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Education, Modernisation and Development¹

K.N. Panikkar*

Abstract

Maulana Abul Kalam Azad's contribution to education policy of the post-independent India is very significant. Azad advocated an education policy that would be liberal and humanitarian, and set the nation on the path of progress and prosperity. This path was neither a full continuation of the colonial modern nor a restoration of the feudal-traditional. Drawing on progressive ideas from India's "renaissance" and freedom struggle within the Indian "renaissance" and nationalism, this education policy was meant to unleash the potential of India's civilisation by a process of intellectual decolonisation. Unfortunately, in the past few decades, this unfinished agenda has been replaced by an educational policy which prioritises private profit over public good and will encourage cultural and intellectual imperialism.

¹ Edited version of the Maulana Abul Kalam Azad Memorial Lecture delivered on the eve of *National Education Day* at the Nehru Memorial Museum and Library, New Delhi on November 10, 2010 organized by National University of Educational Planning and Administration.

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Introduction

Very few have excelled at Maulana Abul Kalam Azad's contribution to the making of India as a nation. Foremost among them is the role he had played in leading the country in the struggle for its transformation from a colony to an independent modern state. He was a key player in the national movement, a champion of secularism, a profound scholar of religion and an outstanding educationist. Any one of these achievements is sufficient to earn him a place in the national pantheon. But he had left a mark in all these fields and enriched their quality at a time when Indian public life had men of great distinction. Recalling his contribution is to remind ourselves about an era in which service and sacrifice were the qualities of public life.

Azad drew his core values from three sources: anti-imperialism, nationalism and secularism. Having to deal with two evils – fascism and imperialism at the same time, Azad had shown remarkable clarity in a long and powerful speech, delivered as the President of the Indian National Congress at Ramgarh in 1940, to analyse their implications for humanity in general and India in particular. In his reckoning imperialism was fundamentally unjust and oppressive and it would be unrealistic to expect it to respect the aspirations of the subjected. A successful conclusion of the War with the help of Indians, he believed, would not bring about any change in the attitude of the British. Clarifying his opinion he said, 'The members of the British Cabinet have tried to make the world believe that the old order of British imperialism has ended, and that today the British nation has no other aim except those of peace and justice. Which country could have more warmly acclaimed such a declaration than India? But the fact is that in spite of these declarations, British imperialism stands in the way of peace and justice today as it did before the war. The Indian demand was the touchstone for all such claims. They were so tested and found to be counterfeit and untrue.' (Panikkar, 2009).

Azad was among the few leaders of his generation who transgressed religious sectarian attitude to politics and conceptualised the relationship between the majority and the minority from a national point of view. He was an uncompromising nationalist who subscribed to the view that minorities are not given but constructed and their formation occurs only when they start believing in their minority status or when the majority treats them so. At a time when religious politics commanded great influence among the Muslims, Azad upheld secularism as the only foundation on which Muslims can chart out their political destiny. He believed in the cultural unity of the sub-continent and therefore, was vehemently opposed to partition. In his controversial book, *India Wins Freedom*, he has expressed his anguish over partition as follows: 'Partition was a tragedy for India and the only thing that could be said in its favour was that we had done our best to avoid division but we had failed... We must not however forget that nation is one and its cultural life is and will remain one' (p. 214). Being a profound scholar of religion in general and Islam in particular, Azad was quite conscious of the importance and, indeed, of differing roles of religion in personal and social life. He placed great importance on the knowledge of religion, and therefore, championed education of all religions, but not religious education. While remaining a staunch Muslim he kept religion out of politics and consistently and without compromise, defended and promoted secular nationalism which alone could make the nation truly democratic.

In formulating and implementing the educational policy of independent India, as the education minister, Azad had a very challenging task of conceiving and developing a national system, at a time when the government was preoccupied with problems of economic recovery and rehabilitation of those displaced by the partition. In such conditions it was natural that education and other such areas received lesser attention. Even then Azad tried to resolve the complexities involved in conceptualising a system of 'national' education. In doing so he emphasised the need to depart from the system inherited from colonialism by rejecting its content and language of communication. He employed an interesting formulation to describe the then prevalent system: 'A system shaped by non-nationals in non-national interest' (Azad, 1959, p. 1). 'The main charge', he argued, 'against the present system of education is that it has not led to the development of a national mind'. The importance of this critique was not only its sensitivity to the colonial character of education, which the Indian intellectuals were aware of from nineteenth century itself. What was important was its implications for intellectual decolonisation without losing sight of the advances in knowledge that colonial system represented. He recognised that the colonial system 'opened a new world of science and modern technology. It inculcated a progressive spirit and brought Indian educational standards in line with the standards obtaining elsewhere. It led to a reawakening of the national spirit and a growth of modern and progressive outlook in all affairs of the world' (Azad, 1959). He found chinks in both the colonial modern and the native- traditional systems and tried to evolve an alternative which incorporated the elements of both western and traditional, emancipating the former from its colonial content and ideology and the latter from its unscientific and irrational outlook. It, however, did not mean that he was not alive to the intellectual possibilities which might accrue from the colonial system. What was advocated by Azad as an alternative was a system of 'liberal and humanitarian education' which would transform the outlook of the people and set the nation on the path of progress and prosperity. The path thus envisioned by Azad was neither a continuation of the 'colonial' modern nor a restoration of the 'native' traditional. Education being an integral component of modernity, the policy enunciated by Azad had the potential for creating the foundations of a modern society which would be different from what colonialism had tried to generate. Such an alternative had its roots in the legacy of a rather limited strand within the renaissance and nationalism which tried to conceptualise *modernity in terms of universal values*. The gigantic and challenging task of creating a national system based on such a foundation, however, has remained unrealised so far. This is partially because the cultural and intellectual make up of the Indian middle class was firmly rooted in the colonial-modern. An elite oriented reform of education currently being undertaken has the unmistakable stamp of the interests and aspirations of the middle class.

Antecedents of Alternative Modernity in Education

The initiatives taken by colonial rule to educate a small section of its subjects, intended to create a social strata imbued with its culture and ideology, led to the spread of a thin veneer of 'modernity' transmitted through the colonial administrative apparatuses. The new system was attractive to the burgeoning middle class because of its liberal character, which marked a perceptible difference from the traditional-feudal. The opinion of Ram Mohan Roy expressed rightly in his famous letter to Lord Amherst in 1824 is the earliest example of what shaped the perspective of the middle class and gave it a direction. He had perceived in

the new system a liberal and enlightened scheme combined with science education of the West, which scored over the Indian traditional system obsessed with 'the grammatical niceties and metaphysical distinctions' (Raja Ram Mohan Roy, 1906, pp. 471-74). However, the content alone was not the defining factor. Equally important was the openness in practice. The social history of India from the time of Eklavya to the twenty-first century is replete with examples of discrimination on the basis of caste and religion. The new system opened the possibility of rising above such restrictions. In the schools run by government support and by the missionaries, any one regardless of caste and creed, could seek and obtain admission. As a result, despite opposition from the upper castes the traditionally excluded groups became beneficiaries of education, leading to some element of social mobility, even among the lower castes in a limited way. The early novels in almost all Indian languages, either directly or indirectly, comprehended this process of social transformation. For instance, the nineteenth century Malayalam novel, *Saraswati Vijayam*, contrasts the oppressive conditions in the traditional order with the emancipative potential of education open to the lower castes through the agency of colonialism.² Potheri Kunhambu, the author of the novel, who himself belonged to a lower caste, highlights the role of both missionaries and government institutions in opening up a new world for the dalits. The author demonstrates that a new situation has come into being in which the traditional power equation based on control over land was being eroded. The achievements and discomfitures of Kunhambu's characters indicate this change. Marathan, a young dalit, was assaulted and left for dead because he indulged in singing a song in public which lower castes were not permitted to do. The boy was helped by a missionary to get education and enter the service of the British and becomes a judge. The landlord accused of killing the *dalit* boy was brought before the judge who pardons him by declaring his own identity. Not only the intellectual world of the middle class was shaped by the influence of the new system, the other segments of society were also drawn to it in due course. As a result colonial education was perceived by the marginalised sections as an instrument of their possible emancipation. The contrast between the social experience of the marginalised in the traditional system and the 'non-discrimination' of the colonial institutions, led many of them to look upon colonialism as a source of emancipation. So much so today some dalit intellectuals consider colonial rule as far more just as the upper caste dominated contemporary system.

