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State Monopoly in Higher Education as a Rent Seeking Industry in Greece

Theodore Pelagidis*
Michael Mitsopoulos**

Abstract

In Greece, the provision of tertiary education is permitted by the constitution, only to 'public' institutions where faculty and administrators are civil servants and public officials, respectively. This paper constructs an argument and present statistical data that describe the situation observed in Greece, where the community of higher education providers decides in the name of the whole society on the extent to which the provision of these services is a (state) monopoly. We see that in the context of our argument, the society has to override the decision of the educational community regarding the provision of these services if it desires to see the educational services providers to allocate more time towards their profession and less time towards rent protection and/or extraction. We argue that once reform, that is the removal of the state monopoly, is introduced the educational community will allocate more effort towards educational related activities and less effort towards serving their interest. At the same time it will accept a new 'equilibrium' in which education related activities are rewarded more generously.

Introduction

In Greece, the provision of tertiary education is permitted by the constitution only to 'public' institutions where faculty and administrators are civil servants and public officials, respectively. Universities are financed almost solely by taxes and students pay no tuition fees. Any reform proposals for reform, either to transform 'public' universities to non-governmental, non-profit institutions or even to permit the establishment of new non-governmental institutions of higher learning introducing the provision of competing services, are usually met by fierce resistance from almost all members of the educational community, who by definition work at the 'public' tertiary education institutions, and

* University of Piraeus, 40 Karaoli & Dimitriou str., 185 32 Piraeus, Attica, Greece.
email: pelagidi@unipi.gr

** University of Piraeus, 1 Paschalias str., Psychico 154 52, Attica, Greece.
email: mmitsopoulos@gge.gr

who are at the center stage of the defense of the status quo. Indeed, the civil servant status of professors and, as a consequence, the lack of free competition among them as among 'public' universities, has been blamed for a significant deterioration of the quality of higher education (Psacharopoulos 2004). Although universities' poor performance is widely acknowledged, voices in favour of reforming the existing system by introducing such measures as accountability and efficiency for a more competitive allocation of federal funding, usually lead to strong opposition by the university faculties. Their core argument is that any proposed reforms to deregulate higher education, aim at serving solely the market and not the public interest or academic values. Campaigning continuously against efficiency-enhancing reforms, faculties and most of the tenured professors in particular, being free of constraints that job evaluation entails, are able to allocate their time to strengthen the coherence and power of their interest administering group.

We argue in this paper that when higher education providers allocate time to organize themselves and protect their monopoly rights, and engage in rent-protecting activities to hold on to monopoly rights, they spend, as a result, less time for truly academic activities, that is good teaching and publishing papers in professional journals. In this paper, we describe the situation obtaining in Greece, where the community of tertiary education providers decides in the name of the whole society on the extent to which the provision of these services is a (state) monopoly. We see that in this context, the society has to override the decision of the educational community regarding the provision of these services if it desires to see the community of educational services providers to allocate more time towards their profession and less time towards rent extraction and protection. Otherwise, that as long as the educational community can extract and protect these rents, it will continue the extraction and protection of these rents in perpetuity and oppose any initiative to introduce reforms that would lead to an end to the state monopoly in tertiary education. We argue that once reform of removal of the state monopoly is introduced, the educational community that now allocates time to extract and protect the monopoly rents and oppose reform, will allocate more effort towards educational related activities and less effort towards rent extraction and protection. At the same time it will accept the new equilibrium in which education related activities are rewarded more generously.

In section 2, we present and analyze the performance of the Greek higher education. Descriptive statistics and available data on expenditure on tertiary education as a percentage of GDP and certain measures of performance show that in Greece, degree of quality and quantity is low, even when accounting for low spending on education. These are symptoms compatible with the existence of a textbook case monopoly that is unproductive and harmful to consumers. At the same time it is compatible with a continuing rent extraction to the monopolist, as relevant economic theory suggests (Tullock 1993, Tollison 1997, McChesney 2001, Hillman 2003, Mueller 2003), or in this case a group of organized individuals that collectively acts as a monopolist.

In section 3, we propose in brief policy measures to abolish state monopoly in tertiary education, overlooking potential objections by the educational community. Policies

suggested include the provision of incentives to reform and deregulate the system, encouraging faculties to allocate more time to education related activities as well as more efficient management within every single 'public' university. Section 4 describes the conclusion arrived at.

Higher Education in Greece

Professors Against Taxpayers

In this section we argue that there are a number of people in the Greek educational community that monopolise as providers of higher education services. It is assumed that there is no mechanism that permits the whole society, including not only the service providers but also the service consumers, to decide on the question if this monopoly should be perpetuated. Such a mechanism could be a referendum, but members of the service consuming community, i.e. students and their parents, are assumed not to be organized or adequately informed (they are assumed to be turkeys that do not vote for thanksgiving), and thus are unable to promote the implementation of such a mechanism.

On the other hand, members of the service providing community are supposed to be well informed and organized. As a result, they are assumed to have established a social decision rule that allows the members of this group to collectively decide on the extent to which the provision of these services remains a monopoly. Members of the education service providing group can also individually decide how much of their time to allocate individually to extract personally some of these rents and how much time to allocate to activities that are related to their role as members of the education providing community, like research, teaching, preparing classes and projects and tutoring students.

According to the discussion in Rodrik (1996), it can be justified that one group is better organized as it is the interest group that stands to incur a significant and immediate cost, related to the loss of rent, by any proposed reform. The organization of this group may finally be facilitated, or at least tolerated, by policymakers that control the government apparatus and who act as brokers for the rent that the service providing community receives, as described in Kimenyi and Mbaka (1993) and in Drazen (2000). The lack of a mechanism, like a broad referendum that internalizes the opinion of those that stand to win from reform may not necessarily imply that it is not technically available; it may also imply that the interested groups do not proceed to use it, or promote its use, because they do perceive their benefits from using it as too uncertain, or not large enough at an immediate date. The "winners of reform" in our case are students that receive better education, and their parents that will see their children mature with the benefits of a quality education, a process that may take years or even decades to become evident to both children and parents and as a result such issues may indeed be very relevant in their case. The issues of the uncertainty of the benefits from reform and the speed at which they become available to the concerned interest groups are discussed in Rodrik (1996), in works like Fernandez and Rodrik (1991) and the literature based on these works, as well as the books of Persson and Tabellini (2002) and Drazen (2000).

Finally, as Rodrik (1996) quotes suggestions from Sachs (1994), it may be that the groups that stand to benefit from liberalization, parents and students in our case, simply lack the common sense to understand what is in their interest, till the moment liberalization is introduced at which point they will see the obvious. But it should also be noted that reform proposals so far seem not to have taken into account the necessarily political economy considerations, as suggested by Kim and Pirttila (2003) and Rodrik (1996) among others, that need to address the balance of positive impacts to short term negative impacts in order to build a momentum for sustainable reform. As per the categorization of Drazen (2000), we have the powerful interest group that blocks reform because it is against its centric motive, as described by Olson (1982), and the group of the beneficiaries of reform, that is much more numerous, deriving the benefits from reforming a public goods nature.

We make reasonable assumptions regarding each individual member of the education service providing community. It is assumed that when more time is allocated by the individual towards education related activities, the individual will receive larger payoffs from the provision of these services and a smaller amount of monopoly rents. Furthermore, we assume that when the educational community as a whole favours education related activities then the individual providers of educational services are remunerated more generously for any given time they allocate towards these activities, that is a positive spillover. We assume that in this case an individual providing these services will receive higher remuneration for his effort, as when the whole educational community focuses on the production of education related services, it can manage to secure larger funding by the provision of these services as a whole and compensate more generously the individual. Of course this general assumption implies an efficient management of the educational system, the detailed description of which is outside the scope of the current paper. But in itself the assumption that when the whole educational community focuses on education related activities the individual effort allocated to these activities will be rewarded better, is sound; assuming the contrary, on a generalized basis, would be counterintuitive.

Regarding the assumption that the individual can extract rents from the monopolistic provision of educational services, presupposes the ability of the educational community to impose a monopoly that enables subsequently the individual extraction of a share of the relevant rents. We suppose that the collective decision of the education providers' community can ensure such rents. This can happen by ruling out alternative to the existing educational community. With the increase of the monopoly power, the society is increasingly forced to turn to the sole provider, the group of established educational services providers, to satisfy its demand for these services. Again there are assumed positive spillovers. When the educational community as a whole favours rent extraction, any individual will find the allocation of time towards rent extracting activities more rewarding.

In our case, the assumption is that these rents accrue from the ability of the educational community to block the entry of competition in the education services. Thus

the introduction of a decision making mechanism, that permits the society as whole to eliminate the ability of the existing educational community to affect the decision on permitting the entry of competitors in the market, will be an equivalent to a change in the parameters of the rent extracting/protecting technology and as such will not only significantly alter the decision of the existing educational community as a whole, but also of each member individually. In particular, we argue that they will allocate more time towards education related activities. Furthermore they will vote for the community to favour such activities more than it does under the existing monopoly. Thus it suggests that in spite of the current resistance to change, the implementation of change will ultimately be accepted by the educational community. And if there are large enough externalities, such a shift may as well provoke a move from a 'greatest lower bound to a least upper bound' in which education related activities are favoured. Such a process could create further support for reform after it's introduction, thus addressing issues raised in the literature, as in Rodrik (1996) and Kim and Pirttila (2003) for example, that suggest that if the intermediate benefits of reform are not large enough, a reversal of reform may be chosen by the involved parties.

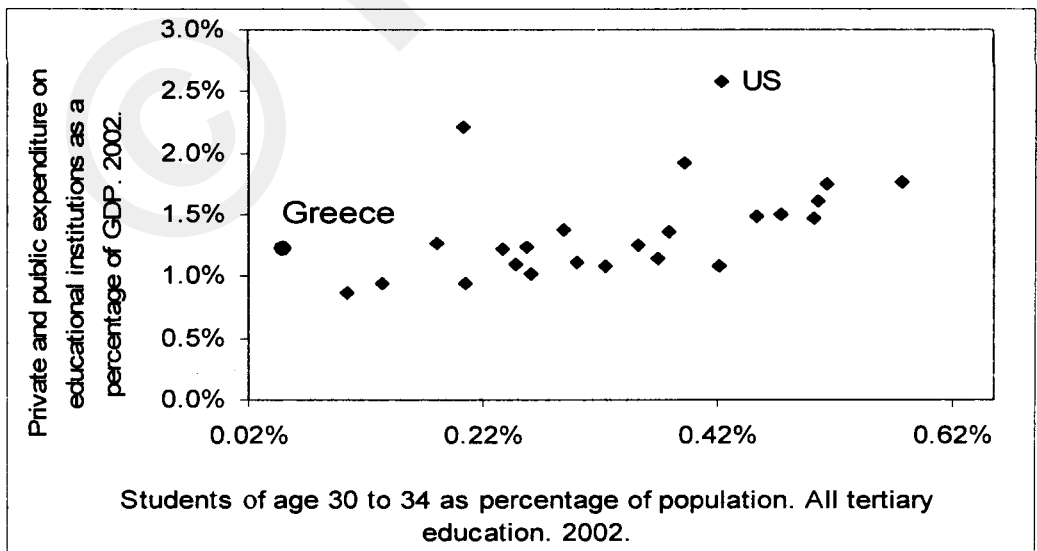
A Piece of Evidence

Data that is available from OECD on the spending on tertiary education as a percentage of GDP and certain measures of performance show that in Greece standards of quality are low even when accounting for low spending on education. This seems to be true both for secondary and tertiary education. Thus,

1. Given the expenditure on tertiary education as a percentage of GDP, there are now number of students at age 30-34 (Figure 1); the number has increased significantly in the past 5 years, and it may be related to the introduction of for-pay graduate programs in public universities.
2. There is, for the given expenditure, a very high number of 21 year-old students while, at the same time there is an average number of students attending tertiary education at a higher age (Figure 2).
3. The tertiary education programs attended by so many students at the entry level of higher education is affecting the student-teacher ratio, that is the least favorable when observed in the perspective of the amount spent on tertiary education, also by any absolute measure (Figure 3).
4. Many of the young students that attend the tertiary programs are unsuccessful in their bid to secure employment, as evident from the low percentage of employed graduates (Figure 4). This indicator, we note, is not affected by the participation of graduates in the labour market in the same way as any unemployment rate would be; as many students do not participate in the labour market because they have completely given up on the hope of finding a job and are not registered as unemployed, to the extent that they do not register as unemployed. Psacharopoulos (2004), citing Eurostat, points out that Greece has indeed the

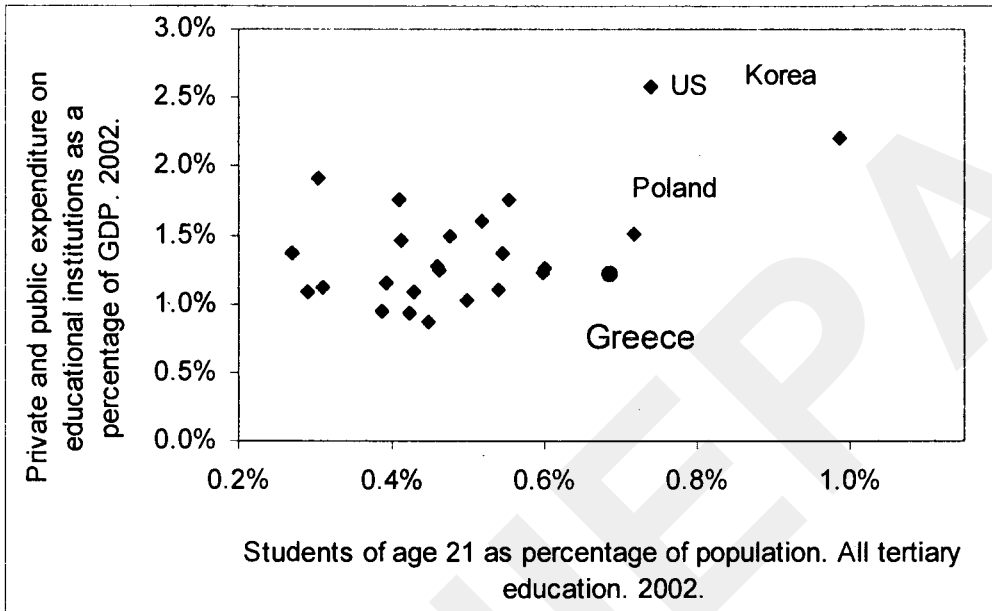
- highest unemployment at 28.8 percent among tertiary education graduates under 24, compared to 12.8% in the EU as a whole.
5. OECD data shows that an exceptionally high percentage of Greek students seek higher education abroad, because a large number of its students attend English universities, in spite of the fact that the cost of the provision of tertiary education is already included in the bill of taxpayers and the cost of studying abroad is significant (Figure 5). Psacharopoulos (2004) estimates that this cost is about 10% of the foreign exchange Greece receives from tourism, or 0.5% of the GDP. Psacharopoulos and Papakonstantiou (2005) provide data that confirms that students and their families spend privately more than the state does not only in order to prepare for the entrance examinations but also while attending at the university. In private non-recognized tertiary institution, ‘colleges’ as well as in cram schools (‘frontisteria’), located sometimes next to universities, professors are recruited to teach classes although the law does not permit this.
 6. Finally, given the spending on public tertiary education, of which by law the state is the sole monopolistic provider, the output of publications in sciences and arts is very low (Figure 6). As Psacharopoulos (2004) argues, it is not surprising that Greece lags behind in academic output as the civil servant tenure for life status allows professors to escape academic competition. It follows that, in fact, tenured professors behave as a monopoly protected interest group, allocating most of their time either in protecting their monopoly position or seeking rent in the market and/or the ‘shadow economy’ (cram schools that prepare for college entry exams are a good example).

Figure 1: Tertiary Education Attendance at High Ages



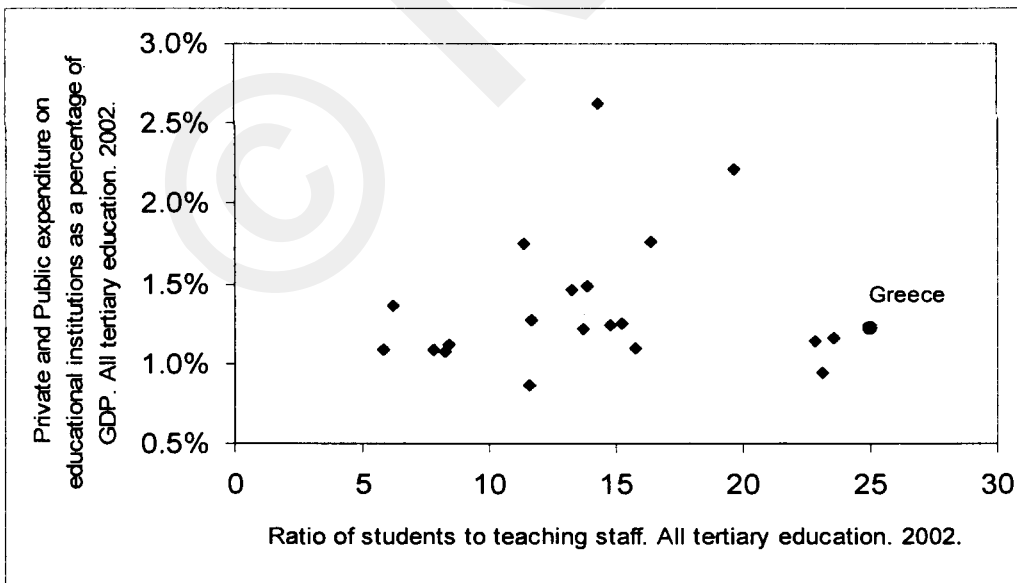
Source : OECD

Figure 2: Tertiary Education Attendance at Low Ages



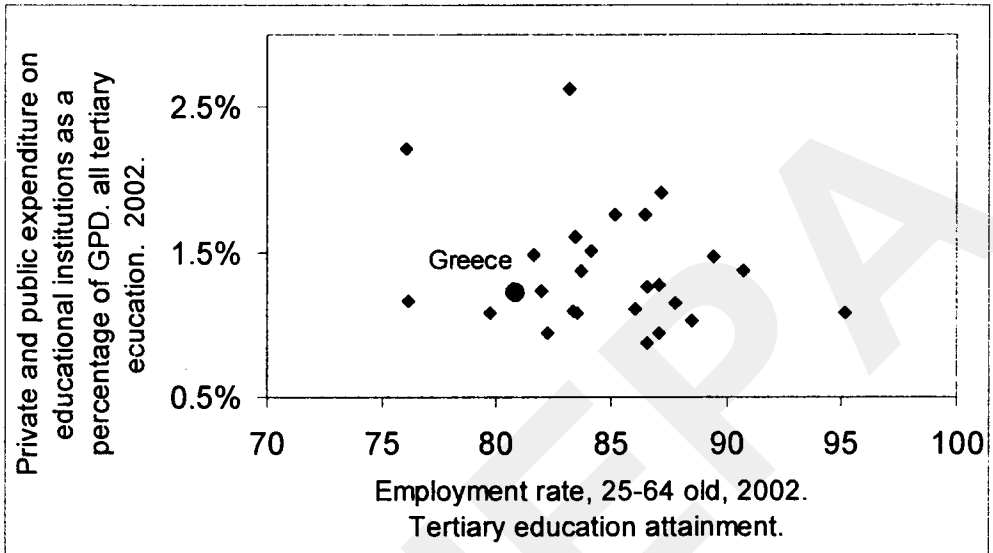
Source : OECD

Figure 3: Student-Teacher Ratio in Tertiary Education



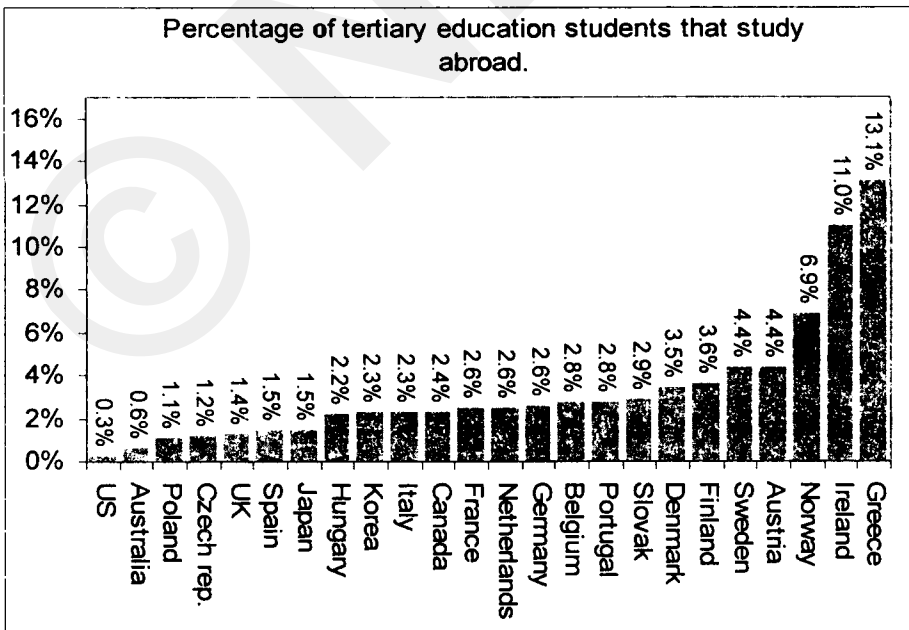
Source : OECD

Figure 4: The Employment Rate of Tertiary Education Graduates

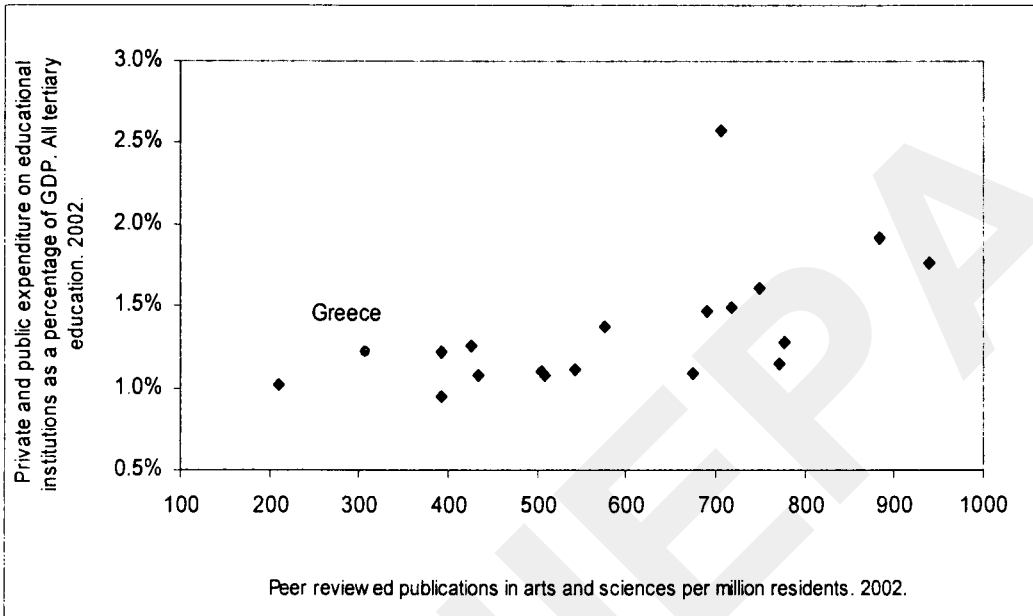


Source: OECD

Figure 5: The Percentage of Tertiary Education Students Studying Abroad



Source: OECD 2002

Figure 6: Intensity of Scientific Publications

Source: NSF, OECD

In sum, for the given expenditure on higher education as a percentage of GDP compared to other OECD countries, publications in arts and sciences and attendance of tertiary programs at the age of 30 to 34 are not favourable. Although there is very high attendance in tertiary programs at a low age, there is ample evidence that the education received by many students is of very low quality, indeed mismatching market needs. Thus, these tertiary programs lack coherence, as measures of quality, like the student to instructor ratio, are very unfavourable. Also there is an unreasonable inability of graduates to find employment, which also points to serious qualitative insufficiencies. Finally, the exceptionally high percentage of tertiary education students that choose to migrate abroad also reveals that the services provided by the Greek universities are of sufficiently low quality for them to seek education abroad, in spite of the extremely high cost such a decision entails – a cost that is added to the tax that these students groups have already paid for the maintenance of Greek state universities, since no deduction or voucher is offered to those that opt out of the state monopoly.

