Journal of

Educational Planning and Administration

Volume XVII Number! January 2003

National Institute of Educational
Planning and Administration
17-B, Sri Aurobindo Marg
New Delhi 110016

ISSN 0971-3859

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Published by the Registrar, National Institute of Educational Planning and Administration. 17-B. Sri Aurobindo Marg. New Delhi-1 10016 and printed by the Publication Unit, NIEPA at M/s. Prabhat Offset Press. 2622. Kucha Chellan, Darya Ganj. New Delhi- 1 10002.

JOURNAL OF EDUCATIONAL PLANNING AND ADMINISTRATION
Vol. XVII No. 1 (January 2003)

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BOOK REVIEWS

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Measuring Education Inequality: Gini Co-efficients of Education for 140 Countries (1960-2000)[#]

Vinod Thomas*
Yan Wang
Xibo Fan

Abstract

Educational gaps among various groups within a country as well as across countries are staggering. Applying the education Gini index to measure ineqaality in educational attainment to facilitate comparison across countries and over time and to generate a quinquennial dataset on education Gini for the over-fifteen population in 140 countries from I960 to 2000, this empirical analysis finds that, first, education inequality for most of the countries declined over the past four decades; second, education inequality measured by education Gini is negatively associated with the average years of schooling, whereas the standard deviation of schooling shows a clear pattern of Kuznets Curve when average schooling increases; third, gender-gaps are clearly related to inequality in education, and over time, the association between gender-gaps and inequality becomes stronger; fourth, the educational Kuznets curve does not exist if education Gini is used and if the standard deviation is used, Kuznets curve showed up; and fifth, per capita PPP

This paper builds on the initial work in our 1999 paper, "Measuring educational inequality: education Gini index from 1960 to 1990." and the 2001 working report "Measuring education inequality: Gini coefficients of education." The authors are grateful to Ramon E. Lopez for collaborating an earlier paper. Nancy Birdsall. Deon Filmer, Emmanuel Jimenz, Peter Moock, Martin Ravallion for their inputs and comments. We thank especially the editor of this journal and three anonymous referees for their suggestions, and the Bank's Research Committee for providing research funds. The views and findings presented here are those of the authors, and do not necessarily represent the views of the World Bank, its Executive Directors or the countries they represent. Comments and questions on the data should be sent to Yan Wang at ywang2@worldbank.org or Xibo Fan at Gini@yahoogroups.com. The earlier dataset is available at the World Bank's web page http://wwvv.worldbank.org/devforum/forum_qog3.html. The most recent 140 country data will also be made available after the paper is published.

Respectively, Vice President, Senior Economist, and Consultant at the World Bank. 1818 H Street. NW. Washington DC 20433 USA

GDP incremental (purchasing-power-parity in the units of international dollars) is negatively associated with education Gini and positively associated with the average education attainment.

Introduction

This paper develops a measure for the distribution of education that can be easily calculated, compared across countries and monitored over time. Why is it essential to measure the distribution, in addition to the average level, of education? The crucial reasons are based on welfare as well as efficiency. On the welfare side, education and good health improve people's capability to shape their lives, strengthen their functioning in society and contribute to their well-being directly. Yet, the educational gaps among rich and the poor segments within a country as well as across countries are staggering.[1] If poverty is seen as the "deprivation of some minimum fulfilment of elementary capacities" (Sen 1992, p9), then inequalities in well-being must incorporate measures of the inequality in education.[2]

On the efficiency side, both aggregate production and growth are affected by the levels and the distributions of capital and other assets. The distribution of wealth is often approximated by land Gini coefficients.[3] But human capital is one of the most important assets. Its average level and distribution are important. It is insufficient to just include the average level of education in growth analysis. If an asset, say physical capital, is freely traded in a competitive environment, its marginal product tends to be equalized through the market mechanism, and its contribution to output is not affected by its distribution. If an asset is not completely tradable, however its marginal product is not equalized and the aggregate production function would also depend on its distribution. Because education and skills are only partially tradable, variables reflecting the distribution of education need to be incorporated.

[1] **See for example. Birdsall and Londofio 1997, IDB 1998. Filmer and Pritchett 1999. and World Bank 2000a.**

" In a heated debate over "Equity of what?" Sen (1980) sees individual's levels of functionings, such as literacy and nutrition, as attributes to be equalized, and argues further that "... comparisons in the functioning space mas be more relevant for the analysis of well-being than in the spaces of incomes, primary goods, or resources." (p.88. Sen 1992). Others see the opportunities people face as the attributes to be equalized (Arneson 1989. Cohen 1989. and Roemer 1993). Yet others consider the amount of resources as the attribute to be equalized (Dworkin 1981).

For example. Li. Squire, and Zou (1998) found that higher concentration of land was associated with higher income inequality. Lundberg. and Squire (1999) utilized twenty variables of 120 countries, and found that first, growth is much more sensitive to policy intervention than inequality is. Second, even a moderate change in inequality coupled certain growth is of tremendous impact on alleviating poverty.

Education Gini is similar to the Gini coefficients widely used to measure distributions of income and land. It ranges from 0, which represents perfect equality, to 1, which represents perfect inequality. Education Gini could be used to complement other indicators for well-being, in particular, indicators of access, average levels, and the quality of education. As shown later, the distribution of education as measured by education Gini is closely related to access to education and very sensitive to changes in the proportion of population with no schooling. Thus, it does not shift attention away from access to basic education; rather, it directs attention to the need for basic education.

There is a small but growing literature on schooling inequality using standard deviation of schooling (see, for example, Lam and Levinson 1991; Londono 1990; Ram 1990). Birdsall and Londono (1997) found a significant negative correlation between education dispersion (measured by the standard deviation of schooling) and income growth. Ram (1990) used the standard deviations of schooling to illustrate the existence of an education Kuznets curve. Londono (1990) also used the same method. However, standard deviation of schooling is an absolute measure of dispersion. As will be shown later, it is not a good measure of inequality, as it does not control for the differences in the mean value. To measure the relative inequality of schooling distribution, developing an indicator for education Gini is necessary.

Four previous studies have used Gini coefficient in measuring the inequality of education. Education Gini coefficients can be calculated using enrollment, expenditure or finance, or attainment data. Maas and Criel (1982) estimated Gini coefficients based on enrollment data for 16 East African countries. Ter Weele (1975) estimated G'mi coefficients using education finance data for several East African countries. Rosthal (1978) summarized four indicators for the distribution of education estimated for the United States and Gini index was one of them. Sheret (1982 and 1988) estimated the Gini coefficient of enrollment for Papua New Guinea. However, no previous study has constructed education Gini using the distribution of school attainment..

This paper constructs the education Gini index for 140 countries for the period from 1960-2000[4] and looks into the relationship between the education Gini index on the one side, and average education attainment, gender gaps, and the standard deviation of schooling on the other. Section 2 discusses

[4] Started in 1997. we have been working on education Gini indexes based on school attainment for an increasing number of countries. We first did it for 20 countries and investigated the association with per capita GDP growth (Lopez. Thomas and Wang. 1998). We then expand the dataset to 85 countries and now to 140 countries. This was feasible thanks to the painstaking efforts made by a group of pioneers including Barro and Lee (1993, and 1997. and 2001). Psacharopoulos and Arriagada (1986), and Nehru. Swanson and Dubey (1995). See also Behrman and Rosenzweig 1994 on the quality issues of these data.

methodology; Section 3 presents the results in a few countries, and examines the relationship with average years of schooling, and gender gaps; Section 4 shows why standard deviation is not a good measure of inequality; and Section 5 shows the variations and distinct patterns of education Gini across countries and over time, as compared with the world. Section 6 concludes.

Education Gini: Concept and Methodology

There are two ways to calculate an income Gini, the direct method (Deaton 1997) and the indirect method. The direct method states that the income Gini is defined as "the ratio to the mean of half of the average over all pairs of the absolute deviations between [all possible pairs of] people". The direct method uses the following formula to calculate Gini coefficient.

(1) *GINI* =——————-——————y y |v - v |

where GINI is the Gini index;
u. is the mean of the variable (income, or schooling, or land, e.g.);
N is the total number of observations;
For income Gini, y; and yj are dollar values of income of individuals;
For education Gini, *y,* and yj are years of school attainment of individuals.

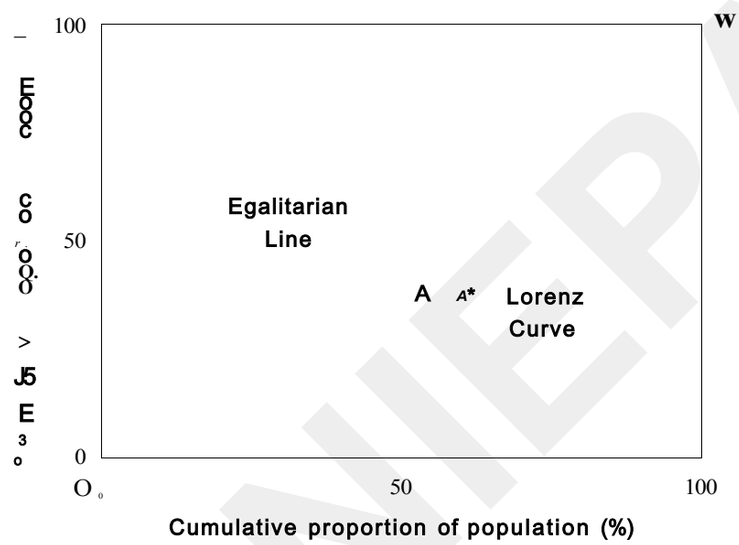
The indirect method first constructs the income Lorenz curve shown in Figure 1, with the cumulative percentage of the income on the vertical axis, and the cumulative percentage of the population on the horizontal axis. The 45-degree line is called the egalitarian line for it represents a completely equal society with respect to the distribution of income. And then the Gini coefficient is calculated as the ratio of two areas, with the area of the egalitarian triangle as the denominator and the area between Lorenz curve and the egalitarian line as the numerator.

(2) $$GINI = \frac{\text{Area of (between Egalitarian and Lorenz)}}{\text{Area of OWQ (Egarlitarian Triangle)}}$$

Both the direct and the indirect methods can also be applied for calculating the education Gini. As an analogue to Deaton's definition, education Gini measures the ratio to the mean (average years of schooling) of half of the average schooling deviations between all possible pairs of people. Even though the concept of education Gini is the same as the income Gini, several obstacles

have prevented us from applying the conventional income Gini methods for calculating education Gini.

Figure 1. Lorenz Curve and Gini Calculation



First, the survey data on educational attainment of the individual persons is unavailable for most of the countries, which implies that that the equation (1) cannot be directly applied for the calculation of education Gini. What is available is the schooling distribution data provided by Barro and Lee (1993, 1997 and 2000). Barro and Lee divided the population into seven categories, including no-schooling (or illiterate), partial primary, complete primary, partial secondary, complete secondary, partial tertiary and complete tertiary. The seven groups are both mutually exclusive and collectively inclusive. Second, years of schooling is a discrete variable, and as a result, the education Lorenz curve is a kinked line with seven kink points. Third, the education Lorenz Curve is truncated along the horizontal axis. In many developing countries, a big proportion of population is illiterate (schooling=0), as shown in the education Lorenz curves for India and Korea in Figures 5 and 6. Under this circumstance, it is infeasible to estimate a Lorenz Curve through regression.

By assuming that the level of attainment is completely equal within each of the seven groups, we developed a formula for education Gini based on the special features of the schooling distribution data, by using the decomposition

method of Atkinson (1970). The education Gini.can be easily obtained from the inter-group inequality, since the intra-group inequality is assumed as zero.

The First Xibo Fan Education Gini Formula for Large Population

The education Gini formula used in this paper is shown in equation (3).

$$(3) \qquad E_L = \left(\frac{1}{\mu}\right) \sum_{i=2}^{n} \sum_{j=1}^{i-1} p_i \, y_i \, y_j \, P_j$$

where, E_L is the education Gini based on educational attainment distribution, large population; u is the average years of schooling for the concerned population; p_i and ft stand for the proportions of population with certain levels of schooling; y_i and y_j are the years of schooling at different educational attainment levels; and n is the number of levels/categories in attainment data, and n = 7 in this paper, according to Barro and Lee (1991)'s classification. y_i and y_j depend on length of schooling cycles (Cp , Cs , Ct), which are obtained from Psacharopoulos and Arriagada (1986) and UNESCO yearbook. People who receive partial education are assumed to get half of the schooling cycle in their years of schooling.

The Second Xibo Fan Education Gini Formula for Small Population

The value of Gini is sensitive to population size N if the population size is too small. The sensitivity is reflected by a factor of [N/(N-1)]. The education Gini formula for a small population is shown in equation (4).

$$(4) \qquad E = \frac{N}{N-1} \sum_{i=2}^{n} \sum_{j=1}^{i-1} P_i \, y_i - y_j \, P_j \; {}^{*}E_L$$

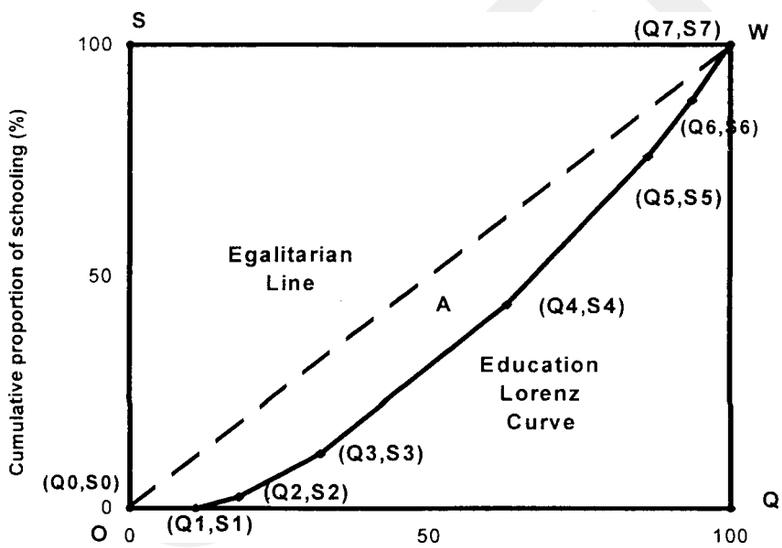
where, E is the education Gini for a small population; and N is the number of individuals in the concerned population. When population size N approaches infinite, [N/(N-1)] =1, the second formula converges to the first formula. Practically, when population size is large enough, the first formula is good enough to achieve a high level of accuracy. The advantage of the first formula is that the exact number of the population size is irrelevant to the value of Gini as long as we know the concerned country has a large population.

The Education Lorenz Curve

The education Lorenz curve in Figure 2 is constructed by putting the cumulative proportion of population on the horizontal axis, and by putting the cumulative proportion of schooling on vertical axis. The cumulative proportion of schooling at each level of schooling is as follows:

Q, is cumulative proportion of population at various levels of education. Origin: $Q_0=0$;
S, is cumulative proportion of schooling at various levels of education. Origin $S_0=0$.

Figure 2. The Education Lorenz Curve



The education Gini can be calculated either from equation (2) or from equation (3). We generated the education Gini data-set by utilizing the schooling distribution data in Barro and Lee (1991, and various updates) and the schooling cycle data in UNESCO yearbooks. The data on cycles of schooling is in the unit of years, being collected from various edition of UNESCO Yearbook for each country. It should be mentioned that, in the first draft of Thomas, Wang and Fan (2000), the data on cycles of schooling is quoted from Psacharopoulos and Arriagada(1986).

The quinquennia! data-set contains education Gini for 140 countries, for the population aged over-fifteen, from 1960 to 2000. In addition to the data on education Gini, we also calculated the average years of schooling and the standard deviations of schooling, for the same number of countries and years.[5]

The average years of schooling (AYS) is shown in equation (5).

$$(5) \qquad n = AYS = \sum_{i=1}^{n} Pjyj$$

The standard deviation of schooling (SDS) is shown in formula (6).

$$(6) \qquad a = SDS = 1£ \; Pi(yi-M)^2$$

Education Gini: Empirical Results

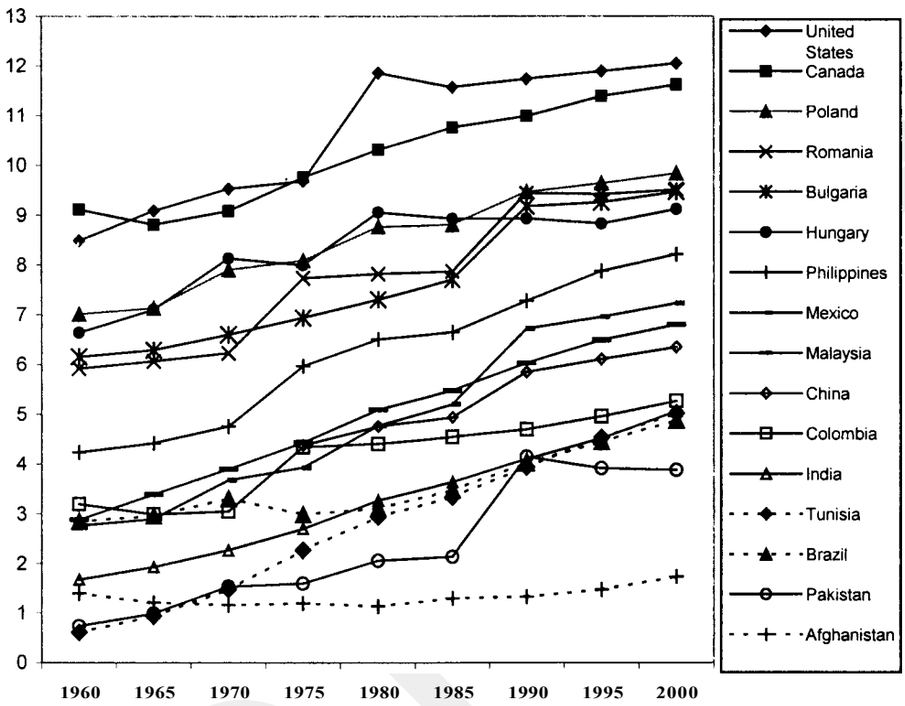
In this section, we investigate the behaviour of these variables over time and the relationships between the education Gini, gender gaps, the standard deviation of schooling and average years of schooling. We also examine the variations across countries and the different patterns of change over time.

Trends in School Attainment

The data on the average years of schooling show large variations across countries. Much of the variation would seem to be related to income levels. However, there are substantial differences across countries of similar income levels as well. The data show that average years of schooling have been increasing for most countries, but the pace of improvement vary significantly. In some countries that have faced socio-political and civil conflicts or wars (for example, Afghanistan), schooling attainment has been both low and declining or stagnant (Figure 3).

[5] We are not able to control for differences in the quality of education in constructing these variables. Controlling for quality here is difficult mainly because quality indicators themselves are problematic. For example, cognitive test scores are not comparable over time, and their availability is limited; and using input indicators (such as expenditures or teacher-pupil-ratios) to measure quality is misleading.

Figure 3. School Attainment for Population age 15 and over



Source: Barro and Lee 2000.

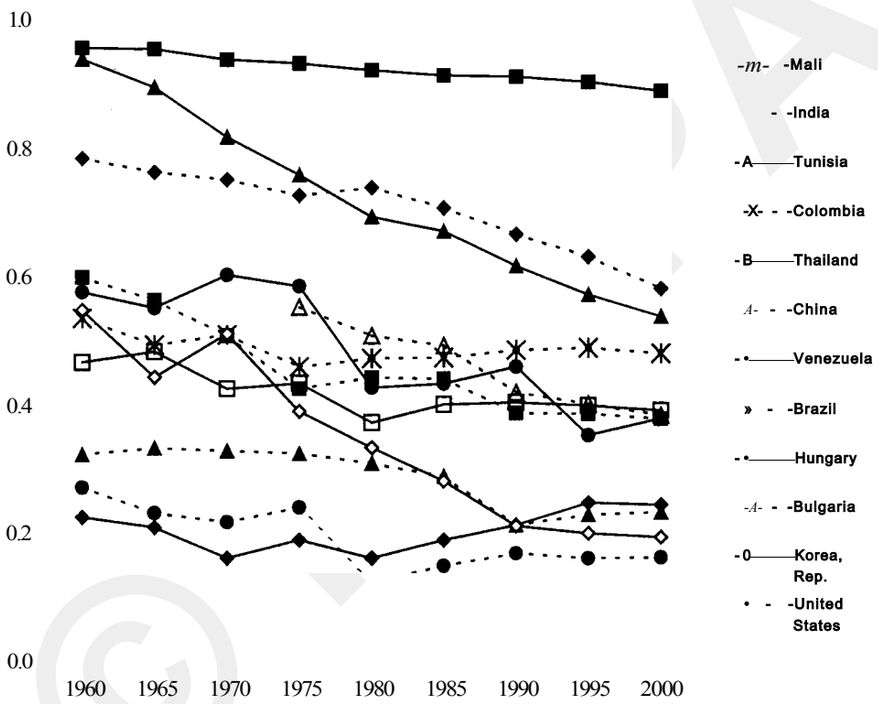
Trends in Education Inequality Measured by Education Gini

Education Gini index allows us to observe how education inequality in various countries has changed during 1960 to 2000. Figure 3 shows that education inequality measured by education Gini has been declining, albeit slowly, for most of the countries. Inequality has worsened only in a small number of countries during specific periods. From 1960 to 2000, education Gini was declining rapidly in some countries such as Korea, Tunisia, and China, but slowly in other cases such as Mali, Pakistan.

Korea had the fastest expansion in education coverage and the fastest decline in the education Gini coefficient; it dropped from 0.55 to 0.19 in 40 years. Tunisia also had a rapid improvement in the distribution of education, with Gini index declining from 0.94 in 1960 to 0.54 in 2000. India's education Gini coefficient declined first slowly from 0.79 in 1960 to 0.69 in 1990 and then rather rapidly to 0.58 in 2000. Education Gini coefficients for Colombia, Hungary, and Venezuela have had some fluctuations, showing inequality on the

rise for one period and decline in another (see Figure 4). In Hungary and the United States, where the education inequality was quite low, we can see that education Gini has been on the rise since the 1980s.

Figure 4. Trends of Education Gini, Selected Countries



Source: Authors' calculation. Data available on the web and upon request.

Education Lorenz Curves for India and Korea

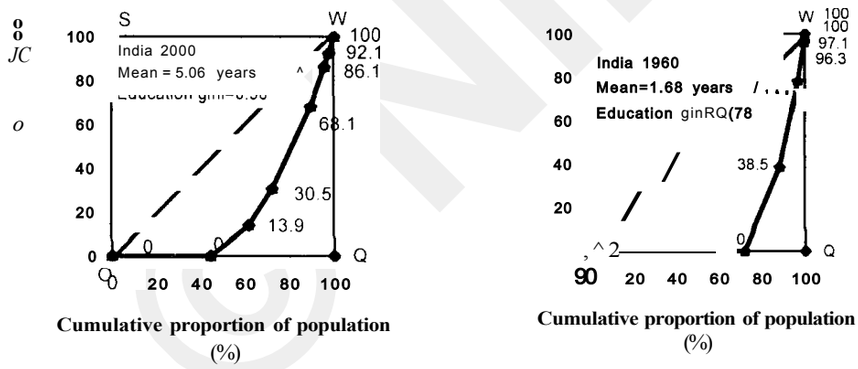
The improvement of education equality can be shown by the shifting of a country's education Lorenz curve. An examination of education Lorenz curves for India and Korea in 1990 shows a great range among developing countries.

The Case of India: Despite progress in expanding primary and secondary enrollment in the recent years, more than 40% of the population (age 15 and older) received no schooling in 2000. This represents a great progress compared with 40 years ago when 70 per cent of the population had no schooling. Still, in 2000, 10 per cent of the population received 32 per cent of total cumulated years of schooling in the whole country. This made its education Lorenz Curve steep,

located far away from the egalitarian line, leading to a large education Gini (Figure 5). Education Gini being among one of the highest in the world, providing universal access to basic education remains a huge challenge for the country.

A distribution of education as skewed as that of India implies a huge social loss from the under-utilization of potential human capital. Needless to say, human ability to absorb knowledge is different across individuals. But inequality in education reflects, not only uneven abilities but also uneven opportunities (access to schooling). Assuming that ability or talent is normally distributed across population groups, production increases to its optimum when the dispersion of education matches the distribution of human ability. When the distribution of education is too skewed to match the distribution of ability, there is a deadweight loss to the society of under-developed and under-utilized talent. In this case, societies would be better off to massively expand basic education, especially by improving access to education for the poor.

Figure 5. Education Lorenz Curves, India, 1960 and 2000

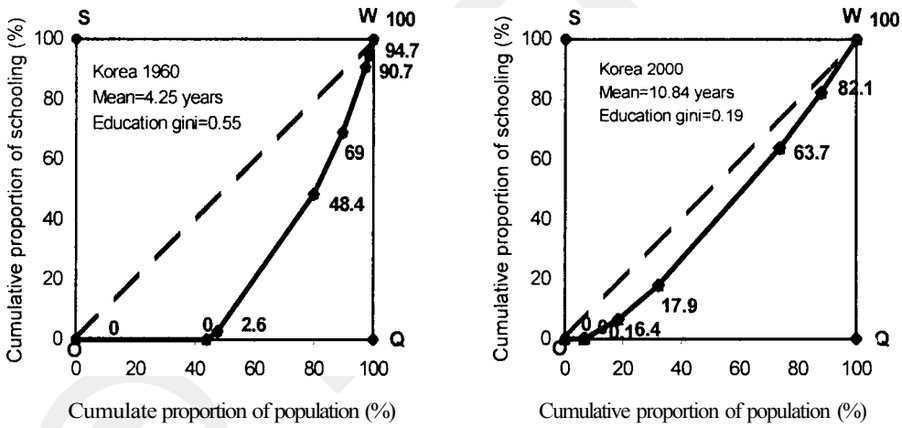


Source: Authors' calculation.

The Case of Korea: Korea expanded its basic education rapidly and eliminated illiteracy successfully. In the early 1960s and 70s, over two-thirds of government expenditure on education was concentrated on primary and secondary schooling. Over the four decades from 1960 to 2000, the mean years of schooling more than doubled and illiteracy was eliminated. Comparing to other countries, Korea's education Lorenz Curve has shifted much closer toward the 45-degree egalitarian line (Figure 6)

Korea has had a more equitable distribution of education than India, as indicated by a flatter Lorenz curve and a smaller Gini coefficient. Even in 1960, when Korea's per capita income was similar to that of India, Korea's education Gini coefficient was 0.55, lower than that of India in 2000. It is interesting to note that the distribution of education in Korea was more equitable than that of income, but the distribution of education in India was much more skewed than that of income. In the 1990s, Korea's income Gini, stood at 0.34, was higher than education Gini of 0.21. On the country, India's income Gini was 0.32 in 1992 but education was much higher at 0.66 in 1990. The relationship between income Gini and education Gini is an interesting topic for future research.

Figure 6. Education Lorenz Curves, Korea, 1960 and 2000



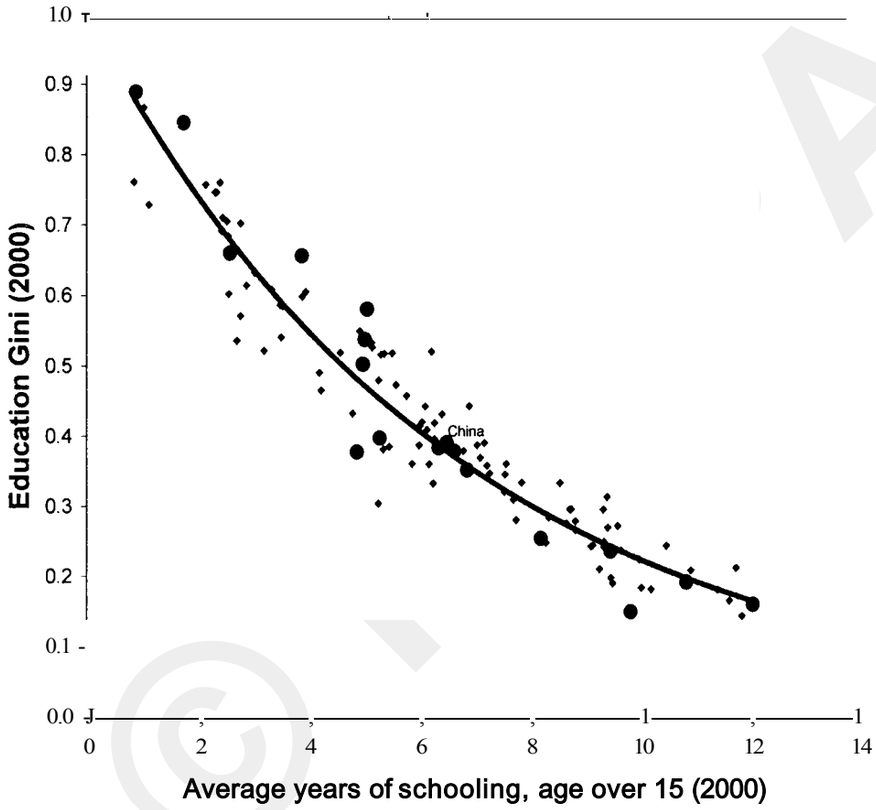
Source data: Authors' calculation.

Relationship between Education Inequality and Average Schooling

Examining the cross-country pattern of the distribution of education, we found that education Gini coefficients decline as the average education levels increase, although there clearly are other possibilities using other indicators. In addition to the industrial countries, Hungary, Poland and Ireland had relatively low education Gini coefficients throughout the whole period from 1960 to 2000. The Gini coefficient for education in Korea, Tunisia and some other countries declined dramatically. Only a few countries — Colombia, Costa Rica, Peru, and Venezuela — have seen a fluctuation or worsening of the education Gini coefficient in different periods. Among 140 countries, for which education Gini coefficients were calculated, Afghanistan and Mali had the least equitable distributions at approximately 0.90, while most industrial countries were at the

lower end, with the United States and Poland having the most equitable distribution (Figure 7).

Figure 7. Education Gini and Average Attainment in 2000



Source of data: Education Gini by authors' calculation. Average schooling by Barro and Lee 2000.

Countries with higher average years of schooling are most likely to achieve a more equitable education than those with a lower number of average years of schooling. The education inequality in low-income countries is most likely to be worse than that of high-income countries. Using other indicators such as the standard division, however, this nice feature does not necessarily hold.

TABLE 1

Educational Attainment and Education Inequality

(Dependent Variable: Education Gini)

	Panel regression Variables stacked by date		Panel regression Variables stacked by country		
Variables	**Fixed effects**		**Fixed effects**		**Random effects**
Average years of schooling	**-0.073*** ***		**-0.052*** ***		**-0.055****
	(-77.06)		**(-42.02)**		**(-48.82)**
Intercept(s)	**Fixed effects**		**Fixed effects**		**Random effects**
					(81.08)
	Year 1960	**0.82**	**Afghanistan**	**0.95**	**0.19**
	Year 1965	**0.83**	**Algeria**	**0.86**	**0.10**
	Year 1970	**0.84**			
	Year 1975	**0.85**	**China**	**0.74**	**-0.01**
	Year 1980	**0.85**			
	Year 1985	**0.87**	**India**	**0.87**	**0.11**
	Year 1990	**0.87**			
	Year 1995	**0.88**	**Mexico**	**0.72**	**-0.03**
	Year 2000	**0.89**			
			USA	**0.74**	**0.01**
			Venezuela	**0.73**	**-0.02**
			Zambia	**0.72**	**-0.03**
			Zimbabwe	**0.67**	**-0.08**
Adjusted R-squared	**0.86**		**0.96**		**0.97**
Log likelihood	**3206.87**				
Included observations	**140 countries**		**9 (1960,65,70,75,80,85,90.95,2000)**		
Number of cross-sections	**9 (60,65,70,75,80,85,90,95,00)**		**140 countries**		
Total panel observations	**1030 (unbalanced panel)**		**1030(unbalanced panel)**		

*** Significant at the 10 per cent level**
**** Significant at the 5 per cent level**
***** Significant at the I per cent level**
****** Significant at the 0.5 per cent level and over**
t-statistics in parenthesis
Education inequality: education Gini is by authors' calculation
Education attainment: average years of schooling is by Barro and Lee (2000)

The panel data regression results in Table 1 also show a statistically significant negative association between educational attainment and education Gini. The relationship is robust, no matter whether we use fixed effect or random effect model, and whether we control for time-specific (column 1, fixed effect) or country-specific factors (column 2 and 3). By using fixed effect model, we have controlled for country-specific left-out variables such as initial income, thus controlling for heterogeneity.