One of the consequences of this change was that, both the members of the middle class as well as the traditionally 'excluded and oppressed' attributed 'modernity', however differently conceived, to the new system. More importantly, they interpreted the change as the destiny of their own future. This occurred mainly because of two reasons. In a society in which educational opportunities were dependent upon the location of birth in the caste hierarchy, the public character of colonial education which in principle permitted open access was an exciting departure. Secondly, the new curriculum incorporated scientific knowledge, unavailable in the traditional system, opened up a hitherto unfamiliar world. Above all, it provided the opportunity to learn the language of the coloniser, which promised the prospects of social mobility.

However alluring this transformation was to some sections of the population, it did not fully comprehend the complete reality of the colonial system. The education imparted by the

² Potheri Kunhambu, *Saraswati Vijayam*, First published in 1892, Kannur.

colonial state had, what James Scott calls a 'hidden transcript', of domination.³ Being very restricted in social reach, modernity that colonialism brought about through education touched the life only of a miniscule section of society. However, the survey of indigenous education in different parts of the country shows that access to traditional education, despite its caste and religious restrictions was much larger than the colonial system could ever achieve (Adam, 1941).

A major attraction of Western education to the middle class was its scientific content. But in actual practice it stopped short of expectations as the government did not take much interest in its pursuit, except the incorporation of elementary knowledge of science in the curriculum. What the Indian intelligentsia expected from the new system was facilities for the higher pursuit of science, which was not a priority of the colonial administration. Mahendralal Sircar, the founder of the *Indian Association for the Cultivation of Science* in Kolkata put it pithily: What we need is 'men of science and not men whom accident has placed in the era of science'. Since the colonial government was neither interested in encouraging higher pursuit neither of scientific knowledge nor in its general dissemination such a possibility was very remote.

Notwithstanding the early enthusiastic reception of the new system by the intelligentsia, they soon realised that it is no substitute for a modern system which is also national. Out of this realisation emerged a critique of colonial modernity of which an early expression was in the field of education. The conception of a national system of education and the attempt to implement it through private initiatives emerged out of the dissatisfaction with the colonial system. From Akshay Kumar Dutt in the early part of the nineteenth century to Mahatma Gandhi in the twentieth century the quest for an alternative system continued to agitate the Indian mind. Gandhi said that if people 'understand what is truly National Education and cultivate a taste for it, the Government schools will be empty; and there will be no return thereto until the character of education in Government institutions is so radically altered as to accord with national ideals.' As a consequence institutions were set up to pursue national education, ranging from primary schools to universities, which sought to provide an education different from the colonial.

The assumption of the critique was that the colonial system was denationalising in its effect, creating a social strata alienated from their 'national' culture and socially distanced from their own countrymen. Bankim Chandra's caricature of a Bengali Babu, conversing with a monkey in English and the monkey kicking him in retaliation may be an overdrawn picture, but the message was certainly not lost on a generation obsessed with the imitation of the colonial master.

The chief characteristic of the alternative system was mass education imparted through the mother tongue, with knowledge of science as an integral part. Indian intellectuals during the colonial period, even when participating in the colonial system, were engaged in elaborating an alternative which would help restore the cultural and intellectual personality of the nation. Even the members of Anglophil Young Bengal who were critical of traditional

³ If the weak have obvious and compelling reasons to seek refuge behind a mask when in the presence of power, the powerful have their own compelling reasons for adopting a mask in the presence of subordinates. Thus, for the powerful as well there is typically a disparity between the public transcript deployed in the open exercise of power and hidden transcript expressed safely only offstage (Scott, 1990, p. 10).

practices insisted that 'oriental classics or vernaculars were not to be excluded from any system of Indian education'. The overwhelming opinion was that unless rooted in the national culture and language modernity would remain superficial. The educational philosophy of Mahatma Gandhi was based on the cultural peculiarities of Indian society. So was that of Rabindranath Tagore who realised it in practice in Shanti Niketan. Azad expressed it in a very forceful manner: 'No Indian language but English which was foreign to us was made the medium of instruction. The result was that modern education in India began to be imparted in an un-Indian way. The Indians had to shape their minds in artificial and not in natural moulds. Not only had they had to change their language but also their minds. Their whole approach to different branches of learning was through the medium of a foreign tongue. Now it became necessary for every Indian child to shape an artificial mind and to tackle every aspect of learning from an unnatural angle of vision. He could not enter the sacred precincts of learning with a natural mind'. This is a concern India appears to have progressively lost due to an uncritical acceptance of capitalist modernisation.

The task of nation building in post-independence India under the leadership of political and intellectual stalwarts like Jawaharlal Nehru and Abul Kalam Azad was quite sensitive to the urgency of decolonisation. In the field of education, almost all policy statements during the early days of the Republic gave expression to this perspective in varying degrees. The National Policy on Education adopted in 1966 as a sequel to the Report of the Education Commission headed by Prof. D.S. Kothari related education to the problems of development and social transformation and drew up a broad scheme for future implementation. The Report charted out an excellent road map for future, which given its comprehensive character, it is not surprising that it still remains largely unimplemented. The Report argued that nothing short of a revolution is necessary, if the system established by colonial administration within the limitations set by a feudal and traditional society has to be changed to meet the purposes of a modern democratic and socialist society. The development of human resources through education was given priority by the Commission, as 'the development of physical resources is a means to an end, that of human resources is an end in itself and without it, even the adequate development of physical resources is not possible'. In doing so, the nation should 'strive to maintain the valuable elements in their own traditional culture while accepting all that is good in the West'. Such a syncretic approach, which informed the official policy till the Indian ruling classes embraced neo-liberal policies, was based on liberal, secular and universal outlook. The departure from it occurred in two different ways. The first during the rule of the Hindu rightwing forces under the leadership of Bharatiya Janata Party and the second, under the United Progressive Alliance led by the Congress Party. While the former emphasised the importance of traditional knowledge and tried to remould the system accordingly, the latter was enamoured of the achievements of the West. Both of them, not only departed from the tradition of struggle - anti-colonial and anti-traditional - developed during the renaissance and freedom movements, but also respectively indulged in either romanticisation of the past or the uncritical borrowing of modernity of the West. Since the former has lost much of its political clout, the policy of the latter is currently being implemented is in ascendance. As evident from the open door policy India is now looking beyond its borders for renovation and rejuvenation of education.