All the above pieces of evidence are directly compatible with the assertion of a low quality of the education services supplied for a given price by the monopoly providers. This low quality, we stress, is documented not by an absolute measure of educational performance but from measures of quantitative and qualitative performance, given the amount of expenditure as a percentage of GDP and in comparison to the relative performance of other OECD countries with similar expenditure as a percentage of GDP.

In all qualitative measures, enrolment in Greece appears either on or near the inefficiency frontier.

Rent Seeking Professors: Fatigue and Overworked?

Monopoly providers in higher education, both in Greece and in most of the continental EU member states, although resist reform proposals for opening the system to competition through the establishment of non-governmental institutions, used to attribute poor quality and mismanagement to reasons such as 'fatigue' or underfunding, emphasizing overcrowded classes and insufficient government spending (Perotti 2002). Most of the times, they also accuse politicians for pork-barrel politics in higher education as new departments and universities of poor quality are founded by the state mainly in rural peripheries with the purpose to satisfy local demands as well as to increase national students' accession rates. They refer specifically to politicians who use their rent-creating power through founding new departments, in order to maximize, in return, voting gains both locally and nationally.

As a matter of fact, as Figure 3 above shows, Greece is not among the big spenders in tertiary education and its 27/1 ratio of students to teaching staff is the worst among OECD countries. As argued, 'fatigue' then comes up as an explanation, as professors seem too busy and overworked, classes appear overcrowded and students too many and demanding. However, as Perotti (2002) correctly emphasizes, what matters for the teaching load is the number of Full Time Equivalent (FTE) students and not the head count of students. It seems, at first glance, that funding from the Greek government is insufficient, which is around \$ 4157 per student expenditure, against US \$ 9063 average in the EU- (OECD 2001). But the system allows students to get enrolled without an exit deadline, and so relatively few of them are usually attending courses. It is estimated that only three-fourth of students are 'active' and in fact, only 30% of them do attend classes. As a consequence, the ratio of students to teaching staff is much lower than the official 27/1, and, as a consequence, universities may well be better funded than it initially appears as far as attendance of students is concerned.

Questions to under – funding may relate to salaries, which are fixed at the levels of civil servant salaries and paid for by the Ministry of Education (and not the universities) or recurring costs, which are also always paid regardless of their amount being reasonable or not. The fact that the performance of Greek universities is low even when adjusting for the level of funding, in addition to the above mentioned considerations, suggests that other parameters are also important in shaping the outcome observed.

Given the rigid pay structure of the civil servants, that is applied to university teaching staff in Greece, the rationale examined in Posner (1993) for judges may indeed apply also in this case. If that is the case, university teaching staff and professors should care about keeping control of time allocation so they can protect and hide rents and choose to enjoy leisure or engage in moonlighting (seek additional money elsewhere), leaving the inferior, non-tenured staff to do the teaching and any other administrative jobs. Perotti (2002) describes indeed very well the discrimination against the non-tenured

staff and the unfair, anti-academic and exploitative way that many tenured, full professors usually treat the non-tenured staff. He also presents data that shows that most of the times, the so-called candidates or 'outsiders' in Italy have on an average more publications in international refereed journals than commissioners ('insiders', tenured professors). Buchanan and Devletoglou (1970), confirm that this type of closed systems allows a discriminating treatment that favours certain established groups to extract and protect rents at the expense of the most qualified academics.

Inevitably, since the perpetuation of the monopoly requires the support of lawmakers, politicians, who act to maximize support from the voters, are also involved in a way as outlined in Drazen (2000). In the case of Greece, as free higher education provision substitutes for monopoly providers (faculties), politicians invest, by transferring taxpayers' money, in well-organized groups, such as the tenured teaching staff and administrators with fixed contracts and permanent for-life jobs. It should not be underestimated that as 'men of letters', professors in particular, retain a heavy influence on public opinion, an asset that they used to sell to politicians in order to keep their present academic status quo intact. In this context, and with limited or asymmetric information – as cost of receiving information is very high – to the public, politicians tend to 'mitigate' any opposition/reform voices within higher education (young professors, student-consumers and student families). Thus, a very few talk to the public about the merits of academic emulation or about tertiary education's status quo inefficiency, corruption and mismanagement. As education remains 'state provided', politicians as utility-maximizers, allocate taxpayers' money to bribe and gain power groups' support, by buying academic votes and influence over society in particular. Thus, the status quo prevails and the public remains uninformed as far as the merits of academic competition and deregulation is concerned.

Consequently, faculties defending the established time allocation settings, in most of the times, share the same interests with political entrepreneurs who rationally – at least in short term – protect the rigid, monopoly provision in higher education. The present tenure system that lies at the root of academic conservatism, gives faculties full power to succeed in defending their rents realized by existing time-allocation and keep academic life as quiet and 'convenient' as possible so that they are free of constraints to maximize their interests and set of priorities (Raines and Leathers, 2003). As a consequence they do allocate time to defend monopoly provision at the expense both of academic quality and consumers' (students) and taxpayers' preferences.

Unfortunately, groups as university faculties, accustomed to a rent, used to fight much more vigorously against its removal than they do for its introduction (Mueller, 2003). If, thus, rent dissipation is so wasteful in that case, then there is an additional reason for a reformist, forward looking politician to urgently implement appropriate measures to fight so much inefficiency, social waste and unfairness in higher education.

Policy Implications

We have argued that education providers, who are operating in an environment that secures monopoly rents, will rationally allocate effort to secure these rents and rationally choose to perpetuate the existence of this monopoly. These efforts will come at the expense of the effort they should have allocated to the provision of education related activities.

We also argued that the abolition of the said monopoly, in spite of the objections currently raised by members of the educational community, will result in the members of the educational community spending less time towards rent extraction/protection and more time in educational activities, something that should benefit the consumers of these services. At the same time, while the structural intervention will refocus the whole community towards educational activities and lead to the reduction of monopolistic rents extracted by the providers of these services, their rents from the provision of the services will increase and compensate, at least partly, for their loss.

We presented statistical evidence that suggests that the existence of the state monopoly in Greece is associated with the provision of low quality and quantity services for a given price, something that standard economic theory suggests is compatible with the existence of rents that accrue to the monopolistic provider at the expense of the consumer. A first policy suggestion would therefore be for the government that is funding with taxpayers money the cost of operating the monopolistic universities, to collect and widely publicize performance indicators. Since rent-protecting faculties usually present their activities as productive and socially beneficial, denying that their gains are privileged rents from rent seeking and rent protection activities (Hillman 2003), further research is needed in order to reveal the violations of efficiency by the monopoly providers.

As part of a reform agenda, voting blocks of students-consumers and taxpayers have to become organized and information has to be expanded to them in order to keep them abreast of the welfare reduction they suffer under the current system and that it is for them to resist and address the efficiency of the system (Rodrik, 1989; Tollison, 1997). Such measures also assist to neutralize the expenditures of the monopoly providers to defend the status quo. Such an effort will have to address the fact that the students/consumers and taxpayers are the classic examples of large 'Olsonian groups' facing 'free riding' in organizing. The publication of the facts has to be done in a way that will take into account the fact that such groups tend to be very diverse, lack coherence and power. Hence, these do not strongly perceive the incentive to initiate actions on their own to express preferences and defend rights to exercise some control over the quantity, quality and differentiation of the academic services received. Thus policy has to contribute some guidelines to the system, as suggested by Raines and Leathers (2003).

Since average politicians care a great deal to elect, or re-elect themselves and given that taxpayers' and students'/consumers' votes outnumber those of faculties, even when we include professor's influence on the public, a policy initiative that informs taxpayers

and consumers about their losses, and in particular that structures incentives for them to organize themselves, and exert influence over educational issues to impose their preferences, should actually help the initiating politicians to gain votes and support from the vast groups of people that would be gaining from deregulation.

Another step to be taken at the same time, is to make funding to universities conditional on the performance indicators, as suggested in Belfield (2003). But in order to make the evaluation and assessment of universities' performance meaningful, greater freedom in the provision of education by each university is needed. Today, the complicated and non-transparent rules that allocate resources provided by the taxpayer to the universities that give faculties a motive to divert their time away from teaching and research, are paired with equally complicated and non-transparent rules that determine the way education services are provided. Making funding conditional on performance indicators when universities are unable to shape their academic programs freely, will result in their being evaluated for performance which is not the result of their decisions and merits. Concerning this policy suggestion, Perotti (2002) suggests that as a result, a public market would be created and a meaningful competition between individuals and universities would begin, weakening the rents extraction opportunities that the current system seems to offer. Hillman (2003) also suggests that as a consequence of this policy in favour of 'public markets', operational costs and redtape are expected to shrink, and the system will start behaving in a more efficient way, as universities would begin to face pressures for high quality teaching, research and publishing and compete for students-consumers and the associated revenues by producing institutional prestige. At the same time, as also suggests our argument, faculties will start realizing that their rent-protecting opportunity does not yield the highest personal return. They will start to feel pressures for alternative use of time and resources towards purely academic activities. It is reasonable to assume that along with the development of such a 'public market', the presently observed mismatch between tertiary education output and labour market demands will also begin to diminish as the forces of academic competition will adapt academic programs to the needs of the job market in an effort to make these programs more attractive to prospective students through an increased probability of finding attractive job placement after graduation.

Conclusions

Building on a growing literature that examines the economic behavior of rent seeking, we applied this behavior to the Greek higher education. We argued that once reform is implemented, faculty members that now fiercely resist reform would start allocating their time to teaching and research rather than to rent protection as they do today. Thus, once reform is introduced, those that now fiercely resist it will, rationally, accept the new status quo and adapt to it. This surmise becomes relevant, as the available data indicates that the market of tertiary education in Greece clearly shows the textbook symptoms of a monopoly in which the monopoly power of the provider is indeed ex.

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Privatization of Public Assets in Higher Education Emerging Trends in Private Aided Colleges in Kerala

Rajan Varughese*

Introduction

Ever since education came to be imparted in a well organized fashion, schools and colleges were being established in India both under public and private auspices. Their relative share has varied from state to state. In Kerala, private sector has been playing a dominant role in all layers of education in the state. This has been mostly in the form of a public-private partnership (E T Mathew, 1996). The policy makers and the academic community in state debate the problems of the professional education sector in the context of the Supreme Court verdict. The aided-college sector built on public assets played a crucial role in the growth and development of higher education in the state. But of late, the higher education sector especially the private aided sector is undergoing a transformation in its structure, ownership and management. Here, an attempt is made to trace the process of privatization of public assets in higher education in the context of the recent transformation of private aided colleges in the state of Kerala.

Expansion of Higher Education in Kerala

There has been considerable increase in the number of higher educational institutions and enrolment of students. Kerala had pursued a liberal higher education policy from 1956 through to the mid eighties in terms of quantitative expansion and access to higher education. At present, Kerala has seven universities (excluding deemed universities) constituting 2.15 percent of the 325 degree awarding institutions in India. There are 290 arts and science colleges in Kerala of which 38 are government colleges, 148 private aided-colleges and 104 private unaided colleges. The number of engineering colleges as in 2004-05 was 83, out of these (NIT, Kozhikode & CUSAT), 9 are government colleges, 3 private aided-colleges and 71 self-financing colleges. In 2004, there were 1.69 lakh students in arts and science colleges (excluding students in unaided colleges) in four universities in the state (Economic Review, Kerala State Planning Board 2005).

There is a general impression that higher education in Kerala is already over expanded (J B G Tilak, 2001). But this is not true. The percentage of population in higher

* MP VI/365A, Ayrathu, Maradu, Ernakulam-682304, Kerala. E-mail: rajanvarughese@usa.net.

education in the relevant age group is slightly higher (7.4%) as compared with the national average. On the other hand, Kerala's higher education system has not expanded as much as it should have in a state where elementary education is nearly universal and secondary education has expanded reasonably well.

College Education Scenario

The college education (arts & science colleges) scenario in Kerala is characterized by four important features:

1. The role of the government in college education is limited as government colleges, are a small in number, only 38 out of 290 in 2004, hardly 14 percent.
2. A dominance of the private sector with more than 86 percent of the colleges being run by private managements, most of which are financed by the state, they being aided private colleges – 148 of 290 (in 2004).
3. Growth of self- financing or private unaided colleges. There were 104 such arts & science colleges as in 2004.
4. The emergence of unaided courses and off-campus/study centres of other universities in aided colleges.

Evolution of College Finances

Several experiments have gone into the financing of colleges in Kerala. However, the full details of such experiments are not easily available, as the published accounts of private managements are scanty (E T Mathew 1991). The finance required for starting and maintaining a college can be studied under the following headings.

Initial Capital Expenditure

The initial capital expenditure consists of cost of land and building for the college. Three different ways of securing land for a college were experimented in the initial phase of establishing a college in Kerala: (1) Gift from the state government; (2) Gift from private individuals, and (3) purchase of land by the management (financed by donations raised from the public and /or members of the particular community under whose auspices the college was to be started).

As far back as 1813, the land for the Old Seminary (Syrian College), Kottayam and about quarter of a century later, for the CMS College, Kottayam, and in recent times for the Mahatma Gandhi College, Thiruvananthapuram and the Sree Narayana College, Kollam, was donated by the government. The Old Seminary at Kottayam was established entirely at the cost of the Travancore Government. Later Rani Lakshmi Bai of Travancore made a grant of 16 acres of land on the banks of the Meenachil River free of tax and a sum of Rs. 20,000 to the Seminary which led to the establishment of the C.M.S. College Kottayam. Nearly 200 acres of land (Montro Island at Kollam district) was given to CMS church management for meeting the recurring expenditure of the college. In more recent times, there have been several instances in which the state government donated the

required land for the establishment of colleges. To mention only a few prominent cases, the Union Christian College, Alwaye, was started in an old Cutchery (the first court building in the Travancore state) building which stood on an 18 acre plot of land, donated by the Maharaja of Travancore, on the banks of the Periyer river. Forty- six acres of land at Thiruvananthapuram were given in 1948 to the Nair Service Society for the establishment of the Mahatma Gandhi College. In the same year a 30-acre plot at the Cantonment Maidan at Kollam was granted to the S.N.D.P. Yogam for starting the Sree Narayana College. A decade and a half later in 1964, the state government made a grant of 26 acres of land for starting the Devaswom Board College at Sasthamcota in Kollam district.

Lands for the establishment of colleges used to come in several instances also from donations by individuals or organizations. For instance, the offer by V.S. Sivarama Krishna Iyer of an amount of Rs. 50,000 enabled the Payannur Educational Society in Kannur district to purchase 157 acres of hilly land for starting the Payyannur College in 1965. The entire land for the NSS College at Manjeri in Malapuram district was donated by P.M. Thirumulpad. The establishment of the S.N. College, Chelannur, in Kozhikode district was made possible by a gift of 67 acres of land by the Sree Narayana Educational Society of Chelannur.

By and large, the lands required for the establishment of colleges in the private sector were acquired with funds raised from the public, mostly from the members of the community which sponsored the colleges and to a limited extent from members of other communities. Confronted with major obstacles in raising funds, the NSS invented a new technique of financing, known as 'Ulpanna Pirivu' (produce collection), according to which each household was to donate in cash a certain percentage of whatever agricultural produce it raised. This remarkable ingenious technique fetched about Rs. 6.5 lakhs in the 1940s.

For colleges started by other organizations, particularly the Christian churches, the problem of raising funds varied from management to management. While relatively rich (mostly Catholic) dioceses like those of Trichur, Palai and Changanachery, found it possible to finance the founding of colleges largely out of their own resources, the task was not so smooth in respect of colleges started by other dioceses, especially the non-Catholic churches. In the case of colleges run by individual parishes of the Christian churches the problem was of a different order and magnitude. Since most such parishes derived stable and substantial incomes through the offering received in the church especially during the annual "perunal" (religious festival), they were in a position to raise adequate funds from own resources. The St. Aloysius College run by the St. George Church, Eduthua, the St. Mary's College run by St. Marys Jacobite Church, Manarcad, and St. George College owned by St. George Church, Aruvithura; are typical examples of such colleges. There is a close parallel between these colleges and the Guruvayurappan College, Calicut, which in 1952 received a handsome grant of Rs. 5 lakhs from the surplus funds of the Guruvayurappan temple at Guruvayur.

Among items of recurring expenditure, the most important is salaries of the teaching and non-teaching staff. With the "Direct Payment Agreement" of 1972 between the state government and the managements of private colleges, payment of salaries has become the responsibility of the government. In return, the colleges are bound to remit the tuition fee collected into the government treasury. Under this agreement, other recurring expenditures, such as maintenance of buildings, are also met by the government. The direct payment agreement was the culmination of a series of attempts made to regulate and standardize the financial management of colleges about which there had existed long drawn criticism from teachers, educationalists and the general public. Colleges in Kerala have gone through, in relation to their finances, mainly three periods, namely (1) the period prior to 1962, (2) the period from 1962 to 1972, and (3) the period since 1972.

The Period Prior to 1962

The period prior to 1962 began with the establishment of the first college in Kerala in the early nineteenth century. It represents a period of almost complete financial autonomy for private colleges. The only control was the academic control exercised by the university in matters such as course and syllabi, norms of admission of students to different courses and qualifications for appointment of lecturers and professors. The government almost entirely kept aloof from the functioning of private colleges. The fees collected from students were retained by the colleges concerned and were used for payment of salaries of teachers and other staff and for meeting other expenses. There were only 36 private arts and science colleges in the entire state of Kerala prior to 1962.

Period 1962-1972

According to the Grant-in-Aid Code implemented with effect from 1st April, 1962, a sum of money was annually set apart by the state government "with the object of maintaining, improving and extending higher secular education".

Under the new dispensation, colleges were entitled to three different types of grant in-aid: (1) teaching grant (for salaries of teachers), (2) building grant (for the purchase, acquisition, erection or enlargement of buildings for the colleges and the hostels attached to them) and (3) equipment grant (for the purchase of books for libraries, apparatus for laboratories and furniture).

Period Since 1972

The Grant-in-Aid Code did not, however, resolve the long standing conflict between the management and the teachers. The latter accused the former of several malpractices. The teachers demanded unification of fees in private colleges as well as between the private and the government colleges. At the end of an agitation which lasted three months from June to August 1972, the "Direct Payment Agreement" was reached between the state government and the managements. With the introduction of direct payment, the state government assumed responsibility for the payment of (1) salaries of the teaching and

non-teaching staff, (2) library and laboratory grant, (3) maintenance grant, and (4) contingency grant, of private colleges in the state. These items together form a major part of the recurring expenditure of a college. Thus the state government is now playing an undoubtedly predominant role in the financing of colleges in the private sector. The other institutional sources of finance, though far less important, consist of the management (the educational agency), the university to which the colleges are affiliated, and the University Grants Commission.

Non-Institutional Sources

The non-institutional sources of financing consist mainly of (1) fees other than tuition fees, (2) donations, and (3) miscellaneous receipts such as income from property, interest on bank deposits, and borrowing. Here, donations received by the colleges may be classified into (a) donations from staff, (b) donations from students and / or parents, (c) donations from the general public. Donations are playing an important role in the financing of colleges today. Since the college accounts are subject to government audit, it is very likely that normally the major share of the donation is received by the management and shown as such in its accounts. So college accounts show only a small portion of the total funds raised by the management by way of donations.

So, it is the institutional and non-institutional sources of funds that together contributed to the growth and development of private aided colleges in the state. In reality, both these sources are sources of public funding. The aided higher education sector managed by the private managements in Kerala owes its existence to public assets created or mobilized over a period of time from varied public or social sources.

Privatization of Public Assets: The New 'Kerala Model'

The consequences of the growth of unaided sector as a separate entity in higher education are widely debated in terms of its impact on equity and excellence. But very little attention is focused on the emerging trends of privatization of public assets in higher education in Kerala, especially in the private aided college sector in the state.

Disinvestment Route in Higher Education

The White Paper (2001)

The White Paper (June 2001) of the government of Kerala portrays investment in higher education as a drain on the exchequer and contains suggestions to curtail it in a phased manner. The major suggestions pertaining to college sector include:

1. Raising the tuition fee,
2. No aided /government colleges in the future,
3. Starting of new courses in the self-financing stream only,
4. Starting of unaided colleges, and
5. Autonomous status to colleges with sound financial background.

There are several factors that contributed to the initiation of disinvestment process of social sector in Kerala. Among them most important one is the policy of the state government as spelled out in the White Paper. The de-linking of pre-degree courses from the colleges (from 1997 onwards) created large idle infrastructure in the private aided colleges. The attempt to start new aided courses in these colleges was defeated by the government and universities when permission was given to private managements to decide on the nature of these courses. So in the first instance, it is the acceptance of the philosophy of privatization by the state government that encouraged private aided managements to misappropriate public or social capital for private enrichment.

Unaided/Off-Campus Courses in Aided Colleges

It may appear paradoxical, but it is true that aided colleges in Kerala are today centres of self-financing courses. Some of these courses are affiliated to other universities in the state and even outside the state or abroad. Colleges are not meant to be instruments of opportunism. This is an imperative deduction that can be drawn from the founding impulse of several aided colleges, some of which are Christian in its broadest reference. Except in recent years, these colleges have not subscribed to the idea that the education given should be retailed with a price tag keyed to profit. A cursory examination of the sources from which funding came, and the manner in which expenses were made and the Spartan frugality that characterized the early years, will show that these colleges never raveled in the prospect of profit. The so-called self-financing mode (a misnomer which should be understood as 'student financed') in its spirit and praxis is alien to the professed commitment of the colleges to value-based education. To launch courses reserved for the affluent is absolutely hostile to the principle of equity and benevolence. A stray case of concession, scholarship or reward cannot be accepted as the justification for crude commercial models in higher education.

The off-campus parallel courses in the aided affiliated colleges signify crass commercialization at its worst. It is demoralizing to accept and believe that some public funded institutions based on Christian values (19 colleges in Mahatma Gandhi University) have preferred to join hands with profiteers that have sold their souls to rank commerce, while 43 colleges in the same university have had the integrity to resist the temptation of easy money. When easy money becomes an objective, one can be certain that decadence is imminent. The infrastructure facilities of the colleges established with the funding of UGC are denied to the students in the regular stream. These unregulated off-campus programmes, held on their campuses are bad caricatures of higher education. The authorities at different levels have always shied away from any discussion of the academic credentials of this misadventure.