Furthermore, this result has a strong policy implication. Lifting any person out of illiteracy improves the society's education Gini and at the same time increases the country's level of educational attainment. This is one of the advantages of using education Gini, and not the standard deviation, as a measure of inequality.

Gender Gaps and Education Inequality

The data on education Gini also allow us to examine the linkage between gender inequality and education inequality. Here the gender gap is. measured by the difference between female illiteracy rate and male illiteracy rate. The bigger the difference of the two illiteracy rates, the larger the gender gap. We calculated the correlation between education Gini and this special gender illiteracy gap index. First, gender gaps are positively associated with education inequality measured by Gini coefficients. Second, the association between gender gaps and education inequality had become stronger over time, as the correlation coefficients were becoming larger, from 0.50 in the 1970s to 0.70 in the 1995, both significant (See Figure 8).

The regression in Table 2 also confirms these two points and these results are robust, no matter whether we use fixed or random effect. The results imply that, while educational inequality has been declining, gender inequality is strongly associated with the remaining inequality in education. Reducing gender gaps in education is crucial to addressing the inequality in education. It would be interesting to examine how much gender inequality contributes to the remaining education inequality in future research.

TABLE 2

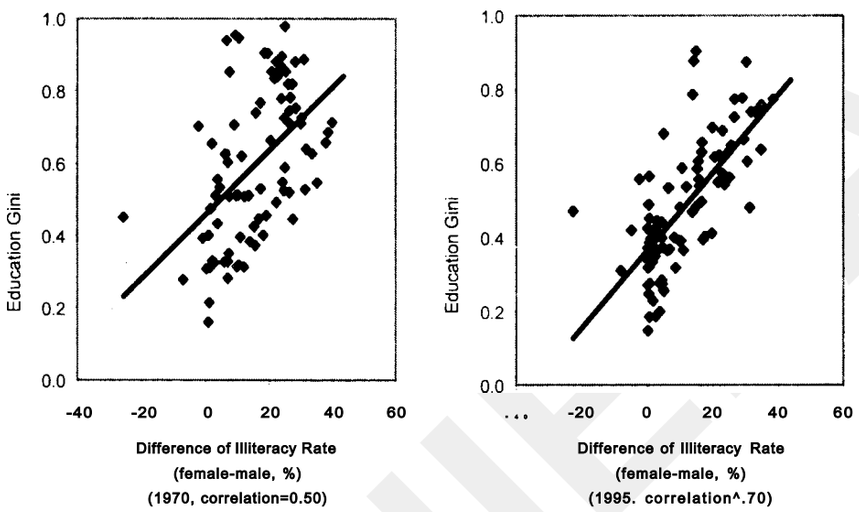
Gender-Gaps are Associated with Educational Inequality

(Dependent Variable: Education Gini)

	Panel regression Variables stacked by date	Panel regression Variables stacked by country	
Variables	**Fixed effects**	**Fixed effects**	**Random effects**
Gender-Gap	**0.0102******	**0.0076******	**0.0084******
	(18.69)	**(9.67)**	**(12.56)**
Intercept(s)	**Fixed effects**	**Fixed effects**	**Random effects**
			0.43****
			(23.74)
		Afghanistan 0.70	**0.25**
		Algeria 0.48	**0.03**
	Year 1970 0.44		
	Year 1975 0.43	**China 0.30**	**-0.14**
	Year 1980 0.41		
	Year 1985 0.39	**India 0.50**	**0.05**
	Year 1990 0.37		
	Year 1995 0.37	**Mexico 0.40**	**-0.03**
		Venezuela 0.45	**0.02**
		Zambia 0.33	**-0.11**
		Zimbabwe 0.39	**-0.04**
Adjusted R-squared	**0.42**	**0.92**	**0.93**
Log likelihood	**1133 69**		
Included observations	**103 countries**	**6(1970,75,80,85,90,95)**	
Number of cross-sections	**6 (1970,75,80,85,90.95)**	**103 countries**	
Total panel observations	**539(unbalanced panel)**	**539 (unbalanced panel)**	

*** Significant at the 10 per cent level**
**** Significant at the 5 per cent level**
***** Significant at the 1 per cent level**
****** Significant at the 0.5 per cent level**
t-statistics in parenthesis
Education inequality: education Gini is by authors' calculation
Gender-gap: difference of illiteracy rates between female and male, from World Bank central database
Only the developing countries are included in the regression

Figure 8. Gender Gap is Associated with Education Inequality

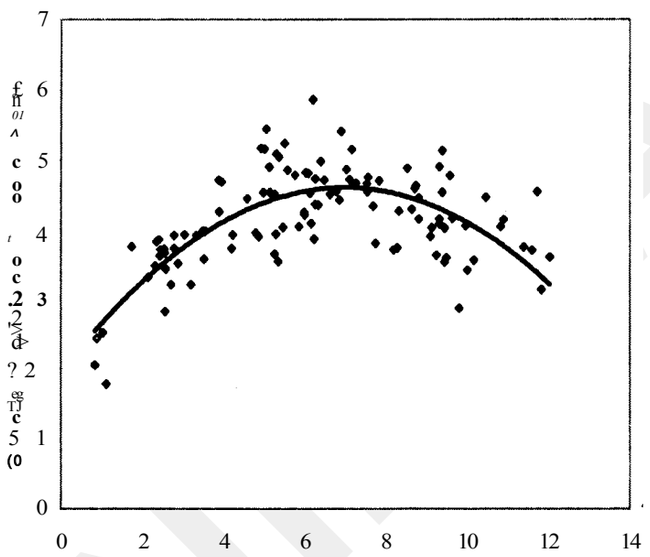


The Myth of Education Kuznets Curve

Does the distribution of education have to get worse before it gets better? As suggested by Londono (1990) and Ram (1990), there is a "Kuznetsian tale" with distribution of education. Using Standard Deviation of schooling as a measure of inequality, Ram (1990) concluded that, "As the average level of schooling rises, educational inequality first increases, and after reaching a peak, starts to decline. The turning point is about seven years of education". However, we do not find this Kuznets curve if education Gini coefficients are used to measure inequality (as shown by Figure 7).

Using the standard deviation of education, we see a pattern of educational Kuznets curve in a scatter diagram (Figure 9) and in panel regressions. Figure 9 shows the 2000 educational Kuznets curve illustrated by cross-country data. As the average number of years of schooling increases, the standard deviations of schooling first rise, reaching a peak at around 6-7 years of schooling, and then decline. This observation is fairly consistent with what was observed by Ram (1990).

Figure 9. The Education Kuznets Curve: Standard Deviation of Schooling, 2000



Source of data: Standard Deviation of schooling by authors' calculation. Average schooling by Barro and Lee 2000.

When running panel regressions, both the fixed effect and the common effect models confirm an inverted U-shape educational Kuznets curve. This is shown in Table 3, by the positive coefficient on the mean year of schooling, and the negative coefficient for the mean-year-of-schooling squared, both significant. **This** relationship is robust, no matter whether we run fixed effect or random effect method, and whether we control for time-specific or country-specific factors (columns 2 and 3).

TABLE 3

Education Kuznets Curve: Standard Deviation of Schooling

(Dependent Variable: Standard Deviation of Schooling)

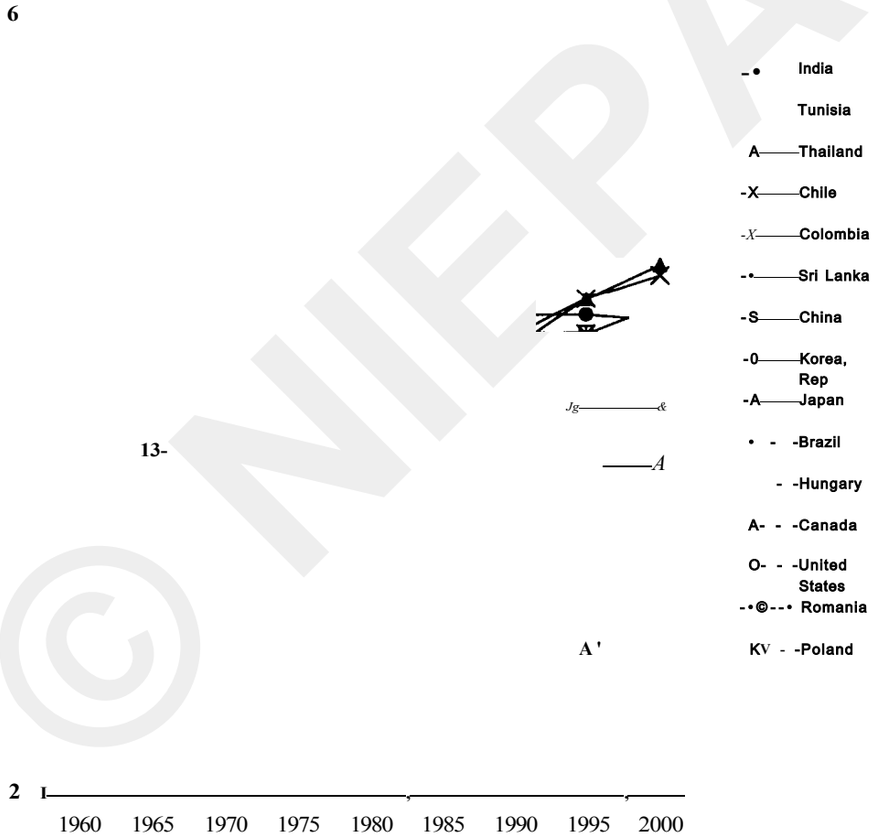
Variables	Panel regression Variables stacked by date Fixed effects		Panel regression Variables stacked by country- Fixed effects		Random effects
Average Years of Schooling	0.66****		0.88****		0.84****
	(30.92)		(43.72)		(42.59)
(Average Years of Schooling)^2	-0.049****		-0.052****		-0.051****
	(-26.16)		(-30.59)		(-30.55)
Intercept(s)	Fixed effects		Fixed effects		Random effects
					1.16****
					(16 18)
	Year 1960	1.63	Afghanistan	2.47	1.31
	Year 1965	1.72	Algeria	1.85	0.76
	Year 1970	1.82			
	Year 1975	1.97	China	1.16	0 18
	Year 1980	2.02			
	Year 1985	2.15	India	2.30	1.22
	Year 1990	2.18			
	Year 1995	2.27	Mexico	1.15	0.15
	Year 2000	2.34			
			USA	0.21	-0.59
			Venezuela	1.11	0.11
			Zambia	1.14	0 11
			Zimbabwe	0.62	-0.42
Adjusted R-squared	0.61		0.89		0.90
Log likelihood	782.20				
included observations	140 countries		9 (60.65,70,75,80,85.90.95,00)		
Number of cross-sections	9 (60,65.70.75.80.85,90,95,00)		140 countries		
Total panel observations	1030 (unbalanced panel)		1030 (unbalanced panel)		

*** Significant at the 10 per cent level**
**** Significant at the 5 per cent level**
••* Significant at the 1 per cent level
****** Significant at the 0.5 per cent level**
t-statistics in parenthesis
Standard deviation of schooling is by authors' calculation
Education attainment: average years of schooling is by Barro and Lee (2000)

Standard Deviation of Schooling: V/hy it is not a Good measure

Over time, we found no clear pattern for the standard deviations of schooling within the time horizon of 1960-1990. The standard deviations were rising for most of the 140 countries, and declining for the others (Figure 10).

Figure 10. Standard Deviations: Not a Good Measurement of Inequality



Source: Authors' calculation.

The standard deviations of schooling for India, Tunisia and several others rose drastically over time, showing a widening spread of educational attainment. For Thailand, it was a "U" shaped curve, declining first and rising later. For Korea, it was an inverted "U"shape, rising first and declining later. It fluctuates for Hungary, Romania, and Poland.

Intuitively, the standard deviation of schooling seems to be a more volatile, and sometimes a misleading indicator. It does not provide a consistent picture of whether the distribution of education in a country is improving or not.

The following observations are based on the behaviours of education Gini [in the previous section] and standard deviations in this section.

- For a poor country that has-a low but relatively equal school attainment, helping more people to become educated may enlarge the standard deviation of schooling. The spread of education will be widened as some people are getting higher education. The standard deviation of education would rise. But this would still improve the distribution of education as measured by education Gini.
- For a country that already has a high average schooling (years>7), raising the average level further would reduce the spread (i.e. the standard deviation) of schooling, as there is an upper ceiling of 16 to 20 years in education.
- In both cases, education Gini will decline. Therefore, education Gini is a more robust and better measurement for the distribution of education.

The Time-Space Two-Dimension International Comparison Diagram: Tunisia Case

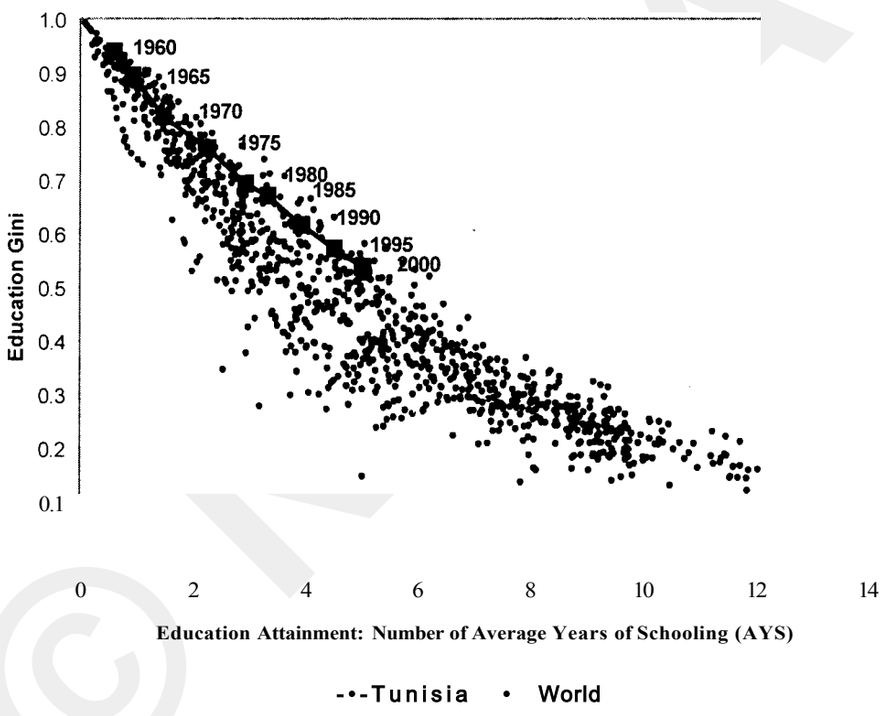
This paper develops a useful two-dimensional international comparison diagram, to assess a country's education status in two dimensions - Time and Space. In the Time dimension, it allows viewing of a country's trajectory of education status changes over time, making comparisons to its own past; at the same time in the Space dimension, it allows making comparison of the education status between a special country and all other countries in the world. It would be extremely useful to conduct follow-up country studies to identify policies that contributed to the progress (or the lack of) in the distribution of education in specific countries.

Take the case of Tunisia,[6] being illustrated in Figure 11, Tunisia is among the best performers in expanding the average level of education and improving the distribution of education opportunities, as compared to its own history. However, Tunisia started from a position that was one of the worst. In 1960, Tunisia had a low average at only 0.6 year schooling and high inequality with education Gini at the level of 0.94. During the last four decades, Tunisia has made remarkable progress. In 2000, Tunisia raised its average of schooling to 5 years and improved its education inequality to the level of 0.54. However, being compared to other countries, Tunisia's educational attainment in 2000 was close to a moderate level and still relatively low, education inequality was close to

[6] We thank Jeffrey Waite and his colleagues for their comments on this.

moderate level and still relatively high. The country is on the right track: a dramatic improvement in educational opportunities has taken place, and it is important to ensure this trend to continue in the future.

Figure 11. Time-Space Two-Dimension Comparison, Case of Tunisia, 1960-2000



Source: Education Gini by authors' calculation. Average schooling by Barro and Lee 2000.

Education and Incremental of Per Capita PPP GDP

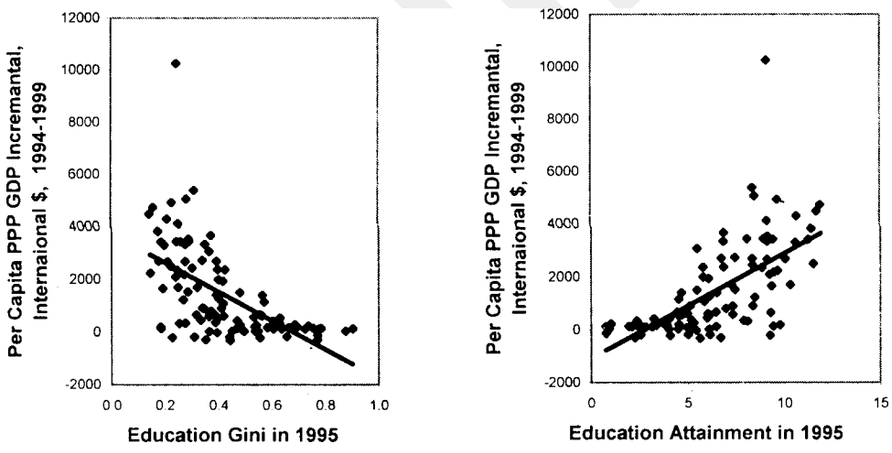
While Mincerian microeconomic tests confidently confirm a positive relation between schooling and income, the macroeconomic empirical tests on education's contribution to GDP growth have not yielded satisfactory results so far. Only recently, Barro (1999) found a clear result that growth is positively related to education attainment.

However, we suggest that growth may not be an appropriate indicator **to** measure the contribution of human capital. For a high-income country, a huge incremental of GDP in absolute terms might only cause a small growth rate for

the base of the rich country's current income is so high that a incremental bigger than that of a poor country might only show a tiny growth rate in the rich country. On the contrary, for a low income country, a moderate incremental of GDP in absolute terms might show up as a huge growth rate, for the base of the poor country's current income is so low that an incremental smaller than that of a rich country might convert into a significant growth rate in the poor country. Growth rate in this case is misleading.

We suggest that the incremental of GDP per capita is more appropriate than growth rate for testing education's contribution to production. The technical feasibility for cross-country test through absolute incremental of GDP is made possible only after the creative work of converting the GDP data into purchasing-power-parity (PPP) terms in international dollars. During the past, without this standard PPP conversion, the GDP incremental is not compatible across countries. As a result of this, growth rate became the only standard for making cross-country comparisons during the past.

Figure 12. Education and Per Capita PPP GDP Incremental



Source: education Gini: authors' calculation. GDP per capita data: World Bank central database

TABLE 4

Education Inequality and Per Capita PPP GDP Incremental

(Dependent Variable: Per Capita PPP GDP Increments over a Five-year Interval)

	Panel regression Variables stacked by date		Panel regression Variables stacked by country		
Variables	**Fixed effects**		**Fixed effects**		**Random effects**
Current Per Capita GDP	**0.19******		**-0.0004**		**0.045******
	(16.63)		**(-0.026)**		**(3.34)**
Education Gini	**-1456.55******		**-98.17**		**-2463.82******
	(-4.52)		**(-0.10)**		**(-4.42)**
Intercept(s)	**Fixed effects**		**Fixed effects**		**Random effects**
					2280.85****
					(7.01)
			Afghanistan	**741.9**	**-129.7**
			Algeria	**1552.1**	**-323.6**
	Year 1975	**1808.1**	**China**	**782.6**	**-376.3**
	Year 1980	**780.6**			
	Year 1985	**1647.0**	**India**	**455.2**	**-206.0**
	Year 1990	**562.0**			
	Year 1995	**379 7**	**Mexico**	**1130.0**	**-297.2**
			USA	**4963.7**	**1987.6**
			Venezuela	**585.6**	**-730.5**
			Zambia	**79.8**	**-9489**
			Zimbabwe	**406.9**	**-698.1**
Adjusted R-squared	**0.56**		**0.72**		**0.77**
Log likelihood	**-4666.48**				
Included observations	**122 countries**		**5 (1975,80,85,90,95)**		
Number of cross-sections	**5 (1975,80,85,90,95)**		**122 countries**		
Total panel observations	**501 (balanced panel)**		**501 (unbalanced panel)**		

*** Significant at the 10 per cent level; ** Significant at the 5 per cent level; *** Significant at the 1 per cent level; **** Significant at the 0.5 per cent level; t-statistics in parenthesis**

Education inequality: education Gini is by authors' calculation

Per Capita PPP GDP is quoted from the World Bank central database

The Per Capita PPP GDP incremental over a five-year interval is a forward changes.

For example, (1975 Five-year Incremental of Per Capita PPP GDP) = (1980 Per Capita PPP GDP) - (1975 Per Capita PPP GDP)

Note: the 1995-2000 incrementaj is approximated by the GDP incremental of 1999 over 1994

TABLE 5.

Education Attainment and Per Capita PPP GDP Incremental

(Dependent Variable: Per Capita PPP GDP Incremental over a Five-year Interval)

	Panel regression Variables stacked by date		Panel regression Variables stacked by country	
Variables	**Fixed effects**		**Fixed effects**	**Random effects**
Current Per Capita GDP	**0 17******		**-0.014**	**0.019**
	(12.87)		**(-0.78)**	**(1.19)**
Attainment: Average years of schooling	**140.48""**		**95.13"**	**242.72*"***
	(5.02)		**(1.29)**	**(5.32)**
Intercept(s)	**Fixed effects**		**Fixed effects**	**Random effects**
				-29.63
				(-1.29)
			Afghanistan	**Na** **.Na**
			Algeria	**400.0** **-176.2**
	Year 1975	**477.4**	**China**	**256.0** **-456.7**
	Year 1980	**-543.9**		
	Year 1985	**305.8**	**India**	**54.9** **-429 1**
	Year 1990	**-785.0**		
	Year 1995	**-960.7**	**Mexico**	**633.0** **-283.4**
			USA	**4113.2** **1649.3**
			Venezuela	**99.9** **-698.2**
			Zambia	**-350.6** **-837.2**
			Zimbabwe	**58.0** **-420.0**
Adjusted R-squared	**0.57**		**0.72**	**0.77**
Log likelihood	**-4628**			
Included observations	**121 countries**			**5 (1975,80,85,90,95)**
Number of cross-sections	**5 (1975,80,85,90,95)**			**121 countries**
Total panel observations	**499 (balanced panel)**			**499(unbalanced panel)**

*** Significant at the 10 per cent level; ** Significant at the 5 per cent level; *** Significant at the 1 per cent level; **** Significant at the 0.5 per cent level; t-statistics in parenthesis**

Per Capita PPP GDP is quoted from the World Bank central database Education attainment: average years of schooling are by authors' calculation

The Per Capita PPP GDP incremental over a five-year Interval is a forward change

For example, (1975 Five-year Increment of Per Capita PPP GDP)= (1980 Per Capita PPP GDP) - (1975 Per Capita PPP GDP)

Note: the 1995-2000 incremental is approximated by the GDP incremental of 1999 over 1994.

In the cross-country scatter diagrams consisting of both five-year incremental of per capita PPP GDP and the education Gini, we find that there is always a down-slope trend-line, which implies education inequality is negatively associated with the scale of the incremental of GDP per capita, shown both in Figure 12 and in the panel regression results in Table 4. We also find that average education attainment is positively associated with the scale of the per capita PPP GDP incremental, shown both in Figure 12 and in the panel regression Tables 5.

Concluding Remarks

In this paper, we presented two methods of calculating education Gini, and then constructed a quinquennial data-set on education Gini, for the population age over-fifteen, for 140 countries from 1960 to 2000. We also calculated the data on average years of schooling and the standard deviations of schooling.

Our empirical results are interesting and revealing. First, the average levels of schooling have improved and inequality declined during the four decades between 1960-2000, with only a few exceptions. Secondly, education inequality measured by education Gini is negatively associated with the average years of schooling. This implies that the countries with a higher education attainment level are most likely to achieve better education equality than the countries with lower attainment level. Thus, lifting any person out of illiteracy improves the society's education Gini and, at the same time, increases the country's level of educational attainment. Thirdly, gender gaps are clearly associated with inequality in education, and over time, the association between gender gaps and inequality becomes stronger. Fourth, the educational Kuznets curve does not exist if education Gini is used. However, Kuznets curve showed up if the standard deviation is used.

Last, we were not able to incorporate the quality aspect into this particular Gini index, nor did we try to find any causal relationship between education Gini and income growth, which are challenges for future studies. On the other hand, we suggested that the per capita PPP GDP incremental is more proper than the GDP growth rate in testing the contribution of education for production. We did find that per capita PPP GDP is positively associated with average schooling attainment and negatively with education Gini.

The education Gini index complements other indicators on the distribution of wealth and facilitates comparison across countries and over time. Compared with the standard deviation of schooling, education Gini is a more effective indicator that reflects improvement in the distribution of educational opportunity which is crucial for generating income. It complements indicators on average

attainment and quality of education, and together they reflect a more complete picture of the educational development of a country.

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Journal of Educational Planning and Administration
Volume XVII No. 1, January 2003

MANPOWER JOURNAL

Editor: Nandita Khadria

Volume XXXVI Number **2** July-Sept. **2000**

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Journal of'F.ducational Planning and Administration
Volume XVII No. I. January 2003. pp. 35-52

Trends and Determinants of Rural Literacy Among Scheduled Caste Population: A State Level Analysis'

A. Narayanamoorthy*
B. N. Kamble"

Abstract

Analysis of the trends and determinants of rural literacy among Scheduled Caste population across different states using the data from four Census periods: 1961, 1971, 1981 and 1991 shows that though the literacy rate of Scheduled Caste rural population has significantly increased across states, it is still much lower than the literacy rate of general population. While the literacy rate of Kerala, Tamil Nadu, Maharashtra and Assam is much higher than the national average, it is abysmally low in 'BIMARU' states, even in 1991. The growth rate of rural literacy among Scheduled Caste population between 1961 and 1991 is found to be higher than the literacy rate of the same population residing in urban areas in almost all the states. Importantly, the growth rale of rural female literacy is higher than that of male literacy in a/most all the slates. Correlation results suggest that there is a close nexus between male and female literacy rate across the states and this relationship is getting stronger through four successive census periods. Though the literacy gap between female and male has been narrowing down over the years across states, a significant gap still exists among BIMARU • states, where female-male literacy ratio is only around 0.20 during 1991. Regression analysis seems to suggest that basic infrastructural facilities (schools and roads) are important for increasing the level of literacy among Scheduled Caste rural population.

" An earlier version of the paper was presented at the National Seminar on *-Educational Progress of the Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes Since Independence: A State Level Scenario".* organised by Dr. Ambedkar Institute of Social and Economic Change, Mumbai. May 14-15. 2002. The authors are thankful to the participants of the seminar and the anonymous referee of the journal for making useful suggestions. Thanks are also due to Shri M. N. Deshpande for his meticulous research assistance. However, the authors alone are responsible for errors, if any, in the paper.

* Gokhale Institute of Politics and Economics (Deemed University). Pune - 411 004 *(E-mail:* na_narayanar«)hotmail.com).

** Department of" Economics. Fergusson College, Pune-411 004.

Introduction

Basic education (literacy) is a key to the economic development of any country (Tilak, 1994). For an individual, it is necessary not only to get social status but also to enjoy the socio-economic benefits that are available in a democratic country like India. Considering the importance of literacy, both the central and state governments have been making concerted efforts to increase literacy rate of population since independence (Wankhede, 2001; Athreya and Chunkath, 1996; Wadia, 1991). As a result of various pleasures, the literacy rate of the country, especially since 1951, has increased significantly from 16.67 per cent in 1951 to 52.11 per cent in 1991, an increase of about 2.89 per cent per annum. However, the rate of literacy is not the same between urban and rural areas and also across different states. While the urban literacy rate increased from 34.59 per cent in 1951 to 76.0 per cent in 1991, the same in rural areas increased from 12.10 per cent to 44.20 per cent during this period (Athreya and Chunkath, 1996). Among different states, Kerala continued to remain at the top in literacy rate, which is substantially higher when compared to any other Indian state.

Although the rate of literacy increased significantly at the national level, the rural literacy rate is still much lower when compared to the rate of urban literacy. This is not only true at the national level but also across different states at different time points. Within the rural areas, the literacy status of scheduled caste (SC) population remained dismal when compared to the total rural literacy rate. For instance, in 1991, while the total rural literacy rate was about 44.69 per cent at the national level, the same was only about 33.25 per cent among the scheduled caste population, a difference of 11.44 percentage points. The rate of female literacy among scheduled castes is much worse than male literacy rate in the rural areas. Despite taking various measures to improve the educational level of SCs, this dismal picture has been continuing.[1]

Quite a few studies have already analysed the reasons for poor enrolment and retention of children, drop-out, etc., in rural areas. While some studies have shown that children dropped out due to lack of quality of school education including teachers (Mehrotra, 1995), others have indicated lack of motivation for schooling as a main reason (Nambissan, 1996). Though resource position is essential for sending children to school in countries like India, studies have confirmed that considerable percentage of children did not enroll or dropped out mainly due to non-economic reasons (NCAER, 1994; NSSO, 1993). While distance between schools and villages has been found as one of the reasons for the less enrolment of children in rural areas (Duraisamy, 1992), adult illiteracy is closely correlated with non-enrolment of children in school (Aikara, 1996).

[1] **Various special measures taken up to improve the educational status of the scheduled castes are available in Aikara (1996).**

Though many studies have analysed the problems associated with the enrolment of children, drop out, etc., researchers have not given enough attention to study the literacy rate of scheduled caste population living in rural areas covering different states. The problem of scheduled caste population in getting basic education (literacy) is somewhat different from non-SC/ST population (Rao and Kulkarni, 1999). While economic factors are essential for getting basic education for any community, the social factors are expected to play a key role in getting education, especially among SC rural population. Many social and cultural factors are coming in their way while sending children to school especially in rural areas (Rangarajan, 1999). There are reports from some states which indicate that SC people living in rural areas are not able to send their children to school due to restrictions from upper caste, which can be called as deprivation of education. Keeping these in view, findings of a moderate attempt to study the trends and determinants of literacy rate among SC rural population across states using four Census data: 1961, 1971, 1981 and 1991 are presented here. More specifically, the study addresses some of the following questions. What kind of trend exists in literacy rate among SC rural population across states? Is the growth rate of rural literacy among SCs, same across the states? Is there any nexus between male and female literacy among SC rural population across states at different time points? Does female-male literacy gap decline uniformly across the states? Is there any relationship between the strength of SC rural population of the states and the literacy rate? Can economic factors help to increase the rate of literacy of SC rural population? How far is the availability of infrastructural facilities (primary schools, road facility, etc.) useful in increasing the literacy rate among SC population?

Description of the Variables Used

Many factors determine the literacy rate of SC population living in rural areas. As the study uses mainly secondary level data, it was not possible to consider all the variables that determine the rural literacy. Therefore, we have considered seven important variables to relate with the literacy rate of SC rural population. They are percentage of SC rural population to total rural population (PSCPR), percentage of SC main workers[2] to total SC rural population (MW/TP), percentage of SC agricultural labourers[3] to total rural main workers belonging to SC (AL/MW), percentage of villages having primary school (VHPS), percentage

[2] **Census of India defines the main workers as "those who had worked for the major part of the year preceding the date of enumeration, i.e., those who were engaged in any economically productive activity for 183 days or six months or more during the year."**

[3] **Census of India defines agricultural labourers as "a person who worked in another person's land for wages in cash, kind or share of crop was regarded as an agricultural labourer. Such a person has no risk in cultivation but merely'worked in another person's land for wages. An agricultural labourer had no right or lease or contract on land on which he worked."**

of villages having pucca road facility (VHPRF), average land holding size of SC rural households (LS), irrigated area per thousand rural population (IAPTRP). Of the seven variables, four variables (AL/MW; MW/TP; IAPTRP; LS) can be treated as economic variables, two (VHPS; VHPRF) are infrastructural variables and the variable PSCPR is considered to show the strength of SC population in rural areas.