Modernisation and Open Door Policy

The rationale for the open door policy which the Indian state embraced a few decades back was the logic of capitalist modernisation. The ruling classes hold the view that it is not possible to mobilise resources necessary for modernisation, particularly for a 'non-merit good' like higher education. The government, therefore, advocated and pursued the policy of progressively withdrawing from social sectors, thus paving the way for the entry of international capital and for increasing freedom to private national entrepreneurs. It was hoped that India would be able to modernize its system with the support of the capital so attracted. The support from the MNCs, however, was conditional : wide ranging structural changes in economy and administration in order to facilitate foreign investment, subjection of national policies of international trade and other operations to the prescriptions of world organisations and the acceptance of the much abused 'most favoured nation' theory. The series of agreements, thus came into being, set the clock back, leading the country towards a process of recolonisation of an entirely new genre, different from the colonisation of the nineteenth century based on territorial conquest. The process of contemporary colonisation is through 'equal' treaties, political partnership and cultural-intellectual co-operation. Not only to the ruling classes but also to the bulk of the middle classes, the modern benefits of neo-colonialism are quite attractive. In fact they celebrate and revel in the 'modern' conditions which were denied to them earlier in the name of equality, social justice and socialism. The operation of footloose capitalism has created visible islands of prosperity and modernity – world class airports, air conditioned malls with food courts, world class universities, crorepatis present in TV studios and in Parliament and so on. The consumers and supporters of this modernity are the middle class who initially emerged out of colonial education and later nourished by the highly privileged nature of higher education in independent India. The volume of the middle class which has swelled after the onset of globalisation is now in a position to influence the educational policy to its advantage. The current changes in higher education reflect their aspirations to the extent that they mark a fundamental departure from the character and orientation envisioned by Azad, Kothari and others in the early days of independent India.

There is consensus among educationists today that the existing system of education calls for immediate change. Although the country has considerably advanced from the colonial days, neither the access has reached desirable level to meet the needs of society nor has the quality kept pace with the advances in knowledge. An all embracing modernisation of the system – physical infra-structure, intellectual resources, quality of teachers and pedagogical practices etc. – for ushering in a knowledge society is the immediate goal set by the State. A series of reports and proposed legislations well articulate this intention. The National Knowledge Commission set up by the government to formulate a plan of reform suggested an unprecedented expansion of higher educational institutions and pegged its target to a rather unrealisable number of 1500 universities. The objective of systematic overhaul proposed by the commission was 'expansion, excellence and inclusion' which would drive economic development and social progress. The focus of the report prepared by the committee headed by Prof. Yaspal was more academic in nature and put forward valuable suggestions for the renovation and regeneration of higher education.

Following these recommendations the educational policy the government has enunciated, as evident from various legislations before the Parliament, has three distinct

features – centralization, privatisation and entry of foreign educational providers. The proposed National Council for Higher Education and Research is an example of the first; Planning Commission document on Public-Private participation of the second; and the Bill permitting the entry of Foreign Private Educational Providers of the third. These steps are in tune with the economic reforms initiated about two decades ago. The main motivation behind the new policy is modernisation which is a necessary condition for effective participation in the global educational and intellectual transactions. Consequently, the target of modernisation primarily became the upper level of higher education with a view to achieve excellence. The priority, therefore, has been accorded to the expansion and improvement of institutions which would maintain internationally comparable standards. The expansion of Indian Institutes of Technologies and Indian Institutes of Managements, Inter-University Research Centres, several new central universities and above all a set of world class universities, now renamed as Innovation Universities, are planned. These are obviously very welcome initiatives, but the lack of comparable steps at the lower levels, at the undergraduate and post-graduate teaching, would strengthen the already existing elite character of the beneficiaries of specialised knowledge. If the question of equity and justice are not adequately addressed, the social implications of this *enclavised modernisation* would be to perpetuate the social and political power of the privileged. The modernisation then would be a highly distorted and oppressive phenomenon. Such a possibility is already evident in the early steps undertaken for implementation of the new policy.

The provision for higher education in the XI Five Year Plan encapsulates the essence of the new policy and also underlines the interconnection between the various strands of the modernisation project. The Plan has accorded unprecedented importance to higher education, possibly because of its importance in the emerging knowledge society. From the X Plan, the allocation marks a nine fold increase. This increase, however, is not sufficient for institutional development to ensure the targeted increase of the General Enrolment Ratio to Fifteen per cent. The estimated resource gap is about 2.52 lakh crores. The suggested solution to meet this deficit is private-public partnership by 'attracting enlightened and value- based educational entrepreneurship both within the country and from abroad.' The policy implication of this confession is that, given the resource crunch, modernisation can be successfully pursued only with the participation of private capital. But then 'the enlightened and value-based entrepreneurship' is a scarce commodity in the era of advanced capitalism.

Both internal and foreign capital is likely to be interested in higher education only as a field of investment. The former has been present for a long time and manages a large number of institutions in the country. But their motives in the beginning have been mainly philanthropic and not commercial. But now, unlike in the past, private educational enterprise is primarily a field of investment for profit. The private education, therefore, has become a synonym for commercialisation. The private-public participation can be a remedy, provided the public is able to exercise control over the private. The present notion of private-public participation is a prescription for unbridled privatisation.

If a system of large scale privatisation towards which higher education appears to be moving becomes a reality, social justice is likely to be the first casualty, as it would deprive an overwhelming majority of eligible students access to education. Education is an instrument of power, particularly in present conditions in which knowledge has emerged as a crucial factor, for perpetuating the existing unequal relationship in society. The ideological structure that the private system of education constructs and disseminates contributes to

the continuous exclusion of the marginalised and preserves the power of the privileged. Since the majority of public institutions are in deplorably poor conditions, the overwhelming majority of students are put through sub-standard instruction. The current educational reforms are likely to widen this gap.

The second face of privatisation is represented by 'foreign educational providers' who are being allowed to set up their campuses in the country. This is in the context of several foreign universities already establishing their centres in collaboration with internal educational agencies. In the absence of any mechanism for the control of their entry and operation, their quality and accountability is suspect. The purpose of the legislation is the regulation of the entry and operation of foreign universities, but its real implication is that higher education will no more be a matter of national concern alone, but outside agencies also would be given freedom to shape it. Many welcome it at its face value, with the expectation that relatively better quality of education would be available. The conditions stipulated by the government for the entry of foreign educational providers tend to satisfy the liberal-nationalist opinion, as these conditions for entry are expected to discourage the fly by night operators to take advantage of open policy. They are: first, the foreign educational providers have to maintain a corpus fund of five crores of rupees; second, no part of the surplus generated in India by a foreign educational provider shall be invested for any other purpose other than for the growth and development of the educational institutions established by it in India; and the third and most important of all is about the quality. It says: 'A foreign education provider shall ensure that the course or programme of study offered and imparted by it in India is in conformity with the standards laid down by the statutory authority, as is of quality comparable, as to the curriculum, methods of imparting education and the faculty employed or engaged to impart education, to those offered by it to students enrolled in its main campus in the country in which such institution is established or incorporated'. It sounds a laudable aim, as there would be no dilution of standards, in the unlikely event of Oxford or Harvard universities deciding to open their campuses in India⁴. Nevertheless, the actual operational part of this clause is that all such institutions would remain 'foreign' in character. What is most crucial for a country like India is the cultural implication of the replication of the curriculum and syllabi developed to suit the genius and socio-cultural requirements of another society. A university is not only meant for the production and dissemination of knowledge, it is also the terrain in which the identity of a nation is constructed. The operation of multi-national capital, euphemistically termed globalisation, has already eaten into the cultural identity of the people. The changes now being heralded in the education system through open door policy is likely to create conditions conducive for the cultural and intellectual hegemony of advanced capitalist countries. The distance traversed by the nation from the days of Abul Kalam Azad is so long that return is almost impossible. As a result the character of Indian society has changed during the last sixty years: it is no more a post-colonial society. It is rather a neo-colony, increasingly re-ordering its policy and developmental strategies in accordance with the interests of the global capitalist players. In this process of subordination, education is a crucial influencing factor, providing intellectual justification for its uncritical acceptance. The

⁴ According to Philip G. Altbach and many other scholars, 'Global experience shows that the large majority of higher education institutions entering a foreign market are not prestigious universities but low-end institutions seeking market access and income'. *The Hindu*, 8 April 2010.

affluent Indian middle classes revel in this new found condition, without any sense of guilt, under the pretext that it is the creation of global forces. In the process, the alternative system of education envisioned as a part of anti-colonial struggle and conceived as an integral part of alternative modernity, has been dumped in the dustbin. It is alarming but not surprising, because that in fact is the logic of contemporary capitalism, which is resilient enough to function according to the exigencies of the situation.

