or grown up college boys and girls or parents of them or IPER staffs or concerned all; we had similar complexion; I could speak their language (Hindi) as native as them; greeting formalities while meeting were same by and large, so I was well accepted as an observer in their `community` that generated self-mutual-trust to make my research process effective (Bell 2011, 145). I was performing a semi overt role so I had to

combine my regular job and my study in organization (Pant 2012, 139). I was teaching assistant in the centers to the kids but at the same time I was observing the teaching and learning phenomenon in terms of service giving and taking process. Besides these I was also involving in the intervention and rescue cases of child protection and keeping the records of action and reactions of involved all too.

To the most extent, my main job of doing a research was over shadowed by my disguised presence of actual professional whether as a teacher or volunteer in intervention and rescue actions in the sense that almost all staff working with me in the field were middle aged who felt better relieved and secured making me do real work. It is because there are always chances of being accused or physically threatened in case of such social works in such societies where one can trust on rule of law but it necessarily does not guarantee of; I shall further analyze below in case study section about it. Sometimes it happened so hectic that I was confused what to observe and keep record and what to leave, and sometimes just forget to keep records of something interesting and important. I was always worried whether as a participant observer I might become so involved that it would be difficult to record events and interpersonal interactions objectively. (Hawting & Percy-Smith 2007, 86-87.)

3.2.2 Semi structured interview

The interview is such a common information-gathering procedure that it seems to bring all experiences together narratively (Gubrium & Holstein 2001, 30). The subjects who I had to develop conversations with were those protected unprivileged children such now grown up and above 18 years and their parents and other such marginalized community-people, IPER staffs and on-duty staffs of related work field, outreach and government school teachers, social workers, local authorities, some local donors for NGO and so on. Though the central concern was on children but participant observation rather than interviewing them was enough (Eder & Fingerson cited in Gubrium & Holstein 2001, 181).

My mind was always and everywhere preoccupied with the self-assigned aim of research, so each conversation was like absolutely unstructured interview where I could start talking of universe to bring them open and gradually make focused on my theme.

Apparently it helped me to select the individuals and groups for interview and case studies so as to represent the mass of similar nature but of different dimensions in term of problem, origin and interaction. They were selected during participant observation, home to home visits and by the help of IPER staff; and each of them were clearly noticed and convinced about my research (Haralambos & Holborn 2007, 826). They were also well informed about its aim, the topics to discuss in question-answer form and later publication of it as a university thesis. Parents were interviewed at their homes during home visits; some male were interviewed even at night when they were back from day-labor, students were interviewed at IPER office and in outreach centers and others were in their respective offices. It was so much interesting going into others mind through unstructured interview but at the same time it was time-consuming, tiring, spend full and sometime routine-monotonous when people were hurried to complete answering.

Semi structured interview went exceptionally well with those who were able enough to answer but a lot of additional clarification and guidance (Haralambos & Holborn 2007, 826) were to develop to be answered from uneducated community people. It is not that they did not all understand the question but their nature-culture of smiling and nodding head than answering verbally while being asked by someone who was stranger to them labored me enough to work extra time.

3.2.3 Case studies

Case study is not a methodological choice; but a choice of object to be studied. What specifically can be learnt from the single case? (Stake 1998 cited in Denzin & Lincoln 1998, 86.)

These statements created a level of theoretical dilemma and a deep for and against logics of case study as a research methodological approach haunted a lot to me at the beginning about why to choose case studies. I chose it because “it is a strategy for doing research which involves an empirical investigation of a particular contemporary phenomenon within a real-life context using multiple sources of evidence (Robson 1993 cited in Pant 2012, 113). The research intention was to study the prevalent social and economic system-phenomena and its effect on population of cases than in the individual case (Stake 1998 cited in Denzin & Lincoln 1998, 87) so the quest was such individual

who could represent the mass. Actually, in sincere practice of my social work in the field, I received those cases; I did not choose. Selections of individuals for case studies were priority-based on my participant-witnesses of daily reality. At the same time it was the product of life story-interview of individuals which has resulted a perspective to analyze how an individual member of a group of marginalized society, of hardships-passed young generation or cohort see certain events or movements (Stewart 1994 cited by Atkinson in Gubrium & Holstein 2001, 129.)

Keeping in mind about the drawback of case studies as they do not allow valid generalization to the population from which their units came (Isaac 1978 cited in Pant 2012, 115) I chose those cases after information-oriented sampling (Pant 2012, 114) of cases which I had gathered during participant observation and interview. These were exemplar cases among the studied-masses of population. The intended uses of these case studies were to add up additional knowledge of changing scenario of neglected child being mainstreamed through education during the research. During all above processes of data collection, the subjects were categorically divided in to three stratum in terms of environment (existing reality & system in a broad sense); affected and beneficiary (neglected & disadvantaged children and their community); and service deliverer (NGO and civil society-government's joint efforts).

3.3 Data analysis

The central step of research; data analysis was done to move from raw data to meaningful understanding (Pant 2012, 283). All the collected data and information whether primarily or secondarily were brought together, sorted out according to theme and respondents and the due process of getting a `new knowledge` began with qualitatively analysis; the process like seeking a knowledge-needle in the haystack of raw materials. Most of the primary data were in words; whether spoken or written, as of nature of qualitative data and other were qualitative and quantitative both so as selected to materialize the qualitative approaches with proof.

TABLE 1: Methods of data collection and analysis techniques.

TYPE OF DATA	SUBJECT	METHODS OF COLLECTION	ANALYSIS TECHNIQUES	OBJECTIVES
Primary Data	Children learning in outreach centers	Participant Observation	Thematic analysis of process and practices	learning outcomes of children and integrated services of IPER
	Under age domestic child labour and educated grown up children	Case Studies	Conceptual analysis of contents	Child protection at present and in the past
	Slum-parents	Unstructured Interview	Content analysis	responses towards children's education and community development
	Educated and empowered children above 18 years of age	Semi structured interview		Empowerment and future role
	IPER staff and Local Club Members	Semi Structured interview		Partnership and collaborative mechanism
Secondary Data	Related theme and contents	Literature Review	Content analysis	Theoretical idea and content background

Whole data analysis was done manually. The process of data analysis included systematic technical sequential steps of editing, coding, classification, tabulation and presenting the gist finally.

The collected data; observation notes, interview sheets, field diary were brought together and read and reviewed thoroughly keeping in mind the focus of study and then edited mainly for their completeness and consistency (Pant 2012, 285). They were re-written to complete the intended story if needed. While reading notes of parents' responses towards their children getting education, some answers were missing as they smiled and did not answer specifically when interviewed which was left as 'not-answered' but later it felt to be important, so the respective homes were revisited and got the answer from them. Some responses were just emotionally noted and too long which were deleted later.

Some inconsistency also found in the interview with college-going youths who were passed out from IPER. They had told that they had no touch with their so-called high class neighbor and were badly dominated by them but in one question they had told that they had good friendship with all in the colleges; obviously those friends included from that community too. When they were revisited and begged clarification on those, they replied "Yes, those neighbors are different inside and outside the college."

After these, secondary data were also followed the same process in order to make coherence with primary data for usefulness and completeness of both.

After editing and making complete data, they were coded by theme-words so as to find quickly at a glance in need of theme and content analysis both. Mostly data were collected in unstructured forms so it was necessary to codify them. Then those data were further classified in different headings like education, Protection, government's role, civil society organization's role and so on others required. These categories were designed according to the research problem and purpose. (Kerlinger 1986 cited in Pant 2012, 287.)

3.4 Sample design

I followed the principle of non-probability sampling (Pant 2012, 198) at my own personal purpose and judgment. I targeted on those who could represent the diversified masses like married/unmarried/schedule caste/having had personal sponsor or none etc. and fixing time for meeting or seeking appointment for interview did not work there properly as punctuality was just taken for granted. For this I consulted the Educational Head of the program who had expertise on these. I was confined within the service-approaches of the concerned organization for the study, so framing sample was not a problem to me. All the students attending informal education classes in outreach centers, college going students who were passed out from those centers and parents of both the students were my study-population. Whole the classes attending in two different outreach centers, and some selected high school graduates and parents were my sample units.

TABLE 2: Sample framing, sample units and objectives.

Sample Frame	Sample Units	Sample Size	Categorizations
Slum Community(3)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • 33 Homes • 44 Parents 		Simple literate/daily earners/house wife/unemployed
Slum Community(3)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • 21 Mothers • 10 Fathers 		Simple literate/daily earners/house wife/unemployed
Children attending supplementary education	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Outreach Centre 1 • Outreach Centre 2 	25 students 29 students	Holistically (all concerned activities of children during learning like educational attainment, teacher-student relationships and pre/post normal school reflection of them in learning centers)
High school graduates	27	Bachelor's level students(6)	Boys/girls/married/unmarried/schedule class/having had personal sponsor or having none
NGO Workers & Civil Society Members	IPER staff and local club members	Official and field(5) staff and local club member (9)	Field staff came in contact through IPER

3.5 Ethical issues and role of the researcher

The research started with a due process of getting permission from the head of the concerned organization after I informed all about my research topic, aims and objectives of the study. The respondent students were called at office, locations for taking interview of parents were set in the respective houses during home visits and regular classes in learning centers were observed and helped teaching at a time. In order to

make them able to open heart in expression and to get intimacy in talking, interview was taken in mix of Hindi and Bengali language as locally as they speak for which I was also able; and local people in slums were interviewed in Bengali language; few were in Hindi too, with assistance of organization-staff.

It has been respected the dignity and autonomy of all my participants and respondents through seeking informed consent. I have done so by explaining the aims of my research, academic utilization of it, my expectations from them, approximate time interview would take and that they would take part voluntarily with right of answering/not answering to a particular question and also to withdraw at any time. However I found this process more confusing and complicated. (Macdonald & Macdonald 1995, 58-59.) Though I followed it but never came out of theoretical puzzle of seeking the informed consent because when still there are lists of personal, religious, cultural and so many other issues to consider before asking the questions to the respondent according to my objectives, what is the use of getting consent from him/her?

In-depth interview with the young generation brought so much interesting and personal matters but of socially important to analyze. Then again I fell in ethical dilemma; what would make me more responsible and accountable as a researcher, putting that information in final report or disposing that information? (Shardlow 1995, 78-79.) However I promised to show the developed story of them the other day and they did not mind putting all what they had expressed after reading their stories.

The interviewed community people were uneducated, even though they were full assured of their confidentiality with anonymity of personal details. Later I anonymized all interviewees, outreach centers and slums also so that they could feel safe and none of their expressions could be traced back to them.

It was made crystal clear that I was a student working there for the university thesis as well as trying to get a better understanding of the all possible efforts for education and protection of child and not in the position to provide funds or look for funds to support materially to their community and people. Nevertheless, it was hoped to ensure reciprocity through recognizing and including both the voice and values of all involved stakeholders in the process of protecting child till the problem exists.

3.6 Challenges and limitations of the study

Assisting to teach, while observing as a participant, was a big mess at the beginning because all age and level of children were put together in a class without segregation. A loosely managed class without any places to seat properly; neither blackboard nor chalk to teach but directly writing on their copies was so difficult. Little children who did not know English and communicated in their own languages as they thought me of their own community due to similar hue and appearances of mine added more challenge to assess their learning outcomes. I was fluent in Hindi and able to talk in Bengali too but children's intonation and sentence-making made me confused to understand them very often. Later as the days passed on, I became used to with.