TABLE 1
Definition of the Variables Used in the Study and their Expected Relation with Literacy Rate

Name of the Variables	*Abbreviations*	*Expected Relation with Literacy Rate*
Percentage of Agricultural Labour to Total Main Workers belonging to SC Rural Population	AL/MW	Negative
Percentage of Main Workers to Total SC Rural Population	MW/TP	Positive
Percentage of SC Population to Total Rural Population	PSCPR	Positive
Percentage of Villages having Primary School	VHPS	Positive
Percentage of Villages having Pucca Road facility	VHPRF	Positive
Irrigated Area per Thousand Rural Population	IAPTRP	Positive
Average Land Holding Size of the SC Households	LS	Positive

Let us discuss how the variables included here are expected to have relation with the literacy rate of SC population (Table 1). The variable MW/TP indirectly indicates the level of employment available to SC rural population. Higher MW/TP means higher employment opportunity. In other words, if the ratio of MW/TP is higher, unemployment is expected to be less or population engaged in economic activities is expected to be higher. This is expected to help the families send their children to school, which will ultimately result in higher literacy. The variable AL/MW refers to the share of agricultural labour to total rural main workers of SC population. Due to low wage rate and employment opportunities, agricultural labourers continue to live with severe poverty (Thorat and Deshpande, 2001). Families belonging to this group are not able to send their children to school due to poor resource position. Therefore, AL/MW is expected to have negative relation with the literacy rate of SC population. Since the prosperity of any rural economy is highly associated with the availability of irrigation, IAPTRP is considered to show the economic development (rural) of

the state. Employment opportunities, wage rate, etc. are normally higher in irrigated areas, and, therefore, the household income of the SC people belonging to rural areas is expected to be higher (Narayanamoorthy, 2001a; Narayanamoorthy and Deshpande, 2001). In view of this, IAPTRP is expected to have a positive relation with the literacy rate of SC population living in rural areas. Similar to IAPTRP, land size (LS) of the SC rural household is also expected to positively influence the literacy rate, as land is an important asset that helps to generate income of the rural households.

As confirmed by various studies, access to primary school is a key factor for increasing the literacy rate of people residing in rural areas (Vaidyanathan and Nair, 2001). Therefore, VHPS and VHPRF are considered as infrastructural variables to relate with the literacy rate of SC population living in rural areas. It is expected that these two variables will have positive relation with the literacy rate. The variable PSCPR is included to show the strength of SC population in rural areas. It is presumed that wherever PSCPR is higher, the strength of SC rural population would also be higher. This is expected to help in getting their basic rights such as primary education, etc.

Trends in Literacy Rate among SC Rural Population

In this section, apart from analysing the trends in male and female literacy rate of SC rural population across states, an attempt is also made to compare literacy rate of SC rural population (LRSCPR) with urban literacy rate of the same group and also with the total literacy rate of rural population in order to get an idea about their comparative position. Annual compound growth rate has been computed using state-wise literacy data between 1961 and 1991 to understand the growth performance of literacy rate across the states over the last 30 years.

Let us look at the trends in literacy rate among SC rural population, which is the focus of the paper. Table 2 presents the state-wise literacy rate along with the growth rate separately for both rural and urban SC population for two time points: 1961 and 1991. Evidently, literacy rate of SC rural population has increased substantially across the states between the two time points with considerable inter-state variation.[4] At the national level, the total literacy among SC rural population increased from 8.89 per cent in 1961 to 33.25 per cent in 1991, an increase of 4.50 per cent per annum. Importantly, the literacy rate of SC rural female has increased at a higher rate when compared to rural male during this period, which is a good sign of development. For instance, while the literacy rate of rural female belonging SC group increased at a rate of 7.05 per

[4] It is pertinent to mention here that the literacy rate of 1991 is not strictly comparable with that of 1961, as the age group considered for calculating literate by the Census India is different during these two time points. We have not made any adjustments in the Census data since the difference is only marginal and it does not seriously affect the comparisons, as indicated by Athreya and Chunkath(1996, p. 66).

TABLE 2

State-wise Literacy Rate (per cent) of SC Population (1961 to 1991)

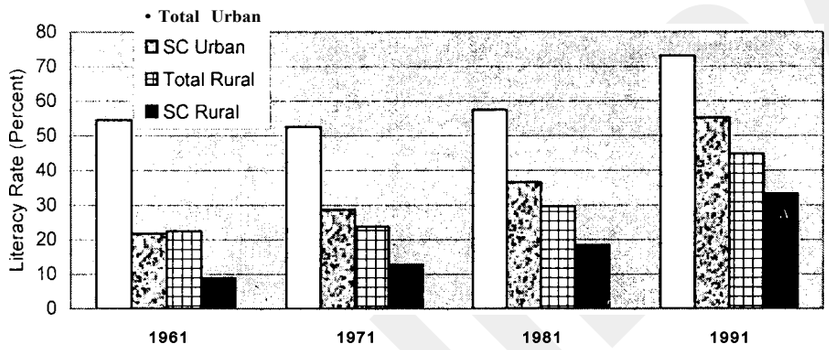
States	1961									1991									Annual Compound Growth Rate					
	Total			Rural			Urban			Total			Rural			Urban			Rural			Urban		
	T	M	F	r	M	F	T	M	F	T	M	F	T	M	F	T	M	F	T	M	F	T	M	F
Andhra Pradesh	8.47	13.43	3.40	6.82	11.05	2.50	21.68	32.53	10.59	31.59	41.88	20.92	26.80	37.02	16.19	54.10	64.88	43.04	4.67	4.11	6.42	3.10	2.33	4.79
Assam	24.41	31.75	16.09	23.52	30.89	15.28	34.20	40.66	25.82	53.94	63.88	42.99	51.95	62.19	40.72	65.71	73.72	56.66	2.68	2.36	3.32	2.20	2.00	2.65
Bihar	5.95	11.13	092	5.43	10.30	0.75	14.76	24.36	4.05	19.49	30.64	7.07	17.49	28.30	5.54	39.23	52.74	22.90	3.98	3.43	689	3.31	2.61	5.94
Gujarat	22.46	33.87	10.72	19.76	30.13	9.34	30.83	44.88	15.23	61.07	75.47	45.54	55.59	71.21	38.96	70.06	82.35	56.53	3.51	2.91	4.88	2.77	2.04	4.47
Haryana**	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	39.22	52.06	24.15	37.67	50.62	22.48	46.42	58.69	31.89	6.01	4.81	11.52	4.27	3.37	7.19
Himachal Pradesh	8.46	14.52	1.97	7.80	13.67	1.54	27.94	38.03	15.67	53.20	64.98	41.02	52.00	63.95	39.78	70.32	78.87	60.16	6.53	5.28	. 11.45	3.12	2.46	4.59
Jammu & Kashmir	4.72	7.95	1.09	4.24	7.23	0.88	10.76	16 99	3.75	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	-	-	-	-	-	-
Kamataka	9.06	14.87	3.04	6.65	11.44	1.70	21.44	32.24	10.01	38.06	49.69	25.95	31.42	43.21	19.23	59.18	70.05	47.64	5.31	4.53	8.42	3.44	2.62	5.34
Kerala	24.44	31.60	17.38	23.37	30.41	16.45	35.94	44,29	27.52	79.66	85.22	74.31	78.55	84.22	73.09	84.47	89 56	79.60	4.12	3.45	5.10	2.89	2.37	3.60
Madhya Pradesh	7.89	14.27	1.33	6.48	11.99	0.86	19.60	32.66	5.34	35.08	50.51	18.11	30.22	45.70	13.30	52.26	67.29	35.38	5.27	4.56	9.56	3.32	2.44	6.51
Maharashtra	15.78	25.46	5.70	12.15	20.62	3.51	28.77	42.17	13.93	56.46	70.45	41.59	50.27	65 86	33.99	67.07	78.17	54.94	4.85	3.95	7.86	2.86	2.0S	4.68
Orissa	11.57	19.82	3.44	11.30	19.52	3.23	17.19	25.86	7.86	36.78	52.42	20.74	35.45	51.22	19.39	47.80	62.10	32.30	3.88	3.27	6.16	3.47	296	4.82
Punjab	9.64	16.18	2.16	8 88	15.10	1 82	15.44	24.20	4.86	41.09	49.82	31.03	39.55	48.54	29.20	47.04	54.76	38.14.	5.11	3.97	9.69	3.78	2.76	7.11
Rajasthan	6.44	11.65	0.78	5.25	9.75	0.38	14.89	25.21	3.62	26.29	42.38	8 31	22.06	37.63	4.73	43.35	61 37	22.88	4.90	460	8.77	3.63	3.01	6.34
Tamil Nadu	14.66	23.53	5 69	12.56	20.86	4.23	26.35	38.34	13.96	46.74	58.36	34.89	42.50	54.47	30.30	62.24	72.58	51.68	4.15	3.25	6.78	2.91	2.15	4.46
Uttar Pradesh	7.14	12.79	1.14	626	11.55	0.68	19.03	28.51	7.72	26.85	40.80	10.69	24.76	38.87	8.47	42.30	54.79	27.36	4.69	4.13	8.77	2.70	2.20	4.31
West Bengal	13.58	21 80	4.61	12.70	21.01	3.83	21.77	28.31	12.84	42.21	54.55	28.87	39.98	52.72	26.32	53.98	63 90	42.71	3.90	3.11	6.64	3.07	2.75	4.09
All India	10.27	16.95	3.28	8.89	15.05	2.52	21.78	32.16	1002	37.41	49.91	23.76	33.25	45.95	19.46	55.11	66.60	42.29	4.50	3.79	7.05	3.14	2.46	4.92

Notes: * - Annual compound growth rate is computed between 1961 and 1991; ** - Growth rate of Haryana relates to 1991 over 1971 as Haryana was part of Punjab during 1961. NA - not available; T-Total; M - Male; F - Female.

Source: Census of India (various years).

cent per annum between 1961 and 1991 at the national level, the same increased only at a rate of 3.79 per cent per annum among rural male during this period. However, a considerable difference exists between the total rural literacy rate and SC rural literacy at all time points, though the gap has declined over the last 30 years period (Figure 1).

Figure 1: Literacy Rate of Urban and Rural Population: All India



Though the literacy rate of SC rural population increased impressively at the national level from 1961 to 1991, the absolute level as well as the growth rate of literacy are not the same across the states.[5] The literacy rate of states like Kerala, Tamil Nadu, Maharashtra, Gujarat, Assam and West Bengal was above national level average in both 1961 and 1991. But, on the other hand, the literacy rate of the most populous states like Bihar, Madhya Pradesh, Rajasthan and Uttar Pradesh, popularly known as BIMARU states, is very low at both the time points. Shockingly, the female literacy rate of SC rural population was only in the range of 4 to 13 per cent in all the BIMARU states even in 1991. It is difficult to attribute this only for the higher growth of population of these states, because the control of higher Hindu-caste against the development of SCs is also reported to be higher in these states. Be that as it may, it is pity to find that even after 40 years (in 1991) of independence, the female literacy rate of the populous states is less than 10 per cent (Table 3).

[5] Strictly speaking, there are problems in comparing the 1961 data of Haryana and Punjab with that of 1991, as these two states were part of undivided Punjab during 1961. Similarly, there is also a problem with Himachal Pradesh as some re-organisations took place between Punjab and Himachal Pradesh during 1960s. The authors are thankful to the anonymous referee of the journal for pointing out this important fact.

TABLE 3

Classification of States Based on Level of Literacy of SC Rural Population (1961 and 1991)

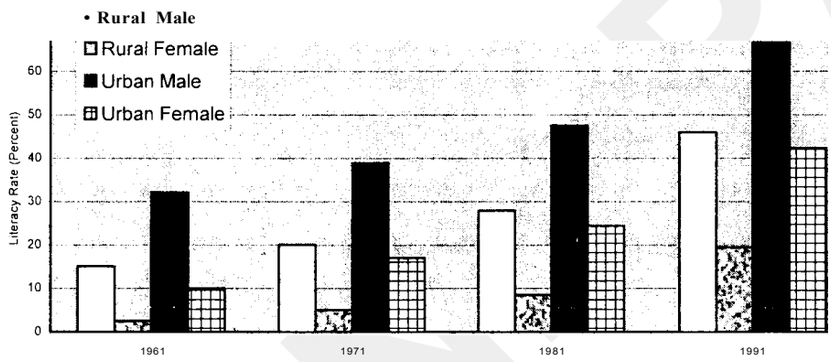
Level of Literacy (per cent)	*1961*			*1991*		
	Total	*Male*	*Female*	*Total*	*Male*	*Female*
Up to 10	AP, BI, HP, JK, KA, MP, PI RJ. UP	JK, RJ	AP. BI, GJ, HP, JK, KA, MP, MH, OR, PJ, RJ. TN. UP, WB			BI, RJ, UP
10.01 to 20	GJ, MH, OR. TN, WB	AP, BI. HP, KA. MP, OR, PJ, UP	AS. KE	BI	-	AP, KA, MP, OR
20.01 to 30	AS, KE	MH, TN, WB	-	AP, RJ, UP	BI	HR, PJ, WB
Above 30		AS, GJ, KE		AS, GJ, HR, HP, KA, KE, MP, MH, OR, PJ, TN, WB	AP, AS. GJ. HR, HP, KA, KE, MP, MH, OR, PJ, RJ, TN, UP, WB	AS. GJ, HP, KE, MH, TN
National Average	8.89 percent	15.05 percent	2.52 percent	33.25 percent	45.95 percent	19.46 percent

Notes: AP - Andhra Pradesh; AS - Assam; BI - Bihar; GJ - Gujarat; HR - Haryana; HP - Himachal Pradesh; JK - Jammu and Kashmir; KA - Karnataka; KE - Kerala: MP - Madhya Pradesh; MH - Maharashtra; OR - Orissa; PJ - Punjab; RJ - Rajasthan; TN - Tamil Nadu; UP - Uttar Pradesh; WB - West Bengal.

Source: Classified using Census of India (various years).

As regards the growth performance of rural literacy between 1961 and 1991, it is observed the growth rate of female literacy out-performed the growth rate of male literacy at the national level, though the absolute level of literacy is very low among female SC rural population (Figure 2). This is almost true across the states as well. Importantly, the growth rate of female literacy among BIMARU states (except Bihar) is much higher than the national average growth rate (Table 4).

Figure 2: Literacy Rate of SC Population by Gender: All India



While comparing the urban literacy rate of SC population with rural literacy rate of the same group, it is interesting to observe that though the absolute literacy rate of both male and female belonging to urban areas is much higher than the literacy rate of rural areas, the rate of growth does not show the same trend. At the national level, the growth rate of both male and female literacy is much higher than the growth rate of urban literacy (Table 2). This is not only true at the national level but almost in all states, including BIMARU states.

Male-Female Literacy Nexus

One of the objectives of the paper is to find out whether any nexus exists between male and female literacy rate of SC population across states at four-time points: 1961, 1971, 1981 and 1991. In order to understand this, correlation was computed using state-wise data on literacy rate separately for rural and urban for all four-time points. While computing correlation, Jammu and Kashmir was excluded due to non-availability of data for the year 1991. Though a similar kind of problem was faced with regard to Haryana for the year 1961, the undivided Punjab data was used for computing correlation. It is evident from Table 5 that there is high correlation between male and female literacy rate among both rural

TABLE 4

Classification of States Based on Growth Rate of Literacy between 1961 and 1991

	Total	*Male*	*Rural SC Female*	*Total*	*Male*	*Urban SC Female*	*Total*	*Total SC Rural Population*	*Urban*
High Growth States (ANA)	**Andhra Pradesh, Haryana, Himachal Pradesh, Karnataka, Madhya Pradesh, Maharashtra, Punjab, Rajas than, Uttar Pradesh**	**Andhra Pradesh, Haryana, Himachal Pradesh, Karnataka, Madhya Pradesh, Maharashtra, Punjab. Rajasthan, Uttar Pradesh**	**Haryana, Himachal Pradesh, Karnataka, Madhya Pradesh, Maharashtra, Punjab. Rajasthan, Uttar Pradesh**	**Bihar, Haryana. Karnataka, Madhya Pradesh. Orissa. Punjab, Rajasthan,**	**Bihar, Himachal Pradesh, Karnataka, Maharashtra Orissa, Punjab, Rajasthan, Tamil Nadu, West Bengal**	**Bihar. Haryana, Karnataka, Madhya Pradesh, Punjab, Rajasthan**	**Haryana. Himachal Pradesh, Karnataka, Madhya Pradesh, Maharashtra. Orissa, Punjab, Rajasthan, Uttar Pradesh**	**Haryana, Himachal Pradesh. Karnataka, Madhya Pradesh, Maharashtra, Punjab. Rajasthan. Uttar Pradesh**	**Andhra Pradesh, Bihar, Gujarat, Haryana, Karnataka, Kerala, Madhya Pradesh, Maharashtra. Orissa, Rajasthan, Tamil Nadu**
Low Growth States (BNA)	**Assam, Bihar, Gujarat, Kerala, Orissa, Tamil Nadu, West Bengal**	**Assam, Bihar, Gujarat. Kerala, Orissa, Tamil Nadu, West Bengal**	**Andhra Pradesh, Assam, Bihar, Gujarat, Kerala, Orissa, Tamil Nadu, West Bengal**	**Andhra Pradesh. Assam, Gujarat, Himachal Pradesh, Kerala. Maharashtra, Tamil Nadu. Uttar Pradesh- West Bengal**	**Andhra Pradesh, Assam, Gujarat, Haryana. Kerala, Madhya Pradesh, Uttar Pradesh,**	**Andhra Pradesh. Assam. Gujarat. Himachal Pradesh, Kerala. Maharashtra. Orissa. Tamil Nadu. Uttar Pradesh. West Bengal**	**Andhra Pradesh, Assam, Bihar. Gujarat, Kerala, Tamil Nadu. West Bengal,**	**Andhra Pradesh. Assam. Bihar, Gujarat. Kerala. Orissa. Tamil Nadu, West Bengal**	**Assam, Himachal Pradesh, Punjab, Uttar Pradesh, West Bengal**

Notes: ANA - above national average in growth rate of literacy; BNA - below national average in growth rate of literacy.
Source: Classified using data presented in Table 2.

and urban population at all the four-time points. This relationship is also getting stronger and stronger in all the successive Census periods. For instance, the correlation value between male and female literacy rate of rural SC increased from 0.90 in 1961 to 0.94 in 1991. Similarly, for urban population, it increased from 0.84 to 0.93 during the same period. This clearly indicates that the state which has higher male literacy rate also has higher female literacy. This seems to suggest that it is difficult to increase female literacy without increasing male literacy among SC population. However, one needs to carry out in-depth study using disaggregated data to answer this issue clearly and emphatically.

TABLE 5
Correlation between Male and Female Literacy Rate

Variables	*1961*	*1971*	*1981*	*1991*
Male and Female Rural SC	0.90'	0.90"	0.91"	0.94"
Male and Female Urban SC	U.OJ	0.90"	0.92"	0.93"
Total Urban SC and Total Rural SC	0.84"	0.78"	0.88"	0.91"

Note: a Significant at one per cent level.
Source: Computed using Population Census data (different years).

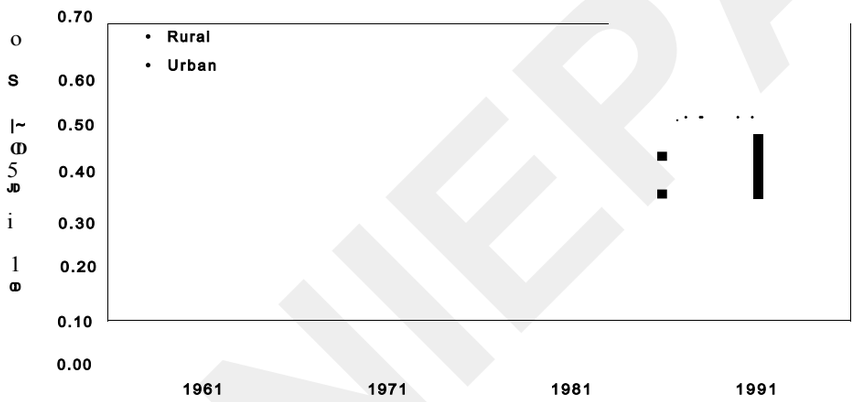
Female-Male Literacy Gap

Though the literacy rate of SC population increased impressively over the years, a significant gap continues to exist between male and female literacy rate across the states. This is not only true in the case of SC population but also among general population (Athreya and Chunkath, 1996). In order to know the level of literacy gap. we computed female-male literacy ratio separately both for rural and urban SC population for four-time points: 1961, 1971, 1981 and 1991. Here, we specifically try to see where (in which state) the literacy gap is higher? Is the literacy gap narrowing down over the years? Is the female-male literacy gap common across the states?

Table 6 presents state-wise female-male literacy gap for SC population for four-time points. It is evident that there is a wide gap in female-male literacy rate across the states at all time points, though it has been narrowing down through five successive censuses starting from 1951 to 1991 (Figure 3). During 1961, the literacy gap among rural SC was very high in all the states except Kerala and Assam. This disturbing trend was observed even in states like Tamil Nadu and Maharashtra, which are considered to be advanced states in literacy rate. However, this picture has changed significantly during 1991. where female-male literacy ratio was over 0.50 in about eight states. Though the general male literacy gap in rural areas is common across the states, a wide gap is found among BIMARU states, where female-male literacy ratio was still (in 1991) only around 0.20. This is also true in the total literacy rate of rural and urban

population (Table 7). As mentioned earlier, one cannot attribute this only for the high growth of population as many socio-cultural factors also determine the female literacy rate. However, detailed studies need to be carried out to find out as to why the female-male literacy ratio is very poor, especially in the Hindi belt.[6]

Figure 3: Female-Male Literacy Gap Among SC Population: All India



Factors Determining Literacy Rate

Though the literacy rate increased significantly across the states over the years from 1961 to 1991, a significant inter-state difference continues to exist at all the time points. On the one hand, the level of literacy in states like Kerala, Maharashtra and Tamil Nadu was found to be much higher than the national average, on the other, the same was found to be very low in BIMARU states. In order to explain the inter-state variation in literacy rate, multiple regression analysis (OLS method) is attempted by taking into account certain variables considered to be important in determining the rural literacy. Multiple regression is computed separately for the data pertaining to the period 1971 and 1991 as well as using pooled data.[7] Since there is a significant high correlation between male and female literacy rate across the states as observed in the earlier section, we computed regression only by treating total rural literacy rate of SC population as dependent variable (separate regression for male and female literacy is not attempted). The independent variables considered for computing regression are AL/MW, IAPTRP, LS, MW/TP, PSCPR, VHPRF and VHPS.

" Similar kind of trend is observed in general literacy rate as well. For more details in this regard see. Athreya and Chunkath (1996).

[7] As followed in correlation exercise. Jammu and Kashmir was excluded while estimating regression due to non-availability of relevant data for the year 1991.

TABLE 6

State-wise Female-Male Literacy Ratio Among SC Population (1961 to 1991)

oiaiex	Rural				Urban				Annual Compound Growth Rate (%)*	
	1961	*1971*	*1981*	*1991*	*1961*	*1971*	*1981*	*1991*	*Rural*	*Urban*
Andhra Pradesh	0.23	0.29	0.35	0.44	0.33	0.45	0.57	0.66	*2.22*	2.40
Assam	0.49	0.43	NA	0.65	0.64	0.59	NA	0.77	0.94	0.64
Bihar	0.07	0.07	0.11	0.20	0.17	0.21	0.30	0.43	3.35	3.25
Gujarat	0.31	0.33	0.42	0.55	0.34	0.46	0.59	0.69	1.91	2.38
Haryana**	NA	0.13	0.19	0.44	NA	0.26	0.36	0.54	4.22	2,44
Himachal Pradesh	0.11	0.34	0.48	0.62	0.41	0.58	0.65	0.76	5.86	2.07
Jammu & Kashmir	0.12	0.19	0.34	NA	0.22	0.40	0.53	NA	-	-
Karnataka	0.15	0.24	0.29	0.45	0.31	0.50	0.58	0.68	3.72	2.65
Kerala	0.54	0.70	0.79	0.87	0.62	0.75	0.84	0.89	1.59	1.20
Madhya Pradesh	0.07	0.14	0.16	0.29	0.16	0.34	0.41	0.53	4.78	3.97
Maharashtra	0.17	0.29	0.36	0.52	0.33	0.48	0.58	0.70	3.77	2.55
Orissa	0.17	0.19	0.26	0.38	0.30	0.28	0.35	0.52	2.80	1.81
Punjab	0.12	0.34	0.49	0.60	0.20	0.42	0.57	0.70	5.50	4.23
Rajasthan	0.04	0.04	0.06	0.13	0.14	0.16	0.23	0.37	3.98	3.23
Tamil Nadu	0.20	0.30	0.40	0.56	0.36	0.50	0.60	0.71	3.42	2.26
Uttar Pradesh	0.06	0.11	0.12	0.22	0.27	0.36	0.37	0.50	4.46	2.06
West Bengal	0.18	0.33	0.37	0.50	0.45	0.62	0.58	0.67	3.42	1.30
All India	0.17	0.25	0.30	0.42	0.31	0.44	0.51	0.63	3.14	2.40

Notes: * - Annual compound growth rate is computed between 1961 and 1991.

** - Growth rate of Haryana relates to 1991 over 1971, as Haryana was included under Punjab during 1961.

NA - Not available.

Source: Computed using Census of India (various years).

TABLE 7

State-wise Literacy Rate (per cent) Among Rural and Urban Population %
A Comparison of General and SC Literacy

States	Rural						Urban					
	1961			1991			1961			1991		
	All Rural	Rural SC	Ratio 3/2	All Rural	Rural SC	Ratio 6/5	All Urban	Urban SC	Ratio 9/8	All Urban	Urban SC	Ratio 12/11
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(V	m	(9)	(10)	(ID	(12)	(13)
Andhra Pradesh	19.59	6.82	0.35	35.74	26.80	0.75	48.22	8.47	0.18	66.35	54.10	0.82
Assam	30.10	23.52	0.78	49.32	51.95	1.05	65.73	24.41	0.37	79.39	65.71	0.83
Bihar	19.09	5.43	0.28	33.83	17.49	0.52	50.21	5.95	0.12	67.89	39.23	0.58
Gujarat	28.80	19.76	0.69	53.09	55.59	1.05	57.02	22.46	0.39	80.10	70.06	0.87
Haryana	NA	NA	NA	49.85	37.67	0.76	NA	NA	NA	73.66	46.42	0.63
Himachal Pradesh	17.76	7.80	0.44	61.86	52.00	0.84	63.55	8.46	0.13	84.17	70.32	0.84
Jammu & Kashmir	8.92	4.24	0.48	NA	NA	NA	32.81	4.72	0.14	NA	NA	NA
Karnataka	23.52	6.65	0.28	47.69	31.42	0.66	51.40	9.06	0.18	74.20	59.18	0.80
Kerala	53.51	23.37	0.44	88.92	78.55	0.88	63.82	24.44	0.38	92.25	84.47	0.92
Madhya Pradesh	15.25	6.48	0.42	35.87	30.22	0.84	51.37	7.89	0.15	70.81	52.26	0.74
Maharashtra	25.46	12.15	0.48	55.52	50.27	0.91	58.84	15.78	0.27	79.20	67.07	0.85
Orissa	23.50	11.30	0.48	45.46	35.45	0.78	50.46	1 1.57	0.23	71.99	47.80	0.66
Punjab	21.89	8.88	0.41	52.77	39.55	0.75	55.55	9.64	0.17	72.08	47.04	0.65
Rajasthan	12.95	5.25	0.41	30.37	22.06	0.73	44.55	6.44	0.14	65.33	43.35	0.66
Tamil Nadu	28.61	12.56	0.44	54.59	42.5	0.78	57.67	14.66	0.25	77.99	62.24	0.80
Uttar Pradesh	16.85	6.26	0.37	36.66	24.76	0.68	46.89	7.14	0.15	61.00	42.30	0.69
West Bengal	25.84	12.70	0.49	50.5	39.98	0.79	59.55	13.58	0.23	75.27	53.98	0.72
All India	22.44	8.89	0.40	44.69	33.25	0.74	54.43	10.27	0.19	73.08	55.11	0.75

Source: Same as in Table 6.

TABLE 8

Factors Determining Literacy Rate of SC Rural Population
Regression Results

Variables	*Regression Coefficients*		
	1971	*1991*	*Pooled Data*
I. AL/MW	-0.22	-0.58	-0.42
	(1.55)[d]	(-2.18)[b]	(-3.18)[a]
2. IAPTRP	-0.02	-0.03	-0.05
	(-0.71)	(-0.63)	(-2.1 1)[b]
3. LS	-	-7.51	-
		(-1.37)	
4. MW/TP	-0.17	-0.22	-0.26
	(-0.50)	(-0.36)	(-0.73)
5. PSCPR	-0.08	-0.09	0.50
	(-0.18)	(-0.14)	(1.33)[d]
6. VHPRF	0.17	0.27	0.24
	(1.42)[d]	(1.31)	(2.08)[b]
7. VHPS	0.25	0.68	0.63
	(1.32)	(1.53)[d]	(3.81)"
Constant	16.81	24.45	3.95
	(0.98)	(0.81)	(0.25)
R^2	0.65	0.74	0.70
Adjusted R^2	0.41	0.51	0.63
F	2.72[c]	3.22[c]	9.47[a]
D-W	2.23	2.58	2.07
N	16	16	32

Notes: a. b, **c** and d are significant at 1,5,10 and 20 percent level respectively.
Source: Computed using Census of India (various years); GOl (1998); Registrar General of India (1986 and 1997)

The results of multiple regression are presented in Table 8. Since the number of observations are less at each time point, let us consider the regression results computed using pooled data for detailed analysis. Out of six variables included in regression model, three variables namely PSCPR, VHPRF and VHPS turn out be positive and significant, while the three remaining variables are negatively related with the literacy rate of SC population living in rural areas. As expected, both infrastructure! variables (VHPRF and VHPS) positively and significantly influenced the rural literacy rate. This clearly reinforces the fact that for improving the rural literacy among SC population, primary school and pucca road facilities are essential. The variable percentage of SC rural population to total rural population (PSCPR) is introduced in regression model to explain their strength in the rural areas. It positively and significantly influenced literacy rate of SC population. This explains wherever SC rural population to total rural

population is higher, the literacy rate is also higher. However, further probe is needed to explain the relationship between the strength of SC population and the literacy rate.

All the three economic variables, namely AL/MW, 1APTRP and MW/TP, have negatively influenced the literacy rate of SC population living in rural areas. Percentage of main workers to total rural population (MW/TP) belonging to SC group is expected to have positive relationship with the literacy rate. But, the coefficient of MW/TP turned out to be negative, though it was not significant. Similarly, the variable irrigated area per thousand rural population (1APTRP) is considered to explain the economic development of rural areas. It is expected that 1APTRP would positively influence the literacy rate of SC rural population. Unfortunately, the coefficient of 1APTRP negatively and significantly influenced the literacy rate of SC rural population. Does this mean that economic factors alone are not enough to increase the literacy rate? Detailed field level data based studies need to be carried out to address this important issue. As expected, percentage of agricultural labourers to total main workers belonging to SC rural population (AL/MW) negatively and significantly influenced the literacy rate of SC population. This is very much possible because indebtedness, poverty and unemployment are found to be severe among the agricultural labour households (Thorat and Deshpande, 2001; Narayanamoorthy, 2001). On the whole, regression analysis seems to suggest that more than economic factors, infrastructural variables play a crucial role in increasing the level of literacy among SC rural population.

Conclusion

Scheduled Caste people living in rural areas are the most deprived sections of the society. Besides less access to agricultural land and other capital assets, Scheduled Caste population also suffers with low employment opportunities and high incidence of poverty. As a result of these, the literacy rate among SC rural population is very low. Though studies have analysed the literacy level of general population, not many studies are available focussing exclusively the literacy rate of SC rural population covering different states. In this context, a modest attempt is made in this paper to study the trends and determinants of literacy rate among SC rural population through four successive census periods: 1961,1971, 1981 and 1991.

The study shows that though the rural literacy rate of SC population has significantly increased across states, still it is much lower than the literacy rate of general population. While the literacy rate of Kerala, Tamil Nadu, Maharashtra and Assam is much higher than the national level average, it is abysmally low in BIMARU states even in 1991. With regard to growth rate of literacy among SC rural population between 1961 and 1991, it is found that the literacy rate of rural population is higher than the urban literacy rate in almost all the states.