The new ambience of higher education, represented by the package of interconnected and complimentary bills being considered by the Parliament, is likely to create an intellectual substratum and cultural taste to compliment the elite-oriented social and cultural transformation. The *dalits* and *adivasis* and those who are below the poverty line are likely to remain outside the 'revolution' the state hopes to achieve. Till the benefits of the new policy of modernisation continuing to accrue to a small stratum of rich and privileged, education will not be able to harness the human resources for national development. The justification for the new initiatives in education is the compelling need for excellence. In a country like India with vast human capital at its command, the only way for achieving excellence is only through equity and social justice. After all development can be inclusive only if it is organic.

Independent India had begun its career with a commitment to intellectual decolonisation of which an alternative system of education was an inevitable component. History has now gone through a full circle. Yet again, the Indian ruling elite has embarked upon the easier route of adopting a *borrowed* modernity. Only time will tell what is in store for the future. At any rate, the national alternative is dead. The nation, however is not mourning the death, but, in fact, is celebrating the loss. The unbridled intrusion and domination of cultural and intellectual imperialism is likely to encourage religious fundamentalism. At this juncture, it is pertinent to recall the dreams of Mahatma Gandhi, Rabindranath Tagore, Jawaharlal Nehru and Abul Kalam Azad about a system of education which would unleash the intellectual energy of Indian civilisation. But the obsession with and equation of capitalist development as modernisation is likely to consign their dreams into oblivion.

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Government of India
Ministry of Human Resource Development
Department of Higher Education

Chairperson, University Grants Commission - Call for nominations

The University Grants Commission (UGC) is a statutory body with the Ministry of Human Resource Development, Government of India, entrusted with the task of determination, coordination and maintenance of standards in University education. A Search-cum-Selection Committee constituted by the Government is seeking nominations for selection of a new Chairperson who can energetically and imaginatively steer the higher education sector along the path of competitive excellence for promoting access, equity and quality towards inclusive development.

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F. No. 7-1/2010-JI(A)

University Endowment Investment Returns

The Impact of Institutional Size

Dan W. Hess*

Abstract

Even with the decline in asset values during 2007–2009, the value of endowment assets held by colleges and universities has experienced unprecedented growth during the past 25 years. However, there is significant disparity in the accumulation of those assets with a few large endowments holding the bulk of the assets. Many smaller institutions that, in total, hold a small percentage of endowment assets have had little success in growing their endowment and continue to struggle with understanding all that is necessary to change this under-performance. The purpose of this paper is to examine the causes of poor performance of small endowments as measured by overall endowment growth and make recommendations for enhancing endowment growth. Recommendations include establishing clear endowment objectives, adopting integrated policies, creating effective measurement tools and providing consistent visible leadership to the endowment growth effort.

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Introduction

Over the past twenty-five years the value of endowments held by institutions of higher education in the United States has experienced unprecedented growth reaching nearly \$300 billion as of June 30, 2009 according to the NACUBO Endowment Study (NES, 2009). However, there is great disparity in the accumulation of those assets amongst the 747 study participants. The top twenty-five endowments hold in excess of fifty per cent of that \$300 billion and the top five endowments, Harvard, Yale, The University of Texas, Princeton and Stanford account for nearly 25 per cent of the total.

While these large endowments have grown dramatically there is disparity between their success and that of institutions with smaller endowments. This same study identifies nearly 300 institutions with endowments below the \$50 million mark, and there are many more institutions with small endowments that have chosen not to participate in the study. Combined these 300 institutions represent less than three per cent of the reported \$300 billion reported in the survey. Many in this group have had little success in growing their endowment and continue to struggle with understanding all that is necessary to change this under-performance.

The purpose of this paper is to examine the causes of poor performance of small endowments as measured by overall endowment growth and make recommendations for improving small endowment performance. The paper is organized as follows: Section 1 provides an introduction and states the hypothesis of the study. Section 2 presents a literature review. Section 3 discusses endowment measurement tools, objectives and policies as they relate to underperforming endowments. And, Section 4 provides several recommendations for enhancing endowment performance and a conclusion.

Nobel Prize laureate in Economics, James Tobin reminds university boards: "The role of Trustees of an endowed institution is to be the guardian of the future against the demands of the present". To leaders at institutions with smaller endowments this reminder may seem overly idealistic as current demands overwhelm their ability to adequately plan for future students' needs. These institutions typically spend little time thinking strategically about endowment growth and as a result lack clearly defined goals and objectives for, and allocate insufficient resources to the endowment growth effort. Instead, they adopt a fragmented set of endowment policies and objectives created by different institutional division with little analysis of their correlation to each other. The under-performance resulting from such an approach contributes/compounds over time, limiting the institution's ability to deliver its mission and compete with peer institutions.

Institutions with large endowments and greater dependence on support from endowment, better understand the economic and mission benefits of endowment policy integration. However, at institutions with small endowments the Endowment Support Ratio (annual endowment distribution/operating budget) may be so insignificant that the incremental advantages of a complementary set of endowment policies is easily overlooked or dismissed. To plan for the distant day when endowment will play a significant role in funding the institutional mission requires time that is spent dealing with immediate financial challenges. Those distant needs will therefore need to be dealt with by future administrations and boards.

To frame the issue of small endowment under-performance, the NES, 2009 study notes that historically larger endowments tend to generate higher median investment returns and

smaller endowments report higher effective spending rates. This combination of lower investment returns and higher spending rates create a significant headwind for small endowments to overcome. The decisions leaders at these institutions make concerning these two key areas of endowment management will directly influence endowment growth. However, they are only the two most visible of policy areas which need to be carefully addressed by management if successful endowment growth is to be achieved.

The null hypothesis in this paper is that undefined objectives, fragmented policy and decision making, poor policy execution and bias towards current needs and students on the part of leadership at institutions with small endowments has no effect on endowment growth performance. The alternative hypothesis is that the above mentioned factors do lead directly to inferior endowment growth performance by as much as 200 to 400 basis points annually relative to external benchmarks.

Literature Review

A number of studies have examined issues relating to the management and growth of university endowments. Bovinette and Elkins (2004) explore why the investment returns of small endowments lag those of larger endowments. They identify four factors that may contribute to this inferior performance and then suggest several strategies to enhance investment performance.

Sedlacek and Clark (2003) study how endowment spending policy impacts institutional investment policy and portfolio construction. Their results show that from 1991 to 2002 institutions overspent from endowments on scholarships, salary improvements and physical plant thus creating long-term liabilities which will be difficult to meet. The authors make several suggestions for integrating successful spending policy into overall endowment objectives.