Sometimes ethical dilemma during field visits in the slums also strongly baffled my morale of repeatedly visiting them. Generally when government officials or national/foreign donors go to visit the homes with the staff of the organization, something is offered to them or a "hope" is generated in them to get something solid in future but neither I was anyone of them nor had anything to offer. My reality was beyond their knowledge. Their frequent calling "Master Saab (Sir/teacher)" to me was so embarrassing for me; though it is common to call every school teacher there. While talking to me, some of them demanded job, some begged to provide electricity at home, and some requested for school in their own community and hostel for their children and so on other lists of demand. I was afraid that not promising anything to them would make them hopeless and no more interested in talking to me whereas making any false promise was against of ethical values. I just noted down their complaints and consoled them that I would take those issues in IPER official meeting, and urged them to hope because something new they (IPER) would think about. As promise done; I showed all points to the IPER-head in casual conversation and she promised that they would give an outreach center in a near future to a slum. (IPER head of education, personal communication 3.12.2012)

Process of reaching a conclusion depending on a small sample of study definitely felt always a lack of further study at a bigger scale and scope because data shows millions of children are still out of schools that need to be brought back to mainstream by all possible means. Research was not for the numerical aspects of these but on exemplary

sincere efforts; be it at small portion, at private and public level done to educate and protect the children who are vulnerable for many reasons. Most satisfying part of the research was participant observation of children's informal learning in two different outreach centers and private efforts of protecting them because it is the general practices commonly adopted by other organizations of similar nature in Kolkata. Hence validity of the conclusion is very close to the generally accepted reality. Rest two other aspects of focused study; empowered generation and their future role and responsibility and parents' responses towards their children's education could have done at bigger scale which was not possible due to time bound and my limited approaches in the masses at that moment. Also, my main responsibility there according to the agreement done between the concerned organization and me was to help teaching the kids as an assistant teacher. Nonetheless, research time and respondents were made available to me in fixed hours after regular work on my request.

3.7 Personal and professional developments during the research process

Choosing Kolkata as a place for research was another international exposure of social work practice after Finland that could pave my way to work in any international environment. As I could speak the local languages (Hindi and Bengali), I never felt isolated there but mixed up with local people in a bond of brotherhood. Similar culture of same religion of mine was additional factor to get integrated there. Moreover my own background of coming from a poor country had many similar realities of daily life struggle there to share.

I appreciated the way they welcomed me, I taught basic literacy and numerals and other course subjects too to the children and recalled my past professional life, enjoyed their food, celebrated their biggest festivals, toiled in field visits at the hottest day of 32 degree centigrade temperature and shared poverty and pain-stricken life experiences with the slum people. Three months stay with those destitute children and people has taught me that humanity is the best service of human life as I lively witnessed the fathomless happiness in the faces of people due to somebody's little help to them. The poor but curious children looking forward always for something, the smiling people even in any hardships and community and social workers laboring day and night for a

society free of any crimes against child were never to miss in life. It was such a great learning by doing that now I find myself in better condition of being comfortable with any community of world.

To speak professionally, it was first experience of having such level of research in international perspectives though I had some experiences in mini research carried in Finland during the regular campus course. Warming up the respondents and taking In-depth interview, being participant to observe and to learn at micro level in any community, organizing group discussion and facilitating, maintaining and making notes of every details of daily field work etc. are some precious research tools I got to know and be used to with during this research. Despite having same religion, the cultural differences to encounter and due respect to their all differences was great professional learning for a social worker.

The ethical issues and respect, to weigh the words for individual's dignity while talking to the people from different background can be so sensitive even after their permission to talk; I realized as a lesson for other researches to take in future. When involving in real situation of rescue of a child domestic worker, my professionalism came in risk because of the resistance and hostility from the side abusive family. (Hingley-Jones & Allain 2011, 50-51.) Tolerance and attitudes of being with other professionals in dealing the matter commonly to get out problem, I learnt there. The idea to communicate with people who are in desperate need of help, to teach to the children who are yet to mainstream and to make partnership or network of own for working in community where anything can happen personally even doing work for common well-being are other important learning for my future life.

Most importantly, the entire labour and efforts I have put for the study of slums have inspired me to make this research part of my own lifestyle inculcating do-it-yourself attitude in me because as Randy Stoecker (2010) has suggested "research is pretty useless unless we are engaged in actually using it (Stoecker 2005, 214).

4 FINDINGS

Depending upon analysis of primary and secondary data, the research findings are correlated as follow in the diagram in three perspectives; beneficiary and sub beneficiary's perspective of positive changes in individual and in community, functional mechanism and methods used by the stakeholders, and identifying current and future challenges for sustainability and ownership of the programmes.

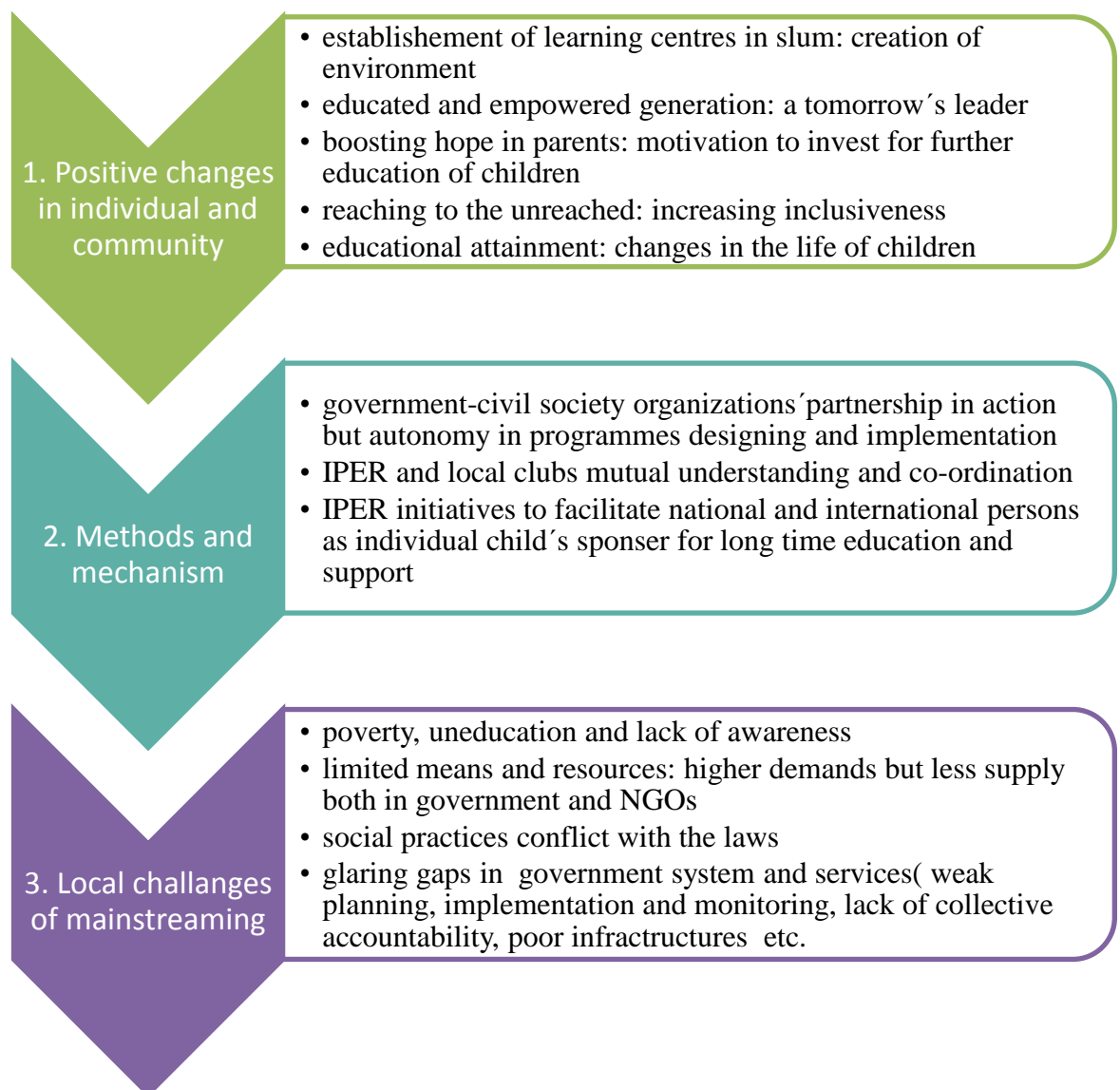


FIGURE 6: Main findings in a glance.

The findings are more elaborated in detail as follow under the main headings of research questions set at the beginning of study-

4.1 Findings I: Beneficiary's perspectives of positive change

In this chapter, I will answer the research question about what the visible changes are in children, parents and their community due to education & protection of children.

The children who are benefited by the intervention of education and protection are the main beneficiaries and their communities as a whole are the sub beneficiaries. The children are also categorized in two groups; one who are getting pre-primary or primary education (being benefitted groups), and other who have passed secondary level (still being benefitted but empowered enough to stand on own). So altogether these three immediate beneficiaries have experienced the following changes in their life and in the community due to education and protection intervention-

4.1.1 Establishing outreach learning centers: Creation of environment

The slums are such crowded and filthy areas that it becomes hard for any outsiders just to breathe there but the population density are more than 10000 per square kilometer. There is not a space even for meeting more than five people together, so in these areas organizing a place for teaching the children and creating environment for continuing is a tough task. One the other hand, children of different backgrounds and mother tongue due to internal migration from neighboring states of west Bengal (mainly from Bihar and Orissa) are put together without segregation which has created problems to educate them in a combined way. Furthermore their age variation (some 8-9 years old are studying in standard 2 while some 6-17 years old are at beginning of learning) have had a lot of psychological and practical problems to both learners and teachers. Even though the following observation shows how the environment is created-

Near to the slum, almost in every slum (a local club member, personal communication 10.10.2012) at least a local club house is already there where youths (only boys; though it is not for only boys but social culture is such that girls do not come or are not allowed to) gather, conduct meetings, do exercises or do anything publicly. But meeting with women or other kinds of trainings are also organized in such club houses. On request of IPER, local club houses have given a room for teaching those needy children in different slum areas.

Here (in three different slums of my study) also a single room is let for teaching those children who have no one to take care at their homes or have problems in understanding normal school courses or those who are normally older than children but are at beginning stage of learning. Teachers, teaching materials, books and even 5-8 pieces of biscuits to all everyday (Monday to Friday) are provided by IPER. The class size is of 30 students but their presences vary every day. They have no furniture but torn out mattress on cemented floor to sit in. The children are up to fifth graders and beginners too regardless of their age. Teachers are middle aged-ladies only who mostly use traditional methods of teaching. The classes start at 11 a.m. and finish at 2 p.m. as normal schools (public schools) here run in morning time.

Every day class starts with singing national anthem of India in Bengali language; it is practiced even if the single student is there, and ends with some funny dance or singing or body-stretching exercises. The children mostly practice here the courses developed by IPER and the work given by their aunty. All the children address the teacher as aunty in order to bring family bond & closeness in children as most of them have lost it with the loss of parents (a teacher, personal communication 10.10.2012) The course and curriculum developed by IPER is approved by the district education board, and it is developed as coherent to the government syllabus in a simplest way. Everyday Math, English, Bengali/Hindi language, drawing and other subjects are taught. If there is a group of similar standard students, they are taught in that group commonly and other are taught individually as they need. No form of abuse or punishment is used in case of their inability to complete the tasks but verbal-thrashing to mischievous children in the class seem to be common as culturally it is accepted (a teacher, personal communication 15.10.2012).

4.1.2 Changes in the life of children

After 10:30 a.m. after their normal school, no one would know what they used to do or where used to go earlier but now the children are safe and busy learning whole day. They have been very outspoken and can ask any question without fear (a teacher, personal communication 29.11.2012). They have neatly washed clothes and face, and well combed hair. When they have exams in their school, they let know that to the teachers here and try to learn accordingly which has helped them to score better marks

in school. For examples: Rinki (name changed), 7, stood first position in grade 2 last year, Amaresh (name changed), 13, was school-first in drawing competition this year. Pappu (name changed), 10, Hindi speaking migrant from Bihar has improved his Math and Bengali here and doing better in his school. Raja (name changed), 8, was terrified to go to school as he had seen his school teacher canning a boy in the school when first he went to. Later he joined here and came with his sister regularly; gradually he understood school, friends & teacher to some extent and this year he is attending school regularly without any fear. In public schools there is no system of tracking students whether they are attending regularly but here teachers keep records of everyday and asks if they have been to school that very day. If someone says that he/ she did not, the teachers visit their homes, ask their mothers why. If someone just remains silent while being asked because he/she did not go without informing, then another friend quickly reveals the truth to the teachers. It has helped to increase the attendance of students in normal schools as well as in learning centers.