Commercialization of Courses and Marginalization of the Aided Stream

The reputation of aided colleges in Kerala vis-à-vis higher education is mainly a function of the aided UG and PG courses (with research facilities leading to Ph.D) in affiliated

colleges run on well established and socially relevant norms, laid down by the government and universities. It is important to recognize the principle of social control, which the aided stream embodies. But these courses are neglected, marginalized and even abolished in the context of the undue privileging of self-financing stream within the aided colleges. Just as the space that became available after the delinking of pre degree course went to the self-financing stream, the space generated by the closure of aided courses is likely to be earmarked for commercial objectives. The unauthorized fund collection during the time of admission in open merit quota under the cover of PTA/Lab funds is rampant in aided colleges in the state. For management quota, compulsory donations have become the norm. This is often justified through comparison with other colleges that charge higher amounts. This brand of logic surfaces when institutions accept their decline as fate.

The aided colleges have been volunteering to conduct an astounding number of university examinations for private and off-campus students. Regular classes are being cancelled with regularity for this purpose and teachers in the aided stream assigned for invigilation. The burden falls exclusively on the students of the aided stream. The self-financing stream enjoys the privilege of not being disturbed or dislocated by such mundane events. In some colleges there were weekly value education sessions for the aided stream. It was not felt necessary that a major segment of the self-financing stream should have these sessions. The self-financing stream in aided colleges is a form of dissaving of social capital for private enrichment as it curtails the educational opportunities of weaker sections of society.

Commercialization of University System in Kerala

The university authorities in the state sensing the intention of the state government came forward to protect the vested interest. The violation of university statutes by private agencies in the state was conveniently overlooked by the authorities. The aided affiliating system faced onslaughts from within and outside. The universities which are duty bound to protect and strengthen the aided affiliating system, sided with the forces of disintegration. They competed among themselves in extending the boundaries of off-campus courses, even violating UGC guidelines in this regard, in India and abroad. The universities in the state directly conduct a large number of self-financing courses thereby forfeiting the moral and sometimes statutory authority in controlling the private agencies engaged in crass commercialization. In some cases, the universities share the profits with the private agencies. All these sins are committed in the name of decreasing financial support to the universities by the state government To facilitate this, elected syndicates of the universities are replaced by nominated 'experts' in the Kerala universities. The market friendly forces are reining the university system in Kerala today.

The Influence of Assessment and Accreditation Agencies in the State

The accreditation of colleges by various quality assessment agencies has reached crescendo in the state. The universities and colleges in the state are trying all known techniques of securing the highest grade. The managements of private colleges have incurred some expenditure to showcase their institutions before the peer teams from these quality assurance agencies. But the operation of these agencies has created a false sense of excellence among the higher educational institutions in Kerala as all the colleges that go for assessment are accredited with grade. Additional resources mobilization by the colleges was a pet theme for the peer teams that visited aided colleges in Kerala. The resistance of the academic community in Kerala towards commercialization of higher education was blunted by the operation of these benchmarking agencies. The private managements in the state consider the quality certificate from these agencies as a prerequisite for securing the Centre of Excellence/Autonomous status for their institutions which in turn will ensure more public funds in future.

Disinvestment of PSUs earns some income for the government, but privatization of public assets in higher education offers no income to the government or society. It is in a sense BOT (Build, Operate, and Transfer) in the reverse order. Public assets are created by the government and the people. During a certain period of history, these functioned within the parameters of social control. These assets are now freely operated by private managements for running courses of their choice and are being gradually transferred to individual or corporate managements in the state. The declared intention of the government of Kerala to replace the existing land leases with title deeds to private managements in education needs to be examined in this context. This is a form of social sector disinvestment taking place in the higher education sector in Kerala. The private aided colleges are really public wealth. They are held by nominal owners. The real owners of these institutions are the public or the society at large. Greater social control and growth of these public funded centres of higher learning are needed, at least, to sustain the achievements of Kerala in higher education.

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Challenges for Management Education

Evolving Strategies for Low End B-Schools

Rakesh Gupta^{*}
Sarika Tomar^{**}
Seema Sharma[#]

Abstract

The consistent growth of Indian economy for the last few years, especially in service sector, has created the need of trained manpower in many areas. This has resulted in the proliferation of management institutes in the country with variable quality. The top-end schools are poised with high academic excellence and have very good placements. On the other hand, most of the low-end schools are not able to show even average performance on any management education and placement criterion.

Placements for the year 2005 in most of the business schools have just been completed and it has once again highlighted the demand for B-school graduates by the industry. The top-end B-schools have been swamped by industry and average salaries have hit the north and even dollar salaries have been offered. But all this reveals only the tip of the iceberg as neither the industry nor the majority of B-school community is happy. Industry is not happy because it's a case of too many jobs chasing too few a candidates. Since the demand for management graduates is not met by top-end B-schools alone and when they look outside, many questions crop up about the quality of candidates at small time B-schools, making them also unhappy.

So what are the problems in these institutes and is there any way to make them acceptable to industry? We have to deliberate over the future of these management institutes to overcome the shortfall of trained manpower in the field of management. An in depth study conducted by the authors reveals that all is not lost for these institutes and if they think out of box there appears to be a viable strategy available which will not only ensure the quality of these institutes but also go a long way in bridging the manpower gap in the management field.

^{*} Faculty, Northern Institute of Integrated Learning Management, Centre for Management Studies (NIILM-CMS), B-11/66, Sher Shah Suri Marg, Mohan Cooperative, Badarpur, New Delhi. Email: rgupta@niilm.com

^{**} Faculty, Northern Institute of Integrated Learning Management, Centre for Management Studies (NIILM-CMS), B-11/66, Sher Shah Suri Marg, Mohan Cooperative, Badarpur New Delhi. Email: stomar@niilm.com

[#] Faculty, Department of Management Studies, IIT Delhi. Email: seemash@hotmail.com

Introduction

The recurring changes happening in today's economy are driven by science and technology and globalization of business is throwing up number of opportunities for trained manpower. In response to these changes, industry is always in need of trained and qualified manpower in all the areas of management. Consequentially more and more institutes imparting management education are coming up in India but a very few offer quality education which is noticeable only in the in the upper crust i.e. IIMs, IITs, XLRI and some other known ones. On the other hand, there has been a negative trend seen in the B & C category schools. Institutions in these categories form almost 70 percent of AIMA surveys. If we go by the ratings given by these surveys, then almost 700 institutions need substantial improvement in the quality of education provided by them. Hence, in order to stay in the league, they must focus and invest in their intake and quality of students and the quality of education imparted.

In a world where one of the most critical attributes of leaders and organizations is the ability to adapt to hypercompetition and conditions that change with extreme rapidity, the standard academic model of professors who are deeply steeped in one specialized area is not the best model.

Business schools need to reorganize the way they should be preparing students to operate in a global economy. There's a lot of lip service to this and the fact is that most business schools are quite insular and nothing concrete has ever happened so far. The current business environment is expanding rapidly so do the job market at entry level professional. Not only is the job market growing but it also requires professionals at various levels with different skill sets. So the expanding job market and its fragmentation has created opportunities and hope for many lower rung management institutes. Though many of the 1000 odd B-schools may have to close down in future but at the same time many of them may survive if they grab the emerging opportunity and reorient their functioning as per the changing needs.

Management Education in India

Business education in India started in the 19th century. The business schools at that point of time were more focused on the commerce side and therefore management education was not meant for intellectually and academically talented students. The shift in the social status of business education started taking place in 1980s when companies began to grow and multinationals started entering the Indian market. These companies started giving preference to management graduates over commerce graduates as they found them to be more skilled and better in terms of analytical reasoning and communication skills. The first management programme started in 1948 in the Indian Institute of Social Science with the intention to systematically and professionally train manpower. Thereafter, institutions like XLRI, Indian Institute of Social Welfare and Business Management took the lead in management education. Setting up of two Indian Institutes of Management – one at Calcutta and the other at Ahmedabad in 1961 followed this. The government with

Ford Foundation took the initiative to establish these IIMs. IIM-Calcutta was established in collaboration with the Sloan School of Management and IIM-Ahmedabad was established in collaboration with Harvard School of Business. As the demand in the industry for the management graduates amplified in 1990s, the B-schools started increasing in size and numbers which led to the emergence of many schools having dubious quality. Hence, business education came under scrutiny. The rate at which these institutions grew is shown in Fig.1 & 2.

Figure 1

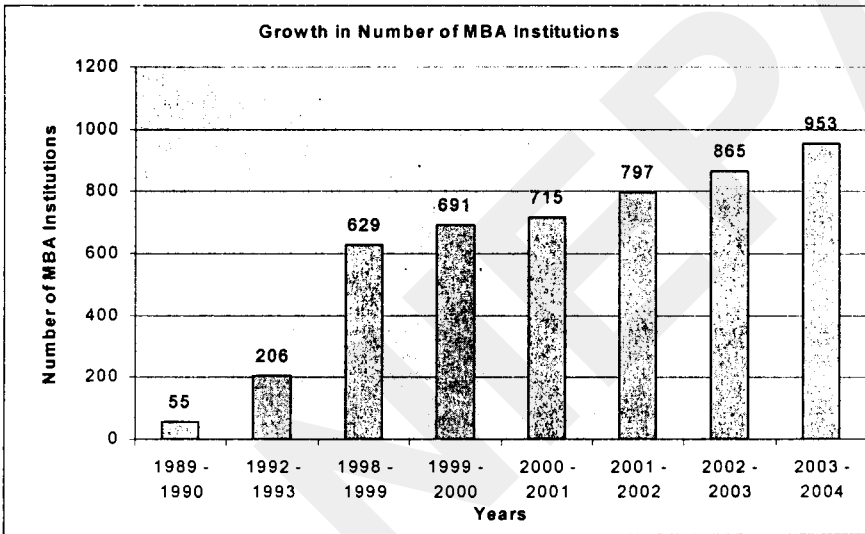
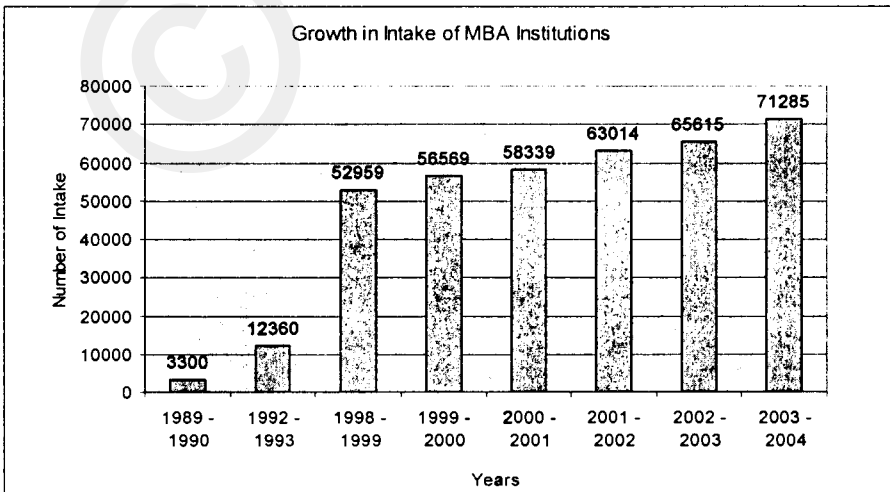


Figure 2



Quality of Management Education

As the structure of management education varies broadly across the country, ranging from institutions of national importance to university departments, colleges affiliated to various universities and autonomous bodies, similarly the quality of business education imparted in these institutions has a lot of diversity. The focus of this study is to critically examine the academic model of these low-end and not-so-known B-schools and suggest ways to enhance the quality of business education imparted in these institutions.

In order to fully understand the framework and the recommendations proposed in this discussion paper, we may first understand the salient features of management education discussed by Dayal in 2002 and then concentrate on the expectations of the stakeholders involved in management education.

The focus of management education is to develop managerial competence, which includes acquiring knowledge in dealing with diverse managerial tasks. It is a conscious effort to develop insights so that a person is enabled to handle problems in an objective manner, and develop analytical, diagnostic and problem solving capabilities, and ability to communicate effectively. In order to impart this kind of education, classroom teaching is not enough. Different kinds of teaching methods, like case studies, projects, assignments, would give students an opportunity to learn the practical implementation of the theoretical issues. As management education is an integration of knowledge and information from various disciplines, it is very significant to draw faculty's attention towards enhancing their knowledge and upgrading their skills. It is important for them to shift their focus from theory to application. The faculty should be able to provide a generalistic as well as a specialistic view to the students. In fact the aim of all management schools should be to develop future managers with skills and knowledge that make them successful leaders, and also should strive to develop experiential courses in creativity and in managerial innovation.

Business schools also need to have a two-track faculty, with the second track being a clinical faculty, or people who may not have the academic qualifications to get tenure or even do real academic research, but who would bring into the classroom the world of practice and experience.

In fact the future of management education is directly linked to the corporate world. As such, it is very important to notice the direction in which it is heading and the kind of manpower it will require in future. In India, MBA degree has become more of a status symbol and the emergence of B-schools in every nook and corner is devaluing its importance. At the same time, with increasing integration of Indian economy with the global economy and strong emergence of services sector, have thrown up many such job opportunities as are not of interest to the elite B-schools. As many students from top-end management institutes in India are getting job offers in the international job market, all this is beneficial for the second rung management institutes, if they respond well to this changing industry demand and equip their students with suitable skill-sets and tighten a bit their entry criteria to create a niche for themselves.

As we are aware, there are three obvious stakeholders in the management education; they are industry, students and management institutes themselves. However, there seems to be no coordination among them. Industry is in need of management graduates and it doesn't seem to be working in sync with these institutes by strengthening their interaction to help the institutes come out with the desired talent pool. Students as the most significant stakeholder join these institutes to come out with an MBA degree which they expect will become their passport of success in job market without realizing what they need to learn and train themselves in these two years they spend in a management institutes. On the other hand management institutes which is the interface between industry and candidates, have no idea altogether about the industry requirements, the kind of value addition is required and how to deliver it and how to have some filtering process in place to ensure some minimum quality of input. So all the three stakeholders appear to be lost and the result is that all are not happy.

As we are talking repeatedly, for the last few years our industry and especially the services sector is growing at a phenomenal pace and by all accounts it appears that this momentum will stay. With this kind of growth in services, the requirement of trained manpower is immense and is the backbone of industry. This requires huge trained manpower inflows, which can't be met by elite institutions alone even if they try to expand capacity. Increasing globalization will see the students from premier institutes being poached by international recruiters also. The industry demand is also broad based which doesn't require people with high analytical & intellectual levels alone but there are jobs emerging at other levels also. So the expectation of industry is a steady supply of trained manpower. In order to ensure the supply these low end B-schools have a role to play. However, the present output churned out by these institutes is not acceptable to industry. Since talent pool at the 2nd rung B-schools is very spread out, there should be some assessment system in place to segregate the students as per the quality. As it is a very long process, industry in future may outsource large part of entry level recruitment also as they find it very difficult to segregate this vast pool spread across a number of institutes and they don't have the time to get into detailed assessment and monitoring and also not the means.

We all know that MBA degree is still the craze, but it should not be treated as fashion accessory. Still students assume that MBA degree will end all their problems and land them a decent job. However, the problem is that their expectations are not fulfilled and the degree gives a psychological satisfaction only. Students should not expect miracles from MBA degree alone but should look towards the value addition that takes place in the two years they spend at the B-school that should prepare them for the job better. Secondly, they should be well exposed to industry requirements and expectations so that they should not start with unrealistic hype and should be able to have a clear sense of career expectations in industry. The last thing the students must learn in these two years is the ability to assess themselves and they should be given all required tools so that they can benchmark themselves and know where they stand. All this will prepare them to face the job market in a much better way as it was pointed out by an industry captain

some time back. According to them, that one of the challenges for the students is to manage expectations and not have unrealistic goals or dreams.

Management institutes are then the most important component of the triangle and are mostly responsible for the present mess today. Lower rung management institutes can be broadly categorized into two types: one, the university based B-schools which are in a state of decay because of the way the universities function, and secondly the private institutes where the sole purpose seems to be to make quick money without contributing significantly. This complicates the whole scenario whereas the focus of these institutes should be to have some basic filtering process in place, to concentrate a lot on making a decent value addition to students in broad areas by systematically improving on their infrastructure both physical and intellectual, to maintain a strong industry interaction to bring them into picture, and eventually to build a reasonable brand identity. From all indicators there appears to be strong and wide demand for fresh talent from industry which demonstrates that most of these institutes have a decent future. So even when the intention is to make money, they should be able to make it by making a genuine business offering which should be their goal; also it will create a reasonable brand equity for them and ensure a bright future for these management institutes in the long run.

Do These B-Schools Add Value

There is a debate going around in industry and also in top B-schools that whether they add any value. There seems to be no consensus to this query and many a time industry feels that management institutes are not adding any significant value to these professionals which will equip them to face the corporate world in a better manner, though the compensation levels of these professionals are going up with companies hiring them at much higher salaries. Probably these B-schools may not add much value but at the same time, they do add some value like decision-making skills, opinion stating, risk taking, ability to work under pressure and structured and analytical thinking. Also the filtering process of these top end B-schools is very strict and only a very few with high intellectual and analytical skills are able to get in. Since these institutes get the top cream of the students, there is a strong demand for these graduates in the job-market.

This problem is far more acute in lower end B-schools where even more value addition is required. Since the filtering process in these institutes is very weak and the impression is that it is very easy to get in, it results in candidates with even below average academic and other skills to get admission. Coupled with the fact these institutes are equipped with poor infrastructure and lower quality of faculty, they are able to add very little value to these candidates. The industry interaction is also very superficial so they can't equip these candidates with industry requirements and the brand value enjoyed by these students is very low. Hence the demand of candidates coming out of these schools is weak.

It will not be an overstatement to say that these lower end B-schools add very little value addition to the candidates. Because of weak filtering process and low visibility,

these institutes enjoy very little standing among industry and graduates coming out of these B-schools have a tough time in job market.

Challenges Faced by Lower End B-Schools

These lower end B-schools face challenges from a number of fronts which can be broadly classified under the following heads:

1. Student issues
2. Industry requirements
3. Institutional problems

All these issues are inter-related and combined together make a formidable problem.

Student Issues

First and the foremost problem starts with students themselves as the number of B-schools has grown tremendously and almost every MBA aspirant is able to get admission into the course in one institute or the other but once they enter they have no clue about their future and neither the institution seems to have a clear understanding on the issues. Right at the admission stage, the quality of intake becomes the first casualty. Other problem that follows is that these students tend to have exaggerated notions about themselves and also about the MBA degree; instead of having a realistic assessment of themselves they start living in a dream world. Another problem related with students is that there is heterogeneous mix of students in these institutes that creates a very big poser from their prospective employers' side. As is seen, most of the students coming out of top-end B-schools are more or less a homogenous mass and are in any case very well placed, the lower-end B-schools students may be good, some may be average and a very large number even may be below average. Therefore, prospective recruiters find it very difficult to segregate them and may decide not to visit these B-schools at all which eventually shatters the dreams and expectations with which these students join these institutes.

Industry Requirements

The industry today is facing a unique problem as the industry, especially the services sector, is expanding very fast and recruiting MBAs for all jobs is becoming a norm. The requirement for reasonable quality MBAs is far more than the supply coming out of these well known B-schools. Even the recent efforts to increase the intake in these premium B-schools is not going to solve the problem. As such, what the industry is looking at is that these second ring B-schools should start coming out with reasonable quality of trained manpower which can be easily absorbed by it.

Second problem faced by the industry is that most of the B-schools still rely on teaching and don't focus on many other qualities needed to perform better in a job. Of

late though there is a lot of talk of building communication skills and other soft skills required to improve their outlook, but very little effort is being put in this area.

Third problem faced by industry is that it will like the heterogeneous mass of students be segregated and divided in different blocks on some defined basis; so that it is able to really start recruiting them at different levels as with expanding economy jobs require very large number of trained people at various levels. If these students can be segregated and put in homogeneous blocks, chances of recruitment become very high. But nothing seems to be happening at this point as these 2nd rung B-schools are not able to change them and this has really created a unique situation where industry demand is not fully met. At the same time, a large number of students with MBA degrees have no jobs or jobs which are not commensurate with their degrees.

Institutional Problems

The problems faced by these B-schools are many, since they happen to be the meeting point of students and their prospective employers. Also it is here that these students spend two years and the value addition, which happens here, should facilitate them to get a decent job. But these institutions are facing a number of problems, which don't allow both the students and industry to achieve their goals.

Since these B-schools don't get so bright students, preparing them to become good professionals is a very arduous task. This is where the vicious cycle starts. Most of these B-schools are stuck with average faculty and host of other problems. They follow the standard teaching practices followed by most others without realizing the quality of their student intake and also the real value addition done by them in two years time. They ignore the industry expectations from them. In the end, they come out with an output, which is substandard.

The problems of these institutes are classified and discussed in the following paragraphs.

Branding

As management education has become a big business across the globe branding has also made its inroads in it. As these institutes mostly operate on run-of-the-mill approach, they are only fulfilling the psychological aspirations of students by providing MBA instead of creating some real value addition to the students or finding a niche for them to succeed. Hence, they are not able to create a distinct identity for themselves. Because of the substandard output they generate, they have a poor brand recall from industry. Many of these institutes are located in far off towns, so many a times location also become a critical issue.

Faculty & Curriculum

Another important reason for these institutes providing very poor value addition is the quality of faculty they hire and the effort they make in developing their faculty. Faculty

in many institutes is there is just for the sake of it and to take classes with little effort to see the kind of impact they impart. When you are stuck with average students, it is very important to work on strong value addition for which faculty is the most important component. Not only is it paramount to have good faculty, equally important is to nurture development of the faculty so that it can make a visible and tangible impact on students. These institutes generally engage part-time faculty who have very little involvement with the students. These institutes depend on a faculty which does not have enough experience and usually lags behind in research and consultancy activities, which are very important components of management education. As these institutes pay very little attention towards faculty development, the quality of teaching is always dubious.

Curriculum still remains out dated and if some effort is made to develop it is only cosmetic. In fact very little effort is made in developing new curriculum and overseeing the delivery of content. Only top end B-schools are able to develop the teaching material that is relevant to the Indian context. All this has a very poor impact on value addition.

Industry Interaction

Though most institutes claim they are well networked with industry and are always working on industry academic interaction but in reality this is more of a marketing tactic and actually only lip service is done towards this. Though industry attitude can be one reason for this but genuine, sincere, focused and long-term effort is needed to reach out to industry rather than short term placement approach. Industry interaction is required in all aspects of institutes functioning rather than only in placement.

Teaching / Training Focus

One of the fundamental problems faced by these B-schools is that they just try to copy what is being done at top-end B-schools that too in a half-hearted manner rather than focusing on their own requirements. Since these institutes get lower quality of intake and industry also looks at them for meeting different requirements, the whole focus of value addition need a shift in focus from teaching to training where a sustained effort is required to train them as in more confident individuals by focusing on their communication, personality, soft skills and related areas rather than bombarding them with superfluous and redundant information which may not be of much use.

So this demands a fundamental shift in their focus and it is very important to keep their students in demand by industry and for this industry support is crucial. But this precisely is the area where these institutes fail and it appears that they have to think out of box to come out with a solution for this problem.

Institute's Leadership

One major problem faced by these institutes is that their promoters run these as personal fiefdoms and normally the directors play a very limited role. Most of the directors are retired senior persons from some B-schools who have limited energy and old vision, so

they are there just to fill a gap. Upgrading and maintaining the quality of education in this situation becomes extremely difficult in the absence of proper corporate governance system. Hence, it requires a Herculean effort to change the mindset.