Rogers and Strehle (2004, 2005) in their two papers begin to look at endowment growth beyond investment and spending policies to explore the role new gifts play. These two papers begin the discussion of the strategic role fundraising plays in endowment growth success and just as importantly, the need for institutional endowment policy integration.

These four papers stress the need to look at individual aspects of the endowment growth model, measure results against external standards, understand the cost of underperformance and take appropriate actions to correct performance. However, the purpose of this study will be to look beyond these three policy areas to explore other policy causes of underperformance then devise a measurement of the overall cost of poor endowment policy decisions.

Endowment Tools and Objectives

Intergenerational Equity

While each institution must determine how endowment success will be measured, certain expectations are fundamental to the process. As quoted earlier, James Tobin reminds us that endowments are by definition perpetual funds that have been established by donors as perpetual legacies. Trustees are responsible for guaranteeing that these funds treat current and future generations of students equitably. This concept of providing equitable

benefits across generations is the cornerstone upon which endowment policies should be constructed by management and governing boards. Maintaining intergenerational equity is commonly accepted as the key internal measurement tool of endowment performance. The most common measurement used to determine success in achieving intergenerational equity is to measure investment returns against the effective endowment spending rate plus an inflation rate (such as CPI or HEPI) and investment costs. Such an equation would look as follows:

$$\text{Endowment Return} > \text{Endowment Spending Rate} + \text{Inflation Rate} + \text{Investment Costs}$$

This equation presents a *fiduciary* measure of Intergenerational Equity used to determine whether trustees are successful in meeting their fiduciary responsibility to steward the endowment resources entrusted to their care.

However, we propose that a second *operational* measure of intergenerational equity also exists in the form of the Endowment Support Ratio (ESR). This measure compares endowment spending as a percentage of the institution's annual operating budget from year to year and would be expressed using the same equation:

$$\text{Endowment Return} > \text{Endowment Spending Rate} + \text{Inflation Rate} + \text{Investment Costs}$$

In this measurement of *operational* intergenerational equity the growth rate of the institutional budget rather than CPI or HEPI is used as the inflation rate. Since operational budgets grow at a more rapid rate, the maintenance of the ESR becomes a significant challenge. To achieve this ESR goal, larger endowments tend to rely primarily on superior investment performance while smaller endowments with historically lower investment returns rely on new gifts. This is supported by NES gift data which indicate that small endowments historically receive more gift revenues as a percentage of total endowment than larger endowments. These two approaches to Intergenerational Equity, *fiduciary* and *operational*, provide the fundamental internal measures of endowment policy success.

Endowment Adequacy

In addition to these internal measures of endowment success, external benchmarks also exist which can be used to determine endowment adequacy relative to peer institutions. While we use ESR as a means to measure operational intergenerational equity over time, it is also our first measure of endowment adequacy. Helpful external data is available from the Common-fund Benchmark Study (CBS, 2004) which reports a twelve percent median ESR for the Study participants. While there are differences between private and public institutions, private institutions which fall below this median level, and are therefore highly tuition dependent, are likely at an economic disadvantage and susceptible to a greater risk of financial and budgetary stress during times of enrollment declines and market downturns. Public institutions receiving budgetary support from state governments require further analysis not done in this report.

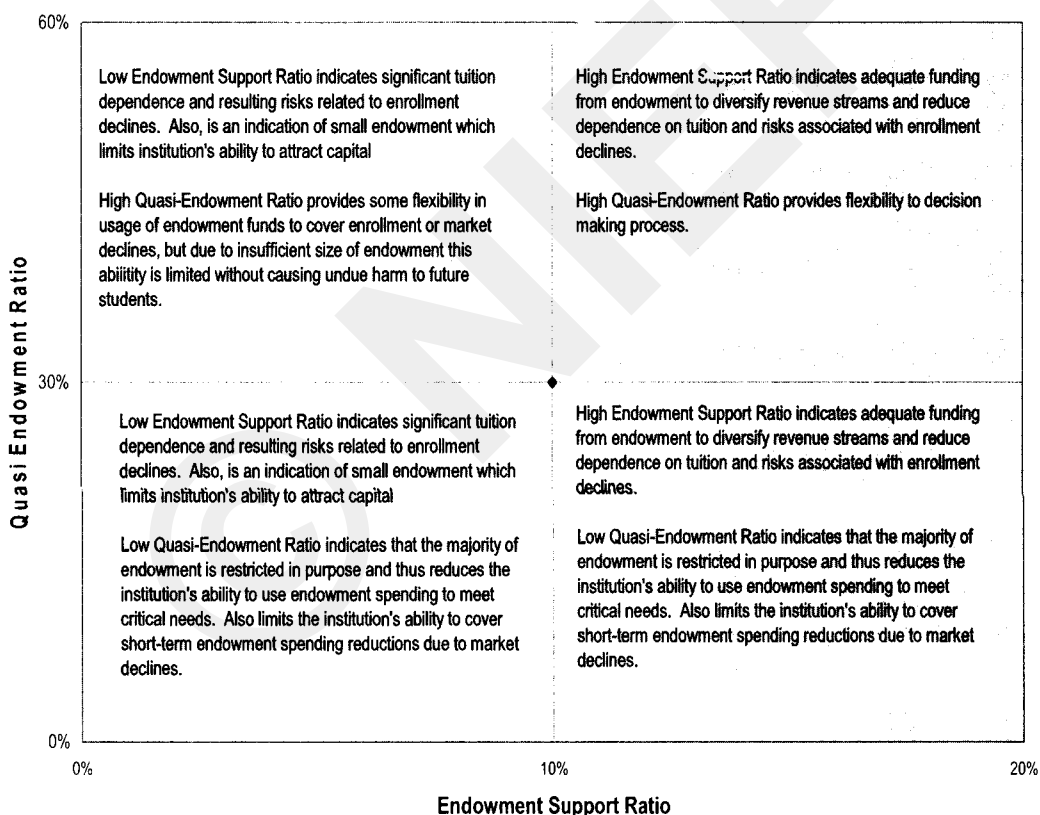
A second measure of endowment adequacy for private institutions is the level of endowment per FTE student. To calibrate these two measures of endowment adequacy to the same scale you must also factor in the institution's spending policy. However, to match the 12% ESR measure state above would require an endowment per student FTE level which is roughly two and one half times the institution's annual tuition rate.

Endowment Flexibility

While an institution may exceed its endowment adequacy targets, it may still be limited in its ability to weather times of economic stress if its endowment is all designated for restricted purposes. The Quasi-Endowment Ratio, the ratio of quasi-endowment to total endowment can be used to measure the restrictedness or alternately the flexibility of the institution's endowment. According to the NES 2009, the median Quasi-Endowment ratio for all endowments has historically ranged between 25% and 35%.

Figure 1 presents the relationship between endowment adequacy and flexibility using the Endowment Support Ratio and the Quasi-Endowment Ratio. This matrix emphasizes the risks and exposures that might be faced by institutions with small endowments if adequacy and flexibility issues are not addressed strategically.

FIGURE 1
Endowment Adequacy and Flexibility



Endowment Policies

Policy Overview

Once endowment objectives are defined in terms of intergenerational equity, endowment adequacy and endowment flexibility, it is possible to begin analyzing endowment policies in terms of overall endowment objectives and success. According to the NES 2009, nearly 95% of all participating institutions have formalized investment and spending policies. Investment policies provide the greatest opportunity to achieve desired long-term returns within acceptable levels of risk, while spending policies, including rates and methodology, should be structured to keep spending at sustainable levels. The following is a brief overview of these two key endowment policies.