When the classes are going on, the door is always open. The passersby and mothers of children if they are free just look inside on and off for no reasons as the class is close to the road. But unknowingly this phenomenon has made everyone responsible. Passersby find that children are taught which information they share in other needy areas; mothers are happy as kids are doing well inside, and teachers and students concentrate on teaching and study respectively because they are afraid that they are being watched. So all are dutiful on own jobs because everyone knows here the consequences of complaints of something bad by the teachers to the students and vice versa there.

The theory of `necessity is the mother of invention` is well applied here because they have utilized maximum what is available rather than waiting for all availability. May be in what worst conditions, choosing the room near to slums is the wisest decision because already tired-children could not walk long for any kind of education. It was also equally important to win the trust of parents and made them feel secured of their children because they were learning close to their sight.

Teachers catch the pencils of students and meet individuals for helping do in their copies. Lack of white/black board, markers, chalk, duster or other materials have not caused any problem because the guts of teachers for making them able to cope up with

the courses are on top. Club house support is due to good networking and partnership of IPER with civil society, and urgently teaching the disadvantaged children is acute feelings of universalization of basic education to all.

4.1.3 Empowered generation: A tomorrow's leader

During interview all grown up students who were protected by IPER at their early childhood, got educated from IPER and now attending higher secondary or colleges expressed the maturity and responsibilities of being not only educated but empowered in multi ways of human rights, child rights, solid waste management and other vocational trainings besides regular studies. The following three case studies of three individual's put together here show how they have undergone changes in them and been empowered to be able to lead the tomorrow:

Puran Das (name changed), 19, is a Bachelor's second year Zoology student who was rescued at the age of six by IPER and still receives college expenditure and day meal from IPER. His father is cobbler; mother is a house wife and has six siblings at home. He hardly remembers any day in his life when all family members together have taken food to full appetite. They have a single room home in slum and cannot read at night as it does not have space to put his lamp & books for study, so he studies a lot at day whenever free. Despite his desire to have Master's Degree on it, he has planned to go for a job after completion of Bachelor's to support his family.

He is the eldest son in the family and has to shoulder the responsibilities of all in future morally and culturally. He is a scheduled caste (so called untouchable caste) and has the awful story of his father never being able to claim the benefits and privileges given to them by the law as he was not able to produce the paper of being scheduled caste. He says he would be definitely somewhere polishing another's shoes sitting at rusty and dusty road like his father now if he was not rescued and educated by IPER. He not only got education from here but also enumerable trainings on rights and responsibilities, making citizenships and preparing other bureaucratic papers, seeking help from police, community cleaning, child rights and protection and so on. He has already made scheduled caste identity card and working to make for his father also so that both of them could claim for discount and subsidies on rations, kerosene and other things as per law. He believes he can now onward stand on own and has been able enough to fight against any injustice done to them on their ground of so called low status in the society

Poornima Halder (name changed), 18, is a final year high school student who was rescued when she was in 8th grade after she denied parents' pressure to get marry. Since then she has been protected by IPER and financially supported by an individual for education. Her father is a taxi driver; mother is house wife and has 4 siblings under her. They all also live in a single room house in slum. She shares the pathetic story that every day the food that they arrange; her mother first gives to the little ones, then a little portion left over is equally divided to the elder ones. She is keen interested in academic studies but has not dreamt long because she wants to get job after high school to support her family as she has already got beautician & tailoring trainings from IPER.

She says her life would have already been ruined by being mother of at least two kids now having married to an illiterate person if she was not protected and helped thoroughly. She explains in a breath that the guts to present herself in front of anyone, to answers questions like now (in interview) and to convince her parents satisfyingly about marrying only after being independent are all credited to IPER.

Basanti Mondal (name changed), 19, married, is a tenth grader student. When she was in 8th grade, she quitted the school as her parents could not afford and got her married with a bus-conductor. During home visits of *didis* (people address IPER field staff as *didi*, sister), her mother & she requested a lot for her desire to study and she was rescued. Her husband is a literate and allowed her to continue study as she was financially backed up by IPER. She has five siblings under her in home and husband has also four siblings. She expresses her maturity that both sides' families now are their duty, responsibility & priority, so she has not thought of any long plans of study but high school completion is a compulsory target.

She says she would be just a baby-giving machine or cleaning somebody's dishes somewhere now if she was not supported by IPER. Her courage to continue study even after marriage and convincing her husband not to have any babies till she wants are all due to regular guidance, training and education from IPER; otherwise there are no examples she has witnessed of continuing study and not having babies within that year after marriage in her caste and culture. She has already got training on beautician and embroidery from IPER which has added a lot of confidence in her even to live alone.

When the same questions were posed to these three representatives about their future role and responsibility towards the children & community who have the same conditions now as they had before; their common responses were:

1. There were no one from our community for our awareness, education and empowerment; all were outsiders but now we are ready for leaving no stone

unturned for our community because somehow we have been role models for our community now as rest of the people will listen to us.

2. Puran, who himself was in panic of drunkard father, has plans to work for making quit alcohol campaign in his community so that they could save hardly-earned little money. Poornima and Basanti both opt for creating awareness against child marriage and forceful marriage showing their own examples of being somehow capable and self-dependent after having education.
3. We accept the reality that all neighbours/villagers will not take us worth listening to at the beginning because jealousy factors and taking us still “just child” are there but when we go improving our families’ economic and social conditions they gradually will compel to believe to.
4. Our grave concern is for sustainability of such programs in our community because there are a lot to do more; and we are ready to take ownership of such programs by ourselves right now by being involved whether as helping teacher in outreach centers or assistant in awareness programs and home visits with IPER staff.

To conclude, these case studies show that the integrated protection and education intervention done to those people rescued from the center of nowhere are in right track for creating their better future and of their community too. They have been prepared as a self-motivated young generation from the same community for tomorrow’s leader. Their community development approach can be a hammering strike because it is easy for them to get into that society where they were grown up, and the Herculean task of empowering and educating others is their responsibility too.

4.1.4 Boosting hope in parents: Sub beneficiary’s empowerment

The children are the immediate beneficiaries of integrated child education and protection intervention. At the same time, their parents’ responses to this entire process are also important because they are second beneficiaries. Though they were unable to answer the particular questions in this perspective while being interviewed but the following holistic observation based on unstructured communication with them shows the results of their empowerment-

During the home visit programs, all together 33 homes were visited and talked to 44 parents in three slums areas about their responses regarding their children attending to IPER outreach centers. A warm welcome in every house to the IPER staffs showed their happiness for services they received. 13 of such mothers and 3 of such fathers were once students in IPER, so still they showed their great gratitude for their popular IPER

didis. Though all these met could not get higher education, but were rescued from vulnerable situation and provided primary education by IPER. All talked parents regarded IPER and its *didis* as god for helping them and their kids for education. Due to their ignorance and uneducation, they were not able to follow up their children's study but just reading English alphabets and numerals loudly by their children at home was enough for them to boost their hope that they have learnt a lot and going to be great people in future. A firm belief in the children's education and positive hope of better future amidst the present of pains and lack of everything was the most significant changes experienced in the parents. Everyone grieved that they could not read and write in their time but will try even anything impossible for providing education to their children. When asked about what help they were getting from their children at the moment after they started attending both the schools, their general common answers were:

1. Teaching them to handle cell phones; balance recharge; converting cell phone language to Hindi or Bangla
2. Teaching them to write their names and to sign
3. Interpreting messages or events shown in soap opera or advertisements those who have television at home
4. In case of father and mother's quarrelling at home, interrupting them not to prolong
5. Elder brothers and sisters helping their little siblings to read and write at home and teaching well manners as well
6. Persuasion to fathers for quitting habits of taking alcohol or smoking or playing cards or beating wife

Five of such families complained about IPER for not taking their children in IPER-hostel to put them permanently and two mothers expressed frustrations of their 7th and 9th grader passed sons who quitted school but not got job yet and they were not motivating their siblings to study more. One active Hindi and Bengali both speaking mother complained that the IPER has not provided outreach learning center in their area, and requested me to help bring a school in their area.

In brief, positive hope and trust embedded in parents towards their children due to education has played a significant role here to make them able to smile in any hardships and to further invest in education because traditional Indian societies where all responsibilities of taking care the parents at their old age go on the shoulders of their children. Most importantly a triangular communication among children, father and

mother in family has been possible due to school-attending of children because all when gather at night after tiring day works, mostly father asks the children, “*aaj kya padha? Sunao* (read out what you have learned today)”. Then children read out loudly and tell details of what happened in school till father gets interested into it. At the same time mother starts complaining about children what they did after they returned from school and so forth other family issues come in discussion. However need of schools in their area at the behest of some parents is worth considering as far as the resources support to the concerned authorities and IPER.

4.1.5 Reaching to the unreached: Increasing inclusion

World Bank news of 2013 says that elementary enrollment percentage has reached above 96% (6-14 years of age) in India but rest 4% in a population of nearly 1.21 billion is still a more (ASER 2013.). Though data varies states to states, but pre-primary education of less than 6 years of age and dropout rate of girls at 11-14 years of age is really high in rural areas of poor states like Bihar, Orissa, and West Bengal etc. The situation is even more risky in same categories of population in urban slums. So this is the unreached population where private and NGOs sectors are reaching effectively. The total 32 million out of school children in India between 6-14 in 2001 dropped to 8 million in 2009 (WB 2013) behind which GOI's SSA attempts and aggressive intervention of NGO's hands were main.

IPER at the moment is extending its services in five different slums and street children of 24 Pargaanas district of Southern Kolkata, India. Every children taking services here has a miserable family stories. Most common are both parents died, single parent died and step mother or father physically tortured and expelled from home, neglected because of too many family members and came to street, father or mother or some relatives abandoned at isolated place by being unable to take care of etc. While interviewing the IPER field staff about what would happen if they were not rescued, almost a similar answer is they would have been died already or might be working now just for food.

The dimension of this approach is not limited within the children only. The field staff and official act like scouts when they are out of office to gather information regarding

community works, women situation and other forms of vulnerability of children that remain often unnoticed to the government (IPER head of child protection unit, personal communication 1.12.2012). Due to it, these hidden matters come in discussion and brought to the policy making level also. One example is: in a slum a meeting was organized by IPER which was supported by KMC (Kolkata Municipal Corporations) in order to discuss and find the reasons why parents were not sending their children to schools even though the schools managed and run by KMC were easily accessible to them. All invitees were mothers and were facilitated by IPER field staffs. There an SRP (School Resource Person who monitors and reports the overall situation of school in a certain area to the concerned government department) was invited by IPER so that he could note down the complaints and needs of mothers regarding their children, school and teachers. At least 36 mothers were gathered there and had a lot of complaints about school and teachers. Some noted complaints were like teacher's beating to the children, a lot of tasks given to the children for rote-learning, teachers not treating them well, every day new demands of books, copies and pen, now the children have learnt to read and write so no need to go more, daughter's menstruation started so they cannot go to school, school shuts down without notice and other economic factors like no one was at home to look after babies when they were out for works, getting help from them to earn petty earnings, seasonal migration to somewhere for better earnings etc.

These problems never come on surface but have always hampered community development and empowerment. So when government representative first hand collects those local grass root problems and promises to take to policy level. NGOs and civil society follows up and certainly these will get addressed, the SRP opined in talking to me. It is another fruitful dimension of community work to voice the voiceless.