Importantly, the growth rate of rural female literacy is higher than that of male literacy in almost all the states. Correlation results show a close nexus between male and female literacy rate across the states and this relationship is getting stronger in all successive census periods. Though the literacy gap between female and male has been narrowing down over the years across states, a wide gap still exists among BIMARU states where female-male literacy ratio is only around 0.20 during 1991. Regression results suggest that, among different factors, basic infrastructural facilities (schools and village roads) are important for increasing the rural literacy rate among SC population. Since literacy is considered to be an agent in bringing social and economic change, special provision needs to be introduced for improving adult literacy, as adult literacy is proved to be closely correlated with enrolment of children in school (Aikara; 1996). Unless literacy rate of SC population is improved, it may not be possible to improve the socio-economic status of this deprived section of the society.

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Journal of Educational Planning and Administration
Volume XVII No. 1, January 2003, pp. 53-67

Vocational Education and Training in Asia*

Jandhyala B G Tilak**

Abstract

Countries in the Asian region have placed varying emphases on general and vocational education, depending upon several historical, social, economic and political considerations. Further, with rapid transformation of societies in social, political, economic, technological and education spheres there has been a sea change in the perspectives on the need for and nature of vocational education and training. This paper provides a brief account of the progress made by the countries in the Asian region in vocational education and training, and discusses a few important emerging issues of serious concern.

Introduction

General or vocational education? This is a "tough choice" in many developing countries (Yang, 1998, p. 289). In the human capital framework, general education creates 'general human capital' and vocational and technical education 'specific human capital' (Becker, 1964). The former is portable across one's life and from job to job, while the later one is not and hence many advocate general education, as more suitable to the flexible labour force that can change task and even the type of work; but the later one has an advantage, imbibing specific job-relevant skills, that can make the worker more readily suitable for a given job and would make him/her thus more productive. Hence both are important, and education systems in many countries therefore include both general and vocational streams of education in varying proportions.

Countries in the Asian region have placed varying emphases on general and vocational education, depending upon several historical, social, economic and political considerations. While general secondary education is somewhat of homogenous nature, there is a diverse pattern of provision of vocational and technical education and training (abbreviated hereafter simply as VET) in many countries. It includes at least two major forms: vocational and technical education in formal education systems (lower and senior secondary schools, post-senior secondary but less than college level institutions like polytechnics, and colleges at tertiary level), and training outside formal system of education (pre-

* To appear in *The Handbook on Educational Research in the Asia Pacific Region* (eds. John P Reeves and Rye Watanabe, Kluwer Academic Publishers 2003).
** National Institute of Educational Planning and Administration, 17-B Sri Aurobindo Marg, New Delhi 110016. E-mail:jtilak@vsnl.com

employment training and on-the-job-training). The later kind also includes apprenticeship-training systems, non-formal training centres, enterprise based training, etc. Polytechnics in many countries, industrial training institutes in India, technical colleges in Sri Lanka etc., belong to the post-secondary level (below tertiary level). Vocational and technical education has been an important part of senior secondary education, but it was also introduced in the tertiary level (colleges) in India in recent years. Most countries have both exclusive vocational schools and diversified secondary schools with general academic as well as vocational courses. In several East Asian countries, the emphasis was not on formal vocational/technical secondary schools, but on training institutions and on-the-job training. In many of the countries of the region, employers are also responsible for specific skill training.

With rapid transformation of societies in social, political, economic, technological, and education spheres, there has been a change in the perspectives on the need for and nature of V E T. New challenges have begun to emerge, and old ones to remerge. This article provides a brief account of the progress made by countries in the Asian region in V E T, and discusses a few important emerging issues of serious concern.

Why And Why Not VET?

The issue of V E T has been a mater of concern of many countries for a long time. In India, back in the British days of the Wood's Dispatch (1854), there was a cry for the introduction of occupational education. Several commissions and committees of the British India suggested the introduction of two streams of education — academic and technical. These arguments by the colonial rulers in India and other developing countries were viewed as measures "to stabilize traditional agricultural life and to curb educational 'over-production' - the tendency of individuals from rural areas to continue in school past the capacity of labour markets to absorb them" (Grubb, 1985, pp. 527-28). During the post-independence era also arguments have been advanced in favour of V E T in developing countries; leaders such as Mahatma Gandhi, Mao and Julius Nyerere have been quoted in support of such educational reforms.

Leading social scientists have lent strong support for vocational education. For instance, Tho,mas Balogh (1969, p. 262) was emphatic in arguing: "As a purposive factor for rural socio-economic prosperity and progress, education must be technical, vocational and democratic." He in fact suggested that even "elementary education must impart technical knowledge to rural youth in an eminently practical way ..." (p. 265). The case for V E T received much support in the context of the global educational crisis. V E T was viewed as the solution to the educational problems in the developing economies. It was believed that many educational problems could be* solved by diversifying the secondary education curriculum: the unbridled demand for higher education could be controlled, the financial crisis in education would be eased by reducing pressures on higher education budgets, and unemployment among college and secondary school graduates would be reduced. All this was based on the following assumptions:

- **Differentiation of occupation in the developing economies requires secondary school graduates with varied skills. Because of changes in production processes resulting from technological advances, the nature of the demand for skills, both in terms of quantity and quality, changes. Modern technology requires fewer highly qualified middle and lower level skilled personnel. Vocational education can produce exactly this kind of manpower.**
- **Vocational education would contribute to such progress, both by reducing unemployment, through creating employment in the fields of pre-vocational specialisation and self-employment, and by engendering a higher propensity for labour force participation at the end of secondary schooling, improving productivity, and correspondingly resulting in higher graduate earnings. Vocational and technical secondary education can establish a closer relationship between school and work.**
- **Vocational education is also seen as an equity measure. As an antidote to urban-biased elite education, vocational education will promote equity with a rural bias and serve the needs of relatively poor people. Also as Grubb (1985, p. 527) states, vocational education has been seen as the answer to an enrolment problem: the tendency of some students (especially lower class students) to drop out of schools without occupational skills - a problem that vocational education promises to resolve by providing a more interesting and job-relevant curriculum. More specifically, it is believed to be an effective answer to rural problems, "to alleviate unemployment; to reorient student attitudes towards rural society," to halt urban migration; to transmit skills and attitudes useful in employment (Lillis and Hogan, 1983), and as an important measure of development for disadvantaged youth in rural and urban areas.**
- **Further, vocational education is considered helpful in developing what can be termed as 'skill-culture' and attitude towards manual work, in contrast to pure academic culture and preference for white collar jobs; and to serve simultaneously the "hand"' and the "mind", the practical and the abstract, the vocational and the academic." (Grubb, 1985, p. 548).**

Vocational and technical education is not necessarily favoured by all. There are strong opponents as well. In a seminal oft-quoted work, Philip Foster (1965) exploded the vocational school myth and called it "vocational school fallacy." Foster and later Mark Blaug (1973) clearly argued that vocationalisation cannot be a remedy for educated unemployment: it cannot prepare students for specific occupations and reduce mismatches between education and the labour market; academic streams promise higher wages than vocational streams; accordingly demand for vocational education might not exist, and Say's law that supply creates its own demand might not work. Furthermore, vocational schooling may

create "a sense of second class citizenship among both teachers and taught which militates against effective learning" (Blaug, 1973, p. 22).

With the succinct, clear and powerful arguments of Foster, Blaug and others, it was hoped that the issue was buried. But it refuses to stay buried. Few countries have given up their efforts in developing elaborate systems of VET. After all, it has inherently a powerful appeal. Many countries have set ambitious targets as well. For example, China had a goal of expanding vocational education so that at least fifty per cent of the enrolments in secondary education would be in vocational education in near future; India has a similar target of reaching 25 per cent; and Bangladesh twenty per cent. As Psacharopoulos (1987, p. 203) aptly stated, "because of the inherently logical and simplistic appeal, vocationalism will be with us for years to come, and more countries will attempt (...) to tune their formal educational systems to the world of work."

Organisations such as Unesco and the World Bank have played a leading role in reviving and furthering the cause of vocational or diversified secondary education. Unesco adopted in 1974 an important detailed recommendation concerning technical and vocational education, and argued for provision of technical and vocational education as "an integral part of general education," as "a means of preparing for an occupational field," and as an instrument to reduce the mismatches between education and employment and between school and society at large. The World Bank's sector policy paper on education (World Bank, 1974) attacked school curricula as excessively theoretical and abstract, insufficiently oriented to local conditions, and insufficiently concerned with attitudes and with manual, social and leadership skills; and accordingly the Bank also suggested increasing vocationalisation of the curricula of academic schools.

Achievements and Failures

To vocationalise or not to vocationalise? (Psacharopoulos, 1987). This is no more a dilemma. The question is how much of the education system should be vocational and how much should be general in character. To strike a balance between the two is indeed a challenge. Several developing countries, including countries in the Asian region have a long history of vocational and technical education and training; and they have vocational or diversified secondary education systems. India has had a diversified secondary education system for a long time. Even in the 19th century India, there was a reasonably good vocational and technical system (see Crane, 1965). However, after its slow demise during the colonial period, India has had to start afresh on vocationalisation since independence. It is more or less the same situation in the other developing countries of the region, many of them having had a long colonial and/or feudal rule; only after independence, and particularly since the 1950s, has increasing attention been given to vocational education. Initial efforts at vocationalisation in Sri Lanka date back to the 1930s and in Philippines to 1920s. A Vocational Education Act was passed in 1927 in Philippines stating that the "controlling purpose of vocational education is to fit pupils (persons) for useful employment" (Unesco, 1984, Philippines, p. 11). Malaysia established its

first technical college in 1906. South Korea and Taiwan placed high priority on special vocational education at an early stage of industrialisation process in the respective countries. The very first educational development plan of Pakistan envisaged technical and commercial education as an integral part of general education, with diversification of the secondary education curriculum. The National Education Commission in Bangladesh, appointed immediately after independence, recommended in 1972 the diversification of secondary education from Grade IX onwards. China had long emphasised vocational education in its school curriculum. After 1978, quite a number of government senior secondary schools were converted into vocational schools. Polytechnic institutions, vocational schools, institutes of technical education, and technical colleges figure prominently in the educational systems in Japan, Korea, Taiwan, Singapore and India. Vocational and technical schools received serious attention in Japan even during the 19th century (Yamamoto, 1994). The "Taiwan miracle" owes to its system of VET (Boyd and Lee, 1995, p. 195). In several countries of the region many academic secondary schools that concentrated for a long period on preparing students for university entry, tried to become multi-purpose institutions to serve a broad spectrum of students and needs, including specific types of occupational training. In addition, various types and models of specialised secondary training institutions have been created in several countries to meet different middle level manpower needs.

All countries in the Asian region have, however, not accorded equal degree of attention to VET. As a result, they are at various levels of development of vocational education. As the Asian Development Bank (1991, pp. 53-55) categorised the several Asian countries, and described, Korea stands as "a leading example" of how governments can promote an extensive school-based VET; Singapore had developed a "comprehensive vocational training infrastructure," forging strong linkages between education institutions and training agencies; Indonesia, Malaysia, Philippines, Thailand and Sri Lanka have "fairly developed" vocational and technical education systems - both in public and private schools; the agrarian economies of Bangladesh, Nepal, Pakistan and Myanmar have "patchy" systems of vocational and technical education; and India and China, the two big countries on the globe, suffer from "prejudice against manual work" and hence have "lopsided" education development structures including for VET. On the other extreme, Japan has the most developed and well-established infrastructure providing school based as well as enterprise based VET.

The nature of VET also differs between several countries. Vocational education in many countries generally refers to inculcation of vocational and technical skills relevant for specific occupations. In a few countries, vocational education is also general in curriculum. For example, vocational education in Japan and Korea is fairly general in character. General skills, broad attitudes and discipline are more valued than vocational skills *per se* in labour market. Accordingly schools, even vocational schools emphasise, for example, in Korea, moral education and discipline (Green, 1997, p. 50).

The current status with respect of VET in several Asian countries as it developed over the last three decades is presented in Table 1.

TABLE 1

Enrolment in Vocational Education as a Proportion of Total Enrolments in Secondary Education in Asia (per cent)

	1970-71	*1980-81*	*Latest Year*	*Change*		
k				*1980-81¬ 1970-71*	*LY- 1980-81*	*LY- 1970-71*
Bangladesh		1.0	0.7		-0.3	
Brunei	1.1	3.6	5.7	2.5	2.1	4.6
Cambodia	3.5		1.6			-1.9
China	0.1	2.1	15.0	2.0	12.9	14.9
Cyprus	10.5	12.2	7.5	1.7	-4.7	-3.0
Hong Kong	6.1	6.6	2.9	0.5	-3.7	-3.2
India	1.0	1.2	1.1	0.3	-0.1	0.2
Indonesia	22.1	10.7	12.6	-11.4	1.9	-9.6
Iran	2.9	7.4	4.5	4.5	-2.9	1.6
Iraq	3.1	5.5	8.6	2.4	3.1	5.5
Israel	44.0	41.2	22.6	-2.8	-18.6	-21.4
Japan	18.7	14.8	14.5	-3.9	-0.3	-4.1
Jordan	3.0	5.2	25.6	2.2	20.4	22.6
Korea, South	14.3	20.6	20.4	6.3	-0.2	6.1
Kuwait	2.9	0.2	1.0	-2.7	0.8	-1.9
Lao	13.9	2.2	3.3	-11.7	1.1	-10.5
Malaysia	2.9	1.7	2.6	-1.2	0.9	-0.2
Mongolia	11.0	7.6	5.8	-3.4	-1.8	-5.2
Myanmar	0.0	1.4	0.3	1.3	-1.0	0.3
Oman		5.9	0.7		-5.2	
Pakistan	1.5	1.5	1.1	0.0	-0.4	-0.4
Papua New Guinea	19.4	16.2	10.1	-3.2	-6.1	-9.2
Qatar	5.1	1.2	1.7	-3.9	0.5	-3.4
Saudi Arabia	1.9	1.5	1.7	-0.4	0.2	-0.2
Singapore	8.3	7.4	3.8	-0.9	-3.6	-4.5
Syria	3.4	4.3	9.7	0.9	5.4	6.3
Thailand	22.3	15.5	18.0	-6.8	2.5	-4.2
Turkey	13.7	23.5	28.0	9.8	4.5	14.3
United Arab Emirates	10.0	1.3	1.1	-8.7	-0.2	-8.9
Vietnam		5.7	3.2		-2.5	

.. Not available; LY: latest year

Latest year: data available in Unesco (1999) mostly relating to mid/late 1990s.

Source: Calculated by the author, based on Unesco (1999).

In general, more than 70 per cent of the enrollments in secondary education are in general education and in some counties vocational education accounts for less than one per cent. Some countries have expanded their vocational education systems fast, and many could not. Israel, Jordan, Korea and Turkey have expanded their vocational educational systems considerably, the enrolments in vocational education forming more than 20 per cent of the enrolments in secondary education. Countries in East Asia like Thailand, Japan, China, and Indonesia have also high enrolments in vocational education. But on the other side, countries in South Asia like Bangladesh, India, and Pakistan have very tiny vocational secondary educational systems (Table 2).

TABLE 2

Countries Classified by Level of Enrolment in Vocational Education

(Enrolment in Vocational Education as % of Total Enrolment in Secondary Education)
(Latest Year)

<2%	*2-5%*	*5-10%*	*10-15%*	*> 15%*
Myanmar	Malaysia	Brunei	Papua New Guinea	Thailand
Bangladesh	Hong Kong	Mongolia	Indonesia	Korea, South
Oman	Vietnam	Cyprus	Japan	Israel
Kuwait	Lao	Iraq	China	Jordan
UAE	Singapore	Syria		Turkey
India	Iran			
Pakistan				
Cambodia				
Saudi Arabia				
Qatar				

Source: Based on Table 1.

Some countries have placed emphasis on vocational education for fairly a long period. For example, as shown in Table 3, Indonesia, Israel, Japan, South Korea, Papua New Guinea, Thailand, and Turkey had maintained the enrolments in secondary education at above ten per cent level during the last three decades. In Israel the enrolments formed more than 50 per cent in upper secondary level for a long time. On the other side, countries like Bangladesh, India, Myanmar, Pakistan, Malaysia, Kuwait and Saudi Arabia have never accorded a high place to vocational education. Negative attitudes to manual work on one side, and the less diversified economic structure on the other, are the demand side factors responsible for the low level of enrolment in vocational education in South Asian countries. Only a few countries, for example, China, Iraq, Jordan and Syria, have made special efforts to expand vocational education rapidly. China stands as a special case that had made significant improvement in vocational education since 1970-71; it is also note worthy to note that it also experienced very rapid economic growth during this period.

All the countries, which progressed well in vocational education, could not maintain consistently high levels of enrolment in vocational education. For example, in Korea the enrolments in vocational education as a proportion of total enrolments in secondary education declined from 44 per cent in 1955 to twenty per cent in 1996-97; in Indonesia it declined from 22 per cent in 1970-71 to thirteen per cent in 1996-97, in Mongolia from eleven to six per cent, in Hong Kong from six to three per cent, in Lao from fourteen to three per cent, in the United Arab Emirates (UAE) from ten to one per cent, and so on during this period. On the whole, of the 28 countries considered in Table 1, eighteen countries have experienced decline in the relative size of vocational education over the years, and only ten countries registered improvement.

TABLE 3

Performance of the Asian Countries in Vocational Education (1970 to 1990s)

(Based on Enrolment in Vocational Education as % of Total Enrolments in Secondary Education)

Ignored vocational education throughout (Less than 3%)	*Maintained reasonably high levels of enrolment throughout (Above 10%)*
Bangladesh	Indonesia
India	Israel
Myanmar	Japan
Pakistan	South Korea
Saudi Arabia	Papua New Guinea
Malaysia	Thailand
Kuwait	Turkey
*Progressed significantly**	*Fared badly***
China	Hong Kong
Iraq	Lao
Jordan	United Arab Emirates
Syria	Qatar
	Oman
	Saudi Arabia

* Increase by at least five percent points.

** Base/current levels are less than 3 per cent and experienced decline over the years; countries with high enrolments, but experienced decline over the years are not included here.

Source: Based on Table 1.

The data on enrolments in Tables 1 through 3 drawn from Unesco, refer to enrolments in vocational education as a proportion of total enrolments in secondary education. But in quite a few countries, vocational education is an important segment, not at secondary, but at senior/upper secondary level. It may, in fact, be non-existent at lower secondary level in many countries. The enrolments in vocational education as a proportion of enrolments in senior secondary level are indeed high in quite a few countries of the region on which

data are available. Such proportions are around forty per cent in Indonesia, Thailand, Korea and Israel. Corresponding ratios, however, exceed seventy per cent in Czech Republic and Austria, sixty per cent in Belgium, Germanys, Italy, Netherlands, Switzerland, and fifty per cent in France, Denmark, Finland, etc (OECD, 2000, p. 146). Thus on the whole, vocational education in the Asian region is less developed than in Europe and other countries of the Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD).

Why Uneven Progress?

While thus some countries in Asia have been successful, though not to the extent of the European and other OECD countries, in many Asian countries the performance record of these schools at secondary level "was burdened by disappointments and by shortfalls in earlier expectations" (Coombs (1985, p. 115). Why several countries have made remarkable progress in vocational education and many others could not? This depends upon social, economic and political factors, which also mutually interact with each other.

First, the social factors. Social attitudes to vocational education are not encouraging in many Asian countries. Negative attitudes to manual work severely dampen the demand for vocational education. Further, VET is conceived as a system of education for the poor, and for the educationally backward sections that are not eligible for admission into higher education. This is viewed as one that perpetuates inequalities in the system. For example, the experiment of providing a rural curriculum in Tamil Nadu in India, familiarly known as the Rajaji experiment, and the Handessa Rural Education Scheme in the 1930s in Sri Lanka, were abandoned not only because there was no demand for such education, but also because they came to be viewed as a *Brahminical* conspiracy and as "a ruse designed to keep the under-privileged away from the prestigious academic curriculum" (Wijemanne, 1978). In rural areas it is mostly considered as the second-class education against the expectations of pupils and parents. Low prestige attached to vocational education and its inherent inequities are somewhat a common phenomenon in many countries including, India, Indonesia, Philippines and Sri Lanka and to some extent in Korea and Taiwan. This suspicion that vocational curricula provide "a second-class education and track some individuals - lower class or lower caste, racial minorities and women - away from academic education and access to jobs of the highest pay and status" (Grubb, 1985, p. 529) became quite strong over the years and some public polices of ill-treatment of vocational education in educational planning and resource allocation contributed to strengthening this belief. As a result, vocational education in countries like India did not take off on a sound footing.

Secondly, enrolments in vocational education and level of economic development are related. Demand for vocational education seemed to exist in industrially developing societies, with growth and diversification of industrial structure. As Psacharopoulos and Loxley (1985, p. 228) observed, the lower the overall level of a country's development, the weaker is the case for introducing vocational curriculum and diversify it. But it is in these countries the need for

vocational education is felt. Emphasis on diversified industrial production emphasises the need for labour force with vocational skills. Much growth in vocational education took place in countries like Korea during early industrialisation processes, when employment opportunities could increase. So vocational education becomes more popular in regions where jobs can be guaranteed. The other way can also be augured: unemployment rates may diminish, if people have vocational skills. For instance, Haq and Haq (1998, p. 96) observed, unemployment rates in the East Asian economies remained low essentially because the population possessed employable vocational and technical skills. However, the relationship between demand for vocational education and economic development may not be linear. When the economies move away from reliance on its agricultural and manufacturing sectors and in favour of service sector, the demand for VET may indeed decline. A review of the experience of the East Asian countries led Mundle (1998, p. 664) just to conclude the same: enrolments in vocational education in the region has been substantial until a threshold level of gross national product (GNP) per capita (say about $8000) was reached; thereafter the share of vocational education in senior secondary education seemed to have declined.

While the importance of VET in economic development was recognised, and detailed plans of providing VET were preceded by manpower analyses in some of the countries, in many developing countries in South Asia few planning exercises were preceded by manpower analysis, a necessary step to understanding the nature and quantum of demand for vocational skills, their employment potential, productivity and likely earnings, besides the existing mismatches between the skills of graduates and the requirements of the labour market. As a result, many programmes were bound to fail.

Growth in VET in Asian countries is also influenced by the role of the state versus the role of the private sector. Governments have a dominant role in provision of school-based VET in most Asian economies. Even in Korea, most enterprises rely on government for trained manpower. The role of the state in provision of VET has been similar in Korea and Taiwan (Bennell and Segerstrom, 19998, p. 275). In Hong Kong too, the provision of public sector training has been strategic. In the South Asian countries, government is the main provider of VET both at school level and also outside the school system. It is only in Japan enterprise-based training is the dominant mode of training; in most other countries public education institutions have been the leaders. Though private sector does play some role in VET in the East Asian countries and also to a meagre extent in South Asian countries, the quality of private institutions in providing VET has been found to be generally poor compared to public institutions in many countries, except in Japan. Taiwan and Korea also find that it is difficult to ensure reasonable standards and quality in private institutions.

An important aspect of vocational education refers to its financing. Vocational education is by definition costlier than general education. It was estimated that in South Korea secondary technical education costs more than ten times the general secondary education, per student (Middleton and Demsky,

1989, p. 65); in China the unit costs were 50-100 per cent higher in vocational and technical schools than in general secondary schools (Dougherty, 1990); and according to the estimates referring to 1980s and earlier period, vocational education in South Asian countries was found to be 2-60 times higher than general education (Tilak, 1988c). But mechanisms of allocation of resources in education do not seem to favour vocational education in many countries. Public expenditure on vocational education has been remarkably low, compared to general secondary education.

Vocational education programmes are costly and the meagre, dwindling educational budgets in several developing countries do not allow provision of sufficient resources for vocational education. Several developing countries, more particularly countries in South Asia have invested very little on vocational education. In the mid 1990s, Bangladesh invested 8.4 per cent of the total public expenditure on education in vocational and technical education, India and Nepal 4.4 per cent and Pakistan 2.6 per cent (Haq and Haq, 1998, p. 170). The current levels of public expenditures on vocational education are not particularly high even in East Asian countries. Only 5.7 per cent of the total education (current) budget goes to vocational education in Korea, 4.5 per cent in Singapore, and about three per cent in China and Hong Kong. In Taiwan, however, it is somewhat high, 8.2 per cent in 1995 (Tilak, 2001). On the whole, these figures are very low compared to the figures in developed countries. Many OECD countries spend 11-18 per cent of the total educational expenditures on vocational education. After all, "poor and inadequate investments cannot produce higher returns" (Tilak, 1988a).

It appears that public expenditures on VET are not particularly high in East Asian countries, but private sector expenditures on training could be high, on which unfortunately no detailed and comprehensive data at macro level are readily available. For example, training is provided by enterprise in Singapore through the operation of the Skill Development Fund established in 1979 and financed through a levy on employers amounting to two per cent of salaries of all employees earning less than S$750 per month (Haq and Haq, 1998, p. 102). It is obligatory for the companies in Korea to finance public vocational and training programmes (Lijima and Tachiki, 1994). Enterprise-based training is the most important form of VET in Japan.

Besides the scarcity of public resources, governments also face confusion on the efficacy of VET programmes, which deter them from making required investments in VET. Available evidence on rates of return to education in countries does not indicate any advantage vocational education will provide compared to general education. For example, Chung (1995, p. 177) reported 12 studies showing higher returns to vocational education than to general secondary education and ten studies otherwise; and five studies that yielded no clear results. Though there are certain well known problems with the estimates of rates of return to education, and a few other problems highlighted specifically in the context of returns to vocational education (e.g., Bennell, 1995; Bennell and Segerstrom, 1998), nevertheless, no conclusive evidence exists on the economic

superiority of vocational education over general education (see also Tilak, 1988a, b).

TABLE 4

Social Rates of Return to Vocational *versus* General Secondary Education

Country	*Year*	*General*	*Vocational/ Technical*
Cyprus	1975	10.5	7.4
	1979	6.8	5.5
Taiwan	1970	26.0	27.4
South Korea	1981	9.0	8.1
Thailand	1970	10.0	8.0
	1990	11.4	6.7
Philippines	1960s	21.0	11.0
	1978	19.0	23.6
Indonesia	1978	32.0	18.0
	1982	23.0	19.0
	1986	19.0	6.0
	1986	12.0	14.0
	1986	11.0	9.0
Jordan	1960s	6.7	1.6

Source: Psacharopoulos (1994); Tilak (1994, 2001); Bennell (1995, 1998)

Table 4 presents estimates of rates of return on this problem in seven Asian countries. Though they are somewhat dated, it can be noted that except in Taiwan where the difference is small, in general, vocational education does not pay as much as general secondary education. After all, costs of vocational education are extremely high, but the labor market benefits are not so high as to compensate for the huge costs. However, if productivity is measured not in earnings, but in physical terms, and not in relation to costs, some times it is found that workers with VET may be more productive than those with general academic education (e.g., Min and Tsang, 1990).

Another aspect of confusion for the governments in developing countries is changing policies of international organisations like the World Bank. World Bank supported VET in many countries in Asia for a long time. For example, in 1984-85 of the total World Bank lending for education, one-fourth was meant for VET projects. As stated earlier, World Bank and Unesco have strongly argued in favour of investing in VET and its rapid expansion for economic growth. But by the late 1980s, the Bank policies took a H-turn on vocational education and strongly favoured investing away from VET (World Bank, 1995). World Bank's investment in VET came down to a meagre three per cent of the total education lending by 1996 (Bennell and Segerstrom, 1998, p. 271). The frequent fl-turns of organisations like the World Bank in case of vocational education (and also manpower planning, rates of return to education and higher education) have

caused considerable confusion among the governments of the developing countries on the wisdom of investing in VET. Countries that did not rely on World Bank assistance might not have suffered much.

Where Do We Go From Here?

From the review of Asian experience, a few important lessons can be drawn for the development of VET in developing countries.

- VET is important for economic growth. But the relationship is not linear. So each country has to decide the extent of VET that has to be developed, depending upon the level of development and demand for skills. As Foster (1965, p. 153) observed, "in the initial stages technical and vocational instruction is the cart rather than the horse in economic growth, and its development depends upon real and perceived opportunities in the economy. The provision of vocational education must be directly related to those points at which some development is already apparent and where demand for skills is beginning to be manifested." Plans for VET should be preceded by detailed manpower analyses and forecasts. Though the importance of manpower planning and forecasting *per se,* has declined, few doubt the importance of detailed manpower analysis.
- Since both general and specific human capital contribute to economic growth, a balance has to be struck between size of general education and vocational education. Further, vocational education need not necessarily be purely vocational and technical. It should also include, like in Japan and Korea, general skills and attributes that are useful across a wide variety of occupations. This is particularly important in the rapidly changing economic systems.
- As specific human capital development can take place both in formal schools and also in the firm-based institutions, it may be important to examine which vocational and technical skills are to be provided in schools and which in the training institutions and enterprise-based organisations.
- As vocational education is necessarily expensive, the government should make adequate allocation of resources for vocational education. Poor investments cannot yield attractive returns.
- Vocational education should not promote inequalities within the educational system. This requires provision of good quality vocational education and training, comparable, if not superior to, general secondary education that would avoid suspicions on the part of the people on the intentions of the government in providing VET. It also requires effectively linking of vocational education with higher education, so that vocational education is not perceived as dead-end, with no opportunities to go for higher education.

- Given the experience of many countries in Asia, except Japan, the government has to take a dominant role in promoting VET. Private sector may not be able to provide good quality VET.
- Lastly, issues relating to VET are not just curriculum questions, nor are they just economic. They are intricately linked with social, cultural, historical, economic, technical, and political parameters. Hence formulation of sound and effective policies and plans of VET requires an inter-disciplinary development approach, treating VET as an integral part of overall educational planning.

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Journal of Educational Planning and Administration
Volume XVII No. 1, January 2003

The PAKISTAN DEVELOPMENT REVIEW

An International Journal of Development Economics

Volume 41 **Spring 2002** **Number 1**

Annual Subscription for Individuals US$ 100.00; Pak Rs 300.00 by surface mail and US$ 125.00; Pak Rs 450.00 by air mail. Per regular issue US$ 40.00; Pak Rs 125.00 by surface mail and US$ 55.00; Pak Rs 150.00 by air mail. Per Papers and Proceedings issue US$ 100.00; Pak. Rs 400.00 by surface mail and US$ 150.00; Pak. Rs 500.00 by air mail—**for Institutions** US$ 150.0; Pak Rs 450.00 by surface mail and US$ 200.00; Pak Rs 600.00 by air mail. Subscriptions are entered on a calendar year basis. Payment should be made directly through a **demand draft**, issued in the name of the **Pakistan Institute of Development Economics**, Post Box 1091, Islamabad-44000 (Pakistan).

Journal of Educational Planning and Administration
Volume XVII No. 1, January 2003, pp. 69-84

Out-of-School Children: Contexts and Experiences of Education Deprivation

A.R. Vasavi*
Archana Mehendale**

Abstract

Assessed largely in terms of numbers, percentages and proportions, out-of-school children are typically seen as reflecting the persistence of poverty and child labour. And as surveys and studies indicate a growth in number of out-of-school children, debates and talk have focussed on capping this tide of out-of-school children. Yet, details about the life conditions of these children and the reasons for them to be educationally deprived remain limited. The role of the family, community conditions and orientations, the functioning of schools and the impact of the state and the interlinks between all these are not well documented or understood. This study draws on field research conducted in six regions in six states of India and notes the range of conditions, factors and processes that prevent children from attending school. The resulting picture of out-of-school children is one in which education deprivation is contextualised in terms of their life conditions, the functioning of schools and the role of the state. The large and significant body of out-of-school children reflects not only the failure of the state and the education system to ensure universal access to elementary education but also the persistence of a range of social disadvantages which combine to deprive children the opportunity to be educated.