Investment Policy

Bovinette and Elkins (2004) present four contributing factors to the poor relative investment performance of small endowments. They are: a disproportionately small amount of resources spent on staff and strategic planning for endowment, less diversified asset allocation strategies with a bias towards fixed income, institutional preferences to fail conventionally rather than succeed unconventionally, and a general misunderstanding and underestimation of investment risk. Combined, the four factors contribute to median returns that are not only lower than larger endowments, but also significantly below what is needed to achieve Intergenerational Equity and also below what the market provides access to in a reasonably cheap and efficient manner.

To test this observation we constructed an indexed portfolio of 60% S&P 500 Index and 40% Lehman Brothers Aggregate Bond Index for the ten-year periods ending 1985, 1990, 1995, 2000 and 2005 was constructed and compared against the median ten-year returns of small endowments reported in past NES reports. The results show that the passive indexed portfolio would have outperformed the median return earned by small endowments by an average of 160 basis points per year net of fees of each of the five ten-year periods. The ten-year median returns for small endowments were also compared against another easily available investment portfolio constructed of a similar mix of Commonfund Multi-Strategy Equity and Bond Funds for the ten-year periods ending in 1995, 2000 and 2005. This portfolio which would have provided additional asset diversification would also have contributed a similar benefit per year net of fees. Either approach would have produced second quartile performance within the NES study for the periods measured resulting in additional endowment growth and operating budget contributions.

Spending Policy

The spending policy or payout policy determines the amount to be transferred from endowment to the operating budget each year. The payout rate and methodology are the two tools used to balance two opposing claims: the current needs of the institution and its constituencies vs. the obligation to preserve the endowment for future generations. Nearly 75 per cent of all colleges and universities as reported in the NES, 2009, use a payout rate of 5 per cent with a payout methodology that uses a three-year moving average. Such a policy worked well during the 1980s and early 1990s with the growth of endowment spending closely tracking CPI and HEPI. However, Sedlacek and Clark (2003) present a position that

colleges and universities with three-year averaging methodologies dramatically overspent from endowment during the overheated market of the last half of the 1990s. In that period of unprecedented market gains, spending increased at a rate double that of HEPI. But such indulgence coupled with the market retreat of 2000-2002 left many institutions with a spending hangover. The same three-year averaging methodology that led to a dramatic increase in spending when returns dramatically exceeded historical levels dropped in a similar fashion as investment returns turned negative for three years. It is anticipated that it will take through 2010 for spending to become normalized again.

Whatever the methodology, effective spending rates should be below four percent in order for intergenerational equity to be preserved over long periods of time as modeled by the Common-fund Asset Planning Model. However, most institutions still use spending policies that are positioned for periods of overspending followed by budget constraints from declines in spending during periods of market downturns. According to the NES 2009, over the past ten years the effective payout rate of small endowments has exceeded the median effective payout rate by 30 basis points annually due to a combination of higher spending rates and unconstrained spending methodologies.

Gift Income Policy

As stated earlier, most analysis of endowment management effectiveness ends after addressing Investment Policy and Spending Policy, the two major determinants of the intergenerational equity model and also the two policies typically the responsibility of the finance office. However, research is now being done on the impact gift income has on endowment growth. According to data from the NES over several years, it is clear that small endowments attract new gifts to endowment at a greater rate than larger endowments as measured as a percentage of total endowment.

Rogers and Strehle (2005) report that new gifts to endowments are most critical to the growth of small endowments while investment returns are most critical to the growth of large endowments. Their study emphasizes the need for policies that support the building of endowment through bequests, life income plans and other planned gifts. The flow of funds from the maturity of these deferred giving vehicles provide the institution with mostly unrestricted gifts which can be spent on immediate campus needs or used to build quasi-endowment. Rogers and Strehle (2005) also report that institutions with large endowments anticipate bequest gifts to average 1% of endowment value annually. Therefore, institutions that have policies to divert all or part of estate gifts to the operating budget will underperform peer institutions by as much as 100 basis points. This is also true for institutions lacking a mature planned giving effort as it may take decades to develop a pipeline of deferred gifts. This study also points to the importance of a consistent, successful planned giving program.

Budget Support for Quasi-Endowment

Under-endowed institutions with low quasi-endowment ratios must take intentional steps to build their quasi endowment, much as an individual would plan for retirement. According to data from the NES, 2009, the average net inter-fund transfer to quasi endowment for all participants over the past five years was 1.3% but for small endowments only .6%. While this data is difficult to fully interpret as different institutions categorize

inter-fund transfers differently, it is clear that institutions which make annual budget surplus transfers to quasi-endowment will experience a greater endowment growth rate. The data from the NES would indicate that such contribution policies may add an additional 70 basis points to small endowment underperformance.

Policy Integration

It would seem a logical approach to integrate the various endowment policies in order to maximize growth and efficiency. However, this is difficult to accomplish in most institutions as different departments or areas are responsible for different endowment policies and funding. This is especially true at institutions with small endowments that lack the resources and culture to craft and execute clearly defined and integrated endowment policies. However, it is likely that institutions that ignore the efficiencies to be gained by such an integrated approach will continue to experience inferior performance and financial stress.

Cost of Policy Fragmentation and Recommendations for Change

To summarize, the opportunity costs associated with fragmented endowment policies and poor execution make it difficult for small endowments to grow at rates achieved by institutions with larger endowments. Small endowments suffer from: Poorly crafted Investment Policy, poor Investment Policy execution, over-spending, unrestricted bequest policies with a bias towards current needs and the lack of institutional discipline to build quasi-endowment from budgetary sources. Our research indicates that the combination of these factors can hurt endowment growth rates on a comparative basis with larger endowments. While it is true that small endowments experience greater success in attracting new gifts to endowment as expressed as a percentage of total endowment, this one area of success should provide a competitive advantage rather than be used to compensate for poor policy decisions in other endowment management areas.

In order for small endowments to have the opportunity to grow at the rate needed by the institution, leaders at institution with small endowments must pay close attention to every detail of endowment behaviour and management including:

- Establishing clear written endowment objectives and goals with specific attention paid to the role endowment plays in achieving the institution's mission.
- Adopting integrated policies that jointly support endowment objectives and effectively balance the needs of current and future generation of students.
- Establishing internal goals and external benchmarks to allow the measurement of policy effectiveness and execution.
- Providing consistent, visible leadership to the endowment growth effort.
- Providing sufficient resources to allow for successful endowment growth.

Conclusion

Institutions with small endowments spend little time strategically planning for the management of their endowment and thus performance suffers, institutional goals are not met and missions not fully achieved. While some of this under-performance is due to

systemic issues related to size, other factors such as policy structure, policy execution and management decisions also contribute to under-performance. While Investment Policy and Spending Policy have historically been the focus of endowment management, recent research has identified the critical importance of new gift flow to the success of achieving endowment growth objectives. This more recent research has stressed the need for endowment management policies which address endowment accumulation. Such policies would address such important issues as annual gift levels, deferred gift emphasis, bequest and unrestricted estate policies and budget surplus transfer policies. To successfully achieve endowment growth targets to support the institutional mission/vision will require a single cohesive strategy which informs and guides all endowment related decisions. Without such an integrated approach and positioning, the compounding effect of under-performance will likely compromise institutional missions and place long-term financial viability at risk.

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Non-Market Benefits of Women's Education

Madhusudan Raj*

Abstract

This paper analyses the non-market benefits of women's education by using data of 300, 25+ age women from Surat city. These non-market benefits of education are extremely important from the human development perspective, but are by and large ignored by the economists so far. Women's education is of more importance because they spend most of their time in home outside market place, and thus they are more likely recipient of these benefits. Seen from this angle, and looking at the kind of responsibility of handling the whole family, women have their education and its non-market benefits are of immense importance for the household as well as the society. The results are mixed having major policy implications.