In brief, due to the education intervention of IPER, a significant changes have had in three different strata of society; first, gathering and providing education to all needy and vulnerable children who were either not going to school or going to school but not attaining anything or used to wander all the time after and before the school at home and around or pass their time quarrelling with their friends; second, embodying positive hope on parents making them to trust on children education for better future of all even in harassed condition of miserable poverty; and third, preparing an empowered and educated young generation from the same community who could continue the tasks of

empowering rest of the people as a lifelong process. The basic three components at grass root of the disadvantaged and back warded community; children, youth and parents are hence likely to be included in the mainstream of education and development holistically.

4.2 Findings II: Functional methods & mechanism

This chapter will give the answer about what kinds of method and mechanism of IPER and its network with government and civil society for inclusiveness of disadvantaged children and community are in practice.

4.2.1 Government-Civil Society partnership

Individual attempts of adopting a child from the poor family by the rich people for their personal motives or by those couples who could not have had babies was/is the most traditional form of protecting a child in Indian societies. But now as India is the largest country in the world for children below 18 years of age and also largest for vulnerable and child workers in the world, the state has grave concern on it to deal with. Growing international concern over these issues, regular pressure from the international humanitarian organizations and its own target of millennium development goals, GOI realized the fact that it alone cannot work for nationwide child protection. So it has extended its hands to the voluntary and private sectors of similar concern. The Ministry of Women and Child Development (MWCD) in 2005 drafted The Integrated Child Protection Scheme (ICPS) obligatory for all states to follow from the 11th five year plan to be implemented from 2006 nationwide. ICPS says:

ICPS will function as a Government-Civil Society Partnership scheme under the overarching direction and responsibility of the Central and State Governments. The Government is aware that improving situations of millions of India's children in difficult circumstances requires an integrated effort and strong partnership of many stakeholders. Government cannot achieve this task alone. Therefore the ICPS will work closely with all stakeholders including government departments, the voluntary sectors, community groups, academia and, most importantly, families and children to create protective environment for children in the country (ICPS 2005).

ICPS is centrally sponsored scheme that has set the legal and functional frame common for all states and stakeholders to bring in practice by its own structural adjustment for child protection.

4.2.2 National Child Labour Project (NCLP)

These are the national based program-mechanism that launch program according to its title objectives, and provides financial assistance and administrative support and collaboration to the private and voluntary sectors working in the respective fields.

NCLP project is an integral part of education in slums or in disadvantaged community because almost all children have background of either working in households or in streets. So the issues of human rights regarding it and child-concern for the same are taught to the children in the centers and to the respective parents in the community or in the center from the beginning.

Theoretically it seems that Central and State governments have enough programmes and mechanism to cover the problematic areas but the reality in the field is not such that. The government's coverage is very limited and very slow in process and performances. When asked to the IPER head of child protection unit about it, she explained:

Bureaucracy is almost failed to collect adequate information reaching to the problematic areas because it is system-oriented rather than service, it does not observe but asks questions where the extreme poor and uneducated people either fail to answer or to provide required information, so coverage is very limited; infrastructures are so poor that even the protected children cannot get proper space to grow up or to get better education and health facilities.

The MWCD has also realized this fact as it has stated:

The minimal government structure that exists is rigid and a lot of time and energy are spent on maintaining the structure itself rather than concentrating on programmatic outcomes of protection-institutions, policies programmes and their implementation at all levels (ICPS 2005)

This is why the concept of Government-Civil Society partnership has taken a concrete shape to work in collaboration for the common goal. NGOs have their own working

mechanism, infrastructures, priorities and human resources mobilization but they are under the government's frame of regulation for both policy making and child welfare.

4.2.3 IPER: Own initiatives

The major focus of IPER through the integrated approach is to restore the vulnerable children to the mainstream society with all possible extensive follow-up services. These services include; first admittance of the children to formal school after supported with supplementary courses, second integration of them in the family, and third counsel them better and healthier life style (IPER 2009). Up to 2009 since its inception, more than 15000 children have been rehabilitated through this approach and according to its unpublished official record now it has been providing direct education to 1445 children (682 boys and 763 girls) in its all 30 centers in total. There are 39 dedicated teachers, out of them 36 are graduates and 3 are higher secondary pass. The drop out ratio of students in such centers observed in last few years is seen at approximately 10% per year. (IPER 2009, Smile Foundation India 2013.)

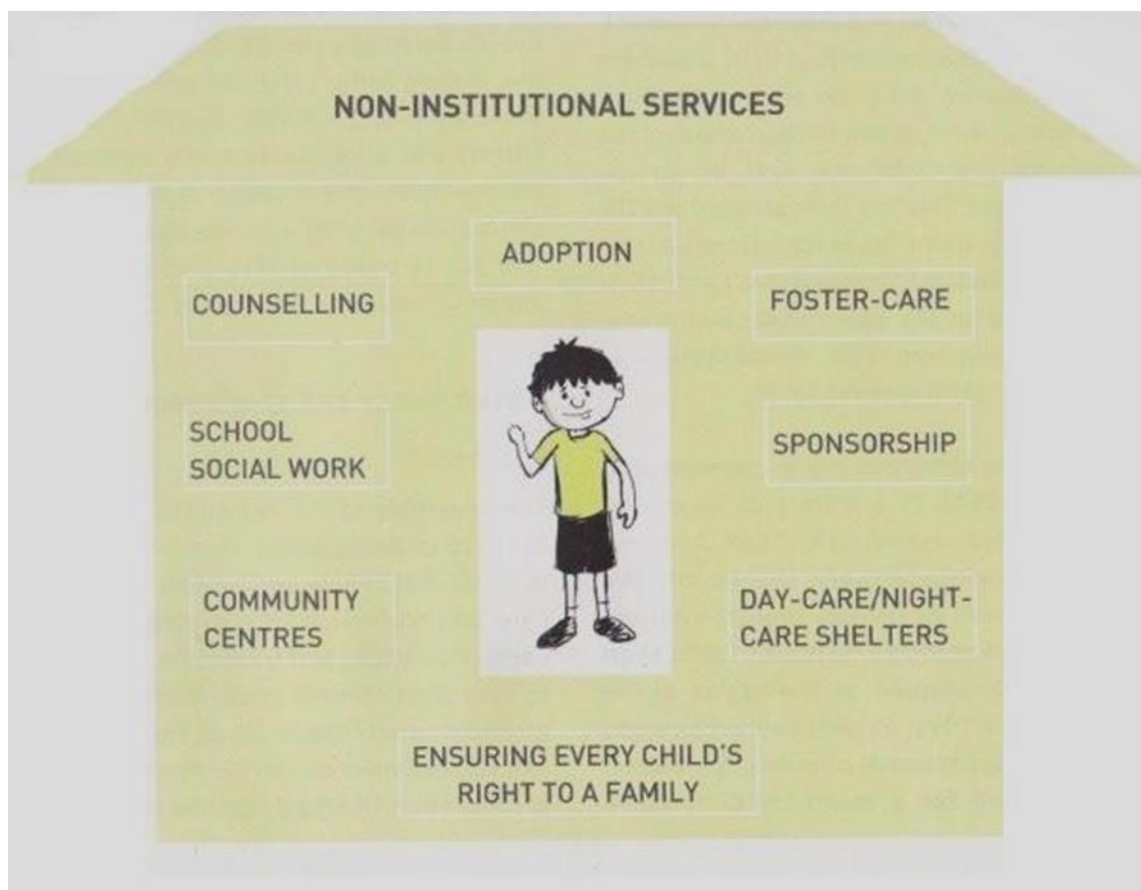
Rescued children from different back ground or the supported children within their family normally get the facilities of institutional care and protection. It includes support in education, health care, day-meals, counseling and possible incoming generating trainings to their parent (so far given trainings are only to mothers).

If the children are parentless or separated from family for any reasons, they always feel the necessity of their own parents and siblings amongst whom they were grown. So, non-institutional care has been made available to them to keep up their motherhood-attachment and social cohesion.

The non-institutional care process begins with counseling (as shown in picture below) to the parents regarding child rights, sending children to schools, healthy habits and benefits available to them through government and private organizations in their areas. For this, IPER has permanent field workers in slum areas and community centers. They follow the activities of children enrolled in the schools. Children brought in the learning centers are observed by school social workers. Foster-care is available from both government and private agencies. One field worker shares that in most cases

recommendation is required to have space for the children in government care-houses which normal people cannot make (personal communication 13.12.2012), so NGO centers have great pressure of children.

Similarly in the cases when extreme poor parents surrender their children before CWC, then CARA (Central Adoption Resource Authority) complete legal processes and makes the children available for national/international adoption. Under the sponsorship program, individual children are financed by capable persons for their education, health, training as per his/her wish for which NGO makes channel of children to the respective sponsors. IPER has 24-hours open drop-in center for day or night-shelter house for the vulnerable children in the request of parents to the limits of its capacity.



(Source: Mehta 2008, 31)

FIGURE 7: Non-institutional services to the children.

IPER itself is mainly an institution for research of psychological educational development. So it has promoted and adopted the most scientific methods by providing institutional and non-institutional care to the children. Actually CHILDLINE India

Foundation in support of Plan International has prepared a working manual for NGOs working in this sector to follow in practices which are illustrated in the following diagram (Mehta, 2008):

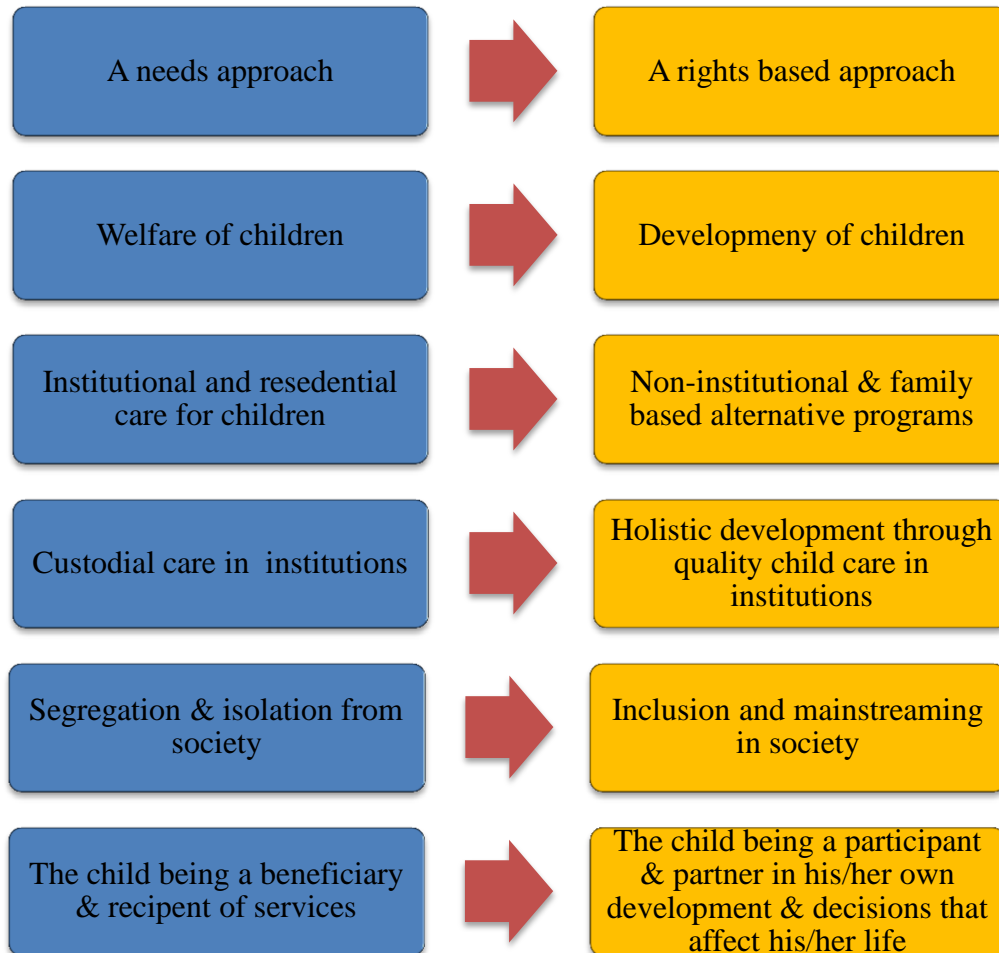


FIGURE 8: Paradigm shift in approach to child protection.