Introduction

It has been estimated that at the end of the year 2000, India had about 100 to 120 million children who were out-of-school (Tilak, 2000). Popular opinion and much of the official stand on out-of-school children consider poverty and child labour to be the main reasons for such education deprivation. However, the increasing growth in the number of out-of-school children calls for a closer examination of the conditions and processes that cause such widespread

* National Institute of Advanced Studies, IISc Campus, Bangalore - 560012;
E-mail: arvasavi@nias.iisc.ernet.in
"310, Ebony, Raheja Residency, Koramangala III Block, Bangalore - 560034;
E-mail: archanamehendale@homail.com

education deprivation. More specifically, it is pertinent to ask what accounts for so many children to be out-of-school? What are the characteristics and life conditions of these children? What implications does education deprivation have for these children?

Answers to such questions are important since most existing literature on out-of-school children is primarily of quantitative analysis using data from the National Sample Survey, the Census, and the National Council for Applied Economic Research'. Other studies that address issues relating to out-of-school children draw primarily on such data and/or link such data to understanding specific conditions such as child labour or the position of out-of-school girls (for example, Burra 2001, Kabeer 2001, Jain et al 2002, Jha and Jhingran, 2002). Research by the World Bank (1997) team has highlighted the types of children (poor, schedule castes and tribes and girls) who experience education deprivation and has labelled this as the 'gaps' in the objective of achieving universal elementary education. Although these studies take differing positions about the conditions of out-of-school children, they challenge popular and entrenched myths that child labour and education deprivation are primarily results of poverty. As with the dominant idea that poverty accounts for education deprivation, many consider the problem of out-of-school children to be linked to a lack of demand for schooling. However, a number of studies have established that enhancing access to schooling is constrained more by a lack of good quality supply than lack of demand for school. Research also shows that there is a strong latent demand for education even among the poorest communities, and that poverty, as a causal factor for low educational participation, can be overcome with a responsive education system (PROBE 1999, Jagannathan, 2001)

Despite this corpus of literature, there is a paucity of qualitative and descriptive studies that could provide more accurate and contextualised portrayal of the nature and characteristics of out-of-school children and the reasons as to why they remain so. Details about the life conditions of these children, the bases of education deprivation in different areas, the impact of new economic trends on the education opportunities of children and the role of the state in ensuring rights to education or in challenging economic and social disadvantages in accessing education are not documented.

Poverty, Child Labour and Out-of-School Children

Typically the phenomenon of out-of-school children is linked to two processes; namely, poverty and child labour. The growing body of out-of-school children has led several scholars and activists to postulate a direct link between child labour and education deprivation. But, such an argument that poverty pushes

' Other studies that draw on secondary data to analyse education deprivation are that by Chaudhri (2000). Tilak (2000), Ray (2000).

children to work and also keeps them out-of-school is now contested. Instead, the persistence of poverty as a *cause* of child labour and education deprivation is now considered as a *consequence.* It has been found that for certain groups, exclusion from the educational system is often a form of social oppression, as the educational programmes often ignore the needs of the marginalised children and eliminate them from schools (Boonpala, Bose, and Haspels, 1997). Dissatisfaction with the school may result in the child dropping out after which s/he may enter the labour force (Lieten 2000, Tilak 2000). As a result of this linkage, most out-of-school children are considered to be child-labourers. While Weiner (1991) was among the first to call attention to these linkages and to the role that the state could play in alleviating education deprivation, this position has been reflected in international conventions and also endorsed by international bodies and major donors[2]. Field experiences in India also indicate close linkages between school enrolment and decline in the incidence of child labour[3].

There are, however, arguments that the school has not liberated children from work. In fact, as Olga Niewenhuys's (1994) work indicates, children continue to work in their spare time to support themselves and their families. The failure of official data and analyses to document and recognise such child labour obscures the extent to which a combination of work and school occurs and may or may not serve as an obstacle to learning[4]. It has also been observed that working children are more visible after school hours and during school holidays, suggesting that many combine both work and school. In addition, given the continued significance of the informal sector and increasing trend for outsourcing, the integration of child workers into the unregulated sector and the dual workloads may be detrimental to their education, development, health and safety[5].

[1] **For example, the International Conference on Child Labour held in Oslo (1996) pronounced that '...any work activity which interferes with a child's right to education is intolerable and must be eliminated. All best efforts must focus on preventing children from entering work that will impede or prevent their education as well as removing those who are currently working under harmful conditions and ensuring that they are provided with an enabling educational environment". Sec http://www.ilo.org/public/english/comp/child/conf/oslo/report.htm**

[2] **The M V Foundation in Andhra Pradesh, based on its work in Ranga Reddy district, demonstrated that child labour, and even bonded child labour, can be effectively eliminated by improving schools and bringing children to schools. This model has since been adopted by the Government of Andhra Pradesh in its 'Back to School' programme. Major campaigns against child labour such as the Campaign Against Child Labour and the South Asian Coalition against Child Servitude are now focussing on children's right to education**

[3] **Olga Nieuwcnhuys (1994) argues this in the context of children combining work in coir making and fishing in Kerala.**

[4] **For discussion see. Good Practices in Action against Child Labour: A Synthesis Report of Seven Country Studies. 2001 URL: http://www.ilo.org/public/english/standards/ipec/publ/monitoring/goodprac.pdf**

Out-of-School and Nowhere Children

Despite the increasing volume of out-of-school children and in child labour, literature reveals that not all children who are out-of-school are in conditions of labour for wages. Time utilisation studies for children suggest that most of the children who are not attending school are not doing much work either[6]. Chaudhri (1996) termed such children, who are neither at school nor *reported* (emphasis added) to be economically active as full-time or marginal workers, as 'nowhere children'. In other words, this category of 'nowhere children' is primarily a residual category of children who too account for that sub-set of child population which does not fall under the category of main workers, marginal child workers and children going to school. In a way, this category has emerged while reviewing Census and NSSO data which takes into account only two types of activities (in labour or in school) pursued by children.

Chaudhri identifies and describes 'nowhere children' as consisting of children who do nothing, or perform household work that is not classified as economic activity or children who are on the fringe as beggars, prostitutes, etc[7]. While the label, 'nowhere children' is problematic, such an identification, especially in terms of assessing children's position in the education and economic system, is useful. Although these children are presently not engaged in labour, they form the potential pool from which child labour is drawn. In other words, children who are out-of-school and without employment are easily drawn into labour or take to work as a "default occupation". Chaudhri (2000) also pointed out that the sources of supply of child labour do not arise directly from an increase in child population. Rather, such a pool of child workers is drawn from a large pool of 'nowhere children' augmented by drop-outs from schools who also join this category. A comparison of the best 20 districts and the worst 20 districts on the basis of incidence of child labour in 1991 found that the best 20 districts had high school enrolment ratios and low proportion of'nowhere children' and, therefore, the least incidence of child labour. In contrast, the worst 20 districts had very high proportion of children in the 'nowhere' category and, therefore, a high incidence of child labour (Chaudhri, 2000).

Although the overall proportion of 'nowhere children' is decreasing, as per the Census figures, the gender bias within this category is highly significant. In 1961, 45.5 per cent of the boys (5-15 years) were neither in schools nor in the labour force. This proportion increased to 48.4 per cent in 1971 but declined to 38.8 per cent in 1981 and 37.7 per cent in 1991. Among the girls, the proportion of those who were neither at school nor in labour force was 69.9 per cent in 1961 and it increased to 70.8 per cent in 1971. Although the number of such children

[6] See PROBE (1999) for details.

[7] As with both visible and invisible child labour, the participation of children in such activities, which also generate income and remuneration, are not documented as 'economic activities'

declined subsequently to 59 per cent in 1981 and 50.7 per cent in 1991, it indicates that more than half of the girls in India are neither at school nor in the work force[8]. Girls, coming under this category, are increasing in Karnataka, Maharashtra, Gujarat, Andhra Pradesh, Tamil Nadu and West Bengal. The growth of both male and female 'nowhere children' in Bihar, Madbya Pradesh, Rajasthan and Uttar Pradesh has been even faster (Chaudhri 2000). The proportion of 'nowhere children' is also high in rural areas as compared to urban areas. In rural areas, the NSSO (1993-94) data indicates 30 per cent and NCAER (1994) data indicates 34 per cent of'nowhere children' between the ages of 5 and 14 years. In urban areas, the NSSO (1993-94) estimates 14 per cent of 'nowhere children' for the nation as a whole. The proportion of 'nowhere children' between 5-9 years is found to be higher than those between 10-14 years. This trend is observed both among boys and girls as well as in rural and urban areas. This is because children above ten years are more easily absorbed into the labour market whereas children below ten years may drop out of school for varying reasons and not enter into wage labour[9]. The presence of such a large body of 'nowhere children', particularly those below the age of 9 years, underscores the point that it is not the requirement for children's contribution to labour, or the need for their wages to supplement family and household income, that accounts for them to be out-of-school. Instead, there are two key issues that arise in the context of understanding the data on out-of-school children. First is the problem of not taking into account household chores as economic activity and thereby under-representing the significant body of girl children especially who bear the burden of domestic and household chores. Second, enrolment rates tell us very little; they do not show whether children actually attend school or complete their schooling nor are they reliable. When completion rates are taken into consideration, data suggest that child labour is probably significantly higher.

Identifying Out-of-School Children

While such data and their analyses throw light on some of the issues related to the processes by which education deprivation is constituted, the vast complexities that are inherent within the large categories of 'out-of-school children', •nowhere children' and 'child labourers' need to be explicated. More specifically, there is a need to discern the role of the household, community, market, state and school in determining children's education opportunity or deprivation. Drawing

[8] In certain states such as Bihar, Rajasthan and Uttar Pradesh, more than two-thirds of the girls are neither at school nor at work place. For further discussion and analysis see Chaudhri (2000).

[9] Statistics on child labour also indicate a higher work participation rate among 10-14 year old compared to 5-9 years old. The NSSO 50th Round data for 1993-94 indicates that the incidence of child labour between 5-9 years in rural areas is 1.3 per cent compared to 14 per cent among rural children between 10-14 years. In the urban areas also, the incidence of child labour between 5-9 years age group is 0.5 whereas that among children between 10-14 years is 5.6 per cent.

on field research conducted in six different areas - Tehri Garhwal (Uttaranchal). Jaipur (Rajasthan), Khategaon (Madhya Pradesh), Bangalore (Karnataka). Tanjavur (Tamil Nadu) and Chirala (Andhra Pradesh) - this paper elaborates the range of factors, contexts, and processes which account for children to be out-of-school. While generalizations for each of the state cannot be made or drawn from the representative sites or areas studied, the specificity of each type of community and its links and relationship to the education apparatus throws light on the general trends and conditions. Focusing on the interlinks between communities and schools, it will indicate the extent to which a range of social and economic disadvantages combines with school related factors to retain children out-of-school[10]. Details relating to the life conditions of these children are drawn from the study's sample survey of fifteen per cent of out-of-school children (altogether 346 children in the age group 6-14 years) which interviews, questionnaires and observations were used to elicit the reasons for children being out-of-school and to understand the conditions, experiences and views of children who were out-of-school. Based on this survey and study, we classified all the out-of-school children into the following groups: 'School Excluded' children (those who have never been enrolled); School Eliminated children (those who are pushed out of the education system), and Withdrawn children (those who are deliberately taken out of the school system by parents). For each of these categories, there were differing reasons and sometimes overlapping reasons for them to be out-of-school.

School Excluded/Never-Enrolled Children

Despite the recent emphasis by several governments and programmes on enrolling and encouraging enrollment of children into school, a significant proportion of children remains un-enrolled. In our study, 31 per cent of the out-of-school children had never enrolled themselves into a school and a marginal 7 per cent had been enrolled but had never attended school. Yet, the reasons for non-enrollment are linked not merely to the absence of a school in the vicinity but to factors that range from the 'social distance' from school and schooling to the integration of children into the domestic and external labour force. While, as other studies have indicated, exclusion from school is more evident and significant among the working poor and the low-ranked castes and tribals. there

[10] **This paper is based on a field research study, "Exclusion, Elimination and Opportunity: Schools and Schooling among the Poor in India", conducted at the National Institute of Advanced Studies. Bangalore. India, and sponsored by the National Institute of Advanced Studies and the Spencer Foundation. Chicago. Field research, drawing primarily on ethnographic methods, was conducted in six areas between Sept 1999 to November 2000 and was conducted with the help of the following NGOs: Eklavya (Madhya Pradesh). SIDFI (Uttaranchal). DIGANTAR (Rajasthan) and GREENS (Andhra Pradesh). Independent reports for each of these areas is available from the National Institute of Advanced Studies. Bangalore-560012.**

are complexities in the reasons for being un-enrolled. As was brought home to us sharply, enrolling children into schools was a new phenomenon, which, many, among the poor and socially marginalized communities, had not fully comprehended. That, all people and all children have right to attend school, were issues that many did not realize, were applicable to them. Several households of tribal families, such as the Korku and Bhil in the villages in Madhya Pradesh, noted that they did not know when and how to enroll their children and were not aware of the incentive schemes that were provided for their children. Similarly, families consisting of marginalized groups such as the Kaibelia (snake charmers) and the newly migrant Bengali families in the slums in Jaipur were not aware of the functioning of the school in the vicinity of their homes. While they remained unaware of the functioning of schools and their right to enroll their children there, little or no attempts were made by the teachers and the local elected representatives to inform them. Such conditions highlight not an indifference to schools and education, but the long-term effect of the exclusion from formal education that such families and households have experienced. It was conditions and factors such as these that accounted for the fact that most (58 per cent) of the out-of-school children in the villages studied in Madhya Pradesh and in the areas in Jaipur, Rajasthan, 42 per cent were never enrolled. And again, among those who had been enrolled but had not attended school, the percentage was the highest (21 per cent) in the villages in Madhya Pradesh.

A strong bias against girls is also a factor for not enrolling girls into schools. Among all the children studied, a higher percentage of girls had never been enrolled (34 per cent) and 9 per cent had been enrolled but never attended schools. In the communities studied in Jaipur, more girls than boys were never enrolled. In the three villages that were studied in Madhya Pradesh although more boys than girls were never enrolled, more girls never attended schools. In a fishing village near Chirala, Andhra Pradesh, it was found that while all the boys were enrolled and went ahead to attend schools atleast for a few years, one-third of the girls were either never enrolled or never attended school. While parental disinterest in schooling was cited by 27 per cent of the children among whom again the proportion of girls exceeded that of the boys, the data also showed that more girls than the boys could not be enrolled due to financial considerations in all the areas studied. Girls were also kept away from schools due to domestic responsibilities, which was the third most common reason for non-enrollment. The other reasons were migration (4 per cent), child's labour required for the family (2 per cent), illness in the family (2 per cent), and sudden economic crisis (2 per cent). Only a handful of children said that they were never enrolled due to distance to the school.

School Eliminated/Drop-out Children

Dysfunctional schools 'eliminate' children from the school more than children and/or their parents opting to withdraw from school (Krishna Kumar 1989). The importance of taking such factors into consideration is highlighted by Boyden, et al (1998). who note that while educators have tended to interpret parental reluctance to school, their children as ignorance about the value of education, the increasing evidence of abysmal school performance and lack of benefits to children suggests that parental attitudes may be more rational than believed. Among the out-of-school children who were interviewed, a majority (61 per cent) had dropped out of school; a fact indicating the extent to which dysfunctional schools and problems with the functioning of schools accounted for the high drop-out rates. The children from the slum area in Bangalore had the highest percentage of drop-outs (81 per cent), while those among the Chirala, or fishing community in Andhra Pradesh (78 per cent) followed closely.

Such rates of elimination call attention to the fact that dropping out is not entirely linked to the demand for child labour or to the lack of parental interest in sending children to school. Rather, the conditions of schools and their functioning are contributory factors which call attention to the linkage between the schools and the elimination rates. The dysfunctionality of schools is manifested in multiple ways. For one, many of the government schools fail to function for the required number of days and in the remote villages and hamlets, it is not unusual for the primary schools to be closed more often than open. As we recorded in our study, schools located in villages that were considered to be inaccessible functioned at least 30 per cent less than officially stipulated days. And even in the days when they did function, the average number of working or teaching hours was only two to two-and-a-half hours. Such conditions were more exacerbated in the villages and hamlets which were predominantly inhabited by members of low-ranked caste groups and/or in those in which the panchayat system or members of the local Village Education Committee (VEC or *Gram Shiksha Samiti)* were not vigilant about their duties and responsibilities. However, schools functioned better in those villages or settlements in which parents had organised themselves to make teachers accountable to them.

In the urban areas, school closure and teacher absenteeism were high where the accountability of the teachers to an administration was not clear. This was observable in the case of the municipality school in Tanjavur (Tamil Nadu), where there was a lack of clarity as to whom the teachers were accountable to. Some private schools also had low number of functional days. As observed in the private school in the slum areas in Jaipur and Bangalore, such schools were new and the lack of adequate management staff and teachers meant that classes were frequently not held for different classes. Similarly, laxity among teachers in both government and private schools accounted for a large proportion of time to **be** whiled away without adequate teaching-learning sessions. Under such

conditions it is understandable why parents and children consider school to be a waste of time. As many parents, in the areas where the schools were dysfunctional, observed and expressed to us, that schools had made children unfit, that children were now neither fit for home nor for work *(na ghar ka, na ghat ka).*

In addition to the dysfunctionality of schools, children's experiences in the school determine whether they want to continue to be in school or not. Schools, specifically the teachers, do not take into account the special circumstances and the multi-disadvantaged circumstances in which many children live and which impact significantly on their orientation and performance in schools. Issues such as their inability to purchase notebooks and stationery, their inability to be presentable and neat and clean, their failure to be regular at classes are issues which teachers chastise and often taunt children about. As noted in the interviews with many children, 'abuse' by teachers, that is, their resorting to frequent and harsh forms of corporal punishment, their indifference, hostility and callousness in the treatment of children often accounted for children dropping out of school. Class differences, where teachers typically come from middle to lower middle classes, and caste differences, where teachers also come from higher caste groups than children, exacerbates social distance between teachers and the students. The failure of teachers to be empathetic to children especially to those who come from economically disadvantaged and non-literate families is the single-most important factor for such high rates of student elimination from the schools. This is highlighted by the fact that only twenty-four per cent of the interviewed families cited that a teacher had ever visited their homes. In most cases, no teacher, member of the education administration or any organisation had visited the homes of these children who had dropped out from school. Thus, as Boyden et al (1998) have pointed out, apparent indifference to education is more likely to be symptomatic of a dysfunctional education system than a failure to value education.

While a majority of the dropped-out (86 per cent) and now out-of-school children had attended government school, the rest had attended private schools (5 per cent), government aided schools (4 per cent) or schools run by NGOs (5 per cent). The study also revealed that a large number of children also dropped out from private schools, which, given the fact that they resided in the poor and labouring areas, typically tended to be hastily established private schools run by a single person. In Jaipur, a significant per cent (18 per cent) had attended private schools, in Bangalore, 10 per cent had attended government-aided but privately managed schools, while in Chirala among the fishing communitiy, 19 per cent attended schools run by the NGOs and 7 per cent had been to private schools. In the villages studied, in Madhya Pradesh, all the children who had dropped out were found to have attended only the village government schools.

Other reasons that accounted for children to be out of school ranged from that of economic problems in the household to that of the inability to follow the language in the school. In the total sample, only six per cent had dropped out in order to supplement their family income and four per cent of the children had dropped out since their labour was required by the family. Among the other reasons cited were economic crisis (4 per cent), marriage (1 per cent) and illness in the family (1 per cent). Interviews with children indicated that 20 per cent of the children were bored with school, 13 per cent had dropped out due to ill-treatment by the teachers and six per cent had dropped due to the distance to the schools. Other reasons given by the children were ill-treatment by peers (1 per cent) and inability to understand the language at school (1 per cent). More boys than the girls had dropped out of boredom, except in the case of the villages in Madhya Pradesh. Language was seen to be a problem in the case of the slums studied in Jaipur and Bangalore and was reported from families that were the recent migrants to these urban areas.

Withdrawn Children

In addition to the process and context in which children were eliminated and or had dropped out from the school, a smaller proportion of children had been 'withdrawn' from schools by families. Among the family related reasons for dropping out of schools, the study found that 17 per cent were withdrawn due to the family's failure to permit the child to go to school (girls who were withdrawn for cultural reasons, families deciding that the kind of education received was not valid etc), 13 per cent had to undertake domestic responsibilities and another 13 per cent had migrated and hence had to discontinue their schooling. More significantly, social factors such as marriage, migration, parents' lack of interest, sibling care etc., were cited by 33 per cent of the families as reasons for withdrawing children from school. That, such factors play a key role in depriving children of education is often understated by teachers and other persons involved in basic education. In many of the cases of these "withdrawn" children, a little persuasion or persistence by teachers would have ensured that the child was retained in school.

As with the findings of the PROBE report (1999), this study also indicates the extent to which poverty alone is not the single most important reason for children to be out of school. Of the children who have been withdrawn, only 22 per cent cited financial problems as reason for dropping out. Families that did cite financial reasons often had occupation backgrounds that indicated high fluctuations in income levels and periodic stretches of absolute deprivation. The economic backgrounds of most of these families were that of performing menial work (as loaders, cleaners, daily wage workers), often on an ad hoc basis with no real or full guarantee of full-time jobs. In addition, petty shopkeepers and independent semi-skilled workers such as cobblers, potters and basket-makers,

who had no reliable source of income for their livelihood, were forced to withdraw their children from school.

The Life of Out-of-School Children

Dysfunctional schools, an indifferent education administration and dis-empowered parents - all combine to retain many children out of school. Contrary to popular understanding, many children who are not attending school are also neither fully engaged at home nor are they in formal employment or labour. Our study of out-of-school children indicates that as much as 76 per cent of the study's sample of out-of-school children between the ages of 6-13 are not engaged in household chores or in home-based production nor are they in conditions of wage employment. While technically, such children can be classified as "nowhere" children, there is the need to pay closer attention to the life conditions of these children to understand the implications of education deprivation and poverty conditions on them.

Details from interviews with the children indicate that such "nowhere" children in urban areas particularly spend a substantial part of their day (more than six hours per day) playing with their siblings and friends. In Monoharpura and Kho Nagoria, the slum and semi-urban areas of Jaipur, many boys indicated that they played cards, bought, exchanged or sold photocards, played *kabadi,* cricket, *lakdi dang* at different seasons, watched television or just roamed around during the day. In the Bangalore slum, out-of-school boys hung out on the streets playing a number of games or spent time watching older boys play cricket. In the villages in Madhya Pradesh and in the fishing hamlets of Chirala, children spent their time casually assisting their parents in their chores at home or in the fields, or also just spent time playing around. Even boys who had been assigned tasks such as herding cattle noted that they spent a considerable part of their time playing. The absorption of children into labour was then facilitated by the fact that they remained at home, even when their contribution to domestic or family labour was not necessary. Many out-of-school children who had been withdrawn from school or who had dropped out regretted not having continued in school and expressed the desire to return to school. Yet, none knew of the possibility or the procedure of re-enrolling in school and being able to return to school.

Child Labour

About 24 per cent of children in the study sample were in conditions of labour, that is, they were engaged in activities that contributed directly to the economy of the household or family and to its subsistence. Children in the areas studied performed a range of wage-based work. In Jaipur's Manoharpura Kachi *basti,* several children from the migrant families were rag pickers. They worked up to six hours a day, picking rags and recyclable materials from garbage heaps and

waste dumps. They received between Rs.10-15 rupees per day from the collecting depot or sold the collected material at the end of the week for between 300-400 rupees. Children from the *Bhangi* and other Scheduled Caste families worked as sweepers, cleaners and handiboys. Some were also shop assistants and handicraft assistants. The gem-stone industry has gained added momentum since 1991 and has become an attractive industry for many children. Many houses in the Jaipur's Kho-Nagoria area have gem-stone machines installed in them and they recruit child labourers. Most of the children were boys between the ages of 10-16 who were stone polishers. They worked for an average of 6-8 hours per day and were paid Rs 15-20 per day; they had all worked, in addition, upto three months as apprentices without pay.

In the slums in Bangalore, girls assisted their mothers at home performing domestic chores or even accompanied them to help out in performing their work as domestic helpers in other people's homes. Often, such accompaniment lead to the gradual absorption of girls into the same labour conditions. Declining household and community economies accounted for the integration of children into labour conditions. In Chirala, children, especially boys between the ages of 11-14, were pledged to money-lenders and boat-owners in return for sums of money collected by the parents. Known as *ryatlu,* children were expected to work for fixed periods with the families that had lent the sum and were engaged in various forms of labour. Similarly, economically distressed families among the Bhils and Korku of Madhya Pradesh placed their children as *hali parkiya* or bonded child workers in the families and households of landed persons. Such children often took care of the cattle and goats of these families and performed other domestic chores such as collecting fuel-wood or water for them.

The assigning of children to labour and its acceptance by children and adults is drawn on ideas that the learning of skills and work must begin early and it is an inevitable process for children of the poor. Many adults accept child labour by associating early work skills as a form of socialization and as a practical way to induct and ensure work for children. This in fact has become a way in which both parents and employers legitimise the use of children's labour and is also a way in which child labour is under-paid and under-compensated. The lack of governmental regulation of these industries has meant that child labour results not only as a dire need to supplement the family's income but also from the easy availability of jobs in such sectors. In fact, many industries such as construction, gem polishing, hotel industry, petty shops, garages and auto-repair shops act as magnets attracting child labour.

Children themselves see labour or employment as ways in which their confidence is boosted and as a way to be relatively independent of their parents. Older children, between the ages of 14-16 years, often use money earned by them to supplement their family's incomes and/or contribute to the household's maintenance, but also use the money on themselves. This is particularly so with

young boys in the slum areas, who are enticed into labour conditions by agents and employers and then use their money on themselves either to buy extra food as 'treats' or to go to movies and/or buy new clothes for themselves. It is only after they are well past the teenage years and the drawbacks of being unlettered and caught in an unreliable and unsustainable labour market that such boys regret having been drawn into the trap of early work and its false independence. Urban economies, especially the new ones, draw on boys' labour in a range of conditions and account for the higher levels of employment of boys in the urban areas. Boys often find jobs working in offices, shops, garages, hotels and construction sites. The growth of the urban informal sector and the tertiary sector draw on the labour of children and act as magnets for children to withdraw from school or be withdrawn and placed into labour conditions. The lack of state regulation of prohibition of child labour in these sectors provides the bases for these sectors to draw on the labour of children (cheap, reliable and pliable) and for parents and children to see these as attractive and worthy places for children to be employed in.

A significant number of children are in the labour force not because of economic necessity but because they have dropped out and wish to make productive use of their time. In this study, only 28 per cent (from the 76 per cent who were identified as "nowhere" children) were engaged in production activities, that is contributing their labour to the household and family based production activities. The proportion of boys engaged in these activities was marginally more than the girls. However, wide inter-site variations were observed. While more boys were engaged in production activities than girls in Jaipur and Bangalore, more girls from the Chirala fishing community and from the hill regions of Uttaranchal were found to be engaged in these activities than in the villages in Madhya Pradesh. The fishing community's dependence on women and girls to process, cure and sell fish is indicated in the high non-enrollment and high withdrawal rates for girls. While girls in the three villages in Madhya Pradesh were engaged in family production activities, they primarily worked as domestic servants in the Bangalore slum. A majority (65 per cent) of the working children used their wages to buy daily ration for food. Among these, the proportion was highest among the children from the fishing villages in Andhra Pradesh (30 per cent); a fact reflecting on the economic crisis and loss of livelihood that the fishing community was facing. Twelve per cent of the children's wages were used to repay debts. This was seen mainly in the slums in Bangalore and in the villages in Madhya Pradesh. Eight per cent of the children (predominantly girls in all the areas studied) said that their wages were used to support their sibling's education while ten per cent spent it on medical expenses. Within this, the data showed that the wages earned by the boys were also spent on medical expenditure.

As children from the labouring poor communities, most children were also found to be engaged in doing domestic chores such as collecting water (46 per cent), washing clothes/vessels (32 per cent), sweeping (32 per cent), caring for people at home (3 1 per cent), cooking (28 per cent), collecting fuel (1 7 per cent), grazing cattle (14 per cent), collecting ration (11 per cent) etc. More girls than the boys were found to be performing these chores in all the communities studied. However, in some cases, outside chores such as buying ration etc. were done by the boys. Overall, girls bore double the burden of being responsible for household chores and child care and also doubling up to contribute to household-based economic activities. That, despite such workloads, many girls continued to attend schools attest to their interest and enthusiasm to be educated.

Conclusion

Far from being linked to a single factor, education deprivation at the elementary school level is the result of a combination of factors. Long-term disadvantages of households and families that are economically and socially marginal translate into conditions in which they are socially and economically unable to access education. Compounding such deprivation are factors linked to the functioning of the school and its system, which largely remains unsympathetic to the needs, orientations and disadvantages of children from such marginalised and non-literate families. And contrary to the popular perception that it is the requirements of labour at home and the opportunity cost to financially hard-pressed households that retains many children in conditions of labour and hence, out of school, it is the dysfunctional schools that account for a significant proportion of children to be out of school.

Yet, policies and government strategies continue to overlook such factors and conditions that consign a significant proportion of children to a life without schooling. While recent attention has been paid to enhancing enrollment of children, the ways in which to sustain enrollment and attendance have not been addressed. As data from our study indicates, the category of 'never enrolled' children remains large and is growing. While programmes such as the Education Guarantee Scheme in Madhya Pradesh claim wide-spread success in providing schools in all settlements, the conditions of settlements and families which prevent children from enrolling and attending school are continuously overlooked. What we have discerned is the extent to which a bundle of disadvantages is operative at the micro household and community level by which children of marginalised communities and households are doubly deprived of their rights to access elementary education. When it is not the exclusionary factors that keep children out of school, it is the eliminating forces that ensure their absence from the class and school. Despite the attention to providing schools and infrastructure, inadequate attention has been paid to ensuring that the schools function regularly and that the teachers are responsible. Similarly, despite

the now wide-spread rhetoric that child labour must be stemmed and abolished, there is little by way of implementing programmes that could do so. Anti-child labour policies do not see school as a central institution to which children must be directed and which will both directly and indirectly prevent the entry and retention of children in conditions of labour. The failure of the state to play a more regulative role in preventing the use of child labour and the growth of new industries and services in the urban areas feed into being the bases on which child labour and education deprivation are rampant. It is in such contexts, where an absolute necessity for children's labour is absent but where schools are dysfunctional and where child labour is not regulated, that a condition of compounded educational disadvantage exists. The lower rates of retention and attendance for children from the scheduled caste and tribe families and of children from the urban slums are a good example of such compounded education disadvantage. The inability of the larger political system and the education system to address such compounded disadvantages remains the basis for the wide-spread economic deprivation in the country.

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Journal of Educational Planning and Administration
Volume XVII No. 1, January 2003, pp. 85-104

PERSPECTIVE

Policy: A Holistic Perspective"

H.S. Bhola*

Abstract

Policy is central to the issues of development of nations. In today's world of globalization, policy processes (policy making, policy implementation, policy analysis and policy evaluation) have all become internationalized. In the present era of "weak states", nations of the Third World have lost their sovereign rights to make independent national policies regarding national politics, economy, technology, culture and education. General policy directions for the whole world seem to be set today by the few powerful nations that dominate the structures of globalization; and policy successes or failures are judged by the criteria set by the same global centres of power. With all this in mind, this paper seeks to fulfil two basic objectives -first, to present a holistic perspective' of policy processes by linking policy, on the one hand, with the Utopian imagination of leadership communities within nations; and, on the other hand, to connect policy with processes at the grassroots, where citizens appropriate or misappropriate policy objectives and actions to fit the needs of their lives as lived. Another objective of the paper is to assert that policy analysis for policy making is not an exact science, involving a technical process that would produce invariant and replicable results.

[#] Grateful thanks are due to my colleagues Professors Barry L. Bull (Philosophy of Education), and B. Edward McClellan (History of Education) at Indiana University for reading an earlier draft of the paper and making important comments and suggestions.

' 3537 Nugget Canyun Place, Tuscon AZ USA 85718; E-mail: bhola@indiana.edu

' A holistic perspective, to be so called, has to contain all parts to make up the total; and, additionally, has to accommodate the concept that the emergent whole may be greater than the sum of its parts. Understandably, in seeking to present a holistic perspective on policy, it has not been possible to deal with all of the parts and aspects of policy processes, or with emergent policy issues, in any great detail, within the scope of the present paper. However, to compensate somewhat for the lack of detail within the text, a rather detailed bibliography has been appended at the end, to enable readers to pursue further studies in the area of policy theory and research.