Evolving Strategies

Present situation of these B-schools indicates a very dismal scenario but if they think out of box there seem to be a way out because of emerging situation. The overall environment seems to be conducive because of following:

1. The expanding economy is creating many jobs which will require trained management professionals. Also jobs are opening up at various levels which may absorb a large number of management graduates of variable intellect and quality.
2. Changing dynamics of education sector indicate that people are willing to pay for higher education. So if quality is provided money may not be the problem and students and their parents may be willing to pay for value addition and decent careers.
3. Increased awareness and strong media focus has already put pressure on these B-schools. There seem to be immense interest in the annual rankings done by various magazines and if presented in a proper manner, can force the B-schools to make necessary changes.

The emerging scenario of low-end B-schools indicates that they can't change on their own and current state of industry-academia interface also doesn't indicate a bright picture for them. For these schools to become relevant, they need to focus on current industry scenario and look for solutions outside. The most viable strategy seems to be outsourcing a number of their activities. It will not only help them in overcoming a number of their problems but also make their existence relevant and help them in creating an identity for themselves. The following is the outline for this strategy.

Training

The consistent theme running through this entire paper is that large numbers of jobs are being created which mostly require skills in communication and grounding in personality-oriented and soft skills area. If these B-schools shift their focus and come out with well-groomed professionals with knowledge in upcoming industries, getting decent jobs may not be a problem. So much with teaching, these institutes should focus on training the students extensively in these areas. Training should be imparted by trainers from outside and not by teachers and the focus should be to develop their interpersonal skills with industry being involved in this effort. Institutes should pass on their activity to some training outfits so as to get credibility on this aspect and that training becomes relevant also. This will not only groom the students in required areas but also will restore confidence of industry.

Assessment

One of the reasons for industry avoiding these B-rung institutes for recruitment is lack of assessment and grading. Since industry requirements are diverse and there are instances when there are large number of positions available in companies for which candidates from these lower rung institutes fit the need better.

Also all students studying in these B-schools are not a homogeneous mix, and are rather a heterogeneous mass. Some students are good, others are average, and some are below average. Though training may help them in moving up the ladder, it is their segregation and grading, which will make industry look to them. So one needs to have an assessment method in place, which will segregate them and put them in different blocks. There is need for continuous assessment and monitoring not only to identify the training but also to market them better and offer them as a better fit for the job. There are some reputed assessment companies in this area and if they are involved right at the start, not only will it segregate the candidate and make them industry relevant but will also identify training areas.

Placement Support

As we see deeply the functioning of B-schools, one can find out that the industry academic linkage is very weak and though placement departments have emerged as a very important function in B-schools and also under heavy pressure, but it appears that inherent weaknesses in the system will not make placement department very effective as industry involvement is hardly there.

What we need instead is that placement activities be effectively managed by a Placement Consultancy which will initially involve the industry in the development of the institute by helping in designing the curriculum, mode of delivery, helping in faculty's industry exposure. Also with training and assessment, the student pool will get well segregated and the student profiles can be better marketed depending upon their competency level and also as per industry requirements, keeping in mind the right fit. Placement Consultancy can network far more effectively with industry and can continuously expand the job pool by adding on new recruiters and help both the recruiters and the students by chalking out the detailed career profiles rather than just the job numbers.

Academic Support

Another area where these B-schools need support is in faculty development; regular change and upgradation of curriculum, effective delivery and overall administration of B-school. Here, some of the top-end B-schools can be looked as mentors and as was recently said by Bakul Dholkia, Director, IIM-A that top-end institutes should come forward in this area also. These top-rung institutes can organize regular faculty development programmes, help low-rung institutes in designing curriculum, involve their faculty in research work also, and help them in managing themselves in a far better way.

Top rung institutes can also organize refresher courses for directors of these institutes and can help in chalking out the vision and mission of these B-schools.

Conclusion

In totality, these B-schools should decide to outsource many of their activities to experts, and focus on areas where industry demand is there, and should provide segregated profile of management graduates, which may fit with employers demand also. There seems to be a viable strategy for not only the survival but also the growth of these B-schools. It will also serve industry's objective and create career opportunities for students of these B-schools and eventually help in bridging the gap of trained manpower requirement for managerial positions. Though India may not need 1000 odd B-schools and many may close down in future as competition intensifies, these institutes may face tough challenges ahead as the craze for MBA degree declines. At the same time India's manpower demand is not going to be satisfied by top 50 B-schools only. So what is needed is the strategy and vision for these lower rung B-schools and aligning the requirements of these B-schools with industry demands and outsourcing a number of their activities. It will definitely lead to better value addition and make these candidates more acceptable in the industry and help in plugging the manpower gap. What we need today is more layers of management institutes around the premium layer of management institutes as there are various layers of job emerging in the market that require a broad set of skill-sets. So if management institutes understand this emerging reality and become more open about their inherent weaknesses and outsource many of their activities to experts, it will not only help the industry in a better way but will make many of these institutes relevant and also contribute in realizing the dreams of thousands of students by providing them decent jobs as per their capability, skills and expectations.

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RESEARCH NOTES

Quality Assurance for South Korea's Higher Education

Hyung-Yeel Koh*

In South Korea, the quality of higher education emerged as an issue of public debate in reaction to the rapid recent expansion of the higher education sector. Subsequently, different agencies developed systems of university evaluation (daehag pyongga) in order to promote quality and to encourage improvement. Over the years of their operation, such systems have generated some positive outcomes, but at the same time, incurred problems that could hamper their efforts.

The Context

As you are probably aware, the recent expansion of higher education in South Korea is extraordinary. A few simple statistical data may suffice to show this point. In 1970, for instance, about 200,000 South Korean students were enrolled in 142 universities and colleges. By 2005 – only one generation thenceforth – the numbers have grown to 3.56 million students in 365 institutions. This, of course, implies great improvement in participation rates. Of the country's high school graduates in 1990, 33.2 percent advanced to institutions of higher education, including junior colleges and universities. This figure alone is significant, because South Korea now has caught up with Japan in this regard. But the figure did not get stuck there; it continued to grow further, and by 2005, it passed well over 80 percent. Plainly put, all those children who are born in South Korea today, complete formal schooling at elementary and secondary levels, and almost all of them move on to a university or junior college for higher learning. Such a phenomenon – the de facto universal higher education – is not visible in any other country.

The issue of quality was brought up in reaction to this phenomenon. The rapid expansion of higher education had occurred largely due to the explosive demand for higher education, which, in turn, was caused by the intense university entrance competition. New universities and colleges sprung up, and the existing institutions opened new educational programs and expanded their existing programs in order to accommodate those students who wanted higher education. The concerns that were brought up here, were naturally that, such quickly emerging institutions and programs

* President, International Cooperation Team, Korean Educational Development Institute, 92-6 Umyon-dong Seocho-gu, Seoul, Korea. Email: henky@kedi.re.kr

could be in fact providing less than satisfactory quality of education. If the number of students in higher education has jumped from 200,000 in 1970 to 3.54 million in 2005, it was apparent that higher education was turning from an education of the elite to mass education, or vulgarization. From this, the debaters' logic leaped to concerns about the possible weakening of the nation's economic competitiveness in the increasingly globalizing world. While higher education supplied the professional workforce, the vital component in the hi-tech-centered structure of the country's economy, its vulgarization, or insufficient quality, could jeopardize the economic competitiveness, thus darkening the prospect of the country's future.

Addressing these concerns, the debaters agreed that the universities need to take initiatives for quality control on their side rather than wait for governmental intervention.

KCUE's University Evaluation

Such initiatives were taken as early as in 1982 with the formation of Korean Council for University Education (KCUE). As a semi-official organization, endorsed by a special legislation,¹ KCUE is comprised of all universities in the country and regulates or guides them to the following effects:

1. Promoting autonomous management and cooperation among member institutions;
2. Developing and advancing governmental policy measures for coping with the changing environment of higher education;
3. Distributing information among member institutions via seminars and colloquia;
4. Helping to improve the quality of university education through university accreditation, rationalization of management, institutional and academic program evaluation, and dissemination of accreditation results, etc.;
5. Helping to improve the systems of student admission; and
6. Promoting the teaching staff's professional development, inter-institutional and international faculty exchange, etc.²

The ultimate purpose of these activities, as stated by KCUE, is the promotion of excellence and quality through the member universities' voluntary and autonomous efforts.

It was in light of such objectives that KCUE has been organizing the evaluation of individual universities. The evaluation consists of two parts: institutional evaluation, and program evaluation. For institutional evaluation, KCUE sets for all universities common standards and procedures, covering undergraduate and graduate programs separately.

Undergraduate programs are evaluated in terms of six categories: (1) university administration and financial management, (2) strategies and visions for development,

¹ Korean Council for University Education Law, 1984.

² <http://www.kcue.or.kr/>

(3) education and social contributions, (4) industry-academia cooperation and research, (5) students and faculty, and (6) educational infrastructures and support systems.

Graduate programs are evaluated also in terms of six different categories: (1) strategies and visions for development; (2) aims, curricula, and instructions; (3) school affairs and thesis support; (4) research; (5) graduate students and faculty; and (6) educational infrastructures and support systems. Categories for both graduate and undergraduate programs can have sub-categories. The evaluation considers qualitative and quantitative factors. The opinions of students and graduates are also gathered by means of surveys about the goals of specialized studies, curricula and teaching methods.

As for the evaluation procedure, KCUE informs in advance a chosen university of the KCUE University Evaluation Committee's plan to evaluate it. Then, the university proposes a schedule for the committee's visit. The KCUE committee reviews the proposed schedule, considers its appropriateness according to its evaluation guidelines, and notifies its decision through KCUE.

In the second stage, the university prepares a self-evaluation plan following the guidelines laid down in KCUE's handbook. This is done through two ad hoc committees, one for institutional evaluation and the other for program evaluation. These planning committees submit their joint report to KCUE upon approval from the president of their university.

In the third stage, KCUE's evaluation team establishes a schedule for on-site visits and forms a University Comprehensive Evaluation Committee with the assistance of the university. The KCUE Comprehensive Evaluation Committee first examines documents submitted by the university and then conducts on-site examination for two or three days. Based on these examinations, the committee compiles a report and submits it to KCUE.

In the fourth stage, KCUE writes a final report on the basis of the ad hoc reports of all universities and sends it to the University Evaluation/Accreditation Committee. This committee examines this report and decides whether or not to accredit the evaluated university. KCUE notifies the decision to the concerned university, which in turn has five days to request a re-evaluation in case it disagrees.

The fifth stage is the re-evaluation process. The results of evaluations conducted between 1994 and 2000 are valid for seven years. The evaluations done after 2001 are good for six years. Universities must apply for another evaluation once the old ones expire. If a university fails to pass the next review, it loses accreditation.

Problems

KCUE's efforts have given a great deal of influence to South Korea's higher education. While universities were expanding at a rapid speed, KCUE's assessment of those institutions and their programs continually sent a message that they would sooner or later confront troubles unless they paid adequate attention to the quality side. In effect, the newly-opened universities today are equipped and staffed a lot better than those of, say, twenty years ago.

Even so, however, KCUE does not seem to be playing a satisfactory leading role as to its member universities. For instance, although the systemic arrangement is such that unsatisfactory results of university evaluation can lead to the loss of accreditation, no institution has so far actually faced such a mishap. It was not that all universities yielded good results but simply that KCUE did not have power to enforce its decision and withdraw accreditation from particular universities in spite of the legal endorsement. The best use of the information gathered from university evaluation is usually its distribution among the administrators or other officers of the concerned universities. KCUE justifies this practice by referring to the "purpose of evaluation" that it is to provide the university with instruments for self-diagnosis of potential problems. It is the university itself that has to work spontaneously to enhance the quality of its teaching and research. For this reason, KCUE does not disclose to the public the information usually other than whether a particular university has met the evaluated criteria. This is to say, there is no way to make universities actually work hard to improve the quality of their education unless they try voluntarily.

In the near future, however, KCUE plans to construct a database of evaluation results and make it available via the Internet to the students as well as to the employers. KCUE also plans to develop a system of informing the public about individual universities' administrative practices as well as basic infrastructure. Such plans, however, appear to be mere dreams. The reason is that through the twenty years of its history, KCUE has failed to establish leadership in assuring quality in university education; it only has aroused concerns about quality. Meanwhile, however, such concerns were rising higher and higher all the time. In effect, thus, numerous other agencies have come to partake in what KCUE was created to do. As of today, thus, quality management (or evaluation) of higher education is carried out by a number of organizations, government agencies, and media companies,³ including the Ministry of Education and Human Resources Development (MOE&HRD), Korea Council for College Education (KCCE),⁴ Korean Educational Development Institute (KEDI), the Accreditation Board for Engineering Education in Korea (ABEEK), the Accreditation Board for Medical Education in Korea (ABMEK), and the Korean Accreditation Board of Nursing (KABON),⁵ alongside KCUE. What was wrong? Why has KCUE ended up failing?

Before preparing this brief manuscript, I have asked a few researchers at my own institution, Korean Educational Development Institute, what in their opinion the problem was. They pointed to two things: (i) absence of a national consensus regarding the goals, scope, and the division of labour among the agencies involved in university evaluation, and (ii) absence of legal (that is, compulsory) measures, and also a political power, to

³ In addition, the popular daily newspaper *Joong Ang Ilbo* conducted independent evaluations of fields of study and published its findings beginning in 1995.

⁴ KCCE began evaluations of junior colleges in 1995.

⁵ ABEEK began evaluations of 9 engineering schools and 57 engineering programs in 2001. ABMEK began evaluations of 21 medical schools in 2000. KABON began evaluations of 4 nursing schools in 2002.

coerce quality assurance. In their opinion, these two conditions jointly have led the universities to consider institutional and program evaluations to be in-essential and unimportant. I think this opinion is correct basically. The various agencies separately conducting university evaluation are not interlinked and do not share common purposes or methodology. At times, therefore, the same university may get contradictory results from different evaluation agencies. As well, the Ministry of Education uses evaluation results to induce universities to adopt governmental policies, such as specialization and diversification, instead of improving quality. On the other hand, evaluation results produced by private agencies, such as ABEEK and ABMEK that began in 2000, have had limited effect on managing quality. Evaluations by the media are not conducted by professionals. Our researchers reminded me of these facts.

I agree to their opinion as many writers in South Korea would do. Even so, I note at least one neglected point and I would like to conclude by drawing attention to it. That is, the South Korean debaters were not necessarily right in worrying about the possible deterioration of quality at the time of expanding higher education. That higher education can be vulgarized when it becomes massive or universal is a truism. It cannot be wrong as an observation. At the same time, however, it does not contain very much meat to chew. When only the selected few could make it to the university, higher education could be elitist and perhaps considered good in quality although it might in fact not be quite good. On the other hand, when everyone goes to university, higher education may appear to be vulgar and not so good although it is good actually. If one brings up the issue of quality in this case, the standard here must be that of certain elite universities, not that of all universities. The majority of universities may not live up to the standard and be evaluated as not good. If so, KCUE may have made a mistake when it set common standards and procedures for all universities.

Although South Korea is the first country to show a trend of universalizing higher education, it is in no sense exceptional. As UNESCO envisioned in 1998, higher education is going to be universal worldwide in a near future. And higher education as universal education cannot be common and uniform as in the case of elementary education. It simply means that everyone receives education at a university or college; it does not, however, mean that everyone receives one and the same kind of education or receives education in similar manners or in similar environments. A university or an educational program at the level of higher education must be able to be good in its own way. Of course, quality assurance may have to make sure of certain necessary infrastructures – basic facilities and equipment, the teaching staff, etc. Here, one may be tempted to say that all universities and colleges must have such and such facilities or equipment, etc. It is of importance, however, to note that even such infrastructures cannot be uniform, that they can demonstrate individual differences.



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REGISTRAR

District Primary Education Project The Experience of Himachal Pradesh

Akshay Sood*
B.L. Shukla

Introduction

Education has always been accorded an important place in the development of human resources in society. The provision of basic education for all continues to be a matter of serious concern in India. The country's commitment to the goal of providing "*Education For All (EFA)*" needs no reiteration. This has been made clear in various policy statements, including the National Policy of Education (1986) which explicitly mentioned the importance of the following in the direction of EFA:

1. *Universal enrolment and universal retention of children upto 14 years of age.*
2. *A substantial improvement in quality of education.*

Due to this commitment, the state governments have an obligation to provide free and compulsory EFA upto the age of 14 years.

Despite significant efforts made by state governments, the EFA goal has yet to be achieved. The inability to achieve *Universalization of Elementary Education (UEE)* is the result of many factors, including persistence of poor socio-economic conditions. Government emphasis has been on expanding access and assuming that even the remotest school with skeletal facilities would be able to provide quality education, an assumption not borne out by the results. In addition to the national commitment for UEE, as reflected in the NPE – 1986, a positive ambience for reforming education was created after the Jomtein Conference in 1990 and formulation of DPEP (District Primary Education Programme). The DPEP was instituted as a response to social safety net provisions during the structural adjustment phase of early nineties but was later taken up as a regular centrally sponsored scheme of the Government of India. The states, besides maintaining the existing level of public expenditure on education, were to contribute 15% of the project cost and remaining 85% of DPEP cost was to be provided by the Central Government as grant to the states.

The DPEP aimed to achieve the long cherished goal of UPE in the country through district planning with emphasis on participatory processes, empowerment of the local community and weaker sections of the society and building the systems capacity to handle large scale projects. The DPEP encouraged districts to develop area-specific and

* Secretary, Himachal Pradesh Electricity Regulatory Commission, Shimla.
E-mail: asood40@rediffmail.com

need-based plans so that these remained relevant to the particular districts. The DPEP also encouraged the involvement of local administrators, community and other interest groups in the preparation of the district perspective plans. The DPEP especially focused on the educational development of the girls and the children belonging to the SC and ST families who suffer most from all types of deprivations. The DPEP thus was a unique experiment towards reaching the un-reached with quality education.

Himachal Pradesh

Himachal Pradesh came into being as a Part-C State of the Indian Union on 15th April, 1948. Bilaspur was added to Himachal Pradesh in 1954, followed by merging of the hilly areas of erstwhile Punjab in November, 1966. It achieved full statehood on 25th January, 1971. Himachal Pradesh had a population of 60,77,900 persons in 2001 living in 12 districts, and a literacy rate of 76.5 %. The male and female literacy rates were 85.3% and 67.4% respectively. As per 1991 census, the literacy rate for the Schedule Caste population was 53.20% and that for the Scheduled Tribes, it was 47.09%.

Though the literacy rate for Himachal Pradesh as a whole is fairly impressive, yet the female literacy rate of DPEP districts i.e. of Chamba (48.8%), Kullu (60.9 %), Lahaul & Spiti (60.7 %) and Sirmour (67.4 %) are still below the state average of female literacy (68.08 %). Even though Kullu, Lahaul & Spiti and Sirmour have improved and crossed the national average of female literacy (54.16%), yet Chamba is still striving to cross the national female literacy average. Since these four districts of the state were educationally backward, having female literacy rates below the national literacy rates, as per the 1991 census. These were therefore taken up for improvement of primary education through DPEP, which was introduced in Himachal Pradesh as a Centrally Sponsored Scheme in 1996-97, with an approved outlay of Rs. 129.28 crore to be spent on the improvement of primary education over a period of six years (1996-2002).

These four districts are predominantly hilly and include the tough tribal terrains of Lahaul-Spiti, Pangi and Bharmour. Table 1 shows the geographical and literacy profile and project outlay of the four DPEP districts of the state.

TABLE 1
DPEP Districts in Himachal Pradesh

S. N.	District	Literacy Rate 2001 (in percentage)			Project Outlay (Rs. in Crore)
		Total	Male	Female	
1	Chamba	62.9	76.4	48.8	38.89
2	Kullu	72.9	84.0	60.9	29.65
3	Lahaul-Spiti	73.1	82.8	6.7	11.47
4	Sirmour	70.4	79.4	60.4	34.24

DPEP Objectives

DPEP was a centrally sponsored scheme that supported **replicable, sustainable and cost effective educational programmes** in order to:

- i) Provide, according to national norms, access for all children to primary education classes (I-V) i.e. primary schooling or its equivalent non-formal education.
- ii) Reduce differences in enrolment, drop-out and learning achievements among gender and social groups to less than 5%.
- iii) Reduce overall primary drop-out rates to less than 10%.
- iv) Raise average achievement levels by at least 25% over measured base-line levels and ensuring achievements of basic literacy and numerical competencies and a minimum of 40% achievement levels in other competencies, by all primary school children.
- v) Strengthen the capacity of national, state and district institutions and organizations for planning, management and evaluation of primary education.

DPEP Coverage

DPEP was initiated in four districts, namely Chamba, Kullu, Lahaul-Spiti and Sirmour districts in Himachal Pradesh through various interventions like project management, pedagogical interventions, civil-works, access and alternative schooling, research and evaluation, management information system and integrated education for disabled (IED) to achieve the project objectives.

MIS as Source of Data

The DPEP relied heavily on its two most powerful tools i.e. EMIS & PMIS. EMIS (Educational Management Information System) provides data on various parameters of access, enrolment, retention, infrastructure facilities, teachers, and on related social and gender parameters. EMIS has given us a database for seven years from 1996-97 onwards till 2002-03. Sarva Shiksha Abhiyan has given the educational administrators an opportunity to implement EMIS in all the other eight non-DPEP districts.

The significant changes in the number of schools, classrooms, teachers, students and PTR (Pupil-Teacher Ratio) in the four DPEP districts, during the five years period of 1997-2002 is reflected in Table 2.

TABLE 2
EMIS Data for the Last Six Years in DPEP Districts of Himachal Pradesh

Districts	Schools		Classrooms		Teachers		Students		PTR	
	1996-1997	2001-2002	1996-1997	2001-2002	1996-1997	2001-2002	1996-1997	2001-2002	1996-1997	2001-2002
Chamba	794	1072	1725	3686	2314	2641	57359	67220	24.78	25.45
Kullu	426	698	1340	2587	1459	1782	46331	49070	31.75	27.54
L-Spiti	185	216	441	735	446	456	3270	3059	7.33	6.71
Sirmour	632	968	1580	2257	1758	2543	54551	64081	31.03	26.71
Total	2037	2954	5086	9265	5977	7422	161510	183430	27.02	24.71

Source : Internal DPEP documents, Himachal Pradesh

The above table shows a 45% increase in the number of primary schools, 82% increase in the number of classrooms, 25% increase in the teacher strength, and 14% increase in student enrolment in the 5-year period of 1997-2002. Even the PTR has shown some decline, though it has been fairly modest. The data shows the physical achievements made possible by improvement of access through new schools and additional teachers in the four districts of the state.

Analysis of the Pupil-Teacher Ratio (PTR) shows that Chamba has shown a slight deterioration in PTR while in the other three districts; PTR is showing a decreasing trend which is a favourable indication. Overall, the PTR has remained within manageable limits during the last five years. It shows that in DPEP districts, there is no problem of teacher ratio vis-a-vis enrolment.

A PTR of 40 is considered ideal for Indian conditions. But in Himachal Pradesh, PTR is very low due to adverse topographic conditions and presence of sparsely populated smaller habitations. The average PTR is a useful indicator for overall policy analysis and estimation of demand for additional teachers. In the Himachal Pradesh's context, the PTR has remained marginally fluctuating in all the four DPEP districts, ranging between 6.71 in Lahaul-Spiti to 27.54 in Kullu. This PTR is very low from the ideal PTR of 1:40, in all the four DPEP districts. The enrolment in primary classes in most of the schools is low because of scattered population. In many situations, it is less than even 10 and does not exceed 60 where not more than two teachers could be provided. This shows the prevalence of multi-grade situation in the DPEP districts of Himachal Pradesh. The PTR in Lahaul-Spiti district is low but this is understandable in view of the extremely difficult topographic situation of the district in view of the DPEP objective to bring all the children of 6-11 age-group to the system of formal schooling.