Traditional practices for child education and protection like rich people's mercy over poor in society and adoption of children for domestic works, individual's attempts without any legal procedures (need approach, above in the diagram) etc. have now been institutionalized by IPER in its working areas followed by due legal processes which is a paradigm shift. Moreover whole process has been made to be line with the best interest of children and with respect to internationally accepted children rights (rights approach). IPER has separate talent hunt unit (dance institute) to discover hidden talents of children for their extra development beside study. All forms of non-institutional cares are served through foster-mothers in day care and night hostels so that the children would not be out of motherhood attachment. Girl-children living in hostel and students

learning in the centers call to their teacher “sister” which has brought family-attachment to the children. They celebrate their respective religious festivals together, and IPER also distributes new clothes to them in their biggest festival as a part of tradition.

These activities console the children like they are in their own family which has helped holistic family-centered development. IPER has promoted co-education of girls and boys irrespective of their social status, age differences and learning gaps to include all in the mainstream of education. However it would be better if some foster fathers were also managed here because even in developed world like in Britain there has been growing concern over father’s (foster) involvement too in residential care of children turning to adolescent to develop emotional feelings whether for own identity formation or for being attached to the root. (Lamb 2004 cited in Smith 2009, 139.) If it is felt even in the society where culture of single mother is never questioned, then it is necessary to think in the societies like in India where father is a significant social position. Thus modern and scientific methods, practices and options available to children will ultimately promote his/her life to a meaningful development.

4.2.4 IPER: Partnership in action for education

India (West Bengal) has basically three tiers of school education system (though private profit-making schools are also large in number), which are as follows in the diagram:

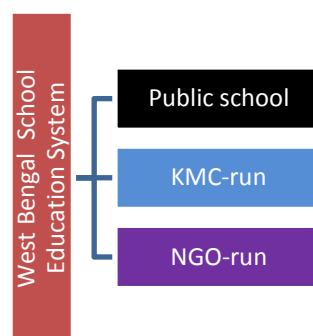


FIGURE 9: School educational system in Kolkata.

Public schools are the national system of school funded by central government; KMC-run schools are managed and funded by Kolkata Municipal Corporation (State Government Unit) and other alternative and supplementary schools managed and run by NGOs. In practice it is seen that these three tiers of schools are the clear manifestation

of intervention from bottom to top, i.e. KMC-run schools have tried to fulfill the gaps left by public schools and NGO-run schools have tried to cover the lapses of both in regards of elementary education to the disadvantaged children. However it is true that KMC and NGO-run schools are only complementary where children have to go to national system of education (public schools) ultimately for which IPER has developed the strategic intervention through prevention, protection and promotion as follow:

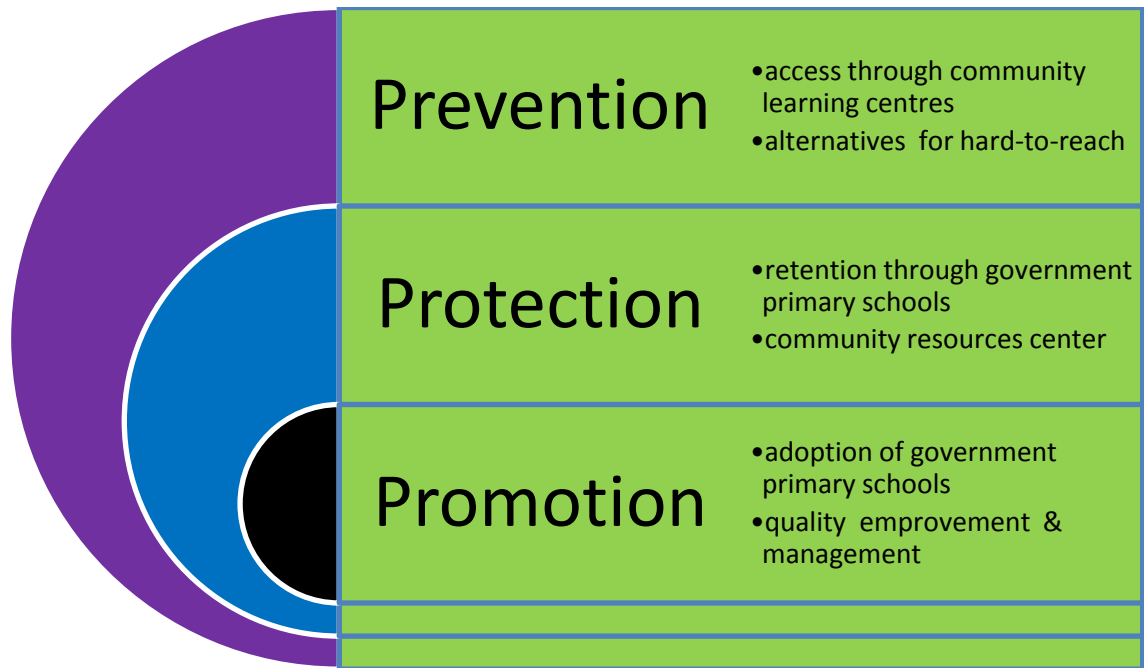


FIGURE 10: Support mechanism to national system of education.

As illustrated in the above diagram (the colours; indigo, blue and black represent the schools from FIGURE 9 and the portion of colour indicate the coverage and influence in activities) through the prevention it makes the access of vulnerable children in the community learning centers for basic learning. If the children are hard-to-reach (in case of permanent disables or cultural factors that stop them coming out of home), it has managed a bus equipped with all reading materials to reach to them (school-on-wheels). It has initiated the protection of infrastructures and right of children to read both at a time through the retention of closed down public or resources center and physical materials there. In Kolkata region from 2005-2007, 40 government primary schools and eight community resources centers were undergone retention (IPER 2009). Similarly government schools are promoted as main place for mainstreaming of education by helping their quality management through teacher's training and availability of teaching materials. From 2005-2007, six government primary schools in Kolkata region were

adopted by IPER in partnership with KMC to develop them as role model schools. (IPER 2009.)

The data available from 2005-2007 say that IPER reached out to more than 4000 out-of-school children directly through learning centers, worked in quality management and improvement of 50 formal schools and more than 125 teachers were trained. (IPER 2009.)

Thus IPER's partnership with KMC and public schools has stood as mutual coordination in notion of public-civic partnership for a common goal of education to all. In completion of the particular projects and mission, corporate sectors and other voluntary sectors also join hands with them. For example, in abovementioned projects Reach India, Times of India, CINI etc. are/were active partners.

4.3 Findings III: Local challenges of mainstreaming

In this chapter, I will answer the research question about what the challenges of mainstreaming through child protection and education are at local context.

4.3.1 Child in danger: A new definition required?

While having home visits normally once or twice a week in slums, we used to have leaflets to read and let know uneducated people or distribute to local people or to paste in public places that read:

Please dial 1098 or call us in our numbers and inform if any children is in danger, not going to school, neglected, abandoned or in distress situation. We will come to rescue.

The mothers cooking inside the huts were shy to come out and listen to us or to catch the leaflets, so we loudly informed the matter standing out of the door but the children of age may be 3-6 came to catch (almost in every huts) the leaflets who themselves looked to be in danger and distress in my observation. It was so because the slum colony was about half a kilometer long where more than 200 huts in a chain series were made either sides of a narrow passage. Each hut (a single room) size is approximately

7/8ft. where five family members in average have to adjust. It was an unregistered squatter so neither there was electricity nor water supply nor drainage. Waste water and home-produced dirt was spilt everywhere. Inside the hut, it was so dark even at midday there I could see women working with kerosene-fed lamps. The cooking in kerosene-stove had such terrible smell in the area that it was suffocating even at outside of huts due to heat and pungent crude oil coming from every hut.

When children are living in such environment, what have these children to do with the provision of UN-CRC 1989, article 24? Among these children in such environment of slums, who is to be categorized as safe or in danger? Who needs to be rescued and who is to be left there? Has it been necessary to make new definition of child in danger in case of developing world? The answer of these questions only will help to practice social work and community development in extremely marginalized areas.

4.3.2 Poverty or unawareness: Priority setting dilemma

It is obvious that parents are poor, so they cannot send their children to schools as they are unable to afford for it. Theoretically public schools are free but they have to pay some 100-150 Rupees (1.5-2 €) yearly as admission fee and stationery expenditure also, but those who can make it are also not sending their children to school. NGOs-teachers and community workers frequently have to make home visits to be in touch with parents to continue their children's studies in public schools and in NGOs-teaching centers. From the government side such motivators and community workers are not; as a result public schools have been failed in their mission whereas NGOs make intervention of both education and community development at a time in an integrated way which has made enrollment and continuity in study successful.

In most cases it is seen that when parents fall sick, children stop going to school or they happen to go to work in place of them which ultimately results gaps in learning and they discontinue the schools. Gender biasness seems to have reduced largely as all spoken parents did not talk against sending girl child to school as it used to be earlier, but in practice all interviewed parents and children above 18 years told that in their home cooking, washing clothes and cleaning were tasks of only elder daughter after mother. Girl children above seven or eight years often miss the regular class because of these,

and after their menstruation it becomes harder for them to attend school because neither public schools have girls-friendly toilets nor provision of paper or water in it. On one hand girls are unaware of this normal adolescent transformation as they take it a big change in them; on the other hand parents still take it as the girls reaching to the age of getting married (IPER head of child protection unit, personal communication 29.11.2012) and stop them going to school. The result is girls-student's dropout rate after elementary education is high.

During home visits, it was also kept data of number of children in every home because it directly relates to the awareness and economic burden of the parents. It was found that minimum number of children in a house was two and maximum was six. I was suggested by the field staff there not to make any questions about birth control and use of contraceptives with community women as they could feel discomfort and unethical to talk with a male. However I interacted with grown up college going-youths about it. The unanimous answer from them was:

We know about contraceptives, birth control, family planning but our parents do not. We are so free to discuss about anything with our father and mother together and individually but not about sex education because we afraid they may take us being immoral and "vulgar" in front of them. Even if we try (with mother only in all cases) they may shut our mouth promptly. (college going youths, personal communication 17, 18, 19 & 20.12.2012)

Both in Muslim and Hindu community, the tradition of early marriage (preferably teenage) are still common which also results many children per family as they have long productive sexual life. In case of Muslim people, the deep-rooted religious value of no-use of contraceptives is strong. So, BPL (below poverty line) economic condition but having many children due to lack of awareness and uneducation has added many problems and demands to both parents and service providers.

4.3.3 Glaring gaps in government system and services

The government system-inefficiency starts right from poor planning and regional disparity in development. Centralization of industries and factories has attracted millions of rural people to migrate to towns every year, so vast rural areas are sparsely populated. The census of India 2011 shows that its national population density is 382

per square kilometer but it is more than 10,000 per square kilometer in Kolkata. Negligence on rural side to provide basic amenities for people like school, hospital, electricity, communication, drinking water, local market to sell local products and employment has forced them to desert villages and to end in towns. Lack of prevention is seen in every sector.

Unsystematic town planning and human development-hazardous slum settlements have been the major challenges. The biggest failure is seen in community mapping of slums for its needs and service delivery. These human settlements are categorized as registered and unregistered; similarly the schools run by individuals targeting the children of these slums are categorized as legal and illegal by government. Whatever the legal procedures are but it has never been researched and thought about the general psychological mentality and social insecurity of life of these people who have officially been stigmatized as illegal in own country. A survey done 2009 showed that West Bengal has a total of 4569 unrecognized primary schools where 371,827 students were enrolled (8th AISES 2009). What is the fault of those innocent children who have been termed as illegal students of illegal school? Thousands of students are still studying there but government frequently keeps ordering to shut down those schools without giving proper alternative solution.