Preambles: Ideological And Epistemological - The Standpoint Theory

According to the *standpoint* theory (Alcoff and Potter, 1993; Dougherty, 1999). all thinking by an individual is refracted through the unique prism of that individual's identity. Such a standpoint is located at the intersection of epistemology - the theory of knowing the world - and ideology - a system of ideas about" inventing a new world - individually or collectively (Bhola, 2002: Feldman, 1998; Freeden, 1998). Intellect and imagination, description and analysis, intervention and evaluation are all slanted by our standpoints. Standpoints may be partly self-conscious and partly un-self-conscious as we engage in social constructions and re-constructions of realities around us. Standpoints are amenable to change by cognitive dissonance and reality shocks.

For those engaged in policy discourses, to lay bare their standpoints should be the moral thing to do. To do so would also make pragmatic sense. In the very process of communicating their standpoints to others, policy actors will be able to clarify and make coherent their own positions for themselves. In turn, they will compel others engaged in these discourses to review and perhaps renovate their standpoints. The quality of discussions and discourses will improve. Unfortunately, policy actors are not always self-consciously, and fully, aware of their own ideological and epistemological positions, and end up running with the hare and hunting with the hound. Quite often they deliberately work to hide their standpoints by the use of coded language, deliberate obfuscation. and double speak (Orwell, 1950).

Ideological Frames of Policy

Statements about ideological commitments of individuals and nations are by no means easy to make. Ideologies as idealized are seldom actualized in real live. Both at the individual and national levels, ideologies as upheld are marked by inconsistencies and contradictions.

The Twentieth Century saw more than its share of nationalism, fascism, authoritarianism and despotic regimes. Authoritarianism of one kind or another, in measures great or small, still survives, lodged within all of today's political systems. However, at the *normative* level at least, two competing ideological frames did emerge during the last century, dividing the world into two warring camps - and two policy making cultures. The two general ideological visions were: the Communist (led by the ex-USSR) and the Capitalist (led by the United States). Ironically, the fear of Communism had served as the conscience keeper of the Capitalist West, which, to keep their working classes pacified and immune from the contagion of communism, built welfare states that indeed became the envy of the communist/socialist camp. Since the Fall of the Berlin Wall in 1989, the ideological frame of policy making has come to be unified within the steel-

frame of neo-liberalism - less government, more entrepreneurship; free market equated with capitalism; and periodical voting substituting for any real democracy. The welfare state has been dismembered in a hurry. Free-market ideology has taken over and penetrated into sectors such as health and education, and in spheres both cultural and spiritual - where entrepreneurship, competition, cost-effectiveness and profit maximization make no sense at all (O'Meara. Mehlinger. and Krain, 2000).

The September 11, 2001 event, may have given a big jolt to the neo-libcral world - of economy over politics, profit over people - which, during the decade of the 1990s, seems to have succeeded quite well in creating world-wide resentments among the poor and powerless.

Policy and the New Epistemology

The dominant epistemology of the last half-century has been positivist. claiming that reality exists out there and positively true statements about reality can be made bv using experimental methods and statistical procedures. This positivist paradigm has been contested by the constructivist paradigm which suggests that reality is a combination of individual and social constructions; and that social reality (as compared with physical reality) is often better captured through interpretative models and methods (Cuba, 1990).

Within the positivist framework, policy formulation used to be equated with statistical data analysis to choose among clear-cut options and alternatives. The first break away from positivism came with policy analysis being seen as a dialectic between logic and politics, as policy makers and analysts muddled through the policy process, making incremental choices along the way (Braybrooke and Lindblom, 1963). In the post-modernist age, policy analysis became a narrative and a political discourse which took a decidedly argumentative turn (Fischer and Forrester, 1993). At the same time, "the art of conjecture" (de Jouvenel, 1967) has become quite systematic, as extrapolations of statistically determined trends have been joined with imaginative scripting of futures (llalal. Kull. and Leffmann. 1997). Indeed; futurism (defined as the systematic study of human futures) has become a serious activity for scholars in universities and for the intelligentsia to ensure that the future when it arrives is not too much of a future shock (Toffler, 1970)[2].

The epistemologies in use today have been synthesized in Bhola's epistemic triangle formed by systems thinking, constructivist thinking and dialectical thinking - rising above the predicaments of competing paradigms and thereby

- there are currently, al least four internationally known journals on the subject of futures or futurism: *The Futurist, Futures: The Journal of Forecasting and Planning. Futures Conditional.* **and** *Technology and Culture.*

resolving the apparent contradiction between logical rationality and practical politics. Looking from within the epistemic triangle, positivism is not rejected but viewed as one particular "construction" of reality, within contexts of relatively greater command and control of policy actors. Each of the two popular epistemologies - critical theory and the feminist critique - is seen as a constructivist epistemology "with an attitude," that is, as epistemologies with particular ideological hues (Bhola, 1996).

Policy in the Global Context

It is impossible today to think or act in policy making and policy analysis without interfacing and interacting with the ever-present, near-transcendental phenomenon of globalization which is marked by world-wide integration of politics, economy and culture.

Globalization is both old and new. It is old because globalization may be seen to have begun in earnest with the colonization of the world by the European nations several centuries ago. Globalization is new, in the sense that in the 1990s, helped by miraculous advances in communication technology, the process of integration among nations was so intense that globalization changed both itself and the world. As we know it today, globalization has led to an acceleration of history, intensification of social and economic processes, and to a crowding of the global space. All of the world has become one neighborhood. The West has overwhelmed the non-West. No human being alive today seems to have a place to hide, from the forces of globalization.

Under globalization, the challenge of policy makers in the powerful nations of the North is how to give globalization a human face: by creating a world where all of the people of the world can share the economic, social and cultural goods made possible by globalization. For the poor nations of the world, the challenge is first and foremost to survive in the cut-throat, profit-maximizing world of globalization. Then, they need to find a niche of their own in the global order, without neglecting the local and without throwing the poor to the grim reapers of hunger and disease (UNDP, 1999; O'Meara, Mehlinger, and Krain, 2000).

A Perspective for Understanding Policy Processes

Policy studies[3] as an academic discipline may be relatively new on university campuses; and self-conscious and systematic analysis, formulation, codification,

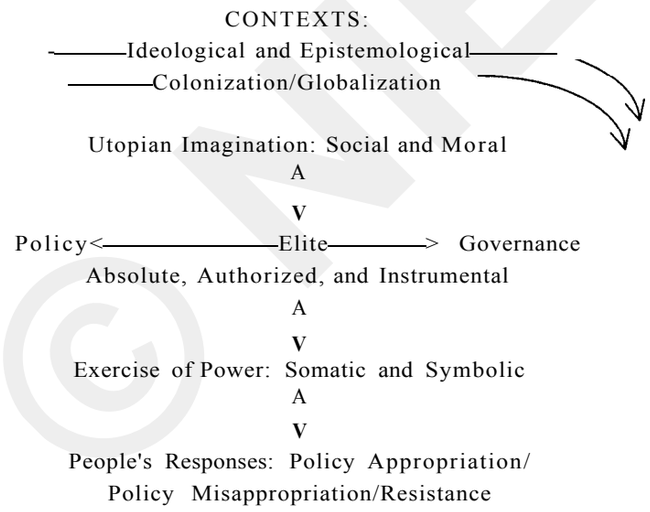
' Discourses like the present one have to be general rather than specific to a particular national contexts or a particular policv arena. We have sought to provide a general theoretical background from which the readers mav draw their own insightful lessons and draw strategic conclusions. Whenever exemplification was necessary to make a point, we have gone to the "Education" sector as an area with which we all, writer and readers, are more or less familiar.

implementation and evaluation of policies may be relatively new as well within institutional structures of states and civil society. However, philosophers over the centuries have engaged in wonderful flights of social and moral imagination and have envisioned future Utopias by imagining ideal possible futuristic communities.

At another level, kings and now presidents and prime ministers have exercised their absolute or near-absolute power, both somatic (coercive) and symbolic (inspirational and persuasive), to issue decrees or make policies to actualize their visions of the state. Policy as a process has remained inseparable and indeed indistinguishable from the process of governance in human civilizations.

The following visualization should provide us with a frame for understanding the contexts, structures and contents of policy processes:

Figure 1**: Policy Processes in a Holistic Perspective**



The Roots of Policy in Utopian Imagination

The civilizational process has indeed advanced on the basis of social and moral imagination of the best of humankind. In fact, human civilizations may owe more to imagination than to scientific-technical knowledge. Both in the social and scientific domains what became knowledge was first imagined, then hypothesized. This applies as well to Utopian imagination relating to ideal human communities as also to the achievement of scientific marvels such as putting man on the moon during the last century. The governing elite throughout

the flow of known history have joined Utopian imagination with wisdom born of experience, to develop policies to invent and re-invcnt futures for their people.

A digression is in order here to clear some linguistic and conceptual fog enveloping the discussion of Utopias. In everyday commonsense use of the term, Utopia has come to mean something too fanciful, impractical and impossible. But in its neutral, unloaded meaning, Utopia is "an ideally perfect place or state of things." It is in this latter meaning that we consider Utopian imagination to be the gear and lever for advancing civilizations. There is another important point that must be brought to the surface. Within the intellectual sphere there is also considerable discomfort with the whole idea of imagining and creating future Utopias. Anti-Utopians are afraid that the exercise of scripting comprehensive future Utopias by the intelligentsia would take the people out of the democratic processes of designing their own destinies, and Utopias thereby would become dystopias - that is, authoritarian nightmares (Berneri, 1971; Kateb, 1963/1972). What is favoured instead is change by incrementalism and muddling through (Braybrooke and Lindblom, 1963). and management only of "side-constraints". Popper was against closing discussion and critique of ideas and plans for the future prematurely and was thus strongly anti-Utopian (Moldovea. 2000).

In the West, there is a well-recorded tradition of Utopian imagination - creating both Utopias and anti-Utopias: from Plato's *The Republic,* Thomas More's *Utopia,* Francis Bacon's *New Atlantis,* to H.G. Well's *A Modem Utopia,* and Aldous Huxley's *Brave New World* (Berneri 1971). Some of these Utopias sought to create human communities that would be ideal: living in freedom in a moral order of justice and fairness, equality between men and women, without poverty and pain, and moving toward ever-expanding human solidarity. Some were in fact, dystopias that were self-righteous and intolerant (Berneri 1971, Kateb 1972). Some were technological nightmares, others like Orwell's .1984 and Skinner's Walden II were explained or constructed on the basis of behavioural conditioning for gross manipulation of human cultures.

Utopian imagination, of course, is not a uniquely Western tradition, and it does go far back in history. *The Ramayana,* an epic of the Hindus in India, is one example of a portrait of the ideal community: *Ram Rajya* (A kingdom ruled by Lord Rama), a metaphor that Gandhi used with great effect in leading the Indian Independence movement during the 1940s (Pollock, 1993). Normative Islam began and continues with the search for a Utopian community (Behdad. 1994), though in the hands of the fundamentalists, politicized Islam has wreaked havoc on itself and on others, as evidenced in the fiery events of September 11, 2001, in North America, followed by the relentless bombings in the hills and valleys of Afghanistan.

Can we consider the constitutions of nations, old and newly independent, as outlines for secular Utopias of our times? (See *Law and Society Inquiry,* 2001).

liobbes had considered Constitutions as constraints on human nature, to save people from other people and from themselves. Rawls has looked at the function of constitutions as the institutionalization of consensus. There is no contradiction here, however. Both Hobbes and Rawls do imagine Utopias wherein it is possible to do the ideal in less than ideal realities of human social existence (Apperley, 1999; Pogge, 2001).

Futurism and Policy Making

In our times, policy making has also come to intersect with the relatively new tradition of Futurism (de Jouvenel. 1967; Toffler, 1970). Futurists use both intellect and imagination as they join statistics on trends with scripts of possibilities thereby providing policy makers with long-term perspectives (Halal, Kull and Leffmann, 1997).

Power and the Power Elite: Cultural Action for Change

Unless philosophers themselves are kings, Utopias do not get a chance of being actualized. The power holders in societies do not by any means make deductive uses of dreams of Utopian philosophers, assuming that they are even aware of the existence of such Utopian narratives and are familiar with their contents. The power elite do have a more practical kind of imagination that can be made concrete as "planned cultural action" with the use of political power. They are in the power game: seeking consensus, handling conflict, affiliating and excluding particular persons and publics from their bounded circles of solidarity, using a grand schedule of rewards and punishments (Bhola, 1972).

Of Power

According to Bertrand Russell, power is a concept as fundamental to social and behavioural sciences as energy is to physics. "The laws of social dynamics are . . only capable of being stated in terms of power in its various forms (Russell 1938: p. 15). Indeed, power permeates and energizes all social and behavioural processes.

We have come far from the Weberian conception of power in terms of the ability of one to control the behaviour of another. Multiple taxonomies of power have been developed. Wright (1994) in synthesizing understandings of power talks of three levels of power to include situational power (the ability to command people in spite of what they want); institutional power (the ability to define what wants get on the policy agenda, which then also includes "negative power", the power to exclude some alternatives), and systemic power (the ability to control social structures to shape what people should want).

in resonating to the ideas of Russeil (1938), we view power as a universal attribute of the human species, the universal human urge to act on the world, and remake it in aspects including the self, the material, and the symbolic (in the meanings of symbolic reconstructions of reality) to exercise power. To be is to be powerful. But our choices of the currencies of power may differ between the somatic (coercive) and symbolic (using reason or emotion); as do our capacities differ in handling, experiencing, or exerting power. The two categories of power, the somatic and symbolic, are by no means discrete, and the two are often used in synergy, but there is almost always a dominant colour to the currency of power chosen by those exercising power. Also, we are more or less powerful in regard to each of the instruments of power that we do come to choose and cultivate. Both symbolic power and somatic (physical brute) power have been used in advancing civilizations. A preference for the symbolic over the physical may be emerging in our times - maybe not! Symbolic power is not bloody but, at its worst, can be extremely oppressive. At its best, symbolic power can be experienced without having to exercise it directly on another person (Bhola 1975b).

Our concept of power, as symbolic power that can be experienced without having'to be directly exercised on another, also resonates to the position of Orville Lee (1998) who brings together Foucault's notions of cultural power and discursive power with Bourdieu's concept of symbolic power, thereby "to bring a cultural theory of symbolic power into a constructive dialogue with critical democratic theory."

The Power Elite and Cultural Action

The elite, defined simply as "the choice part, the best" of the society are the masterminds that can handle power with virtuosity. To engage in social and moral imagination is in itself a matter of being powerful. Then intellect and intuition are connected with imagination to undertake great and small projects of cultural action.

Cultural action fueled by Utopian imagination is not a matter of "coming, seeing, and conquering." It is always a challenge to make things happen. The old order has to be challenged and a new order has to be established. That requires sharing the vision with the people by a mobilization of their motivations, and by creating institutions and social formations to sustain the change. This is by no means an easy task since there is invariably social indifference, ignorance and inertia that must be dealt with, and there are contending elites whose resistance must be overcome. Cultural action, therefore, invariably becomes a matter of affiliation of some and exclusion of some others, accompanied with the meting out of rewards and punishments (Bhola, 1972).

Policy as Distributive

The questions about the nature of policy simply do not go away. What is the essential nature of policy? How is policy different from planning, institution building and management?

Does policy include intentions about end-states as well as side constraints? Does it include regulation of behaviour?

Definitions do not, of course, exist outside of ideology and epistemology. To state our position, we begin by asserting that the elite initiatives for cultural action for affiliation and exclusion are concretized and actualized through decrees, declarations, and policies which are elaborated, codified, labeled and communicated to the people. Plans and strategies for governance are developed and institutionalized through power to impose, power to persuade and power to reward and punish (1975b).

In this world of dialectic between consensus and conflict, policies almost always discriminate by including or excluding certain publics from their schedules of rewards and punishments. Indeed, what distinguishes policy from all other purposive action is its focus on distributions of social goods - ideally contributing to distributive justice (Bhola, 1975a). Thus, at its core, policy is the intent of the power elite for maintaining or mending the existing distributions of power, and of the economic, social, and cultural goods and dividends that are associated with the distribution and/or re-distributions of power. Of course, policy as purposive action includes both ends (intentions) and means (general approaches to achieving those ends). In search of ends, policy statements may also identify means including mobilization of behaviour, institution building and management of institutions, and other approaches to management of side constraints. Thus, policy making is a higher category of purposive action, subsuming, but not excluding, lower level purposive actions such as problem-solving, rule-making, regulating, decision-making and management. It should also be stated that some rule-making and regulative behaviour may come to have important policy implications - by having important distributive consequences down the stream.

Policy and Governance Connected

Policy is inherent in all governance. It is necessary for the elite to elaborate their future vision, to develop a general calculus of means and ends for achieving objectives and to communicate intentions to the people - through policy declarations. Is it ever possible for policy to emerge from the electorate? The answer, unfortunately, is: Seldom, if ever. The public is capable of social discontent which does not by itself lead to the process of social policy design or direct social action.

Policy may have been seif-conscious or un-self-conscious. It may have sprung from the will of a King or from the head of a philosopher, but it has always been there, inherent in all governance - despotic or democratic. There is clear evidence of policy making during the Chinese empires, the Gupta kingdoms under King Ashoka in India, and the Incas and Mayas of South America, as the Kings and their appointed governors made wars, conducted diplomacy and collected rent and revenues.

The role of the "policy elite" itself is not new. As the process of policy making became self-conscious, policy making roles emerged: as courtiers in the King's court, and ministers of presidents and prime ministers and as cardinals and^bishops in the holy court of the Pope. Similar secular and religious hierarchies emerged in other cultures and civilizations.

Many of the people in the courts of Kings became superior policy advisers and many wrote treatises on policy making. Confucius (5517-479? BC), the sage-scholar of China, wrote his most comprehensive work, *Analects of Confucius* for use in governance. His hope was to bring about the "Age of Grand Harmony" that would include all men of all nations. His political platform included avoidance of needless wars, reduction of taxation and mitigation of severe punishment. Both in his life and work, he sought a world in which the moral and the aesthetic would be combined (Grolier, 1995).

In India, Kautalya wrote his *Artha Sastra* as a political adviser to King Chandragupta Maurya, the founder of the Maurya dynasty in the 4th century BC. Machiavelli (1469-1527), the much admired and greatly maligned for his book *The Prince*[1], wrote that power was the decisive element of politics and then offered a set of amoral doctrines to capture and maintain power (ibid).

Policy and Policy Making in Post-Colonial Times

In the past. Kings had made policies by decrees to govern their people. Today, Presidents and Prime Ministers heading constitutional governments, enacted laws through their legislatures. In the Twentieth Century, the communist regime in the USSR may have done the most in putting policy and planning at centre stage by establishing the GOSPLAN: the central organ that through systematic policy development and planning would shape the socialist man and a communist republic that would take from everyone according to individual capacity and give to everyone according to individual need. Fascist Germany. Japan and Italy during the years between the two Great Wars were by no means squeamish about social planning or about public manipulation.

[1] **For a well regarded recent translation, see Machiavelli, Nicolo. 1980.** *The Prince.* **(Translated originally by Luigi Ricci in 1903; the present revised translation by E.R.P. Vincent in 1935). New York: Penguin Books.**

The Capitalist democracies, on purely ideological grounds, rejected the idea of "total governance" of the communist regimes through total multi-sector policy making and deliberate planning. However, Capitalism could not have and indeed did not stay away from policy making and planning for long. The organization of the national effort in fighting the Second World War demonstrated to the Americans (and Europeans) the usefulness of systematic policy making and planning. Indeed, the Western experience with systematic reform and policy making and planning as part of the Marshall Plan in Europe and General McArthur's guided transformation of Japan under American occupation underlined the necessity of perspectival policy making and systematic planning. In the 1960s, in the USA, President Lyndon Johnson would unleash a most systematically planned initiative for a "War on Poverty" to create a "Great Society" - an initiative intended to match President Roosevelt's "New Deal" of earlier years. The civil rights movement that accompanied the Johnson initiative in America resulted in a huge amount of policy production, planning and programming that would promote and actualize multi-culturalism and equal opportunity through affirmative action.

The decolonization (some would say neo-colonization) of the Third World had brought policy making and planning to the developing world. The erstwhile colonizers offered guidance and technical assistance to enable the newly "independent" countries to defeat poverty and dependency. Unfortunately, they saw Third World development as a mirror image of the socio-economic development back home in the West. The policies for development sold to the Third World were often a replication of the means and ends calculus that had served the West. Professional consultants suggested systematic policy making and long-term and short-term strategic planning. Development Banks came in to offer hard currency loans. We know from hindsight that the experiences of policy making and planning in the Third World did not measure up at all to Western successes in Europe and Japan and at home In the Third World, the will to succeed was weak, and the infusion of money and technology was extremely low. The local leadership was inexperienced and often easily corruptible. The result was increased poverty and increased dependency on the outsider as foreign debt of Third World nations ballooned out of control.

The indebted have no honour at home or abroad. The indebted also do not have many policy options. The Third World countries especially in Africa have become "weak states" (Midgal, 1988) having had to accept conditionalities imposed by the IMF and the World Bank and to literally sign over their sovereign right to make national policies. Too many states in the developing areas of the world have become "polities without policies."

Policy-Making Actors and Cultures

From the context of policy making, as sketched above, it should be possible to anticipate that an expanded "policy culture" has emerged. It is no more a small clique of power holders in the courts or in Presidential cabinets. Included are people from inside and outside: bankers, donors, local politicians, diplomats from the embassies, civil society leaders, and leaders of faith-based organizations, professional experts and academics from home and from abroad, and other stakeholders including the "Opposition." They end up being an assembly of the rich and the poor, the weak and the strong, the active and the passive. Concomitantly, there has been widespread institutionalization of policy processes and considerable networking among policy institutions and actors.

Policy Processes as Purposive Actions

While the roots of policy lie in the Utopian imagination, its fruits are found in purposive actions: that is, planned actions with pre-defined purposes. In turn, each purposive action can be seen as an intersecting double dialectic: (i) between means and ends, and (ii) between manifesto and manifestation - involving continuous mutual shaping, within limits of integrity of pre-defined objectives, ensuring that there is no goal displacement.

Policy processes can be analytically separated into several sub-processes: agenda setting or innovating, policy making (including policy design), implementation (including planning general strategies, and actualizing plans on the ground) and policy evaluation (Bhola, In process - a & b). These are all instances of purposive action - each having the same means and ends - and dynamic at its core. Each of these policy processes is connected to all of the others.

It is useful, for analytical purposes, to think of the policy processes listed above as separate. However, in real-life they are all interrelated, inter-penetrating and, indeed, mediated by additional micro processes. Policy analyses (and critique) pervade all of the policy processes. Policy analysis can be undertaken at the front end to enable comparative and anticipatory analyses and thereby to assist in policy formulation. Policy analysis related to practices on the ground assists the process of policy implementation. Policy analysis can answer questions about effectiveness and consequences during the life of the policy and serve as formative evaluation, and, at the end of the formal policy cycle, can become a policy evaluation (Bhola, 2000b).

A Triple-Perspective Model of Policy Analysis

Models of policy analysis for policy formulation for long had focused on the dialectic between logic and politics of policy processes. This may have been so

because ends were often taken for granted. More recently, the hidden and not so hidden disparities and injustices have come to the fore and policy analyzers are forced to grapple with questions of freedom and justice. Questions of practicality of policy intentions have also come to be central to policy evaluations. A Triple-Perspective Model for Policy Analysis, developed during the 1990s, seeks to meet these needs by asking three interrelated questions: Is the policy principled?; Is the policy professionally sound?; and, Is the policy practical (Bhola, 2000b)?

Moral Consensus on Principles

All the above three questions have to be answered in regard to a set of criteria around which a consensus has been built by the community of the concerned. The problem of consensus and conflict among different publics in a society has always been difficult to resolve. In our age of globalization, and international institutions of politics and economics, problems of consensus and contestation have bepome most difficult, and maybe ominous. An American political scientist. Professor Samuel Huntington has talked of the imminent clash of civilizations along the fault-lines of cultures (Huntington, 1993). The event of September 1 1, 2001, seem to have proved him right! There are more optimistic projections as well. Nobel Laureate Amartya Sen has observed that "we have to reject all kinds of moral skepticism, moral relativism and value neutrality coming from anywhere; we need a non-ethnocentric ethical consensus, a cross-cultural moral minimum " (Quoted in Schuftan, 1998). In doing this, we will be able to develop a moral consensus for a world moral order that accepts the limits of growth (Meadows et al., 1972) and the ethics of frugality. The moral order, we must remember, is more than cool calculations of right and wrong. In making decisions about new distributions of social and economic goods, within an ever-expanding circle of human solidarity, the moral must be joined with the spiritual (Bhola, 2000a).

At the higher summits of idealism, a moral consensus may be converging on to a set of political norms that include constitutional democracy with a bigger role for NGO's in the civil society (Fisher, 1998), which, it is suggested, should itself be empowered and enriched. At the level of rhetoric, there is demand for political democracy to include economic democracy. There are multiple contradictions, however, at the level of Realpolitik which is riddled with conflicting tendencies. Neo-liberal politics reigns supreme and free trade fever has spread around the globe. Social sensitivities and the sense of responsibilities that created the concept of the welfare state have evaporated (Pierson, 1994). The rhetoric of cultural pluralism has survived merely to create a fog that hides social inequities.

Professional Soundness

The question of professional soundness is not as easy to handle as it might seem at first sight. The problem of separating the discussion of "professional soundness" from the "policy being principled" and "practical" gets in the way. Indeed, too often policy analysis focuses on the political-economic, while professional-technical analysis of policy is simply neglected (Bhola, 2000b).

Professional criteria so general as to apply to all policy sectors from national security through industrialization, public health, agriculture, to social welfare and education, are nearly impossible to enunciate. Within a sector, general criteria are, however, possible - and some of these within-sector principles may indeed apply to some other sectors.

In education, general principles and criteria of goodness could be generated by using a systems theory perspective. Educational policy could be seen as making significant changes in an existing educational system or erecting an alternative educational system. The professional technical soundness of an anticipated educational system could then be discussed and critiqued in terms of the various components of the system as seen from the perspective of a professional educator *qua educator*. The components (or sub-systems) of an educational system under consideration could include: (i) ideological-philosophic coherence; (ii) policy interfaces with existing policies, educational and other; (iii) institutional capacities, assumed or anticipated; (iv) mobilization of consensus; (v) analysis of proposed curricula; (v) media, methods and materials of delivery of curriculum inside and outside class; (vi) nature, time and space for instructional encounters, face to face or at a distance; (vii) recruitment of learners and teachers considering equity and access; (viii) training and re-socialization of instructors and other educational actors; (ix) scenarios of transitions from learning to life and work; (x) professional support systems outside the institutional boundaries; and (xi) ends and means of assessment and evaluation (Bhola, 1998).

Is the Policy Practical?

A strong stream of theory and research has indeed developed about policy implementation, which, in the past, unfortunately seems not to have been included in models of policy analysis. More recently, a stream of theory of implementation has emerged inside of policy studies. The discussion has focused on top-down versus bottom-up models, however, and not much attention has been given to "doing" implementation. Some recent work is pushing towards operational implementation - general models that can be used to do implementation in particular social spaces at particular levels, at specific times,

involving particular configurations of agents and agencies (Bhola 2000b, In process-b).

Institutionalization of Policy Purposes and Processes

In the real world of policy making, policy declarations also involve the establishment of new institutions or re-organization of existing organizational mechanisms. A whole tradition of organizational behaviour and institution-building has emerged in social science literature.

Policy purposes and policy processes have both become institutionalized, meaning that special institutions have come into being for (a) developing and promoting policy agendas; (b) conducting systematic policy analyses of policies in the making or in early stages of implementation; (c) guiding implementation; and (d) assessing and evaluating policy impact.

Governmental Structures

Today, policy making is the whole-time and all-absorbing function of the governing classes (inside the government and in civil society institutions) in all sectors of governance: defense, mining, agriculture, labour, health, and everything in-between.

Statistical Bureaus have come to be established at the international and national levels by state and non-state formations to collect demographic, social, and economic data that has come to play a most significant part in policy formulations nationally, regionally and internationally. Think Tanks as exemplified by the Rand Corporation, the Brookings Institute, the Hoover Institute, and the Hudson Institute in America have sprung up all over the developed world. There are polling organizations that keep their hands on the pulse of the nation and keep on reporting what the people expectations are about policy agendas, and how they are responding day by day to policies as propounded and implemented.

Universities around the world are producing social scientific knowledge that ultimately supports policy. In developed countries of the North, universities have created schools of policy and public affairs where future policy analysts are prepared and policy-oriented knowledge is produced to formulate, analyze and implement policies actually being pursued by nations. Multiple professional associations, dedicated to advancing policy oriented knowledge and to the systematic utilization of knowledge to illuminate policy processes, have come into being.

International Institutions

In this world of Globalization, where policies - economic, political, social, cultural, educational and technological - are coming to be more and more integrated, international organizations have come to play a crucial role. In the area of education UNESCO, UNICEF, UNDP and the World Bank have come to have a tremendous influence. Several social summits organized under the aegis of the United Nations have contributed to the construction of educational policies around the world. The Faure Report in 1976 and the Delors Report in 1996 have influenced educational policy world-wide, as have international educational level such as Education for All, and the recent World Meeting on Higher Education.

Policy-Relevant Knowledge

Policy making has come to be linked with social sciences some of which are often called policy sciences. An area called policy studies has developed. Policy theory, research and training have become professional activities for preparation for careers in the policy cultures and structures of states. Policy knowledge has indeed advanced. The complexities of policy making, analysis, implementation and evaluation have come to be better understood.

Whose Knowledge?

Ideally, policies should be knowledge driven, but by whose knowledge? Knowledge that most often drives policy today is Western knowledge produced from western standpoints. The discussion of dominant knowledge does not only cover the North-South axis. Feminists have offered incisive critiques of patriarchical knowledge that has held its sway in the West (and the East) over the centuries and negated the females' intellect and imagination, experience and expression. Knowledge is also divided by ideology: socialist and capitalist, and in the US between democrats and republicans.

Globalization and Democratization of the Policy Process

The point has been made that too many nations, particularly the indebted nations of the world, have lost their right to make national policies to the World Bank that has imposed Structural Adjustment Programmes on these new pseudo-states and pseudo civil societies, particularly in Africa.

The first challenge to most nations and particularly for the weak states (actually weakened states) is to reclaim their sovereign rights to make their national policies in their national capitals to serve their own national interests - that is the people's interests. This of course is possible only if the nations get out

of indebtedness and at the same time take control of their own destiny: by inventing their own special vision of national futures, their own possible development scenarios that are possible in the context of national realities and resource availabilities.

Related to the above intolerable set of externalities are the equally intolerable conditions of internalities: of dual denial by the leaders to their own people. The people are unable to engage in the processes either of envisioning and planning a development scenario; or to avail of the opportunities to take part in the processes of development and its benefits. This should not be allowed to stand. To change it, there will have to be social activism among the intelligentsia which at the moment seems to be colluding with the governing cliques. Needed also is progressive mass scale education of the people so that they can learn to demand their simple civic rights of citizenship.

The Field of Policy Studies: Policy Studies and Policy Practice in Our Times

With so much going on in policy making, policy analysis, implementation and policy evaluation, it is not surprising that a separate field of policy studies has emerged in the American academia and now more and more in other Western and some relatively advanced non-Western countries. University departments are training higher and middle level personnel for all of the institutions engaged in the policy processes. The academics are once in a while able to "Speak Truth to Power" and to declare that the "Emperor has no Clothes" (Lasswell, 1951; Brewer, 1974; Dryzek and Ripley, 1988; Wildavsky 1979; Lindblom and Woodward 1993).

The field seems to have been shaped by political scientists and students of public administration. Economists joined in and with the coming of the computers and the ability to deal with large data sets, policy analysis came to be defined as the choice among well defined options. The calculus of costs and benefits was used to determine economic returns connected with various options. Those working with positivist assumptions, wanted to remake policy studies as "policy science." There was resistance to such moves, however. Policy analysts with actual experience in the real world were talking of the art and craft of policy analysis, not of policy science. They were betting on new constructivist and interpretative epistemologies and preaching participative and collaborative strategies for implementing all policy processes.

Concluding Statement

As we enter the twenty-first century, systematic (and hopefully systemic) policy-making, implementation and evaluation will become even more central to the affairs of the states, but it will not necessarily be a moral enterprise.