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Introduction

Education is one of the important factors which enable human progress. It not only helps individuals in achieving economic prosperity but also in acquiring more satisfaction and happiness from their life. It teaches everyone how to be a good human and advance morally and materialistically. This is the reason why education is considered as the most essential part of growth and development policies around the world. Not only the developing countries are implementing policies to improve the educational standards of their population¹, but even developed countries like United States of America (USA) are worried about the falling educational standards of native population, and hence American federal government has started the educational programs like 'No Child Left Behind'. Education benefits individuals and the economy in many ways. Economists have classified education's benefits in two broad categories,

- a) Market benefits; and
- b) Non-Market benefits.

The market benefits of education are well documented in the economic literature (Psacharopoulos, 1973, 1985, 1994; Psacharopoulos & Patrinos, 2002). At micro level education increases individual's labour market earnings by increasing his/her marginal productivity, which results because of more accumulation of human capital which in turn is a result of more education. At macro level education affects, both directly and indirectly, the economic growth of the country. But this well documented benefit of education ignores the non-market benefits. Non-market benefits are far more important than the market benefits. This is because they are the real manifestation of overall improvement in the quality of life. Human development is reflected in the form of overall freedom, good health, knowledge, improvement in standard of living of people, improvement in political freedom, a secure life, a healthy environment and forests, wildlife, air and water, lesser crimes, protection of basic human rights etc. All these aspects of human development are also non-market benefits of education.

Economists, until recently, have largely ignored most of these non-market benefits of education. The present day estimates of benefits of education are grossly under-estimated because they exclude these very important non-market benefits. Once we take into account these benefits, the rate of return to investment in education improves dramatically. So far, in India there are very few available studies which try to capture the market and non-market benefits of education. In India the estimates of market rates of returns to investment in education are hard to find. And the relationship between education and these market benefits is also not very well explored. On the other hand, studies of non-market benefits of education have so far focused their attention on areas like education's effect on fertility rate of women, parental education's effect on child's education, health etc. But apart from this, there is very little attempt to measure the other non-market benefits of education like effects on health of spouse, crime reduction, increased savings behaviour, consumer choice

¹ For example India has started the nationwide programme of Sarva Siksha Abhiyan (SSA) to raise the educational standards of her population. Similarly, many developing and underdeveloped countries of the world have adopted the Millennium Development Goals (MDGs), in which achieving the universal elementary education is one of the important goals.

efficiency, increased civic sense, increased environmental awareness, increased charitable activities, increased social cohesion etc.

India is a progressing economy and has all potentiality to achieve higher development levels. It is pertinent to study market and non-market benefits of education in India because education is one of the chief factors which is going to help India in achieving the developmental goals.

A Catalogue of Non-Market Benefits of Education

Table 1 below gives a detailed description of the different non-market benefits of education, which have been identified so far by the researchers². As we can see, the range of outcomes span from very specific private benefits to some widespread social benefits as well as some benefits having a mixed private and social nature. The major impact of education is felt inside the household in the form of better quality of child's health and education, better quality of husband's health and some impact on spouse's labour market earning and better health of the individual possessor of education. A brief discussion on these benefits follows:

TABLE 1
Catalogue of Non-Market Benefits of Education³

Outcome Category	Economic Nature
Intra-family productivity	Private; some external effects; market and non-market effects.
Child quality: level of education and cognitive development	Private; some external effect; market and non-market effects
Child quality: health	Private: some external effects
Child quality: fertility	Private; some external effects
Own health	Private: modest external effects (Note: Some of the own health benefits from education will be captured in increased earnings)
Consumer choice efficiency	Private; some external effects; non-market effects
Labour market search efficiency	Private; non-market effects
Marital choice efficiency	Private; non-market effects
Attainment of desired family size	Private
Charitable giving	Private and public; non-market effects
Savings	Private; some external effects
Technological change	Public
Social cohesion	Public
Self-reliance or economic independence	Private and public
Crime reduction	Public

² For the empirical evidences of non-market benefits of education please refer to Grossman (2005); McMahon (2002); Stacey & Behrman (2000); Wolfe & Haveman (2002).

³ Taken from Wolfe & Haveman (2002) with modifications.

Non-Market Benefits of Women's Education

- (i) Intra-family productivity: the evidences⁴ suggest that there is a positive relationship between wives' schooling level and husbands' labour market earnings. This impact is likely to be stronger in the entrepreneurial families. This impact can work directly or indirectly. It is likely that wives are directly involved in the decision making process in husband's labour market work and thus through their education they help husband in taking better labour market decision. Indirectly by keeping a peaceful environment in home, by taking care of husband's health, and by providing moral support to husband, educated wives can impact husband's labour market performance.
- (ii) Child quality (education and health): the evidences here reveal a positive relationship between parents' education and children's education (cognitive development) and health. Both mothers' and father's education is important in this regard but from empirical evidences it seems that mother's education weighs little heavier than father's education. Educated mother will directly involve herself into her children's education, she will provide nutritious food to her kids, and she will also have a better health related knowledge, which will help her in keeping her child healthy. Apart from parents, even grandparents' education has some influence over their grandchildren's education. This is likely to be the case in urban areas where both parents are working and thus kids are spending most of their time with grandparents. Neighbours also have some impact on child's education. This is known as 'the neighbourhood effect'. Studies have indicated that this effect operates through the socio-economic composition of the schools.
- (iii) Own health: there is considerable amount of evidences which suggests that one's own schooling positively affects his/her health, increases person's life expectancy, lowers the prevalence of severe mental illnesses and improves the ability to deal with the stressful events. All these effects are enhanced as the person ages. This is because in old age the frequency of illnesses is likely to be high and during such precarious time education will be very helpful for the person in fighting with those illnesses.
- (iv) Consumer choice efficiency: research work shows that educated people are efficient consumers. They waste little resource like time, money while shopping. There are little chances of them being cheated by the sellers.
- (v) Labour market search efficiency: educated people are efficient with regard to labour market search for the job too. Educated people know different sources of information regarding job openings like online job portals, employment exchanges, etc. They are also likely to migrate to distant places for the jobs without any hesitation. This is because most of the time, they have already migrated longer distance for their education itself. It is also seen that the labour market turnover is considerably low for the educated women.
- (vi) Marital choice efficiency: there is also some evidence that with increased level of schooling, people tend to sort their partners much more efficiently in the marriage

⁴ For evidence of this benefit and also for other discussed benefits in this section please see, (Wolfe & Haveman) (2002).

market. The incidence of *assortative mating* is seen more widely amongst educated people. All these reduce the cost of marriage considerably for educated people.