The government directives about compulsory prerequisites to open a school like enough playground, own building with enough rooms, library, drinking water, qualified subjects teachers are theoretically right but practicality these are impossible to have in slums locality. Contradiction here is that even public schools do not have all these prerequisites and they are also hiring para-educators due to lack of qualified teachers. Bitter reality in slum parents and children both is that they do not like to go to public schools because they are far from their areas, they cannot understand the courses there, teachers' frequent absence and negative attitudes towards all who are weak in performance and so on. (Cheney, Ruzzi & Muralidharan 2006, 19-26.) Even in the public schools' teacher-children ratio is high, so children are without any control and care. About the teachers, once the persons pass the government-set exam and become public school teacher; their job is permanent, they are in due process of promotion and yearly increment of their pay and perks without monitoring and evaluating their academic performances. It has made the teachers less accountable towards their

profession as no one neither can fire them nor can demote. As a result, students discontinue the study or drop out but it does not effect to the teachers because they are doing their job being in school. Hardly enrolled students thus get yet again out of school, and get excluded from everything. Government again fails to track these students and to bring them back in the schools. Here again come the NGOs to follow these students and to start the process of mainstreaming them through education and protection.

4.3.4 Social practices and tradition conflict with the laws: A case study

During three months of practice period, I was involved in four different cases of child protection rescue actions that included; identifying of home and parents of a five years old lost and found-girl within Kolkata region, getting into touch of father (mother had eloped away) of a 17 years old boy who had run away from home with his girlfriend in fear of his father's oppose, rescue of an underage child labor boy from a private home, and an intervention in a slum house where a girl-child was reportedly tortured by own parents for no reasons. All those cases were unique in nature of their interrelated problems and NGO's intervention on that with the help of civil society and local police was quite new experiences for me as a social work practitioner.

Following case study was chosen among those I had been involved with as it was representative of all illegal domestic child labor practices growing in middle class people, personal and professional risks associated with it and legal and cultural challenges to face during whole process of intervention and rescue:

The organization receives a request letter on last of October 2012 from a child line network to send a team to analyze the situation and possibly rescue the child as he was a minor boy of around nine years age who was reported to be kept as a domestic worker and misbehaved and tortured in a private house in a public colony of Kolkata.

In a quick response to it, the other day early a team including me and other two ladies staff went to the local police station to seek help. Police officer agreed and set a police van towards that house taking us in it. The time we reached to that home was around at 12 p.m. the boy was alone at home with his more than 80 years old master. He was normal and 12 years old (information was of 9 years old). He was a Hindi speaking boy from neighboring state Bihar in a house of Punjabi speaking people. While

interrogating by the police, he did not say anything against his masters. His master, the old man was a bit terrified and told that the boy was handed over to them by his own father. Police asked him to produce any legal papers of that boy to keep him at their home but the old man told that he had no idea about that and his son and daughter in law were out of work. Police and the team convinced the boy and old man that they were going to take that boy to the police station for his security and making legal papers. The boy denied to go and told that he was not misbehaved by anybody, rather he was getting money and new clothes time to time in that house. As he was there without any legal papers, so it was compulsory to take him out from there for his security and benefits. So somehow forcefully he was brought to the police station.

It was around 1 pm and police took more than two hours just to prepare a single page GD (general diary) to handover that boy to the child line help network team (to us at that moment). The boy was handed over to us legally and we were ready to take him to the shelter house of CINI (Child In Need Institution, an umbrella NGO to have had authorized shelter house for rescued kids), two ladies-master of that boy came to the police office and tried to snatch him from our control. They also misbehaved and tried to manhandle the staff as they believed that NGO was mainly responsible for taking their servant boy. Meanwhile I took control of that boy and they just did not do anything as they were confused that I was also police due to my white T-shirt coincidentally similar uniform to the Kolkata police. Then we took him to CINI office in a private taxi. There he was kept in the shelter house for necessary interrogations. It was found that he was from a poorest family of Bihar state and he was brought there two years ago by his father's friend to work as a domestic child labor. He was the oldest son having two brothers and two sisters back at home. Since he came, he had not been to home and he had no idea whether his parents had got little money sent to them by him via the same father's friend. His eyes were tearful when talking to home and he was planning to go home this year during Holi (their greatest festival that falls in March).

Another day he was produced before CWC (Child Welfare Committee, an authorized government agency for decision making) as per law. We were noticed that CWC gave the decision to return that boy to the same home as he was safe there rather than in his own home. A mutually agreed- paper (though the child is under age by law and his parents are unknown about it; the same person who had brought him there was in agreement signing) made with the owner of that boy to provide him education, regular health checkups and to produce him in CWC last Friday of every Month for following up the agreement.

Here I came to know, law alone can do nothing in the countries where rule of law does not exist exactly because local practices and cultural factors are always dominant to it. Existing international law is that the situation of child domestic worker has been compared to a new form of slavery in the ILO Convention on the prohibition and

elimination of the worst forms of child labour (ILO Convention, no.182). Moreover as per Indian law, any child under 18 cannot be made domestic worker but here CWC, an authorized government agency, gave the decision to send him back to the same house. Contradiction is it seemed to be practical because if the boy was sent to his own home his parents had nothing to give him; instead he was sending some money to his parents. Mutual understanding and benefits despite what law says is dominant here. It is truly mentioned:

That the protection of child from all concerned occurs within a social context that shapes every stage of the process and the recent forms of any child protection system is a product of its culture and history. (Munro 2002, 28-29.)

A research of Save the Children, UK in West Bengal, India also concludes that:

What makes it even more difficult to protect child domestic workers is that civil society, government and legislation alike do not recognize them as “workers”. It is frequently considered charitable to provide employment to children as domestics. Given the cultural and social acceptability that surrounds Child Domestic Work, and the fact that it occurs within private spaces, makes interventions for protection of Child Domestic Workers extremely complex.(Save the Children, UK 2006.)

To conclude, here it is clear that intervention and rescue of child in any case has to go through these stages with the collaborative network of civil society, NGO and government. These stages include; some section of civil society informs the situation, NGO intervenes in the case with the help of local police if need be and the government agency decides the future of particular course. The tasks of NGO activists and social workers are here of tough risks and personally challenging of life because in above case if the perpetrators had followed us in another taxi while taking the boy to CINI office, they could have snatched the boy from us on the way whereas we had signed to the police and taken him in our guarantee. Furthermore we could be beaten up on the way or anything could happen there because those perpetrators have had impression of NGOs being run for vested greed of earning money by fabricating such stories, and they had spoken these in the very police office. But in social work perspectives in above case, at least now the boy was “legalized”, made pay to him regularly and provide education and health facilities too due to social workers intervention. Most importantly now the relatives of that boy have authentic papers from the local authority to have kept

him there for working; otherwise they would get no traces of him in case of being misbehaved by the owners, missing or even dead or killed.

5 COMMUNITY DEVELOPMENT AND EMPOWERMENT DISCOURSE

5.1 Slum community empowerment: recognition first

In context of Kolkata, generally slums are of two types; registered land by the local authority and not registered but somehow forcefully occupied by the rural migrants and urban poor. A research by Mansi Shah and Sreyashi Sen (2008) about slums of Kolkata says:

The slums of the city can be divided between those slums which have been recognized by the Kolkata Municipal Corporation (government local body); known as Basti and those which are not recognized are known as squatter settlements. Squatter settlements are found near canals, drains, railway tracks and roads around the city. They do not have access to any basic amenities and the KMC is not responsible for providing them with even sanitation and water supply. (Shah & Sen 2008, 6-11.)

“Basti”, a Hindi and Bengali word, literally is equivalent of settlement in English. Squatter settlements are literally interpreted as “Jhopad patti” by the local people to dominate slum people. The struggle for identity and recognition of the slum people begin from these names because “basti” is taken as a respected word by them and they expect every outsiders to call them by it but “slum” or “jhopad patti” both words are taken as most defaming and derogatory IPER field staff, personal communication 13.12.2012). The names of their settlement are deeply associated with their dignity because wherever they live; they introduce themselves that they live in “Basti”, though “Basti” is differently defined in government’s book. So on moral and personal ground, calling them respectively is very necessary in order to enhance their dignity and to make them feel as equal as others.

These name terminologies are so important here because these are connected to the government’s registration system of land and access of services to the local people. Bastis are registered land, so all people living there are legal, people have access to the basic services like electricity, water, drainage, ration cards and other state privileges of subsidies and discounts. Opposite to it, squatter settlements are unregistered, so the people living there are illegal and deprived of all basic amenities and privileges for the poor and disadvantaged. For example, state and union both governments have provision

of quota and reservations for qualified and able people of schedule caste (so called untouchable and minor caste people) but people living in unregistered land cannot have proof of identity cards, so they are deprived of these opportunities. It has led the `further exclusion` of these poor and disadvantaged people.

While interviewing the grown up students (18 years above) for case studies as discussed in above chapters, they could not exactly give the date since how long they have been living there but told that they were born there and their parents had been there since their childhood. It shows that at least two generations have grown up there but the land is still unregistered and people are “illegal”. So a big political lobbying at policy making level is necessary to make these people legal; only then the multiple courses of empowerment are easy to do. Moreover “unregistered” means any time their settlement can be made vacant by vandalizing their huts and hamlets. So the constant psychological fear of being chased away at any time has stopped their public participation and political involvement which has been the major reason of community backwardness.

To conclude, whether a safe resettlement of these people or make their land registered seems to be the foremost important factor for giving them identity or recognition for their empowerment. Community empowerment-intervention of I/NGOs for hygiene, child education, parents (especially mothers) etc. have certainly socially awakened them but always having feelings of unsafe and dominated due to “illegal” tag has set them back morally and politically. When parents themselves undergo through these psychological trauma, it certainly hampers on their children’s growth and development.

5.2 Capacity cum professionalism building of stakeholders

5.2.1 Public schools and teachers

The entire tasks of education to the children rest on the hands of the teachers whether it is in formal schools or in NGO learning centers. Many researches, reports and studies in developing nations have shown that well education of students, low educational attainment, drop out of them, missing within school time, and repulsion from whole

school process are, to the most extent, due to the teachers' miss behaviors and unscientific ways of teaching. In India too, when someone having certain academic qualification gets recruited as teacher in government school, then they automatically become professional teachers whereas their pedagogical expertise, accountability, responsibility and respect to the ethical values towards students and community are never judged. (Jagannathan 2001, 33-38.) So the teachers believe them as someone different and superior to others in society and feel free to verbal thrash and whip to the students in class (community women and school children, personal communication 12 & 13.12.2012) which has been the main reason of educational failure. In addition, all public schools lack physical facilities and amenities for quality teaching and all round development of students. The 8th All India School Education Survey concerning shows that:

One-fifth of the total primary schools did not have drinking water, three out of 10 schools were without usable urinal facilities, and about half of the schools did not have playgrounds between 2002 and 2009. Pupil-teacher ratio has declined from 42:1 to 32:1 at the national level. (8th AISES, 2009)

Most of the schools do not have library, science lab, playing materials, and qualified teachers and per class PTRs (pupil teacher ratios) is very high so that teachers cannot pay attention to individual ones. Regarding the teachers recruitment, all States follow the norms of NCTE (National Council for Teachers Education) but due to the lack of required qualified teachers, local school management committees hire contract teachers or para-teachers that are allegedly either under qualified or untrained. It has not only deteriorated the quality of education but also grown dissatisfaction among the "regular teachers". (11th Plan Report of MHRD 2009, Kingdon & Sipahimalani-rao 2010, 60-63.)