Policy will be claimed to be knowledge-driven but what knowledge will be privileged and what will not, will itself be decided upon by the governing elite. In the name of openness, declarations of means and ends of policy will be doctored for public consumption. There will be masterful Orwellian exercises in fuzzy logic, nuanced double-speak, use of coded language, with multiple layers of deliberate obfuscation (Orwell, 1950).

In these circumstances, the role of independent policy analysts becomes critical and crucial. To ensure that these independent policy analysts do not themselves end up pandering to their own biases, they must begin with coming clean about their own standpoints of ideology and epistemology. Then they must do their moral duty of shining light on warranted knowledge, and its implications and possibilities; and cut through the codes and doublespeak of the policy language being fed to the people. With the peoples' interest in mind, they should then analyze the policy under consideration, asking the questions: Is the policy principled? Is the policy professionally sound? Is the policy practical?

The discourse of policy analysis will have to be translated in several scripts to suit various levels of the society. While policy analysts on university campuses join in the policy debates at the national and state levels, they also need to develop discourses at the community level to truly democratize the processes of policy analysis, implementation and evaluation. If the intelligentsia in and outside of the universities does not rise to the challenge, it is an occasion for despair!

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BOOK REVIEWS

LEE, W. O. (2002): ***Equity and Access to Education: Themes, Tensions and Policies,*** Education in Developing Asia, Volume 4, Hong Kong, Asian Development Bank and Comparative Education Research Centre of the University of Hong Kong, ISBN 971-561-406-X, pp. 101, (Paperback).

This publication is the fourth volume of the series on "Education in Developing Asia", jointly brought out by the Asian Development Bank (ADB) and the Comparative Education Centre of the University of Hong Kong. It deals with the issue of "access and equity in education in the developing member countries (DMCs) of ADB" (p. 3) in the East and South Asian regions. Four aspects of equity in education, discussed in the book, are equity that is related to gender (traditional disadvantage of females), income (economic disadvantage of poverty), region (disadvantage of being rural or belonging to economically backward region) and socio-cultural (disadvantage of being minority group).

The book contains data from a number of countries on the opportunities of the different gender, income, regional and socio-cultural groups in their access to education. Presenting the Gender-related Development Index (GDI) and the Human Development Index (HDI) of the United Nations Development Programme (UNDP), the book has shown that in the matter of gender-related equity, "most DMCs still rank low in gender development compared with other parts of the world" (p. 8). Data on gender-related equity in education are given in matters of adult literacy/illiteracy, enrolment in primary, secondary and tertiary (university) education, retention and repetition in primary education, educated employment/unemployment, and labour force in managerial and professional occupations. The data show that, while many of the DMCs remain low on GDI, a few of them have achieved gender equality in some matters of education. As regards income-related equity, the book uses the UNDP concept of Capability Poverty Measure (CPM) - "the lack of three basic capabilities, namely nourishment and health, healthy reproduction and education, particularly in relation to female literacy" - as distinguished from income poverty (p. 30). Data from a few of the DMCs are presented here to show the linkage between poverty, on the one hand, and literacy/illiteracy and school enrolment, on the other. In the case of region-related equity, the book presents data on male and female literacy and school enrolment for the rural and urban areas in a few DMCs. Some data on education and regional variation, other than rural-urban, are given in the case of four countries, viz., Philippines, Nepal, Indonesia and China. Under socio-cultural related equity, the book deals with the disadvantages of certain groups that arise out of their socio-cultural identities as minority groups. Although mention is made of sporadic cases of "advantaged minority" groups like the

Chinese in some of the DMCs, the book, on the whole, suggests "that minorities within DMCs continue to be disadvantaged in access to education"(p. 55). By way of demonstration, briefcase studies of minorities in Cambodia, China, Laos and Nepal are presented in the book. An important policy issue raised, in this context, is that of language, viz., in most cases minorities will have to pursue education in a language different from their own. Finally, based on the rank in the HD1 and GDI, the book categorises the DMCs into three groups - high, medium and low. The data presented here show that countries, high and medium on the HD1/GDI, have relatively higher rates of literacy, school enrolment and expenditure on education than the low HDI/GD1 countries.

Substantively, the book provides some useful data on inequality in education in some of the Asian countries. These data show the expected trend, viz.. the females, the poor, the rural and the culturally disadvantaged groups lag behind the others in the matter of access to education. Again, as expected, the four forms of inequality in education are more marked in relatively less developed countries. For instance, a few of the countries that are relatively high on the HDI of the UNDP have higher rates of equity in education. Although the fact of inequality in education in most of these countries is well known, the data presented in the book throw light on the extent as well as the variation in the rate of educational inequality in the different countries.

Methodologically, there is no uniformity in the number the DMCs that are covered in the presentation of the data on the individual issues of educational equality discussed in the book. There are 48 tables in the book, of which 19 present data on individual issues of educational equality in the DMCs. The number of countries listed in these tables of data varies from 5 to 31. Just 8 of the tables provide data for 20 or more of the countries. No reason is given for the absence of the data on a number of items from many of the member countries or providing data from selected countries. Only in the matter of socio-cultural equality pertaining to the minorities, the book states that the issue is demonstrated with case studies from four countries. The data on most of the other matters presented in the book also could be treated as illustrations from member countries, because they too pertain to selected member countries. In fact, the book does not clearly specify the DMCs. The author seems to have presumed that the readers would know about the DMCs, or the readers are made to presume that the DMCs are the 31 countries appearing in the tables with the longest list of countries.

The book has dealt with the major determinants of inequality in education, viz. social (gender), economic, cultural and regional. It has also shown the interface between some of these factors contributing to the existence of educational inequality. In this respect, the book has made some contribution to the theory on education and equality in the field of Sociology of Education.

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From the point view of social development, the data provided here are likely to be helpful to the policy makers engaged in development planning.

Tata Institute of Social Sciences
Deonar, Mumbai - 400 088

Jacob Aikara
Email: jaikara@tiss.edu

ANGELA W. LITTLE (1999): ***Labouring to Learn: Towards a Political Economy of Plantations, People and Education in Sri Lanka.*** London: Macmillan Press Ltd., pp. 350. Price: £ 55 (Hardback), ISBN 0-333-67429-4 (available in Tamil and Simhala also)

The Indian Tamils account for about 18% of Sri Lanka's estimated population of 17.6 million. The percentages in this population of the remaining groups, namely Sinhalese, Moors, Malays, and Burghers are 74, 7, 0.3, and 0.3 respectively. The Tamils are thus the second largest group.

They originally came to Sri Lanka to work in plantations. Later emigrants worked as labourers in towns and over time some of the descendants of those who lived and worked in plantations moved outside the plantations and found work in a range of occupations. Despite this, the vast majority of the Tamils continue to reside inside the plantations and are often referred to as *plantation Tamils, estate Tamils,* or *hill-country Tamils,* and are located at the base of Sri Lanka's social, political and economic hierarchies.

As the author would have, understanding this community in the 1990s lies in part in the history of plantation profits, plantation people and plantation politics. In keeping with this perspective, she has focussed, as the subject of the book, on the story of their struggle for educational progress, from the mid-nineteenth century to the end of the twentieth century. That story, as she has observed, is embedded, among other things, in (a) political, social and economic relations which have a long history and which stretch beyond the confines of the plantation; (b) within a plural society, in which the political interests of estate people have gradually become more central to the mainstream politics of Sri Lanka, and within a national and global economy in which plantation production has become less central and less profitable over time; and (c) in,a contemporary institutional development discourse in which Sri Lanka's report card on economy, polity and education is a paradox: Sri Lanka's standards of education - despite rather modest levels of economic growth - are high, for which it is hailed internationally. But, historically, economic revenues generated by the labours of the plantation community, whose standards of education were low, underpinned these high standards. Its standards of social welfare and gender equality are high. But it is reproached for its record on human rights and for the

continuation of the ethnic crisis and civil war. Underlying this, are complex issues and shifting sands of policies, politics, economy and society.

However, in keeping with the subject of the book, the author's main observations and findings run thus: The dominance of political, economic and social influence on progress and stasis in the plantations varied from phase to phase. In the nineteenth century, the religious goals of missionary organisations and labour's need to maintain contact with kins in India influenced the provision of education. In the early twentieth century, influences included pressure from England and India for improvements in labour conditions, and political and educational developments within Sri Lanka more generally. In the late twentieth century, important influences have included: nationalisation of plantation schools, economic decline of the tea industry, growth of a labour surplus, rising social demand, an influx of teachers of plantation community origin, foreign funds, the broader political and ethnic crisis and the position of plantation Tamils within it. While the economic requirement for unskilled and docile labour exerted a pervasive influence on educational stasis, its force has weakened under conditions of labour surplus. The politics of ethnic relations has also contributed significantly to stasis, especially in the post-independence period upto 1977. On balance the major influences on educational progress in the plantations of Sri Lanka have been political; those on stasis economic.

Following a Preamble and an Abstract (in English, Tamil, and Sinhalese), the book is organised into eight lengthy, thematically arranged interconnected chapters. Chapter 1 begins with a day in the life of Vickneswari, an eight-year old plantation child of the 1990s *labouring to learn* in a community in transition - as a child in a changing society, goes into her life at home, in school, in plantation, labours of household work, tuition and homework adding to the labour of learning in the formal school, the growth of educational opportunity in the plantations in the context of the relationship between the plantation Tamil community and other communities, followed by a brief discussion of the development discourse, models of educational change and a framework of the structure and analysis of rest of the book..

Chapter 2 explores the history of plantations in Sri Lanka, from their inception in the 1830s to 1977, the nature of plantation production and the drive for profits within a colonial export economy. The rise and fall of plantation profits, the migration and settlement of Tamil labourers inside plantations or the development of plantation labour from a migratory to a settled community, the growth of trade unionism in plantations and political franchise among plantation communities, and shifts in the political alliance of plantation trade unions, all covering the pre- and post-independence period upto the point of the land reform of the early 1970s, are the concerns of this chapter.

Chapter 3 is on the development of a national education system in Sri Lanka. As both a goal and a source of influence, how the emerging national education

system provided the educational context for the development of education in the plantations is examined in the context of colonial influences of the Portuguese, Dutch, and the British, and educational change during the early independence period, and educational reform during 1970-77. The chapter concludes with a snapshot on educational transformations from 1800 to 1977. In doing so, the author has identified five phases of educational progress and stasis in the plantations: diffuse inception of schools (1840-1869), slow growth of schools (1869-1900), wide-spread establishment of schools (1900-1948), slow consolidation of low quality of schooling (1948-1977), and nationalisation and enrolment expansion (1977-1994). Progress and stasis are related to political, economic and social influences at the local, national and global levels.

The origin and development of education in plantations are examined in chapter 4 in the context of the principal agents for educational provision in the nineteenth century, namely Kanganies, Missionaries and Planters, grant-in-aid by the British, the condition of literacy and the economy at the turn of the century. It also provides an overview of education in plantations from 1840 to 1977.

Chapters 5 to 7 are on educational, economic and political developments since 1977. They together present accounts of recent educational progress and perceptions of the current value of education from the points of view and the voices of those in a position to be aware of change on the ground - parents, teachers and plantation superintendents.

The author's observations on Vickneswari, with which chapter 8 begins, sum up the changes in the plantation education and anticipate corresponding changes in occupation status:

> Over the past century and a half the experience of formal education of plantation Tamil children in Sri Lanka has changed dramatically - from rudimentary lessons in basic numeracy and literacy, held in night classes and followed by a small number of boys and a handful of girls - to day-time lessons guided by a national curriculum and followed by most boys and girls from the age of five years. When she finishes her formal education, Vickneswari may find work outside the plantation. She may not, [become] instead a plantation labourer, as generations before her have done ... Unlike a century ago, some members of Vickneswari's community have a chance to achieve an occupational status different from that of their parents. The change - from occupational status ascription to occupational status achievement - has been mediated by formal schooling (page 266).

On the whole, the book shows optimism about the educational progress and related occupational mobility of the plantation community. At the same time, the

author has not remained complacent with this limited progress. On the contrary, she has highlighted the persisting problems and limitations of the system.

The author's contextual observation, that the translation of global advocacy into situated practice will depend on the ability of advocates to embrace analytically the historical and contemporary context of education specific settings, is very important. So also, the concluding sentence of the book: "The control of the resources for education - by whom and for whom - has lain, and will continue to lie, at the heart of the plantation community's *Labouring to Learn"* (page 298).

The ethnic crisis and the civil war find only passing reference in the book. As these have been unabated for more than two decades now, their effects on education of the plantation community could have been discussed in greater detail. As the book is densely packed with data, issues, ideas and details, its reading is not easy, and one may occasionally get a nagging feeling if Vickneswari (read the subject of the book) has in some sense vanished into the wilderness of the larger details. This is, however, only a subjective feeling.

On the whole, the book is certainly a work of much labour and high scholarship, and a valuable contribution to the burgeoning literature on education of the groups at the margins of society, and groups excluded from education hitherto. Countries like India have a lot to learn from it.

Madras Institute of Development Studies
Chennai, India 600020

P. Radhakrishnan
E-mail: prk_mids@hotmail.com

JOSE, A.V. (ed.)(2002): ***Organized Labour in the 21'' Century,*** International Institute for Labour Studies, 4, Route des Morillons, Geneva, Switzerland, Geneva, pp. 406, Price: 30 Swiss Francs (Paperback)

The world is moving towards more openness along with greater political freedom and independent trade unions are coming up in countries where hitherto mainly state-sponsored unions existed. The consequences of openness for workers and the kind of regulatory and institutional framework that can promote the security and working conditions of labour are increasingly becoming topical and receiving more deserved attention. This volume contributes to the literature on this topic by looking at the role of unions and organized labour in various parts of the world such as in the US where there has been concern about rising wage disparities, in Europe where there has been persistent unemployment, in Japan where the relocation of jobs abroad has been increasing, and in many developing countries where the effect of state directed employment creation has been beneficial to a minority amongst the workforce. The influence of international and institutional developments such as technology, workers' skills, regulations

and political structures on the labour market is an open issue and the volume takes up some of these issues for examination through the case studies of developments in countries around the world.

The activities of unions are treated in isolation from other agents representing the interests of capital, government, etc. and to that extent, the book neglects the constraints and opportunities available to unions to operate in a globalized environment. The claim made in the editorial introduction that unions blended strategies for converting labour into non-competing groups as a result of which they have come to occupy a unique position as purveyors of social cohesion in all societies is accordingly stretched. It is true that unions fought for democracy in Poland, for the end of racial segregation in South Africa, and for national independence in India but their impact on equity and efficiency is by no means clear. Whilst unions in Korea and Mexico may have improved the distribution of income in favour of organized sector workers and reduced discrimination against women and ethnic minorities, the wage premia they have obtained for their members have been at the cost of slower growth and lower wages and employment for unorganized workers such as in South Africa and many other developing countries.

Unions typically do one of two things. One type takes the firm's labour demand curve as given and determine the optimal wage mark-up they negotiate. The other type of unions negotiate wage and employment contracts that capture some of the inframarginal rents - excess labour is hired and workers are paid more than their marginal product as a result. Most workers in developing countries are in the rural and informal sectors where there is no unionization and wherever unions have evolved (mainly in the organized manufacturing sector), their main focus has been to capture increased rent with much less emphasis on raising productivity and improving competitiveness. With the transnationalization of production, the increasing share of services in employment, and the greater adoption of flexible labour market policies, some of those rents are fast disappearing and unions are finding that their survival depends on taking up a common minimum programme whereby they move towards working with business and government to enhance the employability of labour. Unions have diversified away from a concentration of a role of bargaining towards a role where the broader interests of labour are represented as the "book documents. Unions now engage more efforts in providing services such as health care, credit, insurance and housing services to members and non-members and unions now cooperate more with the state and business for the development of new institutions for social security.

The major problem faced by labour in the emerging world economy is the access to jobs that are increasingly becoming skill intensive as workers who are less skilled are being excluded from employment opportunities. Unions need to focus on this problem which is the key to equitable labour market outcomes.

Earlier systems of work had low-skill ports of entry where workers learned skills on the job whilst simultaneously making a contribution. The shortening of the job ladder and the evolution of flatter organizational structures with fewer promotional opportunities make it much more difficult for entrants into the labour market to pick up and develop necessary skills. Even firms interested in contributing to training will be reluctant to do so in a regime of reduced job security and flexible labour markets as such training benefits the future employers of the workers who do not share in the cost of training. When either the worker or the firm expects job attachment to be short-term work, related training will be neglected. It is here that unions can play a significant role by, for instance, putting pressure on governments to restructure accounting rules so that they recognize training as an investment and allow tax breaks for firms that undertake such investments.

The book is incisive about two trends that are gradually becoming predominant. First, the skill differences between workers is growing with the rise of the information society. As a result, unions have the challenge that skilled workers, being professional workers and having greater mobility, are less likely to identify with the unions of the enterprise they work for. Second, increasingly more workers are contracting under flexible employment relations where institutional safeguards are minimal. In such a situation, the vulnerability of workers has grown as they compete for highly mobile international capital. Rising income inequality and flexible employment practices make the cohesive role of unions increasingly difficult to sustain. The numerous case studies of the union movement in countries around the world, as documented in the book, point to these two major issues that dominate the agenda of unions. What unions may do to address these issues is not discussed adequately in the book. The suggestion that unions need to forge alliances with other actors in society and collaborate with other national and international labour movements is trite. It is recognized that the realization of a *social floor* in terms of human rights, minimum wages, safety nets and skill acquisition is a primary goal for unions but the political economy of accomplishing this is not explored.

The book underplays the heterogeneity of economic interests between skilled and unskilled workers. We can take it that unskilled workers prefer unionized labour markets as they yield higher returns for them than competitive ones, and capital prefers competitive labour markets to unionized ones. Skilled workers will be pivotal in such a set-up to what labour market regime emerges. When inequality of incomes is low, skilled workers will side with the unskilled for unionized labour markets as the income from rent will be higher than the income lost through taxes used to finance transfer payments to the unskilled and unemployed for purposes of social cohesion. As incomes of skilled workers rise, their economic interest converges towards that of capital owners and they stand to lose more income from taxation which could make them prefer competitive

labour markets. Unions accordingly may find it politically difficult to organize around issues of guaranteeing equity and opportunity via the provision of a social floor when the inequality of incomes between the skilled and unskilled is large. It is these sorts of constraints and opportunities for unions that are missing in the book. Otherwise, it is a storehouse of information about the changing economic environment and labour institutions in varying regions of the world.

Indian Institute of Management
Ahmedabad 380 015.

Errol D'Souza
Email: errol@iimahd.ernet.in

CUMMINGS, WILLIAM K., TATTO MARIA TERESA & JOHNE HAWKINS (Eds.) (2001) ***Values in Education for Dynamic Societies: Individualism or Collectivism,*** Comparative Education Research Centre, The University of Hong Kong, pp. 312

Indian educators are quite familiar with the word 'value'/ 'values', perhaps much more than with any other term used in the context of education. It would appear as though all other concerns in education in this country have suddenly been subordinated to this single requirement. But interestingly, this term seems to be used by them as an adjective to qualify the noun, 'education' and not, as a noun in its plural form. The present book uses the term 'values' only to highlight their distinctive role and character in education i.e. an education whose core content relates to values that can be identified, prioritized and also ranked. That they require some specific methodology to teach has also been researched and reported. For the first time, I have come across a publication that distinguishes values so very neatly and packages each one of them with appropriate labels in terms of their priorities in different nation-states.

The present study, funded by Soka University of America in which some 800 educational elites shared their time and experience, is presented in 14 chapters. The first chapter explains why the choice of the region for the study had to be Pacific Basin. The entire reporting has the advantage of being based on 20 well-articulated settings.

The objective of this book is to describe recent developments and debates on values. Also the idea was to outline the new directions that emerge from the study. Reasons given for selecting the Pacific Basin for study are as follows:

1. The region is rapidly rising in importance in the new international order.
2. The region is exceptionally diverse in terms of traditions and history.
3. In many Pacific Basin settings, past traditions are undergoing intensive review.

4. Much of our understanding of the region comes from research on macro issues and processes with less attention to the views of leaders, either past or contemporary.
5. Values education is a prominent part of education in most of the Pacific Basin countries. There may be lessons to learn.

The 12 countries included in the present study are Thailand, Malaysia, Singapore, China, Taiwan, Korea, Japan, Russia, USA, Hawaii and Mexico. In terms of civilizations, these represent European, Chinese and the Mayan. The reported studies cover a very wide representation of elites from each country reported. For example, the study on Russia includes elites from as far distant regions as Moscow, Kemerovo and Vladivostok and in the case of the USA, elites from New York, Michigan, California and Hawaii.

The current loss and dissensions in the domain of values is reflected in the present study, which by itself is a good enough reason to undertake research in this area. The study, therefore, seeks to find out values, leaders believe in and the specific approaches, they have in mind for their spread and communication.

The study does not report on Indonesia as its fieldwork could not be completed and has an under-sampling of settings influenced by French colonialism.

Each country sampling constitutes thirty leaders with a record of accomplishment in the field of values education. To carry out interviews, expert teams were formed with at least one senior researcher and the other a junior one. At times, even 'outsiders' were included. In the Pacific Basin region, the thrust of the values has been to foster collective values and to de-emphasize individual values. In the European/mainstream Western thinking about modernization, the primacy of individual over collective values is stressed. This then is one of the major contentious areas in the contemporary discussion on values, hence, the raison d'etre for the study. If collectivism over individualism is getting defended in the North America and Western Europe, the Asian side of the Pacific Basin is developing a more favourable attitude toward individualistic values.

In the earlier times, when leaders thought of new values, they chose schools to promote them. But over time, most of the high raking leaders are asking school to intensify its contribution to other forms of socialization, notably a strengthening of the academic curriculum and an increasing stress on the development of vocational skills. The curricular challenges have led to the diminution of the time and attention devoted to value education. The present publication, therefore, addresses this issue.

In the interviews with the elites, **four** core questions were discussed:

1. Why should there be improvement in values education?
2. What values should receive the greatest attention?

3. Who should be the focus of the values?
4. How should these values be developed and transmitted?

An early decision of the combined group responsible for the book was to develop a research approach that would help highlight points of divergence in the thinking of elites rather than areas of agreement. The group had concluded that diverse tendencies in values education of the region were a reflection of the emerging complexity of the contemporary life. The methodology for highlighting differences required a new survey approach, ***the Sigma International Elite Survey,*** complemented by careful investigations of the socio-political context in each of the Elite Survey. The special features of this Survey might interest Indian researchers; therefore, they are being reported here:

1. The intentional selection of an elite sample from each setting that represents important points of variation in terms of political/ideological affiliation, social position, gender, and regional location;
2. The development of questions that reflect the particular concerns of each setting;
3. The use of a question format that requires respondents to clarify where they stand (e.g. rank-ordering from a list with many options); and
4. Follow-up questions to selected respondents who take exceptional positions on particular responses.

The findings of the research perhaps suggest that different nation-states have differing value scales; even within the same nation-state also, they vary with each change in the government.

An excellent book for those who feel concerned about teaching of values in India.

A-4/ 206, Kalkaji Extension
New Delhi 110019

R.P. Singh
E-mail: rpsingh2@vsnl.net

MATHEW, A. (2002) ***The Literacy Movement in West Godavari District (A.P.): A Report,*** Eluru: Paschima Godavari Akshara Samithi, pp. 110, Price: not mentioned (Paperback)

The title of the book under review is a report that relates to the literacy movement in West Godavari District in Andhra Pradesh. The book is divided into Five Chapters Viz.,Introduction; Engagement with a People's CE Programme in West Godavari District; The Akshara Mahila Programme: An alternative approach to literacy; Akshara Sankranti Programme in Andhra

Pradesh: West Godavari District paved the way and leads the State; and The Literacy Movement in West Godavari District: An Assessment of Approaches and Future Prospects.

The Introductory Chapter describes that the innovative literacy approach i.e. Akshara Sankranthi has been adopted for eradication of residual illiteracy in the district and later it has been extended to the entire state. Some significant features have become evident from the West Godavari district where the alternative approach to literacy was experimented and has been adopted in the entire state of Andhra Pradesh.

The author has stated that the objective of the study would be to make a valuable addition to the knowledge of innovations in India literacy movement as also as an input to inspire many on-going CE programmes. The present report is based on a series of study visits to the district and besides the vast amount of secondary data available with Zilla Sakshratha Samithies, interactions with a large number of people involved in the programme at district, mandal, village and CEC and literacy centre levels. The report also sought to capture the efforts in West Godavari and draw out the lessons. The profile of West Godavari district includes the administrative structure, the occupational patterns etc.

The next Chapter provides an analytical account of the experience of Continuing Education Programme in West Godavari district where it encompasses the processes involved in conceptualising its implementing as a people's programme. Environment building has been made through publicity campaigns such as public meetings, cultural programmes, rallies, *padayatras,* distribution of handbills, door posters, etc. explaining about the concept of CE as people's programme. Different types of continuing education programmes, organised under the aegis of the CE Scheme (1997-99) under regular and optional programmes, are also explained, besides regular activities organised at CEC level.

The response of the community for equipping CECs in the district and the innovative methods adopted for mobilisation of funds in the district have been illustrated, as also the procedural wrangles such as failure to provide the assured funds by the ZSS, delay of funds from NLM, etc. have resulted in the frustration among the people, devoid of basic infrastructure in the CECs and decline in people's enthusiasm, un-attractive and ill-equipped library, failure to start the various skill development programmes for the women of self-help groups, a set-back to the voluntary work of Akshara Sangam due to the introduction of AP School Education (People's Participation) Act, 1998, shift of Planning of CEC activities from decentralization to centralization, increased administration's control on the voluntary, people-managed programme, undermining the confidence of Akshara Sangams. Comparing and contrasting it vis-a-vis NLM perceptions on CE, the account also seeks to portray the decline of people's enthusiasm when the state support failed to be received by the ZSS. The author

has stated that the second year CE programme was not started due to non-getting of sanction from NLM and the first year CE activities could not be sustained, as the second instalment was not released. Thus the CE programme has become a routine governmental programme, losing all the promise it showed initially. At the end of the chapter, the district features of West Godavari district's CE programme as well as its lessons are noted.

Chapter III examines the Akshara Mahila Programme (AMP) and how it turned out to be a significant alternative approach to literacy as well as the literacy teaching-learning method. The author has explained about the West Godavari Akshara Mahila Programme (AMP) which has paved the way for the mass literacy campaign popularly known as Akshara Sankranthi Programme (ASP) reminiscent of how the Ernakulam mass campaign experiment known as Total Literacy Campaign led to its adoption in country during the last decade. As per his description, the ASP has proved to be more cost-effective, of much more shorter duration and with more easy, innovative, enjoyable and faster teaching-learning process than the TLC approach. The author, however, has stated that there was a lot more deviation from this approach even though the ASP was clearly inspired by the AMP. Further, he has explained the circumstances i.e. continuous function of CECs in the district even though there was a delay in release of second year CE programme in 1998, the keen participation of women of SHGs in literacy classes, the active involvement of *Preraks* in literacy teaching to 25 illiterates during the crisis period of 1998 to mid-1999 which seemed a plausible alternative to sustain and assure the dimension of a big programme in the district when the CE programme in the whole of AP virtually ground to a halt.

The author has also narrated the Kothapalli experiment, conducted at Kofhapalli, a hamlet of Gopalannapalem village, the practice of teaching literacy first only through reading and introducing the writing practice later, and the 'experience' that 'this led to faster and better learning. This experiment of learning has led to read, fluently in 42 days by using the primer, '*Chadavadcmiki Vachakam*', originally developed by Dr. C. Krishna Mohan Rao, the DD (AE) in the district. Based on this experiment, a literacy programme has been launched for the DWACRA groups on a large scale in the district and also paved the way for launching of AMP. He has described the selective approach adopted in AMP which has fundamental difference from the TLC's mass approach and other innovations such as Pedagogical Teaching-Learning method, separation of reading from writing, cost-effectiveness, detailed planning and pre-launch preparations, civil society's generosity, etc. He has stated that out of 37,283 learners enrolled under AMP 29,831 completed the course and the achievement level was more than 60 per cent. Further, the AMP paved the way for Akshara Sankranthi Campaign in the whole of AP in the year 2000 and in West Godavari,

the next phase of AMP was launched. The various valuable lessons offered by the AMP are enumerated at the end of the Chapter.

In Chapter IV, the author presents an analytical description of the Akshara Sankranthi programme in West Godavari popularly known as Akshara Deeksha. Viewing this as a pace-setter for the Akshara Sankranthi programme in AP, and as a front-runner, comparable to the legendary literacy campaigns of the early nineties, its implementational modalities are analysed in detail. The major aspects include the organisational preparations for the campaign and planning that preceded and accompanied the launching phase of the programme; the mass mobilisation strategy; the monitoring strategies adopted; the motivational strategies for sustaining the campaign tempo; innovation in Teaching-Learning methods; aids and games; the methods adopted for and the level of community involvement; the effects of all these campaign efforts in the improvement in attendance in literacy centres and achievement of learners. The second and third phases of Akshara Deeksha viz., the Akshara Sampoorthi or the mopping up phase, the second year CE programme, which was aimed to consolidate the skills and help the neo-literates to transit from guided to self-reliant learning and its initial and present approaches have been illustrated. Three crucial components of the Akshara Deeksha campaign have been analysed in greater length as these are presumed to have collectively contributed to its unique and legendary charter viz., (i) the implementation and monitoring strategies which did not allow any slip from its 3 months schedule even when it was converted from a selective group based approach into a mass campaign approach; (ii) the social mobilization and motivational strategies; and (iii) the unparalleled response of civil society.

Chapter V presents a comparative assessment of the three significant innovations - one relating to CE and the other two relating to basic literacy, in the West Godavari literacy movement. The major differences between the selective group based approach of AMP and the mass campaign based Akshara Deeksha are analysed and the aspects in respect of which Akshara Deeksha marked a substantive innovation in approach are highlighted. Further, the chapter also addresses three aspects viz., (i) CE experience of West Godavari district which was a fine model based on community ownership and management of CECs; (ii) the salient pricesses and methods adopted in Akshara Deeksha; and (iii) the present thinking of ZSS leadership towards the CE to guage the prospects of their convergence with the earlier CE model, when Akshra Deeksha transits to the CE phase.

In conclusion, the lessons from all the three innovations in West Godavari district literacy movement, viz., CE programme (1997-99), Akshara Mahila Programme (April, 2000) and Akshara Deeksha (Oct. 2000 to Feb. 2001) are abstracted at the end. On the whole, the report of the literacy movement in West Godavari district is the outcome of the information and insights gathered through long interactions with the organisers and field functionaries, besides

referring the records available at the district, mandal and CEC levels. The report is an analytical and comprehensive account of the literacy movement in the West Godavari district.

The covers of the book are attractive, signifying the real movement for literacy. The report contains 40 photographs - 5 relating to CE programme, 10 to Akshara Mahila Programme and 25 relating to Akshara Deeksha which depict the launching, publicity, mobilisation, meetings, participation of different sections of population in CE programme, AMP and Akshara Deeksha programmes. Finally, the book would be very useful to the literacy functionaries working in the field of literacy CE programmes, in general, and the institutions/university departments, in particular, for understanding the continuous efforts in the district for the last 3-4 years. The book is recommended for the libraries so as to access the West Godavari district literacy experiences to all the people interested in adult, continuing education, extension and outreach activities in the country and abroad.

Dept. of Adult & Continuing Education
Sri Venkateswara University College
TIRUPATI-517 502, Andhra Pradesh

M.C. Reddeppa Reddy
Email: mcrreddy aduedn@yahoo.com

HOLSINGER, DONALD B. and COWELL, RICHARD N. (2000): ***Positioning Secondary School Education in Developing Countries: Expansion and Curriculum,*** UNESCO International Institute for Educational Planning, ISBN: 92-803-1202-2, pp. 92, Price: not mentioned (Paperback)

Different countries in the world are at different stages of economic development and their social, cultural and historical contexts also differ widely. The issue of positioning secondary school education, i.e., finding the correct balance between access and curricular emphasis (vocationalisation) assumes importance because it greatly influences the human and economic development of a nation.

The book under review pinpoints important strategic decisions to be taken into account in terms of organization, content and control while determining positioning of secondary schools. The important concerns are:

- Issue of managing the quantity and linking them with country's preparedness for imparting vocational skills
- Issue of managing greater quantity (i.e., opening access to Secondary education) with quality education.