Table 2 also shows that on an average, there were 3.14 classrooms in every school with an average school size of 62 during 2001-02. This was an improvement over the figures of 2.50 average classrooms and 79.29 school size in the year 1996-97. It implies that on an average, 20 children are using a room meant for 40 children. Further, because of schools of small size, it is not desirable to provide one room for each class. However, there have to be sufficient number of classrooms so that teachers can transact the teaching learning business in separate classrooms. There were 9265 classrooms for 7422 teachers (2001-02). This shows remarkable improvement in the infrastructure of the schools during the DPEP period.

Population Growth

As per the census figures, the decadal population growth rate for the state was 17.53% in the period 1991-2001. The growth rate in DPEP districts is given in Table 3.

TABLE 3

<i>District</i>	<i>Chamba</i>	<i>Lahaul -Spiti</i>	<i>Kullu</i>	<i>Sirmaur</i>
Decadal Growth	17.09%	6.17%	25.60%	20.72%

Source: Census-2001, Director of Census, Himachal Pradesh

The growth rate in Kullu and Sirmour districts was on a higher side, in Chamba slightly lower, and in Lahaul Spiti it was considerably low in comparison to the state as a whole. Lahaul-Spiti, is in many ways, an exceptional district because of its already small population base (it had a population of only 33,224 in 2001) and it has been seeing large-scale migration of population to other districts because of the extremely harsh conditions in the district.

The reason for the lower decadal growth rate in Lahaul-Spiti district and higher decadal growth rate in Kullu could also be attributed to the fact that most of the productive population migrates from Lahaul-Spiti district to Kullu district because of better opportunities of employment and education of children. The district remains cut off from the rest of the world for 6-7 months in a year and although it is the largest district with 24.85% of the total area of the state, but it has only 0.55 % of the population with a density of 2 persons per sq. km.

The decreasing trend in the decadal growth rates and opening of more private schools in the state (mainly by the educated unemployed youths) is a matter of concern for the educational planners who are votaries of expansion of the schooling system in the government sector.

The availability of schooling facilities for 6-11 age-group, therefore, needs to be gauged with reference to fresh requirements in DPEP districts of Himachal Pradesh. As per present status, 2954 primary schools are catering to the educational needs of primary education and 7422 teachers are teaching 183430 students in the four DPEP districts. 48 Alternative Schools and 6 Mobile Schools have also been opened to cater to the need of hardest to reach children.

A Comparison of Government and Private Schools

In Himachal Pradesh, primary education is dominated by the state government primary schools. There are about 2,954 government schools in four DPEP districts and only 160 private schools. The percentage of government school enrolment to total enrolment is 92.48 and percentage of private school enrolment to total enrolment is 7.52. The share of the Private Schools is only 5.14. Table 4 gives a succinct overview of the government and private schools scenario in these four districts.

TABLE 4
Schools and Enrolment in Government and Private Schools in 2001-02

District	Govt. Schools		Private Schools	
	%Schools	%Enrolment	%Schools	%Enrolment
Chamba	95.97	94.53	4.03	5.47
Kullu	92.21	89.87	7.79	10.13
Lahaul & Spiti	97.74	93.40	2.26	6.60
Sirmour	95.00	92.40	5.00	7.60
Total	94.86	92.48	5.14	7.52

Source: DISE Data, DPEP, HP.

As is evident from the above table, the schooling system in Himachal Pradesh is mainly a responsibility of the state government as around 95 percent schools in DPEP districts are government schools with around 93 percent enrolment. The share of the private schools is around 5 percent with an enrolment of around 7 percent. It is the responsibility and constitutional obligation of the government to provide access facility to each and every child in the age group of 6-14 years. Sparsely populated smaller habitations pose a challenge for opening a school due to viability issues. The average school size in Lahaul-Spiti district is 14 only. The above data is a macro-level indicator of productivity levels of the government schools vis-à-vis private schools, though they are also an indicator that the government schools are mostly opened in sparsely populated areas while private schools, with commercial motives being paramount, mostly inhabit thickly populated areas.

Trends in Enrolment

Overall Scenario

A major objective of DPEP was to provide universal access to all children in primary schools, in the age group of 6 to 11 years. This approach under DPEP regulated the flow of students to upper-primary levels also. The universal enrolment trends for age group 6 to 11 in the DPEP districts of Himachal are naturally advantageous to achieve universal access for upper-primary levels, also.

The year-wise enrolment trends in the DPEP districts of the state since 1996-97 are given in Table 5.

TABLE 5
District-wise and Year-wise Enrolment

<i>District</i>	<i>1996-97</i>	<i>1997-98</i>	<i>1998-99</i>	<i>1999-00</i>	<i>2000-01</i>	<i>2001-02</i>
Chamba	57359	64538	66895	66834	66867	67220
Kullu	46331	50532	51998	51334	50626	49070
Sirmour	54551	62027	66492	65640	64605	64081
Lahaul-Spiti	3270	3329	3319	3244	3204	3059
Total	1,61,511	1,80,426	1,88,704	1,87,052	1,85,302	1,83,430

Source: EMIS Data, DPEP, HP

The above table shows that during 1997-98, there was a spurt in enrolment due to a big enrolment drive and improvement in access of schools. The increasing trend of enrolment in absolute terms continued to be maintained during 1998-99 also. This increase was attributable to factors like fresh admissions or readmission of out of school children of various age groups, including overage and underage children. This trend, however, declined subsequently in 1999-2000, 2000-01 & 2001-02. This decline in enrolment between 1999-2000 and 2000-2001 and 2001-2002 is partly attributed to the shrinking base of the school-going age group population, during these years and also to

the opening of new private schools towards which the enrolment appears to have shifted from government schools. In these three years, there was a decline of 2.79% in the total enrolment in the period between 1998-99 and 2001-02. The overall decline in primary grades enrolment is also attributable to other developments such as the effect of quality improvements in school level data reporting, decline in fertility, decline in crude birth rate, reduction of grade repetition and clearing of backlog of under-age and over-age children.

In the year October, 2000, a study titled "*Enrolment trends in primary grades in the four DPEP districts of Himachal Pradesh*" was conducted on a sample basis by the State Council of Education, Research and Training (SCERT), Solan, Himachal Pradesh. The above study concluded that:

1. After the launch of the DPEP in the four educationally backward districts of HP in 1996, special enrolment campaigns were carried out to enroll maximum number of out-of-school children in the school going age group 5-11 years. This led to enrolling the children in Class – I irrespective of their age, which inflated the Class – I strength in 1997. In the subsequent years, only those children were available in the villages who were 5 years old and their number was very low.
2. In some areas, new government primary schools were opened in the catchment areas of already existing ones, which led to the division of child strength in these schools, because the parents preferred the nearest available school for their children.
3. A large numbers of repeaters was also one of the reasons for the increase of strength in Class – I. In a year when the number of repeaters was high in Class – I, the strength increased and when the number of repeaters was low, the strength decreased.
4. This study also revealed that a positive aspect of the DPEP was that there had been a gradual decrease in the number of out-of-school children in each education block during the period 1996-99.
5. Poor socio-economic conditions of the people had no bearing on the Class – I enrolment, as government provides free books, free education and access to school in the village itself, which have acted as a motivation to achieve the goal of universalization of Primary Education to a substantial extent.
6. Decline in the feeding population in the villages, of school going age group children has also led to a decline in Class – I enrolment. Now only those children are coming to Class – I who are of the school entry age of 5 years.
7. There were no private, unrecognized schools near the schools selected in the study by SCERT, in the two districts, except two schools in Nahan block i.e. Chakrera and Shamsherpur Cantt. Therefore, almost all the children were reported to be studying in government primary schools only.
8. Due to the special enrolment drive in the earlier years under DPEP, children were admitted even after 30th September in Class – I. These children were, however, not allowed to take their term-end examinations and were retained in Class – I in

the following year and were treated as repeaters. As the admissions reduced after 30th September, the number of repeaters also declined, which had an impact on the actual figure of Class – 1 strength.

The above sample study and data available show a declining enrolment in the primary schools of the state, which is an area calling for special focus by education administrators and policy makers, as already discussed in preceding paras. The year-wise data in Table 6 shows that enrolment pattern of socially backward categories, i.e., SC & ST categories which is in line with the pattern of the overall variation in enrolment trends, as even these categories have shown a declining trend in enrolment in primary grades, especially in the years 2000-01 and 2001-02.

TABLE 6
Overall Enrolment in the Four DPEP Districts in Primary Grades

	1996-97	1997-98	1998-99	1999-2000	2000-2001	2001-2002
All	161511	180426	188704	187052	185302	183430
SC	46360	53743	57012	57078	56821	55922
ST	17334	23861	24245	24073	23547	23112
Girls	75596	87133	91964	91552	90836	89894

Source: EMIS Data as on 30-9-2002

The enrolment of girls which increased significantly in 1997-98 and 1998-99, later showed a considerable decline during 2000-2001 and 2001-2002. The girls' enrolment has seen similar trends as for other social groups and there is no significant trend which can be termed as an aberration vis-à-vis other social groups. Table 7 gives percentage-wise enrolment of girls in the four districts under study:

TABLE 7
Trends in Percentage Enrolment of Girls

District	1996-97	1997-98	1998-99	1999-2000	2000-01	2001-02
Chamba	45.41	47.13	48.14	48.45	48.75	48.87
Kullu	47.70	48.90	49.50	49.79	49.67	49.63
Lahaul-Spiti	47.95	50.92	51.94	51.76	52.31	50.54
Sirmour	47.45	48.65	48.58	48.64	48.63	48.60
Total	46.81	48.22	48.73	48.94	49.02	49.01

Source: EMIS Data as on 31.3.2002

The percentage of girls' enrolment to total enrolment was 46.81 in 1996-97 which rose to 49.01 in 2001-02. This shows that the participation of girls at the primary stage of education had improved considerably in the six-year period up to 2001-02. In Lahaul-Spiti district, the participation rate of girls was over 50% in the last 5 years, which is an encouraging trend for girls' enrolment.

The participation rate of girls in DPEP districts of Himachal Pradesh is very encouraging, ranging from 48.60% in Sirmour to 50.54% in Lahaul-Spiti districts. The figure of Lahaul-Spiti district shows a higher rate of participation than that of the boys. In ideal conditions, it should be 50:50. However, since the sex ratio of the State is 970 females for 1000 males, the above participation rates of girls can be considered quite good. Therefore, it can be safely concluded that there is no or little gender bias at least in terms of participation of girls in formal schooling at primary level in the state. The community through Mother-Teacher Associations (MTA) has played an important role to achieve the present rate of high girls' participation in primary schools of Himachal Pradesh.

The Gender Equation in Himachal is much more balanced vis-à-vis that prevalent in most other Indian states. 90% children in 0-14 age group were literate in Himachal as per 1991 census and the school participation rates were equal for girls as well as for boys. This is a heartening development considering that fifty years back, the educational levels were equal to those prevailing other states, including the Bihar States (Bihar, Uttar Pradesh, Rajasthan and Madhya Pradesh known to be backward states, on most development parameters and therefore the use of the acronym)

However, it is not a surprising development. Jean Dreze has attributed this success to the distinctive historical, cultural and socioeconomic features of the hill region. Among the notable reasons for the relatively less skewed gender equation are the high level of female participation in economic activities outside the household, active and vibrant functioning of Panchayats and Mahila Mandals, and the relatively lesser caste divisions in Himachal Pradesh. Only Andhra had higher proportion of women in labour force, as per 1991 census, in the entire country. (PROBE REPORT, OUP, 1998).

A comparative study of Haryana and Himachal Pradesh on female education by Marie-Eve Bondroit (1998), a Belgian researcher, provides a first hand insight into the gender relations and schooling patterns in the two states. In Himachal, for example, the study found that a majority of the mothers expected the daughters to work outside home after marriage. In Haryana, on the contrary, education of girls was seen to be improving marriage prospects and helping girls to run the households better. In both the states, there was no major difference in school facilities or teaching standards. However, the Himachal Pradesh mothers were found to be more knowledgeable about schooling matters. The Himachal Pradesh mothers are also less likely to favour early marriage of the daughters and lesser number of them favored the idea of their daughters staying in joint family vis-a-vis their Haryana counterparts. Bondroit concluded that there was lesser inequality between men and women in Himachal Pradesh than in Haryana. Patriarchal values prevail less in Himachal as compared to Haryana, which probably explains the former's success in promoting women education.(PROBE REPORT, OUP,1998).

Social Equity in Enrolment

These 4 DPEP districts have a fair sprinkling of Scheduled Caste and Scheduled Tribe groups. However, enrolment of children of these groups apparently shows no major deviation in enrolment pattern of these communities' vis-à-vis general communities. The following Table 8 gives details of enrolment patterns of these social groups:

TABLE 8
Social Equity

District	% of SC Population of Total Population		% of SC Enrolment of Total Enrolment		% of ST Population of Total Population		% of ST Enrolment of Total Enrolment	
	1991	2001	1991	2001	1991	2001	1991	2001
	Chamba	19.75	20.79	21.88	22.56	25.53	28.35	21.88
Kullu	28.93	28.40	33.39	35.82	2.99	3.61	2.14	1.92
Lahaul-Spiti	7.11	7.84	12.05	12.00	72.95	76.97	87.98	80.22
Sirmour	30.18	29.62	32.89	35.60	1.30	1.61	1.67	1.69
Total	25.48	25.42	28.70	30.49	13.79	11.95	10.73	12.60

Source: Census of India and EMIS Data as on 1991 and 2001

With the community mobilization efforts of DPEP, the enrolment of SCs and STs children increased in proportion to their distribution of population. In fact, although caste divisions were present in HP, a subsistence economy ensured less economic differentiations. The interdependence within communities necessitated by the physical environment and women's importance as a source of labour mediated between caste and gender divisions. Lesser polarization meant a lower incidence of elite capture and also a greater degree of access for all sections once the state began its active intervention in pursuit of development. (Deepak Sanan: Delivering Public Services in Himachal Pradesh: Is the Success Sustainable? *Economic and Political Weekly*; 28th February - 6th March, 2004).

School Facilities

Toilets

Toilets in schools are considered an essential requirement to retain students in schools. Data is available on both common and girls toilets in schools. DPEP specifically provided funds for toilets and particularly for girls toilets. Table 9 provides district-wise information on the toilets, drinking water facilities, electricity facilities and single-teacher schools for the period 1996-97 to 2001-2002.

TABLE 9
Percentage Share of Schools with Common Toilets, Drinking Water Facilities and Single-Teacher Schools

<i>Districts</i>	<i>Girls Toilets</i>		<i>Common Toilets</i>		<i>Drinking Water Facilities</i>		<i>Electricity Facilities</i>	
	<i>1996-1997</i>	<i>2001-2002</i>	<i>1996-1997</i>	<i>2001-2002</i>	<i>1996-1997</i>	<i>2001-2002</i>	<i>1996-1997</i>	<i>2001-2002</i>
Chamba	1.01	12.13	3.27	35.07	59.45	82.74	26.57	100
Kullu	2.13	23.78	5.44	29.66	68.78	83.95	12.53	85.67
Lahol & Spiti	1.09	9.72	7.65	53.7	30.81	59.26	6.56	98.61
Sirmour	1.09	6.40	5.6	32.00	66.93	73.45	15.55	61.98
Total	1.33	13.01	5.49	37.61	61.12	78.23	15.30	84.02

Source:-EMIS Data as on 31.3.2002

The conclusions which can be drawn from the above data are as follows:

- 1) The availability of general toilets is better than the availability of girls' toilets but still they are not sufficient to cater to most of the schools.
- 2) During the last six years, the availability of general toilets has almost increased five times. It increased from 5.49% in 1996-97 to 37.61% in 2001-02. Similarly, the percentage of girls' toilets also increased from 1.33% to 13.01%. This shows that in the DPEP districts while some improvement is seen in availability of girls' toilets, these are still grossly inadequate.

Discussions with teachers, students and community members show that toilet use has still not reached adequate levels. The reasons are many, namely lack of sweeping facilities/sweepers, lack of adequate water and the sheer inadequacy of toilet units. A single toilet, even if made available to a hundred students, cannot sustain the needs of so many students and often goes into disuse or needs repairs, which are not very often forthcoming.

One view, however, is that in any case, in rural areas, toilets, even though important, are still not seen to be a critical issue. After all most rural homes even today lack flush latrines. However, these toilets have been seen to be beneficial for female teachers, hitherto deprived of toilet facilities in schools.

Drinking Water and Electricity Facility

Availability of potable drinking water facility is a basic requirement to retain children in schools. Without this facility, children find it difficult to sit in classes. Teachers also find it difficult to contribute to effective teaching without this facility. The provision of this facility therefore assumes importance.

The number of schools with drinking water facility has shown a consistent upward trend in all the four districts. Data shows that each year, there has been an increase in the number of schools with a provision of drinking water facilities. In terms of equity, the availability of drinking water facility in remaining schools needs to be enhanced to

achieve a 100% target in this regard. The government has also appointed part-time water carriers to ensure drinking water facilities to all the schools. Irrigation and Public Health departments have also provided hand pumps to the needy schools in order to provide safe drinking water facility.

Himachal Pradesh has made great strides in rural electrification and electricity actually is available to the villages. Although all the villages in Himachal Pradesh have electricity, but the number of schools having electricity facility before 1997 were very few. The reason for the absence of this basic facility was the absence of wiring and switches or lack of maintenance of the internal electrical fittings. Even though the state is endowed with 100% electrification of villages, yet lack of maintenance and funds meant that schools were deprived of electric fittings and lighting facility. Sheer apathy and lack of funds resulted in most schools being deprived of electricity even though power supply was in abundance. An investment of Rs. 5000 to Rs. 25000 in electrical fittings under DPEP resulted in most schools getting light and heating facilities. It has been seen that many schools in Himachal Pradesh are not solar passive. Therefore, to create an appropriate teaching learning environment in classrooms, the facility of lighting is important. As per the data for 2001-2002 of the four districts, 2482 schools out of 2954 schools had electricity facility. The electrification in DPEP districts has improved from 15.30% in 1996-97 to 84.02% in 2001-2002 which is a good achievement.

As per data available, almost all the 2954 schools were functioning in Pucca buildings or partially Pucca buildings. As per latest data available, these schools had 2536 Pucca rooms, 494 Pucca rooms and 238 Kuchcha structures.

Teachers Deployment

Schools without teachers are not a very common phenomena in this state but even then at one time or the other, there were some schools which had no teachers.

Sirmour had 1.03% schools without teachers in 2002. Similarly, in Lahaul Spiti, a remote tribal district, 2.82% schools had no teacher in the year 2001-2002, and in Kullu district this percentage was 0.29%. It is apparent that the schools without teachers are small in number and this situation prevails only in the case of newly opened schools. However, even in these schools, teachers are deployed from nearby schools through temporary deployment until a permanent arrangement is made. In remote and distant localities, efforts have been made to provide at least one teacher with the help of Panchayati Raj institutions or Parents Teachers Associations in these schools, in all the districts including DPEP districts in Himachal Pradesh.

However, there were several single-teacher schools in DPEP districts of Himachal Pradesh ranging from 16.63% in Sirmour to 20.2% in Kullu district (Source: EMIS data of DPEP H.P.). As per the State Policy, there have to be at least two teachers in schools for a strength of 59 and an additional teacher is sanctioned for an additional 40 children or part thereof. Some short term vacancies arise due to transfer, promotion or retirement of a teacher from the school. State government has been striving to provide two teachers in DPEP districts but due to financial constraints and other administrative considerations,

the problem of single-teacher schools is still persisting. Through Panchayati Raj Institutions, the government has provided 'Gram Vidya Upasaks' (who are Para Teachers) in single-teacher primary schools so that schools function effectively during all the working days in the state. In this direction, some Gram Vidya Upasaks (Para Teachers) have already been appointed and are providing effective services.

These single-teacher schools are a matter of concern for policy makers, public representatives and the public since teaching is adversely affected whenever teachers are absent due to election duties, census work, personal work and other such reasons. Data upto 31st March, 2002 revealed that in Chamba, 2.05% schools had no teachers, 19.50% schools had single teachers and 48.85% schools had two teachers and 35.26% had more than two teachers. Deployment of teachers in remote and inaccessible areas continues to pose a challenge. Some schools are still either without a teacher or have only one teacher. This is especially true in remote areas.

Data available with Directorate of Primary Education of the state shows that primary education is being imparted by three types of teachers in DPEP districts of the state. Regular teachers form a major chunk, comprising (77.38%) of total strength of 7422 teachers. Contract teachers were 18.05% and para teachers 4.57% of the teacher strength. The percentage of para-teachers has increased further with recruitment of more contract para-teachers in recent years

All the regular teachers are pre-service trained JBT teachers. The contract teachers are also trained teachers. Some of the para teachers are also trained teachers, like B. Ed. teachers. Therefore, only about 4% teachers are untrained who are trained annually for 30 days in DIETs for better teaching and learning.

Major Achievements under DPEP

Based on the above discussions it is evident that the programme has helped achieve significant milestones, namely:

1. Differences in enrolment among the gender and social groups have been reduced to nearly 2%.
2. Overall primary drop-out rate has come down to 2% from 33% in the base year 1994-95.
3. There has been significant improvement in achievements over the measured baseline levels in language and mathematics.
4. 808 primary schools, 48 alternative schools and 6 mobile/camp schools were opened under DPEP to provide access to all the children. In keeping with the state norms, nearly all the habitations have been provided schooling facility within a radius of 1.5 km.
5. SCERT and DIETs were strengthened by providing additional faculties and these institutes were utilized for curriculum renewal, text-book development and various training programmes. State Institute of Educational Management and Training (SIEMAT) was established under DPEP as part of State Project Office to strengthen planning and management activities.

The state was able to utilise the entire funds of Rs. 129.28 Crore, sanctioned for the Programme, out of which an amount of Rs. 33.48 crore was spent on civil works. Thus in physical and financial terms, the state was able to utilize 100% of funds available to the project. This is a significant indicator of institutional capacity for project implementation, monitoring and evaluation. Unlike some other states, the expenditure was mostly on activities related to the project objectives and consistent and uniform throughout the project period.

Problem Areas

Since DPEP focused mostly on low female literacy districts having a large pool of out-of-school children, the programme has helped improve access and in the spread of education facilities. Existing infrastructure got a major boost with construction of new schools, additional schoolrooms, toilets, drinking water facilities, boundary walls etc.

However, certain problem areas should engage policy makers and educational administrators in the state and these are enumerated in the following paras.

Fiscal Constraints: Madhya Pradesh, West Bengal and Rajasthan accounted for about two-third of AS/EGS enrolment in 2001-02 in the entire country. Himachal Pradesh, however, opened 808 new regular schools in the 4 DPEP districts. Obviously, the state has chosen the higher cost option of opening regular schools with regular teachers. Given the extremely difficult financial position of the state and with the DPEP having come to a close, it would be difficult for the state to sustain the DPEP schools from its own sources. Under the DPEP, the World Bank had been allowing on a declining scale, from the initial 80% reimbursement of teachers salaries to a 40% reimbursement in the last 2 years of the Project. Over 1600 teachers were appointed under the DPEP programme. ALS/EGS option could have helped the state to not only increase access but also provide a low cost primary education option. Given the precarious state of finances of Himachal Pradesh which had a Revenue Deficit of Rs. 1460 crore, a Debt/SDP ratio of over 90% and which spent over 10% of its Revenue Receipts [i.e. state's total income] on primary education in 2003-04, it is clear that programmes like DPEP, though providing additional resources for a 7-year period between 1996-2003, has also landed the state with an additional recurring liability in terms of huge salary payments. (Source Budget papers of Himachal Pradesh, 2004-05).