The GOI's flagship program of SSA has been allocating enough amount of budget with the help of World Bank and European Union (SSA 2007) to the public schools for teachers recruitment and increasing physical infrastructures since 2000 (MHRD, 2009) but the success is not yet got as it was expected to.

5.2.2 NGOs and para-educators

Contrary to above case, NGOs train someone as a teacher and recruit in their alternative schools or someone voluntarily does it but they are just Para-teachers. What a most controversial phenomenon seen here in practice that professionalism of public school teachers is under question but they have met the required academic degree to be teacher for certain levels whereas para-teachers of NGOs are found to be professionally good but their academic qualification is not transparent because NGOs recruit only to their favorable persons who suit to the local community in terms of language and attitude. (Kingdon & Sipahimalani-rao 2010, 59-62.)

A research on para-teachers in Indian context says:

Para-educators usually comprise a major part of the workforce within educational NGOs and are the teachers at the grassroots. Para-teachers, usually women, are recruited from the same community, residential locality or village in which they work, and they usually do so for a small honorarium. The NGOs usually provide training to such teachers in teaching methods. (Raval, Mckenny & Pieters 2010, 217-220.)

IPER has also para-educators, though they do not belong to that community of children but know their language and culture. It was observed that among three, one always followed the traditional way of teaching and shouted at children. It was yet to judge the quality teaching of them with pedagogical skills, it was unethical for me to ask their qualification, pay and perks and other facilities. Their dedication for community, children including their parent-mother during my observation were effective but to have transparency in every matter of public concern and to maintain nationally accepted quality and qualification is necessary for capacity building of teachers and organizations both.

5.2.3 Local bodies and civil society

Local bodies like District Education Board, Kolkata Municipal Corporation, Village Panchayat Samiti, local units of police and civil society organizations like Public Schools Management Committee private or corporate sector, local clubs etc. are key actors for child protection and education. The role and responsibilities of these key

actors for child education and protection are very interrelated and always need one's support for others. The infrastructures and physical facilities to these agencies are very important for their quick service delivery. For an example, during the case of rescue of domestic child labour (mentioned above in case studies) when reached to police station for help in intervention, we had to wait there for one and half hour to get police van. Unnecessary time consumption due to lack of physical facilities have slowed service delivery.

5.3 The status quo of inter-societal interaction

While asked about social interaction and relationship with their next neighbor (as slums are within the residential area of other people), all of the interviewees expressed the feelings of being dominated and hated by their neighbor of so called high class people. One common example of domination is; when there is scarcity of water in their homes, the high class people come to nearby slum areas to fill up water in their big jars and jenkins from public taps and they want slum people just leave the tap for them. Otherwise they lose the patience to wait and push others and verbally thrash to have their work done first (a rickshaw puller, personal communication 16.12.2012). Contrary to it, local people too have many complaints and blames for slum people like slum people were causing dirt and noise in the area and defaming the prestige of them (a local restaurant owner, personal communication 16.12.2012). In my personal observation and in home visits, the complaints of dirt and noise were found obviously genuine but the concept of "defaming prestige" was vague to interpret. About their social and cultural bond, none of the interviewees had witnessed any marriages between the people of these two classes in their life time. It is important here in common people because marriages are possible between individuals of two communities only when there is mutual acceptance (and that is decided by the parents) of each other's social, economic and religious status (IPER staff, personal communication 18-12.2012). But while celebrating big cultural and religious festivals at public, no discrimination neither seen nor observed among these people (during the studies, the greatest festivals like Dashara, Durga Pooja, Eid and Chhath were observed celebrating at public).

5.4 Participation: Civic, political and employment activities

The interviewed female parent were rags picker, dish cleaner and road sweeper while the male were rickshaw puller, water-well fixer and rusted iron and empty bottles collector or all of them were fit for all jobs depending on availability of works of their capacity. All of them had no idea of being organized to make their voice heard but had extreme hatred comments on politicians though they could not tell any name of local contemporary politicians. All educated students had much knowledge about local politics and politicians but none of them had joined any political party so far. Only two students out of 7 above 18 years of age had experience of casting votes in last local election where others had no idea whether their name was in voter list. Those who casted vote had no idea of reading political parties' election manifesto. When asked about their sympathy and support to any political party, all interviewees unanimously expressed their fear of being uprooted from their residency in case if they supported one openly but another one happened to come in power. It is because they often get such threats during election campaigns from political parties indirectly to caste vote for them otherwise they would dismantle their huts as their residency is illegal and not registered. They told they apply the strategy of replying "Yes" to everyone who knocks their door for votes.

Their representation in any decision making level is not yet found, and there are so many practical and political restrictions for them to be organized. Even if they try, none of them have time to get involved in such activities because all of their seasonal earnings depend up on availability work. When work is available, none wants to leave the chances to earn. So besides earning, they have the perception of taking everything useless to them.

6 CONCLUSIONS

The empirical studies suggest that NGO-efforts to mainstream both the life and education of slum-children and other neglected and uncared children are effective in relation with educational attainment and safety seen in the children in IPER's learning centers in the slums and residential care given to the most vulnerable children. The growing school enrollment rate as a whole, facilitation to understand the normal school courses and better upbringing of the children than with their own parents of above explained margins under the aegis of NGO (IPER) show the all-round development of community, parents and the children. Most importantly due to education, children are acting as change makers in respective families by educating illiterate parents about general cleanliness, simple calculations, creating environment to talk among family members and so on. It has evolved a positive hope in the parents and motivated them to invest for further study of children.

IPER's national and international approach and coordination with local clubs and civil society has been successful for fund raising and inviting sponsors for children's upbringing and foster caring. Also, the network has helped to have space availability and human resources for teaching the children, information gathering about needy people and feasibility study to fulfill the needs by utilizing local means and resources as much as possible. Similarly it's partnership in action with central and state government for the wellbeing of disadvantaged children has been a strong backbone to create the environment for education of all and to work out together at policy making and planning for sustainable solutions of these problems. The children, who could die unnoticed or would fall in grip of some criminals or would be collecting rusted iron or plastic rags for their livelihood at their development phase of prime childhood as we see now around the towns, are smartly going to schools and achieving education to shape their future due to NGO (IPER). The integrated approach of education and protection by providing institutional and non-institutional care to the vulnerable children seems to be the need and necessity both because it has truly fulfilled, in case of parentless children or economically incapable parents, the spirit of the prime right of children to grow up with parents in own family (CRC 1989, Article 9:1). As observed in slums visit, the children with parents also need non-institutional care because parents are so poor and so

busy to work whole day and late night to manage food that children remain all abandoned and neglected at home. The situation is even panic when parents who have many kids themselves request with tearful eyes to grant their children in hostels or to be adopted by any people because they say they cannot take care of them.

The informal education or the supplementary courses given to the children to prepare their basic learning foundation or to help make understand their normal school courses have been now public-private joint initiatives but it is still intact with the original idea of alternative attempts due to dissatisfaction of common people over existing system in British context of post second world war. (Myers & Grosvenor 2010, 501-503.) Difference then and now is only that those days community people themselves taught their children but now the activists and NGOs have raised the voice and opened schools for slum-people and other disadvantaged sections of society. It is seen in local practice of India that government has opened the school in a certain area and waiting the students to come but NGOs in their target have made any areas as school where children are brought to teach. For example, all learning outreach centers (alternative schools) opened by IPER are in the slums; though they lack physical facilities and wide space but successful enough to educate children and motivate the parents in their own areas. Bureaucratic accountability and responsibility towards common people is under question here because providing physical infrastructures (school) just do not bring the students in school until and unless uneducated and economically poor community people and parents are well motivated and tried to somehow ease their problems to send their children to schools. It is a burning example of the need of exact situational analysis and assessment for policy makers, planners and activists in days to come.

The government's initiation of SSA in partnership with state governments and voluntary sectors has sparked school enrollment nationwide to meet MDGs set to be achieved by 2015 but the major lapse is seen in making only high school-enrollment rate as a yardstick of success whereas proper tracking is not done on voluntary/involuntary discontinuity of study or drop out due to many reasons. The general causes of drop out as women expressed in community meeting and home visits like parent's inability to manage secondary and higher secondary education or their thinking that more education is not required when children already know to read and write, girl's problems to continue schools after their menstruation, Muslim girl's early-teen marriage tradition,

public school's not-student friendly environment etc. are not addressed properly. School enrollment and supplementary education has brought the children in right track of mainstreaming because those who were not enrolled in school are now beginning their elementary education and those who discontinued or got dropped out are now supported by supplementary courses to bridge the gaps of their learning. Thus, the protection and education approach for mainstreaming of children has truly valued not only the rights of children to be included in the mainstream schools but also safeguarded their right to live. (Lindsay 2007, 3-9.) Moreover the low self-esteem of parents and children both due to their background of either being so poor or internal migrants or living in slums has been reduced remarkably due to added confidence in the children that they also can learn better. This phenomenon of collective happiness in the family is significant in many ways in the society (like in Kolkata) where parents' prestige and old-age looking-after of them depends up on their children's ability of earning.

The entire processes of mainstreaming have been challenged by the problems within all the stakeholders; government, parents, children and the existing society. State's failure to create social welfare at least to needy, poor planning and ineffective implementation of plans, financial limitations and bureaucratic irresponsibility are the arduous problems. (Mukherjee 2011, 176-181.) The economic causes like mass poverty, unemployment, seasonal earnings of parents and that too minimal; the socio-economic causes like parents' expectation of children helping them to earn at early age, regional disparity in development compelling poor rural people to migrate to urban slums for earnings have hampered children's school enrollment and continuity in study. The psychological and cultural factors like ignorance of parents about importance of giving education to their children, no-use of contraceptives and having many children beyond their capacity of upbringing especially in Muslim community, unwillingness to send girls to school (even if sent, they have restriction to continue after menstruation) etc. have hampered the community development as a whole. Similarly limited means and resources of NGOs to satisfy unlimited demands; possible conflicts in local community while intervening or civil society's misunderstanding on intentions of NGOs in some cases of advocating rights of oppressed and marginalized etc. are main challenges for NGOs and social workers to work at grass root level.

Meaningful mainstreaming is possible only when disadvantaged and marginalized children get quality education which generates idea of own entrepreneurships or provide them better position in competitive job market. But for this, an integrated approach to address poverty, uneducation and ignorance of respective parents and other community people is a prime necessity. Focusing only on children's school enrollment is not the sustainable solution because providing residential care by NGOs to everyone is almost impossible; and if not parent's problems are eased, children are likely to fall in whirl circle of poverty and ignorance.

7 SUGGESTIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

7.1 To IPER

It was not enough to understand everything and evaluate in detail in this short stay of nearly twelve weeks even though IPER's popularity, government's trust in it and its national/international network prove more than words how it has been influential in delivering the services. However some issues regarding its infrastructure building, human resources preparation and mobilization and enhancing more familiarity and network of its field staff who are working child protection unit with local authorities and civil society need to be reviewed and restructured.

It was found in one center that most of the time teacher was missing out looking for absentees and talking to the passersby parents while class was going on, and in another one, the teacher had got her leg seriously fractured for more than six months but she had to climb the difficult ladders in support of clutches to teach the children every day. Moreover thirty five or more children in a class, and that too heterogeneous by age, level of knowledge and understanding, has made difficult for a teacher to control. So it needs to prepare and groom the new young teachers for outreach learning centers so that the teaching would be more effective, easy to control and individually guiding too.

While visiting communities and individual homes, the most repeated demands from the mothers was to take their children in IPER hostel. Observing the children playing around in hazardous condition proves their demands justifiable too. So the possible ways to help them in this regard or to increase the capacity of hostel is necessary. Also, as there is provision of hostel only for girls now, it should be made for boys too.

7.2 To the civil society, social and community workers

The whole process of child protection and education has been continuing in a cyclic process of information from the section of civil society, NGOs' intervention regarding that and joined efforts of NGOs, civil society and government for the future course of the children. So every stake holder must be responsible and accountable in their duties.