The issue of managing quantity with appropriate skill and quality education is taken up in relation to broadly three types of organizational setup of Secondary

education. These are Academic or Genera! Secondary education, Vocational education at Secondary level and the Diversified/Comprehensive Secondary education which is a mix of academic and vocational subjects. While positioning secondary education in a country, the above three types of organizational forms may be used. However, the degree of vocationalisation of the curriculum depends upon various considerations noted down by the authors.

The book provides sufficient food for thought for educational policy makers by presenting examples from various countries. It also deals with possible trade-offs with respect to organization, content and control. It enunciates the broad principles and leaves it open for respective policy makers to ponder over the issue and determine the course and the position of the Secondary schools based on labour market situation, funding available and to be mobilized for Secondary schools and on complex social, political considerations.

Authors, proceeding systematically, note the significance of Secondary education in chapter 1 in terms of imparting skill and knowledge enabling the adolescent to move to tertiary education, ensure a smooth transition to work or to prepare them to address problems unique in human development. With the above objectives in mind, the issue of optimal size and curriculum is the focus of the chapter. Chapter 2 analyses the brief history of Secondary education. Till the Second World War, the trend was to encompass more subjects as the base of knowledge expanded. In the second half of the 20th century, many practical and vocational subjects were added and Academic Secondary schools became more comprehensive and diversified with 'streaming' and 'homogenous grouping'. Curriculum development was 'basically adding to watering down traditional content as quality of knowledge increases' through a single Comprehensive Secondary school.

Chapter 3 defines secondary education as a continuum from academic to vocational whereas Comprehensive school, contain an element of both in varying degrees. When and how should the expansion of Secondary education take place is considered next? In addition to the rate of return approach, five decision-points are considered.

1. Preparedness for adult work activity: If technology is creating jobs that require more specialised skills and providing these skills within Secondary schools is more cost-effective, then greater vocationalisation of the curriculum is desirable.
2. Institutional facilitation of the transition to adulthood: In the transition to adulthood, problems occur when youth unemployment tends to be high. This problem can be resolved linking vocational streams with private firms.
3. Selectivity vs. mass opportunity: Primary to Secondary transition rates vary enormously among countries, and even across nations within the

same region. It varies from 7% in Malawi to 90% or more in Philippines and Venezuela. In more developing countries. Upper Schools only retain selective character. While some countries, create separate tracks, high quality government financed Secondary schools and low quality Community Secondary stream. In Latin America, private often religious Secondary schools are prestigious and expensive, public schools are affordable but they are of lower status and quality. In Japan and USA selectivity occurs because students fail to perform or institutions are not upto the status of the students. The larger question is whether Secondary schooling is a means to achieve equitable social mobility. In any case, high quality Secondary schooling is guided more by students' motivation without regard to social status. Hence, selectivity is inherent in quality even when mass opportunities are offered. This, of course, leads to a duality.

4. Common schooling vs. a mixed market of providers: There is an increasing trend of private markets in Secondary education. The point is that unrestricted growth of private investment in education may actually lower the productivity gains and it may lead to social inequities, hence, may not advance the cause of social interests.
5. Significance of lower Secondary education: In positioning Secondary schooling, if lower Secondary education becomes part of Primary, then Upper Secondary expansion with diversified curricula is expected to play a major role in economic development.

The above decision-points help to clarify our vision regarding positioning of Secondary schools.

Chapter 5 then takes up the issue that for increasing coverage what are different policy options with respect to curriculum diversity. The key idea in curriculum is divided into three categories: (A) Organisation and subject content;(B) Vocationalisation; and (C) Control. With respect to organization, all-purpose Comprehensive Secondary schools have the limitation that it may not handle such diversity in a single place. Hence, "school walls must be easily permeable". With respect to the subject content, Science education is acquiring importance in developing countries but suffers from many dangers as well: as there is unrealistic expectation for quick results, there is also improper and inadequate teacher training and lifeless examination driven curriculum. There is also reliance on traditional classroom methods and laboratory equipment.

With respect to vocationalisation of the Secondary curriculum, the authors state that today's market requirements have changed from a single skill to shifting ofjobs and diversity of skills even during the life-time of an individual. Hence, general curriculum should be vocationally relevant for a much lager share of school age population. In Columbia, the National Institute for Middle

Education through Comprehensive schools was created to meet vocational requirement whereas in Tanzania, at lower Secondary level, Diversified schools were created to introduce vocational subjects. In both the cases. Technical schools were costly than Academic schools, although they yielded higher achievements. The case for Comprehensive Secondary schooling is also substantiated.

Various trade-off dealings with organization, curriculum and control are analysed in Chapter 7. The overall message of the book goes in favour of diversifying Secondary education curricula to accommodate wide variety of parental choices and job market requirements. The political bosses of the country must realize this and give it a practical shape to maximize the benefits of Secondary schooling.

The above academic debates over the positioning of Secondary schools in a developing economy sometimes acquire a back seat as political dominance, social mobility and private economic considerations yield such conflicting solutions that neither the school nor the teacher and educational policy makers are in a position to give directions to the Secondary education system. In particular, the wastages at the Primary and Secondary levels of education are too high and the access and the quality issues suffer. On the other hand, the economic growth does not allow the level of absorption of Secondary school graduates to be high. Thus, 'Positioning' is conditioned by the level of economic development.

The book for its large number of case studies, simple presentation without loss of analytical rigour and as an advocacy appeal for positioning Secondary schools, sooner rather than later, deserves a wide readership.

Vanijya Mahavidyalaya
Patna University. Patna

Sudhanshu Bhushan

GOVINDA, R. (ed.) (2002): ***India Education Report,*** New Delhi: Oxford University Press, ISBN-0-19-565795-0, pp. 362, Price: Rs. 300 (Paperback)

This report provides an interesting overview of the status of and developments in elementary education in India during the last decade. The various chapters focus on different aspects of the sector varying from assessing the status of EFA to quality improvements in the sector.

However, many chapters in the report lack adequate analytical depth. While the information provided is important in itself, a more critical analysis of the issues confronting school education in the country would have been useful from a policy perspective. Teacher absenteeism, the quality of alternative schooling, the management of aided schools, and government policy towards private unaided

schools are examples of some of the key issues the Indian basic education sector is dealing with which are not explored in depth. In addition, while the case studies of success stories are interesting, the reasons for differential progress across states have not been probed. From the policymaker's point of view, a deeper understanding of the reasons why some states have done so much better than others and the possibilities of replicating the success stories would have been more insightful.

The first major section is "Meeting Basic Learning Needs: Expanding the Outreach." The first chapter in this section deals with Early Childhood Care and Education. This is a comprehensive chapter outlining the historical development and status of early childhood care and education. The discussion about ICDS, does not, however, critically examine the reasons for its failure to reach a larger proportion of the target group. Some practical recommendations to improve the quality of ICDS have been made. The second chapter is "Education of Girls in India: An Assessment". Here, the author makes useful suggestions in the final sections dealing with issues that still need to be addressed and interventions that are required. However, the data presented on the status of girls' education are drawn solely from official government statistics. A much more comprehensive and interesting picture could have been drawn if data from household surveys such as the National Sample Survey were also utilized to supplement the official data.

The next chapter entitled "Children, Work and Education: Rethinking on Out-of-School Children" is one of the most interesting and thought-provoking chapters in the book. It is analytical in approach, highlighting the reasons why some interventions have been successful while others have not. It also draws attention to the important idea that equity is not ensured merely by providing standardized services, as assumed by most government interventions. It concludes with a welcome idea that NGO-government partnerships have tremendous potential in the area of education for working children. The next chapter, "Education of Urban Disadvantaged Children," has a good final section on recommendations for action. However, the description of the current status of education of these children is based only on official statistics. Also, some discussion of alternative models of providing education, such as through public-private partnerships, would have been useful.

The next chapter, "Education for All: The Situation of Dalit Children in India", on the one hand, draws heavily on household survey data to enrich the analysis, it reveals the poor status of enrolment, drop-out and completion of dalit children, on the other. This is related to the poor access they have to schools, the negative effect of teacher attitudes to dalit children, and the impact of poverty of schooling. The next chapter, "Education among Scheduled Tribes", is an interesting exposition of the constraints in existing policies and programmes that affect the education of scheduled tribes. It highlights the need for convergence

amongst the various policies and programmes. The final chapter in this section is "Education of Children with Special Needs." Once again, this chapter makes good use of the existing data from various sources to comment on the progress made towards inclusive education. The authors emphasize the fact that while considerable attention has been given to inclusive education in the last two decades, the challenge to upscale these efforts is ahead.

The next section is "Building Partnerships: Putting Community in Charge for Universalizing Elementary Education". The first chapter deals with decentralization of education, a key issue in education management. The author summarizes well the historical evolution of decentralization policies, their implementation to differing extents in various states and mentions the issue of regulation and government funding of basic education. However, he does not analyze the possible alternatives available in terms of public-community-private partnerships and an evolving role of the state. In addition, a more in-depth discussion of regulatory issues would have been warranted. The next chapter considers the "Role and Contribution of Non-Governmental Organizations in Basic Education". This is a good overview of the contribution of NGOs to basic education. Nevertheless, a more critical analysis of the strengths and weaknesses of the NGO effort and how government-NGO partnerships could be strengthened in the future would have been useful. The next chapter deals with "Private Schools and Universal Elementary Education". It highlights the growing role of the private sector in basic education in some states. The authors capture the complexity and diversity of the types of private schools and their characteristics well. They make good use of existing data from multiple sources to elucidate the differences between states. Nevertheless, once again the regulatory environment is not described in any detail. The role of the government as the party that assures the quality of education in the private sector could have been elaborated upon.

The next section of the book deals with "Meeting Quality Concerns in Elementary Education". The first chapter, "Texts in Context: Development of Curricula, Textbooks, and Teaching Learning Materials" summarizes well the studies conducted on textbooks and the curriculum of basic education. It criticizes the centralized norms of teaching and learning while recounting some good examples of innovations. However, practical recommendations on how to improve the curricula and textbooks are lacking. The next chapter in this section is "Learning Conditions and Learner Achievement in Primary School: A Review". The authors provide a good summary of the physical conditions prevalent in primary schools across the country. However, a more nuanced view of the teaching-learning environment including a more indepth discussion of multi-grade and single-teacher situations, the quality of academic support provided to teachers, etc. would have been interesting. Similarly, while discussing learning achievement, a further discussion of continuous assessment

in the classroom by the teacher and systemic assessment issues is missing. The next chapter deals with the "Status of Elementary Teachers in India: A Review". While this chapter touches upon most of the key issues facing teachers in India, it does not discuss, at any length, the issues related to para-teachers. Since para-teachers have become an increasingly visible presence during the 1990s, a discussion of the quality of teaching imparted by para-teachers and the different kinds of para-teachers and policies towards them around the country would be helpful. In the final chapter in this section, "Educating the Educators: Review of Primary Teacher Training," the author presents a comprehensive discussion of the critical parameters for reforming pre-service teacher education. He offers practical recommendations for these reforms. He makes an important point that the current transaction of pre-service teacher education is too academic and isolated from reality and suggests that there are lessons to be learned from the recent innovations in in-service training.

The next section deals with "Education for Empowering the Adult." The first chapter in this section, "Indian Engagement with Adult Education and Literacy", documents and analyses well the historical development of adult education campaigns. It gives an objective account of the strengths and weaknesses of the national literacy movement. The next chapter is "Education Beyond Literacy." It identifies the lack of clarity on the concept of post-literacy and continuing education as the main reason for these getting inadequate attention in India. The third chapter in this section is entitled "Social Mobilization and Total Literacy Campaigns." The author tells the success story of the total literacy campaigns, particularly in some districts. She also highlights the tensions and contradictions in the concept of literacy itself. The final chapter in this section is entitled "Education and the Status of Women." It provides some interesting definitions/aspects to define the status of viomen including control over productive resources and access to public resource[1]. However, the chapter lacks a strong enough link to education. It does riot answer the question the reader is looking for - how has women's education in India affected their status.

The penultimate section in the report, "Mobilizing Resources for Education," has one chapter on "Financing Elementary Education in India" by J. Tilak. This chapter is interesting and provides useful insights'into the financing of this sub-sector in India. The trends in expenditure on dementary education are discussed from three different points of view: inter-sectoral allocation of resources, intra-sectoral allocation of resources, and functional allocation of resources. Differences amongst states are also discussed. From a policy-maker's point of view, it would also have been useful to explore differences in financing amongst states and the impact of this, if any, on educational outcomes. In addition, the criticism of the private unaided sector does not take into account the wide heterogeneity within the sector. Exploring alternative models of private-public

partnership would have also been valuable. Finally, some of the analysis has not been updated with recent enough data.

The final section of the report entitled, "Learning from Experience: Recounting Success Stories is interesting." The first chapter is "Primary Education in Himachal Pradesh: Examining a Success Story," provides a valuable analysis of the reasons for the remarkable progress made and the key role played by the state government. They also draw out relevant recommendations for UEE in other states including the importance of political will and the overall development of the state. The next chapter is "From a Scriptless Status to a Literate Society: The Story of Mizoram's Uphill Journey." The author examines the role of the government in this success story, especially in girls' education. The next chapter, "Progress Towards Education for All: The Case of Tamil Nadu", is a good overview of progress in elementary education in the state. However, it focuses on a scheme-wise detailing of the schemes, rather than a comprehensive view of the development of elementary education. The final chapter, "Universal Elementary Education in Rajasthan" makes extensive use of data to describe the status of elementary education. It also highlights various innovative approaches towards universalisation such as the SKP.

The report provides a good overview of the progress towards universalization of elementary education in India. Various aspects of this progress and differences amongst states are discussed and highlighted. Many chapters could have been more analytically rigorous to be more useful from a policymaker's point of view. However, a few chapters do make skillful use of available data and critically analyse policies and programmes, highlighting lessons for the future.

The World Bank
70 Lodi Estate, New Delhi 110003

Vandana Sipahimalani-Rao
E-mail: vsipahimalanirao@worldbank.org

SMARNJIT PIROMRUEN and SEN KEOYOTE (2001): ***Education and Training Strategies for Disadvantaged Groups in Thailand: Strategies of Education and Training for Disadvantaged Groups,*** HEP Research and Studies Programme, International Institute for Educational Planning. Working Document, pp. 105, Price: not mentioned, and

PAK IRWANTO, AGUSTINA HENDRIATI and YOHANA RATRIN HESTYANI (2001): ***Alternative Education for Disadvantaged Youth in Indonesia,*** HEP Research and Studies Programme, International Institute for Educational Planning. Working Document, pp. 125, Price: not mentioned

Education is the *sine qua non* of contemporary development paradigm. In fact, the role of education cannot be undermined in the quest for progress and development. Not only the economics of education but also a host of

philosophers across the great divide of Marxist and non-Marxists acknowledge the role of education in achieving economic growth, social justice and human development. Hence, most developing countries regard education as an article of faith. However, the effectiveness of this powerful tool of socio-economic development largely depends upon its spread and utilization. Access, retention and quality are three major stumbling blocks in allowing education to achieve its goal. In almost all developing countries, apart from lack of access and quality provisions, extension of education has also suffered from the lack of social opportunities. The presence of acute social hierarchy, gender discrimination and group dynamics has affected the progress of education at societal level. But more than these, there are a significant number of children and groups who remain outside the reach of education due to socio-economic disabilities. Education cannot fulfil its mission and society cannot reap benefits unless and until the educational needs of these disadvantaged groups are properly addressed. This task is easier said than done. It requires dedication, innovation and patience besides huge resources. Towards this objective, the Internationals Institute of Educational Planning (HEP), Paris, has taken the first step in mapping the marginals in various countries and providing a spectrum of provisions available to these groups. The afore-mentioned working documents are results of such an endeavour.

These two documents simultaneously show greater degree similarity, thematically and theoretically. Besides, they are also similar in perspective, purpose and vision. Both Thailand and Indonesia are in the same geographical location i.e. Southeast Asia and have undergone through similar economic situations. Published under the aegis of HEP and in same structure and layout, these books have many things in common, notably the design, purview and even the scheme of chapterization. Therefore, reviewing their content and theme simultaneously in terms of the theoretical and substantive issues raised by the books rather than going through a somatic review of the contours of the texts.

The first chapter of each book is dedicated to an introduction of the area and the issue. The book on Indonesia has a systematic and detailed introduction and tries to a capture the educational problem of disadvantaged problem through the prism of socio-cultural milieu of the country. It introduces the readers to the profile of the country, its history, culture, economy and social diversity. In brief, it has vividly projected its colonial subjugation, independence, military rule and economic trails and travails, besides its journey towards freedom and democracy. It has also identified and illustrated its pattern of economic growth, population problem, poverty and educational malaise. On the other hand, the book on Thailand gives a rather specific introduction. It has focused the problem from the background of economy and has given a narration of the rise and fall of Thai economy and its effect on education, in general, and on the education of

disadvantaged groups, in particular. However, socio-economic issues run a common thread in both the books.

The second chapter deals with the issue of identification of disadvantaged groups and their problems. Both books focus on youth as their research universe rather than failing prey to sociological generalizations viz. beginning and ending with margianls or disadvantaged sections which could cover the aged women, the spastics and many other socially and economically neglected sections. This is rather apt and beneficial, always allowing the investigator the opportunity to retain its focus on its universe. This allows better understanding of the problem and opens vistas for outlining the remedy. The young disadvantaged are further categorized on the basis of their location (geography), economy and finally on their common difficulties. The information and analysis provided in this chapter are superb and capture a very wide area. Disadvantaged students come from varied sections of society, from low-income groups, from inaccessible terrain, backward regions, single parent homes, broken homes and from gender insensitive groups. The major issue involved in this study is education i.e. primary education is the question of out of school children the absolute number of which is substantial in the age group of 13-18 in most developing countries. These disadvantaged sections include drop-outs, delayed entrants, repeaters etc. The document on Thailand has gone a step further and recorded the factors responsible for these problems, which I would like to quote. They are classified under the following subhead namely; demographic, family, socio-economic status, school related, behavioural and psychological.

The third section deals with the programmes for the disadvantaged children, their aims, objectives and achievements. Each country has its strategies to deal with the problems of disadvantaged sections, in general, and the educational needs of the disadvantaged children, in particular. In Thailand, there are compensatory programmes, basic educational programmes, vocational training programmes, basic/vocational integrated programmes etc. and each of these programmes has their task cut-out to provide educational remedies to the disadvantaged. Compensatory programmes are efforts to compensate the students in what they lack viz. nutritional support scheme (India), educational loans etc. while basic education programmes refer to attempts to improve the standard of education. Similarly, vocational training programmes aim at providing specific semi-skilled training to learners. Basic/vocational integrated programmes refer to those representing attempts to integrate basic and vocational learning for students who missed the opportunity in formal schooling, or for adult learners who drop back to class with a view to upgrade their level of education. Other programmes like programmes for children under especially difficult circumstances and other types of programmes catering to the needs of specific groups with specific problems. Government departments run most of these programmes independently or with the help of Ministry of Education and Culture (MOEC) in Thailand. This

chapter also provides a detailed account of such programmes and the next chapter examines their effects, efficiency, difficulties and procedures. These sections are full of immaculate empirical evidences namely tabular representations, statistical descriptions, models etc. besides discussing the emergence and need of alternative schools.

Another important theme of the studies is the role and responsibility of public authorities, trends and challenges. Out of school education has long been managed by the community, especially by religious associations and non-governmental organizations, though, of late, governments have come forward to share the responsibility, particularly governments under democratic dispensations. This part discusses current trends and challenges for different public authorities and private institutions dealing with the education of disadvantaged youth. It highlights the best practices and lessons learned, challenges for sustainability and participation of private sector, and different issues raised by the provisions of alternative education to the disadvantaged. It is believed that though there have been efforts from the public and private authorities to cater to the needs of disadvantaged students, they are far and few between and require a systematic approach for mapping to be more effective.

The final section is devoted to discussion and conclusion. There is a need for greater care and monitoring from the government and more help from the private sector to share the burden. Community needs to be an integral part of such programmes. In order to make it more successful, it is imperative to have a data bank and profile of such children, their background, limitations, aspirations and potentialities. On the basis of this baseline, sustainable and successful strategies can be devised to permute education and skill among these hapless victims of circumstances. In this respect, the present studies can become catalysts.

There is nothing much one can say against these books, except that the authors could have spared a few more pages discussing properly the academic and operational definition of the term 'disadvantaged' and could have been more liberal in explaining the theoretical and conceptual issues as they would have provided a suitable platform for a more arduous empirical understanding. Secondly, since these studies are based on empirical research it would have been better and logical to have a little discussion and insight into the methodological approach. More-so, the nuances and reliability of the techniques used to collect, collate and analyse the data.

To conclude, it can be said that, despite some negligible fault-lines, these books serve a very practical purpose. These are excellent documents in terms of quantitative analysis, area studies, statistical representation and outlining the existing educational programmes for the disadvantaged in respective countries, managed and delivered by government as well as non-governmental organizations. These books have also been able to highlight the need for a systematic and synergetic coordination of and linkages between various actors

and agencies involved and their respective roles: in pedagogic, social and economic spheres. The relevance of the studies lies in the examination of the issues, identifying and evaluating the projects, finding means to remove the obstacles from implementation of such projects and, finally, the hope of replicating them in other countries in similar or near similar contexts. These books are a must for educational planners, public authorities, non-governmental organizations working in the field of education, research students, and teachers of education, in general, and alternative education strategies, in particular.

National Law Institute University,
Bhadbhada Road, Bhopal-462 003.

Tapan R. Mohanty
Email: tapanmohanty@indiatimes.com

VARGHESE, N V (2001): ***Impact of the Economic Crisis on Higher Education in East Asia: Country Experiences,*** Policy Forum Number 12, International Institute for Educational Planning, Paris, ISBN 92-803-1213-8, pp. 215 (Paperback)

Up/until the economic melt-down of the years 1997-98, several of the East Asian economies earned the much-deserved title of miracle economies, most notably, for the unprecedented rates of economic growth achieved by them for three to four decades.' In addition, substantial progress was also made in areas such as education, health, housing, sanitation etc.

The East Asian crisis began as a currency melt-down in Thailand in mid-1997 and soon spread to several economies in the rest of East Asia. Also, it was not just a currency crisis; in most affected economies, it escalated into an economic crisis, with reduced rates of economic growth (including negative growth over some periods) and increased rates of unemployment and poverty rates.

The book under review addresses the important issue of the impact of the crisis on higher education. One might take a casual view and dismiss the importance of the issue stating that neither private households nor governments will reduce the expenditure on education and hence, the impact of a transient economic down-turn on higher education will be minimal. This view could be wrong a priori on several grounds. First, if the economy in a recession were to go for IMF assistance, the usual Fund prescription of fiscal discipline could mean reducing social sector expenditures, in general, and educational expenditure, in particular. Second, some people whose incomes are adversely affected may not be in a position to continue the educational expenses on their children. Third, a recession could reduce the incomes accruing to foundations and similar entities

' **For a discussion of what the miracle is all about and what it is not. see Rao, Bhanoji 2001** *East Asian Economies: The Miracle, A Crisis and the Future,* **Singapore: McGraw-Hill Book Company.**

providing scholarships and bursaries. Fourth, governments and private endowments might find it relatively easy to cut expenses on libraries, laboratories and similar facilities that typically would entail a cut in higher educational infrastructure. The list can go on; the important thing is not to dismiss the serious problem that could arise for the educational sector, in general, and higher education sub-sector, in particular, when an economy is in a steep fall.

The book has case studies of Indonesia, S. Korea, Malaysia, Philippines, Singapore and Thailand. They are rich with pertinent information and scientific analyses. Just as the intensity of the crisis differed across the economies, its impact on higher education differed as well. Fortunately for many, as the economies recover, it should be clear that no permanent loss had occurred in the educational investments.

HEP deserves congratulations for a timely book on a current theme.

Visiting Faculty, Centre for Public Policy, IIMM, Bangalore; and Hon. Research Professor, GITAM Institute of Foreign Trade, Viskhapatnam

V.V. Bhanoji Rao
E-mail: bhanoji@vsnl.net

HYDEN, GORAN and MUKANDALA, RWEKAZA (1999): ***Agencies in Foreign Aid: Comparing China, Sweden and the United States in Tanzania.*** Macmillafl Press, London and St. Martin Press Inc., New York, pp. 236 plus index (hard bound) ISBN: 0-312-22098-7

Tanzania has been a major recipient of foreign aid. In 1995, about one-quarter of the GDP of Tanzania was accounted by foreign aid. The period until the 1970s was characterised by a phenomenon of -proud defiance'. It was followed by deficits in public budgets and slow flow of foreign aid. The period from the mid-1980s has been a period of a high degree of donor dependency. Thus, over the years, as the title of second chapter in the book under review by Mukandala, makes it crisply clear, Tanzania provides a sad story of change 'from proud defiance to beggary.' Quite a few researchers have analysed some of these aspects. They studied the impact of foreign aid on Tanzania. The book under review is, however, of a different kind. It analyses how three major donors to Tanzania, viz, American, Chinese and Swedish aid agencies have operated in Tanzania and how were these aid agencies perceived by Tanzania.

It is generally known that American aid to Tanzania during the cold war period was influenced by perceived competition, if not threat, from communism. Similarly the Chinese aid to Tanzania was also influenced by similar perceptions. The authors of the various chapters in the book feel that such perceptions were not false; but they do not reveal the complete story; it was not so simple; the policy reality was more complex. They try to unravel the complex set of factors and actors.

Stephen Snook of the International Foundation for Electoral System based in Accra, Ghana, provides an elaborate description of the USAID mission in Tanzania. Ole Elgstrom of the University of Lund, Sweden, reviews Swedish experience and Ali Ping, a member of the Chinese Association for International Understanding, Beijing, China, analyses China's efforts in Tanzania. All the case studies are largely based on official documents. Each chapter provides: (a) a brief introduction to the concerned aid organisation, its philosophy, and essential characteristic features; (b) its aid to Tanzania during the period 1965 to 1995, sub-divided into four phases, the varying emphasis and focus of the organisation, the objectives, the strategies adopted, the management of the aid team - during the four phases; and (c) conclusions and lessons learnt. Besides these three chapters, there is an excellent chapter in the beginning that provides a good theoretical and conceptual framework of analysis, on which each of the three case studies reflected, and a concluding chapter that sums up the study in a comparative framework. There is also a chapter by Mukandala that provides more than a background account of Tanzania's growth and its increasing reliance on aid. The authors of the'three case studies provided detailed useful accounts of the aid mechanism, but appear to be a little less critical, and a bit more biased in favour of the respective donor countries.

Based on the USAID documents, the growth of US aid to Tanzania over the last four and a half decades was critically reviewed by Snook. During the first phase (1961-73), the US focused on strengthening government ministries and departments, filling manpower and institutional gaps; during the second phase (1974-80), the US aid focused on poverty reduction, implementing programmes 'directly at the village level'; and during the third phase (1981-95), USA used its aid as a 'leverage to force policy reform.' Since the concerns of the US changed, the amount of aid of also varied; in fact, there were wide annual fluctuations in the flow of aid.

On the other hand, Sweden had altogether different considerations in aiding Tanzania. The Swedish aid to Tanzania flowed during the first phase of 1965-70, based on 'gap theories', that is, underdevelopment was caused by a lack of necessary monetary, physical and human resources and it aimed at improving economic growth. The aid during 1970-79 focused more on helping government in its economic and social policies to accomplish economic and social equality. The third phase of 1979-83 was indeed characterised by uncertainty and confusion within the aid organisation and also the Tanzanian economy. During 1983 to 1995, Sweden aided Tanzania to save it from bowing to pressures by IMF. Largely, Sweden seemed to have aided Tanzania as per the needs of Tanzania.

The Chinese aid to Tanzania was influenced largely by its own experience and philosophy of 'poor helping the poor,' rather than by the 'fad of development economies'. It was also guided by the principle of unity and friendship, equality

and mutual benefit. Despite the task of domestic economic construction, China provided valuable aid to Tanzania, to express 'solidarity' with Tanzania, though at the same time it can be described to have fallen into the 'solidarity trap.' It favoured agricultural development, as China firmly believed in the merit of agricultural development.

While US and China adopted two extreme forms in their approach, Sweden adopted a middle path, as Hyden and Mukandala described aptly. For instance, the objective of the US aid was set by the agency, which assumes that it knows what is the best for the recipient country, well-known typical arrogance of a rich country, while in case of Chinese aid, the objectives were set by the recipient country, which is assumed to know what is the best for itself. What a contrast! While fostering of international solidarity and sharing of wealth were the basis for the provision of the Chinese aid, the strategic importance of the countries, and promotion of democracy and capitalism influenced the provision of the US aid. While the Chinese aid mechanism was highly centralized, the US agency was a relatively high-decentralized organisation. Accordingly, the US agency had considerable autonomy particularly for political actors, while it is the opposite in case of the Chinese aid organisation. On the whole, the Chinese aid agency was not responsive to change, while the US agency was extremely responsive to change. The Swedish aid agency falls in between these two categories.

There are some valuable lessons that are drawn from the study for the aid organisations and also the donor and the recipient countries. From the point of view of the aid agencies, which is the principal angle from which the issues are examined in the book, low degree of organisational autonomy can create its own problems. But Hyden and Mukandala argue that this can lead to 'accountability trap', being accountable mainly or solely to the government of the donor country. This indeed becomes a trap if aid is tied to security and domestic interests of the donor countries rather than relevant factors relating to the recipient country. Similarly, it is generally felt that aid can be meaningful, if it is not tied with any conditions but is regarded as a measure of solidarity. But Hyden and Mukandala argue that this can lead the aid agencies into 'solidarity trap' and can reduce their autonomy. Thirdly, coordination of many donor agencies in a given country, ostensibly meant for reduction of duplication and rivalry, may often strengthen the hands of the donors/donor agencies and leave recipient countries with fewer opportunities to influence donor strategy and behaviour. This could be a very serious problem for the developing counties to handle. If the donor agencies are powerful, there is also a tendency for them to become insular and to lockout influences from the environment; and even external evaluations might not be cared for. This is termed as 'insularity trap.'

Besides presenting a very interesting comparative analysis of the three aid agencies, Hyden and Kenneth Mease draw a few major conclusions, some of which go against common knowledge. Some of the important conclusions are:

donor control of aid does not enhance its effectiveness; giving aid on recipients-terms also does not promote more effective aid; donor coordination (coordination among the agencies themselves) does not promote more effective aid; and finally and very importantly, foreign aid might reinforce rather than reduce existing weaknesses in recipient institutions. So what can be done? The aid agencies are also faced with the dilemma: re-colonization or withdrawal. The developing countries are already in the trap, from which they fail to come out.

Besides the policy implications, the study provides certain new insights into the aid mechanism and, in fact, explodes certain common myths about the role of aid and aid organisations in development. On the whole, while the book provides an interesting reading to all those who are interested in international cooperation, the main beneficiaries could be aid agencies, followed by aid receiving countries. It makes the aid receiving developing countries to be aware of the complex set of objectives and factors that determine the functioning of the aid organisations. Though it is a study on Tanzania and on the three aid agencies that worked there, other aid agencies working anywhere, and other developing countries have a lot to learn from the experiences analysed here as most developing countries experience similar trends - from an early firm stand against international aid to almost beggary, a common phenomenon that I described elsewhere in mild terms as 'transformation of enthusiastic donors and reluctant recipients to reluctant donors and enthusiastic recipients' (Tilak, 'Development Assistance to Primary Education in India,' in *Changing International Aid to Education,* eds. K. King and L. Buchert, Unesco, 1999). On the whole, Professor Hyden of the University of Florida and Prof Mukandala of the University of Dar es Salaam, put together a very interesting project outcome into a very useful and scholarly research study, funded by the Swedish Agency for Research Cooperation with Developing Countries (SAREC). Since by design, the aid agencies seem to be the principal focus of the study, one would get somewhat disappointed if one expects in depth, critical and analytical account from the developing recipient countries' point of view.

Centre for the Study of International Cooperation in Education, Hiroshima University, Japan and NIEPA, New Delhi

Jandhyala B.G. Tilak
E-mail: jtilak@niepa.org
[or] jtilak@vsnl.com

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Journal of Educational Planning and Administration
Volume XVII No. 1, January 2003

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