Declining School Enrolment: Declining enrolment in primary schools in the State Sector, is a matter of concern because the government continues to spend heavily, spending over Rs. 330 crore in the primary schools in 2002-03 on 6.66 Lakh students in over 10,600 schools which meant an average expenditure of over Rs. 5000 per annum per child in primary schools. (Akshay Sood: Critical Issues in Primary Education, *Economic and Political Weekly*, June 21, 2003.) This declining enrolment trend is not unique to Himachal. In Kerala and Tamil Nadu, the decline in enrolment is attributed to the decline in age specific child population. In other states like Madhya Pradesh, Karnataka, West Bengal, it has been attributed to a rapid increase in enrolment under Alternate Schools/

Education Guarantee Scheme). [DPEP 2001: Universal Access and Retention: Analytical Report: Yash Aggarwal, NIEPA pp. 185]. Thus on the one hand the government continues to spend heavily on teacher salaries, on the other hand the actual decline in enrolment further adds to the per student cost and adds to the burden on the exchequer. It means a less than optimum use of scarce resources which cannot be sustained.

Smaller Habitations with Schooling Facilities Beyond 1 Km: As per the 7th Educational Survey conducted by NCERT, there are still 8967 habitations out of a total of 35844 habitations which have schooling facilities beyond 1 km. Further, 8030 habitations have schooling facilities beyond 3 km. As per Government of India norms, there should be a primary school within 1 km of every habitation and upper primary school within 3 kms of every habitation. Therefore, there are about 22 to 25% habitations which do not have schooling facilities as per the national norm. The size of these habitations is so small that opening of schools or alternative schools in these habitations will be financially unviable. Even if the alternative schools are opened, this will further lower the enrolment in the government schools. Alternative schooling is also seen as second grade system and may not be fruitful for Himachal Pradesh where quality of education is the main issue.

Multi-Grade Situations: Although the PTR is fairly good but there are multi-grade situations, i.e., five classes with two to three teachers. Due to small school size, it is not possible to have a mono-grade system in the state, because of heavy costs. Similarly, while there are five classes but there are normally three class rooms. These situations have an impact on quality of education in the state.

Alternate Schools: Himachal Pradesh has found the Alternate Learning Schools (ALS) method of schooling to have only a limited use in improving access to the marginal groups and migratory/slums population. The state had opened only 56 Alternate Learning Schools, which had attracted 1008 children upto 30.6.2003. These schools were opened mostly in the higher hills of Kullu and the Paonta belt of Sirmour districts. The state had 1392 out of school children in these 4 districts which constitute less than 1% of the total population of students in the 6-11 age group. These figures may seem impressive when compared to the out-of-school figures of other states but one needs to be only cautiously optimistic about this achievement. Given the financial constraints facing the state, the spread of primary schooling in the state may not be easily sustainable, especially since in several schools, PTR is already very low. If the schools with low enrolment are not sustained, the percentage of out-of-school children may very well increase, given the fact that ALS stream of schools is still at a take-off stage in the state.

Teachers and Associated Characteristics: A major objective of DPEP was to strengthen teaching competencies and provide professional support through Block and Cluster Resource Centres. Even though the programme has scored a major success in terms of physical achievements and civil works construction, education quality and classroom processes continue to be a matter of concern. A Joint Review Mission of World Bank and Government of India, reviewing this programme visited Sirmour district in the state in November, 2002 and found that:

1. *Block Resource Centre (BRC) and Central Resource Centre (CRC) support was yet to be institutionalized.*
2. *Use of Teachers Learning Material (TLM,) despite numerous training was still at a minimal level.*
3. *Multi-grade teaching situation was still the norm rather than the exception despite the massive schooling spread in DPEP districts.*
4. *Quality was a major issue in the government schools, a fact evident from declining enrolment of students in government primary schools.*

Obviously, there are important quality issues in education. These are symptomatic of the malaise that has crept into the public education system throughout the country. Needless to say, there are areas, which even the massive injection of DPEP funds could not improve and these need to be redressed by policy makers on a priority.

Grade Repetition: Grade repetition is a form of wastage which occurs due to inability of a child to meet the academic and other requirements for promotion to next grade. The situation in Himachal Pradesh was no different from the nation-wide situation. As per data available, in 2000-01 academic session, about 3.2 million primary school students were repeaters [Yash Aggarwal *ibid* pp. 141]. Table 10 shows state-wise trends in Grade-I repetition.

TABLE 10
Trends in Grade Repetition (Grade-I)

State	1997/98	1998/99	1999/2000
Orissa	10.9	22.4	27.2
Bihar	24.5	23.4	25.7
Jharkhand	23.2	21.6	25.7
West Bengal	18.1	18.3	23.5
Gujarat	28.5	25.2	23.1
Assam	33.9	40.8	22.9
Himachal Pradesh	17.9	21.5	19.5
Tamil Nadu	12.9	13.3	13.8
Karnataka	5.7	6.2	6.5
Maharashtra	6.6	6.8	6.1
Haryana	5.7	6.0	5.1
Uttar Pradesh	9.2	5.0	3.8
Madhya Pradesh	2.6	2.6	3.3
Chhattisgarh	1.1	19.5	2.3
Kerala	0.0	0.1	0.0
Group Average	15.4	14.6	14.6

Source: DPEP 2001- Universal Access and Retention: Analytical Report. Yash Aggarwal; NIEPA pp.141

Table 10 shows the continuing weaknesses in the primary schooling system in Himachal Pradesh vis-à-vis states like Kerala, Karnataka, Maharashtra, etc. which had very low percentages of grade repetition in Class-I compared to the figure of 19.5% in 1999-2000 in Himachal Pradesh. Among other issues, policy guidelines may be necessary to streamline promotion and repetitions procedures.

Completion Rates: The school education system in most of the states is characterized by low internal efficiency and persistence of high dropouts and repetition rates. The result is serious erosion in the number of children who would have otherwise completed primary education. It not only leads to wastage of precious time of pupils who stay in the educational system without learning much, but also leads to wastage of scarce public resources.

To study completion rates and therefore the efficiency of the primary education in the Himachal Pradesh, the State Institute of Educational Management and Training (SIEMAT) conducted a pilot cohort study of 539 students in 31 primary schools in Sarahan Block of Sirmour district. The study covered the progress of student's progress in the period from 1994-95 to 2001-02 session. The details are given in Table 11 and Table 12.

TABLE 11
Cohort Study: Sarahan Block, District Sirmour

Category	No. of Children	Dropouts	Children still Continued	Primary Graduates
Overall	539	15	16	508
Boys	262	7	10	245
Girls	277	8	6	263
SC	241	5	9	227
ST	1	0	0	1
General	297	10	7	280

TABLE 12
Cohort Study: Sarahan Block, Sirmour Completion Rate

Category of Children	Percentage of Primary Graduates in			
	Five Years	Six Years	Seven Years	Eight Year
Overall	40.94	77.95	92.32	100.00
Boys	35.51	74.29	87.35	100.00
Girls	46.01	81.37	96.96	100.00
SC	37.44	76.21	90.75	100.00
ST	100.00	-	-	-
General	43.57	79.29	93.57	100.00

The objectives of such cohort studies are:

- *To estimate the proportion of children of a cohort who are able to complete primary education in 5 years' period and to examine the Grade to Grade progression.*
- *To examine differences in completion rates by gender, caste and other related characteristics.*
- *To classify schools according to efficiency level so that remedial measures and other interventions to improve school efficiency can be designed.*

The cohort analysis of completion rates in Sarahan Block would show that only 40.94% of the students were able to complete 5 years education in 5 years. The completion rate of the girls was better than that of the boys, and that of the Scheduled Caste students was slightly poorer at 37.44% compared to the overall percentage of 40-94%. The completion rate in another Block Banjar of Kullu district was, somewhat better at 48.71%. The details of Banjar Block have, however, not been given here due to space constraints. These completion rates were lower than those of Karnataka (76.5%), Maharashtra (62.1%) and Tamil Nadu (55%) [ibid Yash Aggarwal pp. 187].

The cohort data gives a clear inkling of the problems staring the government primary schools in the state. Quality is a serious issue as wastage and inefficiency are clearly indicated in the low completion rates shown in the pilot cohort studies done in the DPEP districts. It is important that educational planners in the state now focus on quality issues and micro level planning in schools since access is no longer a problem in the state. In most urban areas, the private sector schools have attracted a large number of school children. More such cohort studies need to be conducted under the Sarva Shiksha Abhiyan in all the 12 districts of the state to promote school development planning. This would help improve internal efficiency of schools, will focus on classroom learning processes and help in improving achievement level in mathematics, which is the bane of almost all the primary schools in the state.

Achievement Assessment Surveys: The baseline, mid-term and terminal assessment surveys were conducted under DPEP to track the improvement in the achievement levels. The baseline survey was conducted by State Council for Educational Research and Training, Solan, while the mid-term assessment was conducted by a Himachal Pradesh University team led by Professor Lokesh Kaul. The terminal assessment survey was conducted by the ORG Centre for Social Research, New Delhi. The comparative findings of the language test results of BAS, MAS and TAS of class II students clearly highlight consistent improvement in performance of students in the districts of Sirmour and Kullu. The students of Lahaul Spiti, who had the best performance in the BAS improved their performance in MAS and maintained this level in TAS.

The objective of the programme was to raise average achievement levels by at least 25 percent over measured baseline levels along with ensuring achievement of basic literacy and numeracy competencies and minimum of 40 percent achievement levels in

other competencies by all primary school children. At the end of the programme period, one finds that for Class II language, there has been a nearly 10 percent increase over BAS scores, while for mathematics there has been 5 percent increase.

Class II language tests revealed that boys and girls scored similarly, as did the different caste categories. In mathematics, boys did slightly better than girls. District-wise comparison of BAS and TAS in Class II is given in Table 13.

TABLE: 13
Gender-wise & Category-wise Achievement Differences of Class-II Students in Hindi and Maths in BAS & TAS

District	Survey	Hindi				Maths			
		Boys	Girls	SC/ST	Others	Boys	Girls	SC/ST	Others
Chamba	BAS	72.85	72.50	72.80	72.55	68.21	63.79	66.71	64.36
	TAS	78.60	78.20	75.95	78.70	76.20	73.50	75.95	74.10
	% Inc	5.75	5.70	3.15	6.15	7.99	9.71	9.24	9.74
Lahaul-Spiti	BAS	81.45	71.25	76.65	61.25	72.57	64.36	68.71	57.14
	TAS	84.30	82.20	82.40	85.60	75.60	69.90	80.05	64.4
	% Inc	2.85	10.95	5.75	24.35	3.03	5.54	11.34	7.26
Kullu	BAS	63.55	71.35	63.20	69.00	63.93	65.07	62.79	65.29
	TAS	85.60	85.60	79.60	85.60	70.50	69.20	65.70	72.10
	% Inc	22.05	14.25	16.40	16.60	6.57	4.13	2.91	6.81
Sirmour	BAS	64.30	65.45	64.40	65.15	66.07	60.86	61.86	64.29
	TAS	81.70	81.20	85.90	79.60	74.10	73.70	75.40	73.10
	% Inc	17.40	15.75	21.50	14.45	8.03	12.84	13.54	8.81

Source: Terminal assessment studies by ORG New Delhi.

For Class V, the achievement level in language appears to have either slightly declined or was at the same level as for the BAS. On the other hand, there was a considerable improvement in mathematics performance with about 10 percent increase in mean scores. In languages, achievement of Class V students in Lahaul-Spiti was the highest, and that in Chamba district the lowest. The mean scores of boys and girls in all four districts showed negligible difference. In mathematics, girls had a slight edge over boys while no major caste-wise variation in performance was observed. Thus, as a whole, the programme has achieved its objective of providing equal opportunities for all caste categories and gender groups. District-wise comparison of BAS and TAS in Class V is given in Table 14.

TABLE 14
Gender-wise & Category-wise Achievement Differences of Class-V Students
in Hindi and Maths in BAS & TAS

District	Survey	Hindi				Maths			
		Boys	Girls	SC/ST	Others	Boys	Girls	SC/ST	Others
Chamba	BAS	46.07	44.83	45.2	45.71	40.5	36.83	39.05	37.96
	TAS	44.4	43.6	45	43.1	44.6	43.8	45.25	43.6
	% Inc	-1.67	-1.23	-0.20	-2.61	4.10	6.97	6.20	5.64
Lahaul-Spiti	BAS	49.77	49.38	46.6	46.43	43.05	41.55	36.96	30
	TAS	48.4	49	46.5	50.4	51.9	57.1	53.1	76.5
	% Inc	-1.37	-0.38	-0.10	3.97	8.85	15.55	16.14	46.50
Kullu	BAS	42.96	41.9	45.4	42.19	38.5	36.8	37.27	38.3
	TAS	47	47.3	51.1	46.2	50.5	52.3	53.7	49.3
	% Inc	4.04	5.40	5.70	4.01	12.00	15.50	16.43	11.00
Sirmour	BAS	44.24	45.38	50.8	44.91	37.6	38.45	40.89	38.3
	TAS	46.4	45.7	45.1	45.8	50.7	53.2	54.1	52.9
	% Inc	2.16	0.32	-5.70	0.89	13.10	14.75	13.21	14.60

Source: Terminal assessment studies by ORG New Delhi.

Data Collection, Analysis and Promoting Its Use in Planning, Monitoring and Decision Making:

The design and implementation of a national reporting system under DPEP was a unique effort to improve the availability of educational statistics at district, state and national levels. The DISE (District Information System for Education) and EMIS (Educational Management Information System) have helped the state to develop school level data in computerized format. This has been made possible by the DPEP programme, which has helped develop MIS teams in the state and the districts. The data so generated is now being used by the state's education department in most of its day-to-day functioning. This data was also used to prepare Sarva Shiksha Abhiyan (SSA) Perspective Plans and Annual Plans for the remaining 8 non-DPEP districts of the state.

The sustainability of DISE/EMIS is largely dependent on the importance given to it by the state government and its officials. Experience has shown that very often there is considerable time lag in the relevant data reaching the state and district offices. This is partly due to delays at school level/BRC level or the district and state level. The DISE data collection system needs to be sustained and given due importance so that DPEP gains are replicated under SSA. Funding is not a problem since SSA programme provides for adequate funding for DISE/EMIS component. Once data is collected and analyzed on a regular basis, the policy maker would find it useful as an integral tool in monitoring and evaluation systems.

The state needs to improve the quality of data at two levels. Firstly, the practice of sharing school data with the community needs to be institutionalized. Secondly, periodic validation of data through scientifically designed sample surveys needs to be undertaken and margin of error estimated at the district level. DISE data also needs to be utilized at local levels for micro-level planning and decision-making. This is not only a qualitative issue but importantly, also an administrative issue. Given the fact that routine administration, managing establishment problems, examinations and transfers, take a heavy toll of the administrator's time, institutionalizing EMIS/DISE in the primary school/middle school levels in the state would be surely a Herculean task. It may meet with either active resistance of the teachers or even a studied and sullen indifference. But its importance cannot be undermined. It is important to ensure that DISE/EMIS data becomes an active tool in the hands of educational planners and managers of the state.

The Road Ahead

The DPEP ended on 30th June 2003. Over Rs. 129 crore were spent in the four most educationally backward districts of Himachal Pradesh. Over 2000 teachers were additionally deployed in 808 new schools, so as to increase access of primary schools in the very difficult topographical conditions. Teacher training was made possible on a large scale as almost all the 7500 primary school teachers in the four DPEP districts received training in pedagogy, curriculum and other organizational matters. Community participation in schools related activities received a major boost through the nearly 3000 Village Education Committees and over 2500 Mother-Teacher Associations in the primary schools.

Teacher's leadership received a major impetus in the state, districts and the block resource centres as teachers' talent got recognition in the trainings, textbook development, seminars, teacher learning material development, educational management information systems (EMIS) etc.

Himachal Pradesh Primary Education Society that was implementing the DPEP Programme is now overseeing the SSA programme in all the 12 districts of the state. Sarva Shiksha Abhiyan project for Rs. 532 crore has been approved for the state. Since Himachal has achieved near universalisation in primary education and is close to achieving the same in the elementary levels of Class-VI to VIII, the state hopes to replicate the DPEP success in the Sarva Shiksha Abhiyan. Being a relatively small and a compact state with a population of only 62 lakh people, Himachal Pradesh has a strong potential of becoming a Sarva Shiksha Abhiyan success. Punjab and Jammu & Kashmir which did not have DPEP programmes and even Haryana could learn many a lesson or two from the Himachal Pradesh's DPEP programme. The educational administrators of these states need not go to Kerala to witness the schooling revolution. Himachal Pradesh could provide useful learning experiences.

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BOOK REVIEWS

Jack, H. SCHUSTER and Martin J. FINKELSTEIN: *The American Faculty: The Restructuring of Academic Work and Careers*. Baltimore, MD: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2006; pp. 572 Price \$45, Hardbound.

The American Faculty is destined to be a classic—it provides a wealth of data and arguments concerning the American professoriate in the early 21st century. Indeed, it is fair to say that this is the most thorough and thoughtful analysis of its topic in many years. The story it tells is not a particularly happy one—the American academic profession faces a variety of challenges. Schuster and Finkelstein have written a coherent overview of the problems, how they emerged, and what they mean for the future of American higher education. *The American Faculty* is a clarion call to pay attention to the academic profession at a time of a quiet but nonetheless serious crisis and to make sure that the heart of the entire academic enterprise, the professoriate, does not collapse under the weight of its challenges.

It is easy to overlook the academic profession in the contemporary debate about higher education in the United States. American universities are widely recognized as the best in the world, and compared to the circumstances of the professoriate in many other countries, American professors enjoy relatively favourable working conditions. At the same time, there is much criticism of the higher education system, including rising costs, problems of access for some students, talk (but little evidence) of declining standards, and other problems. The professoriate is either ignored or is considered a group needing reform.

The American Faculty provides an appropriate historical and sociological context for understanding the professoriate – perspectives often missing in discussions of higher education. The authors point out that the concept of the academic profession has evolved over several centuries and that it has traditionally been poorly paid and denied power and prestige. Only with the advent of graduate education and emphasis on research as part of the academic mission, did the professionalization take place toward the end of the 19th and in the early 20th centuries. The authors, citing Christopher Jencks and David Riesman's 1968 book '*Academic Revolution*', point out that it was only in the 1960s that the faculty achieved any significant power in American higher education.

Schuster and Finkelstein are particularly concerned about the future of the academic profession, and the trends that they see are not favourable. They point out that more than half of the new appointments to teaching positions in the United States are either part-time or full time but non-tenure track. This makeover, they argue, does tremendous damage to higher education. These new job categories are much less attractive, and the "best and brightest" will avoid them. They are less well remunerated, less stable, and

with few exceptions include no expectation of research nor any chance to participate in academic governance. The authors see this erosion of the traditional faculty career path as a fundamental shift in nature of the academic profession in the United States.

Academic salaries are another long standing problem. Schuster and Finkelstein, using national salary data from the American Association of University Professors and other sources, point out that academic salaries in the United States have never been particularly attractive when compared with remuneration for similarly qualified professionals. Further, they note that academic salaries, when inflation is taken into account, took a very significant plunge in the 1970s and 1980s, and it was only in the 1990s that they recovered to their 1960s inflation-adjusted levels. Academic salaries have always varied by rank, institutional type, and other variables. Schuster and Finkelstein point out that salaries are increasingly differentiated by field, with such areas as management, law, and a few others earning much higher salaries than most of the humanities. At one time, public universities had a small advantage over private institutions in salaries; this situation has been reversed in recent years, with the private schools paying more than the public ones. The authors mention, but might have emphasized more, the growing differences between salaries at the top-ranking research-oriented universities, both private and public, and the rest of the system. Salary problems are common worldwide, and American academic salaries are looked at favourably in much of the world. Indeed the United Kingdom, for example, has been trying to raise salaries for productive academics in order to keep them from leaving for the United States.

The nature of academic work has also been changing. Examining a range of surveys and other research studies, Schuster and Finkelstein point out that academics have become more research-oriented throughout the higher education system. As late as 1969, most academics were mainly focused on teaching; half the faculty reported that they had done no publishing in the previous two years. By 1998, two-thirds reported that they had published a book or article in the previous two years. Of course, faculty at research universities published significantly more than others. Men continued to publish, on average, more than women. The authors point out that the increased levels of research productivity have not come at the expense of teaching—indeed, teaching loads have increased, mainly because a larger proportion of the faculty now teach only undergraduate students. Again, the differentiation is between those working at research universities versus the rest. As the authors point out, Burton Clark's characterization of academe as "small worlds, different worlds" is still valid. It is difficult to generalize about the professoriate because the working conditions, salaries, and culture vary so much according to institutional type, discipline, and other variables. One of the few problems of *The American Faculty* is the effort to make sense of the nuances of a large and variegated profession.

American faculty feel that they have a high level of influence in the affairs of their departments (two-thirds overall) but not that they have much role in campus-wide affairs (15 percent to 20 percent). Further, their campus-wide influence has declined since the 1960s. A solid majority (two-thirds) of academics report general satisfaction with their

freedom of expression in the classroom – although this constitutes a decline of 20 percent in the past quarter century. Further, academics perceive less support for academic freedom from top administrators.

Recently, some attention has been focused on the political opinions of the academic profession, with conservatives pointing to the overwhelming liberal views of most faculty members. The few surveys available show that about three-fifths of the professoriate described themselves as “liberal,” another one-quarter as conservative, and the rest (just one-fifth) as “middle of the road.” Schuster and Finkelstein point out that there has been a light shrinkage on the conservative extreme and in the middle and a discernible drift to the left—as the general public was moving to the center-right in the 1990s.

Faculty job satisfaction has eroded in the past several decades. While half of academics characterized themselves as “very satisfied” both in 1968 and 1975, only 38 percent said so in 1998. Those dissatisfied doubled to 15 percent in the same period. This sense of dissatisfaction characterizes all sectors of the profession.

Schuster and Finkelstein point to a basic restructuring of American academic life. The traditional career path is compromised. Salaries and benefits have not kept pace either with inflation or with comparable occupations. The profession feels stressed. The authors worry, as we all should, about the future of higher education. And since the universities are central institutions in the post industrial information-age society, there is cause to worry about the future of American society and the economy as well.

We have every reason to “trust the messenger.” Jack Schuster and Martin Finkelstein, in numerous books and articles, have been analyzing the American faculty for two decades. Their work has been reliable and nuanced. In this book, as in their other works, they have amassed an impressive array of data, including the ongoing statistical data collected by US government sources, the several surveys conducted by the Carnegie Foundation for the Advancement of Teaching, and many other sources. They have carefully analyzed these sources and provided the reader not only with useful statistical tables but also with a careful discussion of the key themes. *The American Faculty* is, without question, the key source for understanding the academic profession and, by extension, all of American higher education.

Center for International Higher Education
Boston College, USA

Philip G. Altbach
E-mail: altbach@bc.edu

Singh, MADHU (2005): *Meeting Basic Learning Needs in the Informal Sector, Technical and Vocational Education and Training Series*. The Netherlands, Springer, ISBN 1-4020-3426-1 (Hard Cover); pp. 250, Price-Not mentioned.