Right information from the level of individuals is a prime need because wrong or inadequate information wastes time and human resources of social and community workers. In practice, sometimes wrong information comes to help line desk and when a big time and human resources are deployed to that, the case is found different. For example, in a home a child worker was kept in a mutual understanding with all legal papers but perhaps a neighbor of their just reported that the child there was regularly beaten. While intervening there, it was found wrong and all community workers argued that it was because he or she complained in jealous of not getting children at their own home because almost every middle class busy family wants child worker at home. (IPER field staff, personal communication 23.11.2012)

In rescue actions of child protection or information gathering on child rights violence cases, single lady staff (from IPER) is often sent which is not safe as it is a crowd-urban where personal security is always at risk. The perpetrators who can turn violent even inside police station (above in case study) can do anything outside or at the spot. So it would be helpful to appoint more young and energetic male also in such cases. Regular communication and increasing familiarity of staff with the police offices of locality seems to be very necessary in all processes of child protection.

Social and community workers working in this field must have made widespread personal contacts and network with civilians, local police and authorities because every work there is manual and walking in the busiest and densely populated streets can invite any unwanted situation at risks of own life and property. Possible threats from the alleged perpetrators at rescuing child from labour or even the slum people's revenge or abuse at not accepting their children for shelter (in hostel) have troubled the community workers much. A kind of whim in civil society that the NGOs workers just work for money-making by maximizing a simple problem, misunderstanding that the local tradition and practices are damaged in the name of human rights/international conventions or treaties etc. are to settled at prior in a harmonious way of discussion with local people and civil society.

7.3 To the future researcher and social work practitioner

This study was carried out in a small area of slum urban, selecting three human settlements. These settlements have local people (Bengali speaking) and some internal migrants from a neighboring state Bihar (Hindi speaking). Both the languages are widely spoken and understood here. But official data say that there are many other slums in the town that include a lot of external migrants from neighboring country, Bangladesh and other neighboring state of India, Orissa. People from Bangladesh also speak Bengali, so it may not have caused so much problem but people from Orissa speak Oriya that definitely causes problem in service delivery. So there is great scope of future research on service delivery and schooling provisions to the external and internal migrants of some different language speaking states. Besides it, early childhood development activities in slums which seem to be very rarely practiced are another major field to research. It is so important because it is seen practice that only the children after the age of school going (5 or 6 years and above) come in the notice but their childhood development period might have got already ruined.

Similarly it is always a widespread knowledge gaining for social work practitioners to work in such challenging environment. The most delicate and weaker section of society here in terms of decision making, financial control and human rights; children and women are to be dealt at a time. The communities that have shortage of basic things to survive where a social worker having theoretical knowledge of professional social work and ethical issues have to work leading many roles at a time is always risky and challenging. Practically it was observed that when teachers were teaching in the learning centers, the women having problems like medical bills of doctor that they could not pay or to inform that there was nothing to eat at home so the children could not come to study or a wife beaten by her husband etc. came to get some help. Then the teachers as social worker had to help in anyways; whether to bring that issue to the organizations or make phone calls to that husband or send some packets of biscuits to those children immediately. These are daily encounters in day to day practice where a social worker has to be able enough quickly to respond on own decision. The challenge is that on one hand the victim people should get help on the spot otherwise they may lose the trust; while on the other hand the decision must be professionally and ethically

correct. The idea and knowledge of playing multiple roles hence gets shape in such environment adventurously.

Most importantly, the advocacy of rights and responsibilities of people and professional practices of social work up to the standard of international laws and tradition in the society where local tradition and practices are dominant is likely to invite confrontation with the local people. In such cases personal safety of life also remains on own head of social worker because theoretical provision of rule of law may not exist everywhere.

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ACRONYMS/ABBREVIATIONS

ASER	Annual Status of Education Report
AISES	All India School Education Survey
BPL	Below Poverty Line
CINI	CHILD in Need Institute
CRC	Convention on Rights of Children
CNCP	Children in Need of Care and Protection
EFA	Education for All
GOI	Government of India
ILO	International labor Organization
IPER	Institute of Psychological and Educational Research
ICPS	Integrated Child protection Scheme
MDGs	Millennium Development Goals
MHRD	Ministry of Human Resource Development
MWCD	Ministry of Women and Child Development
NCTE	National Council for Teachers Education
NCLP	National Child Labour Project
NGO	Non-Governmental Organization

NSSO	National Sample Survey office
OOS	Out-Of- School
SSA	Sarva Shikshya Abhiyan (Education for All Movement)
UNDP	United Nations Development Project
UNESCO	United Nations Educational, Scientific Cultural Organization
UNICEF	United Nations Children ´s Fund
UNO	United Nations Organization

APPENDIX 1: Questions asked in interview

Personal background information

- Name :
- Age :
- Sex :
- Parents/foster :
- Family members :
- Residency :
- IPER- main support :
- Means of livelihood :
- Education (including family) :

1. Interview with educated and empowered youths

(Questions about IPER's help in his/her life)

1. How did IPER rescue or help you? What significant help you got from IPER?
What help are you still getting?
2. What do you imagine if IPER was not there, where would you be now?
3. What significant benefit have you got from IPER? Did it benefit to your rest family members as well? If yes, how?
4. Besides study, did it help you to identify and explore other potentiality of yours?
If yes, what was that? And, how?

5. Did you go to IPER outreach learning center or IPER hostel to complete your study? If it was hostel, how did you get it?
6. What was most interesting part of being student there?
7. Have you ever felt any unfair treatment or unfair behaviors from your regular school teachers just because you go to IPER learning school?
8. What aspect of psychological teaching you got from IPER teachers?
9. Have you ever been abused or punished by IPER teachers? If yes, what was that?
10. Have you ever felt of being “outcaste” or “cursed locality” or “burden” inside the IPER premises by its staffs and officials? If yes, what was that?
11. What are your dissatisfactions with IPER?
12. What are your more expectations with IPER?

(Personal, social and economic aspects)

1. How long have you been living here?
2. Is that one room/ two room houses?
3. Who of your family members does earn money? What job does do he/she/ do? Is that regular-paid job?
4. Does the income of family enough to have food? Do you experience of skipping meal due to lack of money?
5. How is your food habit? Do you have multiple times in a day when they become able to make good money?
6. How often do you buy clothes? Is it for fashion or need? Have you worn donated clothes ever? Do you like if you get those clothes?
7. What is your regular food? Do you know balanced diet? Do you maintain it?
8. Do you make food waste at home? What do you do with that?
9. Does anyone of you have bank account?
10. How does government help you? Have you got any subsidies or discount cards from government?
11. Have you ever got any threat of vacating your colony or any public order to leave because that land belongs to government?
12. Is it registered land in your parent/s name? If it is, whose name is it in?
13. In case of vacating that area, do you have any option to go to?

14. Do you have any petty cash collection group in your community?
15. Are you able to borrow any money from bank or finance company?
16. Have you borrowed any money recently from bank or any local money lenders?
17. Have you or any of your family members got any vocational training or schooling from any organizations?

(Societal and Psychological aspects)

1. How does next neighbor of you behave to you?
2. How often do you make friendship with other locals of different community?
3. If you are from another state here, do you feel that you are biased due to that?
4. Do police help in your problem when you go there for help?
5. Have you ever discussed about poverty at home?
6. How often father and mother fall in quarrel at home? If it happens, what is the most repeated reason behind that?
7. Are the parents interested (if they are capable) to send their kids to school? Are they sending to all siblings to school?
8. Do you feel that you have hurt to the next local community or vice-versa? If so, how have you hurt to them or they have to you?
9. Is there any record of marrying between your community and local community people? If so what was the response?
10. Have you ever experienced verbal and physical harassment from any one of another community? If yes, how have you sought the legal treatment?
11. Is there any one or any religious group or political force or government agency with whom you fear a lot? If you do, why?
12. What do you think what is the main reason that your family or community is backward?
13. Have your parents ever discussed about birth control? Does your father or mother share any of such information with you? Are you in position to convince them about it? If not, what is the main obstacle to convince them?

(Political and human right aspects)

1. Are you a member of any club or public organization or group? If yes, why did you join?
2. Are you a member of any political party? If yes, why did you join?
3. Do you (and your eligible family members) cast vote in elections (local or national)?
4. Are you familiar with the main political parties in Kolkata as well as in India?
5. Do you have any preference for a particular policy of a political party you have known?
6. Do you know about universal fundamental human rights, child rights, and ILO convention?
7. Do you know anything about the Constitution of your country?
8. Where do you go when your rights are violated? How have you got the treatment there?
9. Have ever visited the local office of national human rights commission of India?
10. Have you ever got any help or counseling from any I/NGOs for human rights?
11. Do you attend public meetings such as of the club or school/college or politics? If yes, what is your role there? Have you ever raised any issue of public concern in such meetings?
12. Have you attended any trainings and workshops on rights and responsibilities? Despite your desire, if can't take part, what is the reason behind that?
13. Have you ever been victim of false promise any political party? Have you ever been threatened by any political party in case of finding casting votes or supporting any opposition of them?
14. What do you think of making an organization for being united?

(Miscellaneous questions)

1. What do you think of "slum people" or "street children"? What is your opinion - who might have made them so? Or is it just own luck?
2. How this scenario can be changed now? What can be your role in it?

3. Have you ever heard the word “empowerment”? What does it mean to you?
How can you justify that IPER schooling has empowered you? What tools have been most effective for your empowerment?
4. If you believe you have been empowered, what is your responsibility now onwards to empower rest of the people in your community?
5. When will you be ready to take this “ownership” of empowerment process by yourself in your community?

Interview with parents

6. Can you read/write?
7. What work do you do?
8. Are all your children going to school? If not, why?
9. How do you feel when children go to school?
10. If you have son and daughter, are both of them going to school?
11. What do you think how IPER is helping to your children?
12. What more do you expect from IPER? Or you do not expect anything?
13. What things are urgently necessary in your community?
14. How do you find that children are getting good education?
15. How do children help in you domestic works?
16. Do children also teach you when you are free? If yes, what things do they teach you or have they taught you?
17. What changes have you noticed in children before and after attending IPER classes?
18. Do you want to let study your children till they want or you want to stop them from after completion of primary or secondary level?
19. What do you think what help you might get from them in future?
20. How do you manage when they go to school and there is no one to help you in need at home?
21. How does government help you? What services and facilities have you got from local government agencies?
22. Besides to your children, has IPER or any I/NGO done something helpful to you?
23. Besides to you children, what are your expectations from IPER?

APPENDIX 2: Written consent from the educated youths for the interview

I,, am well informed about the aims and objectives of this research and hereby give my consent with signing at the bottom of this interview-noted diary and declare that I have no any objection if Som Raj Nepal (the researcher) uses all or part of information and expressions for any academic purposes to bringing in public by making it open on-line material or publishing in any journal or thesis or any form of public reading material across the globe for once or whenever he needs as it is my true story and sincere feelings.

.....

Signature and Date

APPENDIX 3: List of figures and tables used in the text

FIGURES

FIGURE 1: Number of out-of-school children in the world (1990-2010.)	13
FIGURE 2: Population of primary school age by sex, area of residence and wealth quintile, India 2006.	14
FIGURE 3: Children of primary school age out-of-school (OOS) by sex, area of residence, and wealth quintile, India 2006.	15
FIGURE 4: Vulnerable groups of children	32
FIGURE 5: Map of India and study area, Kolkata	35
FIGURE 6: Main findings in a glance	50
FIGURE 7: Non-institutional services to the children	63
FIGURE 8: Paradigm shift in approach to child protection	64
FIGURE 9: School education system in Kolkata	65
FIGURE 10: Support mechanism to national system of education	66

TABLES

TABLE 1: Methods of data collection and analysis techniques	42
TABLE 2: Sample framing, sample units and objectives	45