The book under review is an edited one. There are eleven articles put under two separate sections. The first section is about the cross cutting themes while section two covers the

country studies. The introduction, which is not the part of any section, is by the editor herself. However, no chapterisation has been done in the book.

So far as section one is concerned, it contains six different articles written by various scholars while section two consists of five articles. Interestingly, the book deals throughout with skill development in the informal sector. It is important since the informal sector is relatively larger one. In India, around 93 percent of the employment is generated in informal sector (unorganised) and only 7 percent in the formal (organised) sector. It is estimated that in the world, around 500 million people are engaged in this sector. It is also believed and observed through various studies that the economic condition of people working in informal sector is quite vulnerable. Hence, to uplift and enhance their economic wellbeing, it is necessary to provide them up-to-date knowledge and skill. An effort has been made in this book to take stock of learning and training programmes in the informal sector.

In the introductory remarks, the editor explores the conceptual framework integrating education and training and constructing a new citizenship. Various approaches have been compared and contrasted. These are vocational training vs adult learning, and education vs training. The editor is of view that the changes in the world of work have caused the focus of training for employment to shift to generic rather than job-specific skills, while the general education increasingly prepares one for survival and self-realisation in a highly technological world of work. The editor is also of the view that in the process of integration of education and training, new notions of citizenship may be seen to be emerging. As a result of this, the civil society organizations are increasingly viewing the fulfillment of the basic learning needs of young people and adults who work and live in the informal sector as a serious responsibility of the society as a whole and not of the state alone. Hence, in order to promote the citizenship, democracy and to rebuild the civil society, editor emphasizes on people's participation. She also recognizes the role of NGO's in this development process.

Further, the book explains that in the organization of the work of civil society organizations, the struggle for rights and entitlements (equality, right to decent work and basic education) constitutes the foundation for the emergence of a new notion of citizenship. However, on the gender perspective, it has been expressed that the decent work deficit is the most urgent challenge; for overcoming it, the exclusion and marginalization of women have to be tackled.

It has been argued that the implementation of broad-based continuing education and training programmes would make it more likely that the young and the adults become involved in the life of the community, contribute to a more cohesive society and engage with the cultural, political and social issues around them. That in fact provides the basis for a better society. Regarding the disadvantaged group, it has been felt that it is necessary to emphasize on both the right to basic education, and to overcoming oppression and indecent working conditions.

In the context of basic education facilities, the book points that the educational system does not reach the disadvantaged and hence reduces their chances to enter the

competitive labour markets. Similarly, Poorna Adhikary highlights that poorly educated, unemployed youth, especially those from socially and economically disadvantaged communities, have become a serious problem in developing countries. Pieck also pointed that the formal basic education has not been providing the skills and competencies needed to prepare school graduates for their incorporation in the world of work. Therefore, the book points that with this background, the articulation of skill development with basic education becomes crucial.

However, regarding formal training in Bangladesh, Titumir points to the absence of institutional structure for dialogue with local enterprises and industries. The private sector has made little effort to institutionalise initiatives for the informal sector and has invested little in this sector.

So far as the perspective of workers in the informal economy is concerned, the basic learning needs are significant, particularly when they are viewed in connection with the goal of citizenship and decent work. 'Decent work' is central to the people's lives. It implies improved status, self-esteem and dignity. Work is broader than occupation and employment and takes into account the wider environment and the worker's living and working conditions, be it the housing situation (Gerasch & Duran), the situation of street children (overview) or garbage collectors (Iskandar).

Regarding the role of trade unions, Nathan points out that about the adult learning for women construction workers, trade unions believe that they cannot pursue a strong policy for improving the competencies of workers in the informal sector without having programmes at the national level. They also feel that the partners in the labour market need to exercise their responsibility by actively addressing the problem and starting to co-operate. Nathan further notes that the employers still show strong resistance when it comes to educational and training concerns and upgrading of competencies in the informal sector.

The case studies cited in the book highlight the importance of key competencies which are important in the context of the informal sector and need to be promoted through basic education. In this direction, Krishna pointed that it is crucial to promote collective competencies in a sector which shows stagnation of wage levels despite expansion and improvement in many economies in developing countries. He further argues that one cause of this is the lack of bargaining power on the part of the micro-entrepreneurs. The editor feels that an important source of collective competencies is the representation of interests through local organizations and learning by negotiating, particularly within expanding markets. The collective competencies, according to the editor, can be promoted by supporting the participation of informal sector workers in informal trade associations, self-help groups, co-operatives and credit societies. Krishna also shows how the objectives of training in 'social' and 'collective' competencies, including leadership, can be combined with the micro-financing in the informal sector by designing an appropriate methodology of loan disbursement to groups of women. This collective orientation helps to strengthen the individual, especially within a macro-context in which economic and employment possibilities are limited.

In literature, we do find that education has been related with the earnings. In this order, the primary education is more closely associated with the higher income. But, the book raises the issue very categorically, mentioning that mere access to basic education has no meaning. In fact, the quality of basic education along with the development of basic skills can be a means of ensuring mobility and higher income.

On the impact of education and training on productivity and the standards of living, Krishna and Mitra have given good examples. They have illustrated how education and training can help people to build community capacity and solidarity, and become aware of their rights, as well as to find self-expression and self-esteem. Gerasch and Duran also speak of the 'double benefit' from the self-construction training programme: not only does it provide housing but also a 'second chance' education and training to those who have discontinued primary or secondary education.

On the gender issue, Silveira and Matosas place on record the importance of developing new technological skills among women. According to them, the entrance of technology into the home has led to an increasing demand in the market place for home-based services.

The present book is a very good contribution in the field of skill development particularly for the Informal Sector. The book is written in a lucid language which makes reading interesting. The only hitch is that the font used for printing the book is very small which strains the eyes. The book however, would be useful particularly to researchers and policy makers at large.

Institute of Applied Manpower Research, Narela
New Delhi-110040

Anil K. Yadav
E-mail: iamr@del2.vsnl.net.in

Vegas, EMILIANA (Editor) (2005): *Incentives to Improve Teaching* (Lessons from Latin America). Washington, D.C. The World Bank; ISBN 0-8213-6215-1 (Paperback); pp. 435; Price \$35.

The present study, financed by the World Bank, is about improving classroom instruction through identifiable incentives. This is one problem, which has defied all administrative acumen and good intentions. No one really knows what or which incentive would yield desirable results. The optimum size of the incentive award is also not known. For instance, appointment of untrained village teachers in Rajasathan helped in improving classroom instruction where the trained teachers had failed to show results. The effectiveness of teaching, apparently in this case, did not depend on the salaries, which in both cases hardly ever matched. Effective teaching is one goal towards which efforts are almost universally and repeatedly made. Even the Rigveda has tried to define the attributes of a good teacher, effective teaching and psychology of learning. There is one

hymn, which talks about a student who apparently learns nothing despite the best efforts of a teacher. He thereby invites reprimand from his mentor. Here the teacher says that he would not like his name to be associated with such a bad pupil. In fact no one can be sure whether effective teaching invariably reflects effective learning as well. We have only conjectures and assumptions but their actual relationship, and quantification of either, is difficult to make.

It is claimed, By providing well-researched evidence on diverse education reforms affecting teacher incentives in the region, the book makes an important contribution to the literature on teacher incentives in general and, especially, to the education literature in Latin America.” It is further noted, “Perhaps more important, the lessons on teacher incentive reforms from this research can be useful to policy makers in Latin America and in the rest of the world”. The book suggests that there is definite evidence that “teachers respond to incentives, and they vary in nature: some incentives affect who decides to enter and remain in the teaching profession, while other incentives affect the work the teachers do in the classrooms”.

The present book is divided into 11 chapters. The first chapter deals with ‘Improving Teaching and Learning through Effective Incentives’ by Emiliana Vegas and Ilana Umansky. Running into 20 pages, it talks about incentives, their nature and effectiveness. Toward the end of the chapter, the authors also offer an agenda for future research on this theme. In a way this is the most crucial paper since it defines the nature and the text of the book.

The second chapter by Ilana Umansky reviews the earlier literature on teacher incentives. The conclusion of the review supports the assumption behind the present study that “incentives do matter” and that they have a direct implications on teachers’ characteristics and behavior. The review of the literature on incentives, however, does not provide any clue to what and how a particular incentive succeeds and what does not. There are no ‘models’ of successful incentives. This literature review reveals not only that incentives are present throughout the educational system and that they have enormous consequences on the teaching profession, but also that teachers’ logical behavioral responses are often quite different from those that policymakers had hoped for and the analysts had predicted. The doubts about the efficacy of the incentives, however, remain and the question that is left unanswered is: “How and whether incentive structures can be designed to support improved teacher quality and student learning and development?” The last sentence of the chapter is based on a hope that some day stakeholders will come together and implement reforms that can truly improve both teaching and learning in Latin American schools. This sentence is enough to betray the real import of the study.

The third chapter by Werner Hernani-Limarino analyzes whether teachers are well paid in Latin America and the Caribbean. The conclusion is “it is not possible to determine whether teachers receive higher or lower wages without choosing a particular comparison group and method.” It would have been really interesting to examine the

Indian data in this regard. Better wages and salaries have had very little impact on the teacher effectiveness in this country.

The fourth chapter by Alejandra Mizala and Pilar Romaguera is on 'Teachers' salary structure and incentives in Chile. The researchers admit that information available is only of the Municipal system and does not say anything about private schools, which means a considerable section of teachers' salaries are not analyzed. However, this analysis reveals that with the return of democracy in the 1990s, teachers salaries rose significantly in terms, over and above the economy and more than the salary of the professionals. The hope is that this would encourage better candidates to enter and remain in the teaching profession.

The fifth chapter titled "Educational Finance Equalization, Spending, Teacher Quality, and Student Outcomes (The case of Brazil's FUNDEF) by Nora Gordon and Emiliana Vegas deals with educational finance equalization. However, the findings of the study suggest that "consistent with most research on the relationship between spending and student outcomes, the relationship that is found between mean spending and student achievement is quite weak throughout the distribution of achievement." They, however, try to deal with this 'weakness' in these terms: "this finding may simply reflect insufficient variation in mean spending within states over time".

The sixth chapter "Arbitrary Variation in Teacher Salaries: An Analysis of Teacher Pay in Bolivia" by Miguel Urquiola and Emiliana Vegas differs from previous literature in that here the principal concern of the researchers is "what is remunerated in a specific salary structure--- that of Bolivia", more specifically the effect of teacher bonus to work in rural areas. The researchers are stuck with the issue of defining what is urban and what is rural; especially when cities expand and villages become part of urban areas. The problem is how does one compare two salary structures (urban/rural) when both rural and urban areas are juxtaposed within the same habitation? In such cases there is no division of urban and rural localities; hence all conclusions and comparisons are misleading, if not confusing, to say the least. They, therefore, found "no meaningful differences between the test scores and other outcomes of students of urban-classified and rural-classified teachers with the same background characteristics."

In the 7th chapter, Patrick J. McEwan and Lucrecia Santibanez evaluate the effect on teaching quality and student outcomes of a teacher pay reform in Mexico. Mexico's Carrera Magisterial Program, which began in 1993, created a means by which teachers could move up to consecutive levels of higher pay on the basis of year long assessments of a series of factors, including peer review, and most important, their students' performance. The size of bonuses offered is quite substantial, amounting to between 24.5% of teachers' basic pay in the first instance and 197% in the fifth stage or the highest promotion. The findings are, however, not very encouraging. Teachers who face greater incentives because of the reform do not tend to have students with higher achievement. Also, test scores do not capture the spectrum of ways in which teaching and learning can improve.

The next three chapters explore the effect of school-based management reforms on teaching quality and student outcomes in three central American countries, viz. El Salvador, Honduras and Nicaragua. Chapter 8 by Yasuki Sawada analyzes the effect on teaching quality and student learning of the EDUCO program in El Salvador. They found that school based management reform did have important effects on management practices, teacher behavior and student outcomes but it was difficult to say that all the outcomes were either expected or desired. It was also noticed that although most of the decision-making was done at the central level, a few delegated powers like hire and fire of teachers was given to school-based management. The most significant behavioral differences between EDUCO and control schools noticed were: fewer school closings, less teacher absenteeism, more meetings between teachers and parents, and longer work hours for teachers.

Chapter 9 by Emanuela di Gropello and Jeffrey H. Marshall presents evidence that some effects of the Honduran PROHECO are similar to the ones found in El Salvador. Here the reform deals with rural primary schools. Both PROHECO and EDUCO programs (school-based management) had an important impact on teacher performance and student learning.

A key lesson from all studies on teacher incentive programs is that teachers do not respond to reforms in any predictable manner. It is not that teachers do not respond to incentives. They do, but in ways that could never be benchmarked. The cases discussed in this volume point to three design flaws in teacher incentive reforms: (1) only a small percentage respond to incentives; (2) for the majority the small incentives offered may not appear worthwhile to put in extra effort; and (3) the incentive award may not be sufficiently linked to teacher performance.

The lessons from the study are worthy of notice. These lessons relate to: (1) One should make a distinction between teachers being susceptible to receive rewards and actually receive it. This means the ones who receive incentive award should be actually putting in some effort and that should also be visible; (2) The size of the award matters in improving teaching quality and student learning; and (3) Awards are effective if there is a close link between teacher performance and rewards. Lastly, school based management reforms strengthen the accountability relationship between community and teachers.

What lessons does this World Bank study have for this country?

School based management is in closer touch with the school reality than any centralized system of control and supervision. This study clearly supports this assumption. Teachers appear to be universally alike – while a few are committed, the majority need cajoling, strict supervision and a clearly stated ‘hire and fire’ policy.

A study well worth the effort and investment involved.

Middlewood, JACK *et al*, (2005): *Creating a Learning School*, London, Paul Chapman Publishing (A Sage Publication Company), ISBN: 1-4129-1042-0 (Paperback), Pages 195, Price 19.99.

Most of the schools throughout the world are preoccupied with tests, targets and leadership from above. They consider their sole task to be teaching schools. Their teachers focus their attention on their teaching roles.

The authors of this refreshing book suggest that all the existing schools should remodel themselves as 'Learning schools'. They look at the teachers as learners, learning outside the classroom and the nature of learning leadership. They provide a number of practical suggestions to the problems of staffing, resourcing and assessment so that such schools may be enabled to make their own choices. The purpose of the authors has been to present 'an invaluable resource book for all mid-to-upper level managers in schools, anyone aspiring to these positions, or anyone who takes a long term view of the future with learning at the heart of the educational practice.' The authors being practitioners in schools are acutely aware of the social and academic realities of the schools, especially the British schools and therefore their suggestions, are pragmatic and logically sound.

The book has 12 inter-related chapters : What will learning schools look like, Leadership for learning schools, Staffing in learning schools, Teachers as learners, Resourcing the learning environment, How we learn in the 'classroom', Creating the context for effective student learning, Learning and transition, Assessment for learning, The role of parent in the learning school, and Moving beyond conventional schooling.

The book thus attempts to take the whole school view of approaches to making learning central, so that staffing and structures, external links and resources, are all dealt with in examining ways which learning schools can evolve. The authors believe that unless every aspect of school's life is put under scrutiny, an emphasis on learning will remain an 'add on'.

A learning school, according to the authors of the book, should have these beliefs and values:

- A belief that learning is a lifelong process towards which schools contribute,
- A belief that everyone has the capacity to learn and improve,
- A belief that effort can lead to success,
- A belief that challenging situations, problems and tasks are preferable to easy ones.
- A belief in teamwork.
- A recognition that schools are the hub of an extended local community and that engaging parents, local community, school neighbours and community members in its processes is central to its existence.

With the help of useful diagrammatical illustrations, views of other school practitioners and quotations and important matter in boxes, the authors have very clearly

and effectively presented the contents in all the 12 chapters and select references have been given in each chapter.

The managers, headmasters, principals, teachers and supervisors of all kinds of schools and teacher educators in India find this book useful and invaluable. All of them have been hearing and talking that the new academic trend is that focus must shift from teaching to learning, but they really do not know how this can be done. Most of the schools in India have a stereotyped, hackneyed, dictatorial, threatening teaching directed academic climate, and team work and involving community and parents are now conspicuous by their absence. Our school teachers obsessed with teaching and imparting information to students in the subjects; not even a few of them really wish and try to learn and enrich themselves with new learning experiences. This book can help them in radically changing them and the academic focus and ethos of their schools.

This is a valuable contribution to the sociology of school and it provides a rich food for thought for all those who are involved with schools and seriously and genuinely concerned about them.

Lingaya's College of Education
126, Sector 37, Faridabad-121003

S.P. Ruhela

Hayhoe, RUTH: *Full Circle: A Life with Hong Kong and China*. Hong Kong: The University of Hong Kong Comparative Education Research Centre, 2004; pp. 276; Price not stated.

Ruth Hayhoe, the eminent educationist and scholar who has given us excellent insights into Chinese education¹, has written her autobiography in this book and it makes compelling reading like her earlier academic works. The source material for this book has been photographs, the letters she wrote to her mother over a period of 24 years from 1967 when she moved to Hong Kong at an age of 21. These letters had been preserved by her mother carefully and were found six years after her mother's death. The diaries that she had written over the years, part of which had been lost, is another source for this book. Using these and her memory, Hayhoe looks back on her eventful and fulfilling life and raises many questions, the foremost among them being, "Why and how she did what she managed to do?"

¹ Scholars in India are familiar with her other writings, notably her *Contemporary Chinese Education* (London: Croom Helm, 1984), *Education and Modernization: The Chinese Experience* (Oxford: Pergamon Press, 1992), and *China's Universities 1895-1995: A Century of Cultural Conflict* (Hong Kong: Comparative Education Research Centre, The University of Hong Kong, 1999), the last having been reviewed in this journal (Volume XV No. 1, January 2001, pp.116 – 19).

Hayhoe reflects on her childhood in school and what comes out is that since the time she was a child she was gravitating to people who had a zest for life and who took as much from life as they gave back to others. Since early in her life, she had an interest in books and reading; she was reserved and shy and took refuge in academics. The influence of the Church was strong on Hayhoe, who calls it “a second home” where she seems to have been even more comfortable. She joined the four-year Honours program in Classics at the University of Toronto when she was 18, and poured on reading texts in Greek, Latin, English and French. She developed good writing skills, clear logic and the ability to quote at length from original sources.

Hayhoe moved to Hong Kong as a teacher when she was 21. She was also involved in missionary activities and studied Chinese language along with theology and education. Later she did her masters and completed the doctorate at the Institute of Education, University of London. Then she joined the Ontario Institute for Studies in Education as a post-doctoral fellow and later as a teaching faculty. Between 1999 and 2001, she was a diplomat at the Canadian Embassy in Beijing. In 1997 she became the Director of the Hong Kong Institute of Education where she continued till 2002. She organized numerous conferences and seminars as well as took part in many more and held leadership in many professional bodies. During these years, she managed to achieve a great deal – publish scholarly works of a really high order, take up various missionary activities, help promote educational exchanges in a big way between Canada and China, promote teacher education in Hong Kong and make numerous friendships in both professional and personal life. The account she has written is a reflection of these years, narrating both her professional and personal achievements. For many of us who have immensely benefited from reading her academic writings, this personal account of hers is no less valuable. It reads as a story of a scholar who had a never-say-die attitude, and who, despite setbacks, always struggled and managed to succeed. It is inspiring to know how she managed to achieve so much professionally while being an intensely people-oriented person.

Deep involvement with whatever she did was a hallmark of Hayhoe even in her early years. She was so intensely involved in religious matters as well as her studies – incidentally topping the class – which tended to lead to tensions. After arriving on missionary activity in Hong Kong, Hayhoe started teaching at the Heep Yunn school. She joined for a Certificate of Education course at the University of Hong Kong in the years 1975-77. It was in 1980 that she seriously began pursuing academics as a career. She took up serious pursuit of studies of comparative education and of China, the missionary and religious activities were of secondary importance now.

Hayhoe writes about the impact scholars had on her when she did her masters and the PhD. She got an assignment to teach English at the Fudan University in Shanghai and this afforded an opportunity to do field work on her doctoral thesis. In 1986 she was appointed as an Assistant Professor at the Ontario Institute for Studies in Education where she developed new courses in comparative education. After her appointment at the

Canadian Embassy at Beijing, she travelled China extensively to promote Canadian studies in China, build Canada-China education exchanges and university development.

To this reviewer, the section on “The Japanese Connection” is the most interesting. Hayhoe spent time at Nagoya University on a Japan Foundation fellowship between January and June 1996. She had already had a little familiarity with the academic scholarship on comparative education being done in Japan. She quotes the widely acclaimed work of Teruhisa Horio² that pointed to the negative side of Japanese education and acted as a damper against the contemporary academic fad in the West, which was to advocate the copying of “the Japanese model” of spreading basic education and harvesting the economic returns to countries that were rapidly attempting to modernize. The interesting questions she raises are: Why is the influence of Japanese scholarship on the world academic community not commensurate with its status of an economic giant? What are the educational and cultural values that Japan spread along with the massive amount of aid she was giving to the developing countries?

Part of the answer to the first question lies in the nature of the Japanese language itself. The complex, three writing systems that make up the Japanese language was well suited to express most of the ideas that were developing outside of Japan. Traditionally, Japan has been involved in a process of learning, translating the knowledge produced abroad into Japanese. Thus it was “a scholarship of absorption” and not one devoted to creating new theories and new ways of understanding, definitely not aimed at the outside world. Second, Japan has long been not sure whether it belonged to Asia or the West. It was in Asia but even at the beginning of the twentieth century it had managed to win wars against the much larger China and also the more powerful Russia. It had embarked on a serious “Learning from the West” culture much earlier. Most countries in Asia were either colonies or otherwise underdeveloped compared to a rapidly modernizing Japan. Emulating the western powers, Japan also acquired colonies. While being in Asia, Japan felt it was in the class of the western powers. But it attempted to rally the Asian countries under one banner to counter the incursions of the west – at least as an initial intention – and this ended in great suffering to various Asian countries and defeat for Japan in World War II. With this history, initial receptivity to Japanese explanations of cultural values through educational exchanges was not overwhelming from Asian nations. This situation has now of course changed and there is a lively and thriving academic exchange in the universities in Japan. There is yet another reason why the international exchanges are not taking place the way they should be in Japanese universities. While the Japanese universities have a high degree of academic freedom, they do not have much independence when it comes to interactions on an international basis, thereby seriously limiting exchanges.

The next major appointment Hayhoe had was being made the Director of the Hong Kong Institute of Education between the years 1997 and 2002. The Institute was a newly established tertiary institution for school teachers. The rapidly expanding higher

² Educational Thought and Ideology in Modern Japan (Tokyo: University of Tokyo Press, 1988).

education sector in the 1980s had withdrawn people with talent to the better paying university jobs. The school teacher quality tended to suffer and the Institute had a specific mandate to raise teacher training quality to high levels. Hayhoe narrates the new programmes and upgrading of courses and the intense activities she was involved in the process.

What comes out of this autobiography? Firstly, that intense involvement and hard work pays. The time and energy Hayhoe spent in learning Cantonese, Mandarin, Japanese and French, in addition to Greek and Latin, for using primary materials for her research is amazing. This definitely raised the quality of her publications. Second, that taking initiatives do help. Hayhoe succeeded in most of the ventures she attempted despite what she terms as "... a lack of confidence that had always been an undercurrent of my life". Third is to raise academically relevant questions even if the answers are difficult to come by. For those who have read the academic writings of Hayhoe, this book offers insights into how she was able to scale such academic heights. Those who have not, this is an inspiring book with lessons on commitment, passion, and academic rigour in research.

20 D, B-2 Block, Lawrence Road,
Keshavpuram, New Delhi-110035

G. Balatchandirane
E-mail: balagvnd@yahoo.com

Nafukho, FREDRICK, Amutabi, Maurice and Otunga, Ruth (2005): *Foundations of Adult Education in Africa: African Perspectives on Adult Learning*, Cape Town: Pearson Education South Africa; ISBN 9282011216 (Paperback); pp 182; Price not mentioned

Foundations of Adult Education in Africa deals with the significant concept of *context-based* adult learning. It has ten chapters, dealing with the history and philosophy of adult education in Africa, socio-cultural and politico-economic environments within which adult learners have access to and opportunities of learning and application, and issues of gender and development, globalization, policies and structures of lifelong learning. The book offers a broad but systematic introduction to adult education in Africa, and assumes that in order to be effective educators of adults, it is necessary to have a historical perspective, philosophical foundation of adult education along with an understanding of the wider socio-economic and political setting within which adult educators work.

As a part of the series on African Perspectives on Adult Learning, the book highlights the relevance of the concept of adult learning in the African context. This is in keeping with the UNESCO's EFA Global Monitoring Report: Literacy for Life (2006) that has defined literacy as a *context-based* process of learning and application. Professional training of educators of adults is a part of tertiary education in Africa. Many university

departments of adult education offer training programmes, which vary from agronomy to literacy. Majority of textbooks for such programmes are of non-African origin with content that the learners cannot relate to as something familiar. The social, economic and political contexts, theoretical bases and everyday examples of such textbooks are derived from the experience of adult learning in the West. Apparently such books do not appear to be relevant to train adult educators in Africa. Thus there arises the need to produce textbooks which deal with social realities experienced by educators of adults in Africa. *Foundations of Adult Education in Africa* claims to fulfil this need. Does the book reflect African theoretical and cultural orientations and provide an understanding of how the contexts of class, gender, race and ethnicity characterise discourses on adult learning?

The contents of all ten chapters amply reflect the efforts of their authors to incorporate indigenous knowledge that shapes activities of adults in Africa. For example, in chapter 1 the definition of an adult has been given in the African context of adulthood as a stage of life that every male or female reaches after initiation rites. The concern with the context-based understanding of concepts does not mean that there are no references to standard definitions and explanations of terms and concepts that derive from widely accepted discourse on adult education in general. This happy blending of terms of reference derived from both the specific-context as well as broad general theoretical underpinnings is a positive feature of the book. All the same, the effort to build on indigenous knowledge could have been less sketchy to take account of diverse views of cultures in Africa.

Another point of reference in reviewing this book pertains to its format. It is meant to be a course book for use during face-to-face teaching that seeks to promote interactive learning. Regarding the layout of each chapter, there is a kind of innovative design derived from open and distance learning format though the book is for use in face-to-face teaching. This type of instructional environment promotes interactive learning. An overview of each chapter in its beginning provides the learner some idea of what to expect and defines the scope of learning in that chapter. Incorporation of brief explanation of key-terms and various short exercises allow the learner to continuously reflect and act on the basis of what one has just learnt. This practice gives a learner the opportunity to make use of one's past experiences. Lastly, summary of the lesson recalls all the main points covered in the chapter. This is by and large what the open and distance learning course material tries to include in its format. In face-to-face learning environment, this design is expected to motivate learners to think for themselves and also share their experiences with co-learners.

Let us also examine how far the book is able to realise the aims that it has set for itself to achieve. *Foundations of Adult Education in Africa* aims 'to provide knowledge about the basic concepts and principles of adult education' and for this purpose it has included in broad and general terms almost all the core principles of adult learning. The book has considered influential western philosophies and at the same time dealt with African philosophies. Secondly, in order 'to emphasise the need to understand the wider environment in which adult learning takes place', it discusses socio-cultural and politico-

economic factors that shape the nature of adult learning in Africa. At the same time, in chapter 9, it examines the impact of globalisation on adult education activities in the continent. Basic concepts and history of adult education in Africa have been presented in a simple and clear manner to those interested in taking up adult education as their profession. It is not clear why Ruth Otunga has preferred to use the term 'matriarchy' in place of 'matriliny'. It is well known that matriarchy that is opposite of patriarchy, has been rarely found to exist anywhere in the world. What Otunga has described on page 91 refers to matrilineal social organisation.

Foundations of Adult Education in Africa is a publication that has come out in the first decade of 21st century but it is surprisingly insensitive to gender-neutral language. Especially in the field of adult learning, we need to consciously address to women readers as well. Take for instance the discussion of initiation rites on page 5 of the book; it has dealt with male initiation rites only. Another example is the long discussion of social, cultural, political and economic environment in chapter 4 (see pp. 6-72) with very little mention of gender disparities in all these environments. Inclusion of chapter 6 on gender and development does not compensate for an explicit concern with gender issues throughout the book. It is time we appreciate the need to share the academic discussion space between both genders.

For a non-African reader of the book (which may easily be the case in this age of globalisation), it would have been a welcome addition if the authors had included a map of Africa locating all the place names occurring in the book. This visual aid would have added value to the output of their endeavour. Inclusion of an index at the end of the book is a helpful addition. The list of references is comprehensive though a few references are missing. For example, Merriam, S. B. (1982) mentioned on page 5 does not figure in the list of references on page 170. These observations do not, however, belittle the valuable contribution of *Foundations of Adult Education in Africa* to the literature on basic concepts and practices in adult education.

Senior Consultant, School of Social Sciences
Jawaharlal Nehru University, New Delhi-110067

Shobhita Jain
sjainster@gmail.com

Schweitzer, ROBERTS Eluned and Greaney, Vincent and Duer, Kreszentia (2006), *Promoting Social Cohesion Through Education*, Washington, DC: The World Bank, ISBN 0-8213-6465-0, Paperback, pp. 154

Can educational mechanism help lower social tension and help achieve social cohesion? How can one differentiate between an education system that is doing a good job of reinforcing social cohesion and one that is doing a bad one? Have schools been successful in fostering social cohesion? Is there an atmosphere of respect for other's cultures in school or are the children taught to simply follow their own cultures? What

process should be adopted for creating educational policies, curriculum and textbooks that promote diversity?

Creating an effective and excellent system in an open pluralistic society is indeed a complex process. The book under review provides a unique and comprehensive resource on the contribution of education in building social cohesion, particularly in a pluralistic society and in the wake of violent conflicts and confrontations. The book is divided into three sections. The first section puts together various theoretical issues in education and its goals to build an atmosphere where there is tolerance. Section two deals with case studies from different countries and regions, all with a central theme of encouraging people to coexist with people different from themselves. The third and the final section suggests practical strategies, a daunting task, relating theoretical issues with applications.

Eluned Roberts in the introductory chapter sets the tone for the book, and makes the reader aware of what to expect in the book in a broad, rational and interesting manner. Giving an overview of the Civic Engagement, Empowerment, and Respect for Diversity (CEERD); he talks about the goals of education to prepare children in a spirit of understanding, peace, tolerance, gender equality and harmony among all peoples – ethnic, national and religious groups and persons of indigenous origin. Eluned Roberts enumerates how education can be used either to manipulate history for political purposes, segregating students to ensure inequality or to broaden the concepts of diversity in education curriculum, especially after a conflict.

The first chapter of part one, written by Jamil Salmi, focuses on violence, democracy and education and its complex interlinkages. Quoting the dark unknown, staggering realities of a prosperous country like United States, the author puts forth four categories of violence that can be inflicted on a human being, viz. Direct Violence, Indirect Violence, Repressive Violence, and Alienating Violence. He further moves on to an exhaustive application of this flexible analytical tool to analyze the varying situations of violence and also to study patterns of interconnections using this methodological approach. Salmi cites success stories and much needed intervention to use education as a tool for promoting social cohesion and reduce violence.

Part two of the volume consists of four case studies of different countries on technical issues. The first case study by Vincent Greaney, is a chapter on the role of formal education to transmit key socio-cultural values, promote a sense of national solidarity and a well informed tolerant understanding among young citizens. The chapter focuses on the crucial role of textbooks in influencing psyche of impressionable young minds, promoting highly idealized views of one nation or groups of people and also promotes covert and appropriate images about others; both of which may be detrimental to establish social cohesion, respect for diversity, tolerance and ultimately peace. Greaney reviews the role education has played or failed to play in promoting cohesive or tolerant societies; influence of textbooks in promoting nationalism evident in textbooks of religious or historical bias and how textbooks deploy language and art to influence young readers. The chapter also addresses influence of textbooks by giving examples from a number of countries of how textbooks have been used to promote nationalistic or

religious agendas that do little to promote self respect for diversity and tolerance. The chapter also focuses on changing curricula, textbook, pedagogic practices, in-service teacher training to promote skill development, information dissemination, transaction of curriculum in class in order to promote respect for diversity and critical thinking and ultimately peace. The chapter offers suggestions for ensuring that the textbook content promotes respect for diverse and cohesive societies and ultimately tolerance and peace; and takes up practical issues to be addressed.

The second case study written by Alta Engelbrecht on South Africa looks at the ways in which South African textbooks have changed as government and social priorities have broadened. Alta Engelbrecht addresses role of textbooks as an officially sanctioned version of knowledge and culture that has the power to foster judgmental perspectives. The author emphasizes on History and Afrikaans course textbooks and enumerates studies to show how for decades South African textbooks were entrenched with racism, sexism, stereotypes and historical inaccuracies. Engelbrecht discusses how changes in History textbooks involved not only racial stereotyping but also linguistic and religious content. Pointing out that issues in the portrayal of history remain unaddressed, the author underlines the importance of revising textbooks in the aftermath of authoritarian regimes.

The third case study focuses on impact of curricula on learning and integration. Maria Andruszkiewicz reviews the status of Roma children in Europe, revealing how poor and inappropriate curricula impede their learning and ability to integrate into European societies. The Romanis who are a sizeable minority population in Europe, have been depicted in European folk and fairy tales as unreliable and criminal nomads, known for stealing chicken, and now mobile phones. Only handful information texts have been developed on Romani culture, history and language and these too are generally unavailable in schools. As a result, educators and parents have grown up with negative views about the Roma. The author talks about the challenges faced by the Roma children who are isolated linguistically, socially and are made to feel guilty for being Romanis; their struggle with extremely high levels of poverty, unemployment, lack of physical infrastructure at home and other disadvantages faced by Romani communities in Europe. Andruszkiewicz outlines ways in which these people can be helped to take better advantage of education systems through introduction of new legislative frameworks, efforts of international and domestic human rights activists to make government acknowledgement regarding the right of Romani children to be educated in mainstream education. This has also led to awareness of new policies and practices. The author emphasizes the role of schools to diminish socio-cultural distance by building a sense of solidarity among children through the shared experience of learning about the cultures of their classmates.

The fourth case study by Susan Watts – Taffe reviews the process of textbook adoption in US with an emphasis of promoting respect for diversity. The author talks about heterogeneity in US culture as it represents a wide range of ethnicity, natural languages, religions, economic status and political perspectives and different textbook before finalizing material selection. Giving historical context of textbook selection, the

author talks of the process of review of the different adoption processes in US – public presentations in which citizens can voice their opinion about the materials under consideration, opportunity to hear the opinion of diverse groups of individuals, advisory panels (teachers, administrators, school board members, parents, guardians etc), open forums for discussion and evaluation of textbook material. Susan Watts cites case studies from three different locales of US- California, mid west and north east districts that give the readers practical guides to the selection criteria and procedures to be followed while selecting textbooks.

The third and the final part of the book provides practical guidelines and applications to help countries improve areas of education. Chapter 1 of this section, written by Ian Bannon, examines the potential of Social Analysis in the design of World Bank funded education projects that support inclusion, social cohesion and accountability in development. The author describes the rationale for conducting Social Analysis so as to improve project quality, sustainability, tracing barriers to opportunity, taking into account institutionalized rules of economic relation etc. The chapter gives a detailed framework for undertaking Social Analysis that may be used in diverse contexts and its dimensions.

Second chapter, written by James Socknat, provides a set of practical guidelines to help task managers and international funding agencies encourage careful reviews by client countries of educational curricula, textbooks and teaching practices; all with a view to making education system more inclusive and equitable. Socknat provides practical checklist regarding the Do's and Don'ts, timely intervention so as to ensure that curricula, textbooks and pedagogic practices encourage respect for diversity. Socknat, in a very detailed manner, has provided exhaustive list of review processes as, thereby also involving pedagogic practices that include teacher's education, training, and extending these to the community at large.

Overall the book under review provides useful information on how education can act as a catalyst towards social cohesion, and in preventing violence in society at large. The recommendations given by the authors in terms of curriculum design, teacher's education, training, involving stakeholders, pedagogical practices, can serve as models for implementation and monitoring of practices at the grassroot, middle and top levels. The editors have painstakingly put together case studies from different parts of the world, binding them with common thread of respect for heterogeneity.

In addition to mere theoretical analysis, this volume offers valuable suggestions for effective interventions and professional practices. The book, however, could have emphasized more on the gender dimensions associated with education and societal betterment. The book would be extremely useful for educationists, field level practitioners, policy makers and funding agencies.

Yadav, ANIL K. and N.J. WAGHMARE. (2005): *School Education in India – Position & Placement Prospects of Teachers 1999-2011*, Delhi: Institute of Applied Manpower Research. ISBN: 81-7827-106-0, (Paper Back) pp.: 460; Price not mentioned.

Given the directive of the Constitution of India that the state would provide for free and compulsory education for all children up to the age of 14 years, an important dimension of school education is the number of teachers that are required to educate the children of the country. With this perspective, the authors present successive yearly supply and demand parameters for teachers in the country as a whole and in states and union territories from 1998 to 2011 for four stages of school education, i.e. primary, middle, secondary and higher secondary. A simple and straight forward methodology has been used by the authors whereby they convert population projections to enrolments to demand for teachers. The conversion factors used are student enrolment ratio and national teacher-pupil ratio (NTPR). A variation to the above is the employment of drop-out rates. The demand for women teachers is worked out as proportion of the total teachers at different stages in 1998. The population projections prepared by the Registrar General of India are the basic input for the estimation of demand for teachers. These population projections are available for individual ages from 5 to 18 years for the country and the larger states. For calculating demand for teachers, four different assumptions of enrolment, i.e. 70, 80, 90 and 100 percent, for all the states are utilized. The exceptions are Arunachal Pradesh, Bihar, Jammu and Kashmir, and Uttar Pradesh where enrolment of 60 percent is also considered. (For Bihar, in addition 50 percent enrolment is included in the estimates.) For the smaller states for which population projections by age are not available, dropout rate is used to project the demand for teachers. For larger states also the demand for teachers is obtained by dropout rate method.

The demand for teachers and women teachers estimated by applying NTPR of 1:42 at primary stage, NTPR of 1:37 at middle stage, NTPR of 1:28 at secondary stage and NTPR of 1:34 at senior secondary stage has been presented in tabulated form. For all the four stages of education, another set of tables contain demand for total and women teachers, assuming a desired NTPR of 1:30 in order to provide for better education. Estimated enrolment in India at middle, secondary and senior secondary stages is computed using dropout rate of 39.74 percent in classes I to V, 56.82 percent in classes I to VIII and 67.44 percent in classes I to X respectively. For the state estimates, the states' dropout rates are applied. From these computed enrolments, demand for teachers is calculated which forms another set of estimates. For supply of teachers, the authors relied on the stock of teachers at primary, middle, high and higher secondary stages and the number of teachers produced by teacher training schools and colleges in the country. In the teacher training institutes, the average intake is taken as 40 with an allowance for 2 percent for not completing the training course. Finally, two tables give the comparative position of the estimated demand and supply at different stages for the years 1999 to

2009. An annexure to the book gives estimates of cost of training programme for 30 untrained teachers for seven days and six weeks. The training cost per 30 teachers is Rs. 1.13 lakh for a seven day programme and Rs. 4.04 lakh for a six week programme.

From the exercises, the authors have conducted the estimated demand for teachers in India at elementary education level when enrolment at 70 percent of the population is 3,055.8 thousand and the estimated stock is 2,448.1 for 2008-09 resulting in a shortage of 607.7 thousand teachers. At higher enrolments the shortages are higher. But for high and higher secondary levels, there is no shortage of teachers by the year 2008-09.

The authors of the book have attempted a difficult task of compiling the relevant data pertaining to teachers at the school level and projecting their requirement and availability in the country and various states of the country. This can be a frustrating experience especially when one tries to collect the data from different sources that are not comparable. Moreover, estimates of demand and supply of teachers cannot be provided without adequate and up-to-date information. When policy objectives are not clear, estimates of demand and supply have to rely on different assumptions and the end result is that more than the desired number of estimates are generated. Despite these difficulties, the book is a useful endeavour. However, the very purpose for which such estimates are prepared can easily be lost if a reader quickly finds that s/he is in a maze of methods, assumptions and tables.

The conversion factors maintain constancy over space and time that may not reflect the ground reality. As a result of different enrolment ratios, dropouts, NTPR and women teachers required, the tables that are given number nearly 400 in a disproportionately small number of pages, and only 12 pages contain text. The tables given in the book are indeed phenomenal for a person interested in finding the demand and supply of teachers. When such an exercise is carried out, parsimony may be the rule rather than an exception. For example, data on demand and supply of teachers can be presented for every five years rather than for every year as planners are not interested in yearly fluctuations. Since we have electronic facilities available, detailed demand and supply of teachers can be provided for those who are interested without difficulty. In fact, it will be of benefit to prepare the demand and supply using worksheets so that an interested person can change the assumptions to suit the requirements and obtain estimates.

Since the authors concentrated on preparing the tables, they lost an opportunity to compare the estimates they have provided. A cursory look at the tables shows that in the state of Kerala, the number of elementary teachers in 1998 is more than required. While the number of teachers in Kerala is 93.9 thousand in 1998, the demand in 1999-2000 at 70 percent of enrolment is only 85.4 thousand. Even in 2008-09 at 90 percent enrolment the demand for teachers is 90.1 thousand that is again lower than the figure of 93.9 thousand teachers there are in 1998. There are other states for which the actual number of teachers is higher than demand. In some other states, of course, the demand is higher than the supply of teachers. Such a condition is present, for example, in the states of Uttar Pradesh and Bihar. In Uttar Pradesh and Bihar, there is a shortage of teachers to the tune of 200 and 130 thousand respectively. According to the authors' estimates, the stock of

elementary teachers is expected to decrease in all the states from 1999 to 2009. But the situation is different at high and higher secondary levels. At these levels there will be an increase in the stock of teachers from 2,411.4 thousand in 1999 to 3,069.3 thousand and there may be no shortages. These data imply that there is a need for redistribution of teachers not only across regions of the country but also among the two levels. To decrease the shortages, the government can encourage teachers to move from a state that has a surplus to the state where there is shortage. These findings may also be as a result of the methods and assumptions used and therefore, there is a need for critical examination of them. The teacher training schools in the states can be accordingly developed to meet the needs of teachers in the state. There is an uneven distribution of teacher training schools in the country. In some of the states, like Assam, there is only one teacher training school and in some smaller states there is no teacher training school at all.

As mentioned, the authors have also given the costs of training untrained teachers. This is important for planners as they could have an idea of the costs involved in introducing programmes for untrained teachers. In addition, if the authors had provided costs of teacher training in the country to meet the shortages, it would have been of more help to planners. For a comprehensive picture of school teachers in the country, an examination of teachers in unrecognized and informal institutions is also helpful. There should be no pretense that a book of this nature has addressed issues of placement prospects of teachers in the country as given in the subtitle to the book. The book is of immense use for improving schooling in the country, especially to those who are involved in planning for future requirement of teachers in the country.

Centre for the Study of Regional Development
Jawaharlal Nehru University, New Delhi-110067

Murali Dhar Vemuri
E-mail: vemuri@mail.jnu.ac.in

OECD: *Internationalisation and Trade in Higher Education: Opportunities and Challenges*. Paris: Organisation for Economic Cooperation and Development. 2004, pp. 316, (Paperback), ISBN: 92-64-01504-3

Internationalisation of higher education is not a new phenomenon. It existed for centuries in various forms. What is new is the new forms or 'modes' of internationalisation, and the new motives of internationalisation or cross-border education. Cross-border education includes essentially three forms: (a) a student can go abroad for studies (people mobility), a phenomenon that existed for several years, benefiting mutually both countries – by providing cultural diversity in the university campuses in developed countries, and by receiving good quality education and also often fellowships by the poor countries from the rich countries; (b) an educational programme can go abroad (programme mobility);

and (c) an institution or provider can go abroad or invest abroad in education. The later two phenomena are relatively new and have serious implications, and need serious discussions and debates. They view higher education essentially as a commodity, a tradable commodity, in contrast to the long held view that higher education is a public good, a global or an international public good.

The current phenomenon of internationalisation of higher education largely concentrates on the later two forms described above. This current phenomenon is neither demand driven, nor it is supply driven. It is not demand driven, as it is not that poor countries having poor quality education systems, feel the need of the arrival of foreign universities into their countries to provide quality education at affordable prices. This is also not supply-driven, as it is not that the rich countries having better quality education systems want to provide good quality education to the students in poor countries. Essentially, it is money and trade driven. In many developed countries, public budgets for universities have been shrinking, and the governments have encouraged their universities to generate funds from whatever source that can be tapped. Trade in higher education has been found to be an important source of funds. Since the governments are also not interested in genuine educational considerations, they also do not lay down any conditions for the universities to go abroad, set up campuses in other universities and to raise resources. As a result, many universities find it convenient to set up campuses in other countries and offer degree programmes that are not necessarily of the same standard as in their own countries, and do 'business'. It is 'liberalised' trade! Thus the whole phenomenon of internationalisation and trade in higher education is based not on any sound and justifiable premise.

Yet, either out of conviction or out of compulsion, many countries have adopted varied mechanisms of cross-border education. The book under review presents a view of the policy initiatives made by various countries, the country-specific rationale, if any, in trading educational services, size and growth of cross-border education of various modes, the roles of the General Agreement of Trade in Services (GATS) and the World Trade Organisation (WTO), and the challenges being faced by developing and the developed countries in this regard. It provides a very useful account of the problem in the three major regions of the world – North America, Europe and Asia-Pacific, where the cross-border education is growing rapidly. The book opens with a broad overview of the phenomenon of cross-border education and describes it in terms of international trade with reference to the General Agreement of Trade in Services. The chapter on North America describes the differences in policy and practice in trade in higher education being followed by the USA, Canada and Mexico. Each of the three chapters on North America, Europe and the Asia-Pacific presents a historical review, analyses policy rationale for trade in education and the instruments used, and documents key developments in cross-border education. In all, these highlight the main opportunities that trade in higher education offers, and the challenges it possesses. These review both national and international trends and policies. The last chapter presents an analysis of the major policy issues raised by cross-border education, including on equity and finances.

Beyond doubt, with a critical and comprehensive account of the problem, the book serves as an important reference on the topic of current policy debates everywhere, and should be of considerable interest to the educational policy makers, planners and researchers.

NIEPA
New Delhi

Jandhyala B G Tilak
E-mail: jtilak@vsnl.com

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Centre for Indian Development Studies
House No. 206, Sector 9-C Chandigarh – 160017 (India)

Phones : 91-172 – 2741362, 2741835, 2741289

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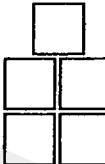


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National Institute of Rural Development
Rajendranagar, Hyderabad – 500 030, India
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