- (vii) Attainment of desired family size: the use of contraceptive measures by the educated people reduces their family size. With education, the evidences show that, women fertility rate declines. This effect works in two different ways. One, the increasing opportunity cost of having more children for the working women⁵ and second, the increased desire of the educated mother to concentrate the family resources on a single child.
- (viii) Charitable giving: evidences suggest that educated people are also likely to donate more of their time and money to different charitable activities like voluntary work, Non-Governmental Organisation (NGO) membership etc.
- (ix) Increased saving: more schooling is also associated with higher savings⁶. Educated persons are likely to have higher earning which is sufficient for their present consumption needs. The leftover income is thus saved for the future.
- (x) Technological change: technological change, both invention of new techniques as well as its usage, has a direct link with education. Research and Development activities are education intensive. It takes lot of skilled manpower for developing new technologies. With this, the diffusion of technology also requires a skilled labour force.
- (xi) Social cohesion: one of the very important non-market benefits of education is that it encourages social cohesion. The evidences suggest that with increased education people show a tendency of not resorting on violence during the period of protests. They are also likely to oppose the repression of government. Education enables individuals in making informed political decisions. Education also improves trustworthy relationships between individual members of the society. It makes them more aware of the benefits of voluntary peaceful cooperation.
- (xii) Independence: evidences also show that educated people are more self-reliant. Studies show that during their prime working years, educated people are less likely to rely on various social security schemes like unemployment insurance, subsidies from the government, widow-pensions, etc.
- (xiii) Crime reduction: education also has some profound impact on crime reduction. By increasing person's opportunity cost of involvement in criminal activity it reduces the incidence of crime.

⁵ In today's costly inflationary and high tax economies where increasing income is necessary to maintain the otherwise falling standard of living, wives will also have to work. Single earner family is a phenomenon of past.

⁶ It is important to stress here the absolute necessity of savings for the future progress of the economy. Without saving and investment, capital accumulation will become impossible, which in turn will retard the long run economic growth. The economy where saving and investment are lower than consumption is a retrogressing economy and where they are higher is a progressing economy. Education, thus, by playing a role in increasing the habits of savings, enhances long run economic growth.

All the above discussed non-market benefits are likely to accrue more to women. The reason behind this is that women are, on an average, likely to spend more time out of labour market and in home, taking care of the family⁷. This way they spend substantial amount of their time in non-market activities in home and thus, they are likely to be the greater recipient of these non-market benefits. This way women's education is a very important factor for a household as well as for the society as a whole. Because all women don't participate directly in the labour market and thus don't produce any tangible output, the conventional measures like Gross Domestic Product (GDP) will not reflect importance of women in the household as well as society. If we take into account the contribution of women in household development and economic development from the non-market benefits perspective then only we can truly realize and account for the importance of women and their education. The catalogue of non-market benefits suggests that the benefits of women's education far exceed the market benefits. The quote below has captured the true essence of importance of women and their education. For example, as Mortensen (1957) observed – *You can hand out condoms, drop bombs, build roads, or put in electricity, but until the girls are educated, a society won't change.*"

Methodology

This section discusses the different ways in which education is thought to be a cause of different non-market benefits.

Until the early 1960s, economists largely ignored the economic analysis of these non-market benefits of education. But as they became aware about the importance of these benefits, they started to think about actually how to measure these benefits and how to establish a causal relationship between education and the different non-market benefits. The theoretical foundation to this work was provided by Gary S. Becker (1965, 1976) and Lancaster (1966). Becker developed the Theory of Allocation of Time. In his theory, he introduced the idea that individuals not only work as producer in the market place but they also act as producer in a non-market place. Individuals working as producer produce their fundamental objects of choice, called commodities, in the non-market sector using inputs of market goods and services and their own time. Education is quite likely to influence the efficiency of these production processes (Grossman, 2005). Robert T. Michael (1973) by using Becker's earlier work, developed theoretical tools to study the effect of education on non-market returns by using the concept of household production function. Michael showed how individuals combine their education with other market commodities and their non-market time to produce different commodities like education, health of their children etc., which contribute to their utility function. A quote from Michael,

.....The theory employs the concept of household production functions as developed in Becker's important article on the allocation of time (Becker 1965). The

⁷ According to ILO, the labour force participation rate (LFPR) of Indian women aged 25 to 54 in year 2008 was 43.1 percent compared to 96.3 percent for their male counterparts. For further evidence of this pattern of division of labour for Indian women see the results of NSSO's Time Use Survey 1998-99 (available online here - http://www.mospi.nic.in/stat_act_t5_2.htm, accessed on 20th December, 2009). For some interesting analysis of this time use survey please refer to, (Hirway, 2009; Hirway & Antonopoulos, 2010).

household is viewed as a small multiproduct firm in which its members' non-market time is combined with purchased market goods and services to produce commodities. The household consumes all of its own production of these commodities, and it is from these commodities that the household derives its utility (Michael, 1973, p. 307).

The rationale behind this theoretical work is that the knowledge (human capital) that a person has acquired through education is embedded within himself and accompanies him wherever he goes; to the labour market where money earnings are produced, to the doctor where health is produced, to the bedroom where sexual satisfaction and perhaps children are produced, to plays and movies where entertainment is produced, and to the tennis court and ski-slope where exercise and recreation are produced. If knowledge and traits acquired through schooling influence decision made at work, they are just as likely to influence decisions made at non-work places like cigarette smoking, type of food to eat, type of contraceptive technique to use, the portion of income to save etc. All these returns to education are at the non-work, i.e., non-market places⁸.

Mathematically we can represent the theoretical model of the household production function as⁹:

$$Z = z(Y, (1-\mu)H) \quad (1)$$

Here, the Z_i 's are the final satisfactions produced; $(1-\mu)$, the fraction of time that is non-market; H , the stock of human capital measured by the educational attainment within the household; and H^β , the average education level in the community representing external effects on households. And Y stands for all goods purchased in the market as measured by per capita GNP.

The *direct effects* of education, now on each non-market outcome, are the effects of $(1-\mu)H$ on Z in Eq. (1). Specifically, they are the partial derivatives of the Z_i 's, the various types of non-market outcomes, with respect to $(1-\mu)H$.

According to the positivist methodological approach it is needed that the above cited theory of household production function be tested against the empirical data to make it more acceptable. Economists have developed different empirical techniques to capture the non-market benefits of education. I now discuss these techniques in brief¹⁰.

Empirical studies use mostly the behavioural categorical non-experimental data of cross section of people to study the non-market benefits of education. The theoretical model developed above is the main apparatus of this empirical work. They extend the mathematical model into an econometric model by using different specifications to control different situations and then try to fit the data to that model of household production function. The major technique being employed is the regression analysis. Depending on the type of data, the researcher uses Ordinary Least Square (OLS), Logit, Logistic, and Probit regression models to estimate the parameters of education. Because of estimation difficulties, many researchers have used different techniques like (Stacey and Behrman 2000 pp. 36-51).

⁸ Taken from Grossman (2005) with some modifications.

⁹ The following discussion is taken from McMahon (2000).

¹⁰ For a full discussion of these techniques and various other conceptual and measurement issues involved in capturing the non-market benefits of education see Stacey & Behrman (2000), pp. 17-67).

Non-Market Benefits of Women's Education

- a) Instrumental variables,
- b) Fixed effect models¹¹ etc.

to study the causal link between education and its non market benefits. The basic model used to capture the causal link between education and its non market benefits is given (Allison, 2005, p. 22) as:

$$H_{ihc} = H(E_{ihc}, I_{ihc}^h, F_{hc}^h, C_c^h, I_{ihc}^{hu}, F_{hc}^{hu}, C_c^{hu}, X_{ihc}^{hu}, e_{ihc}^h) \quad (2)$$

Where,

E_{ihc} is Education,

H_{ihc} outcome of interest on which education has an impact (in this case it is health),

I_{ihc}^h is a vector of observed predetermined individual characteristics (e.g., gender),

F_{hc}^h is a vector of observed predetermined family (household) characteristics that contribute to the learning environment that the individual i experiences,

C_c^h is a vector of observed predetermined community characteristics that affect child education,

I_{ihc}^{hu} is a vector of unobserved predetermined individual characteristics that affect education (e.g., innate ability),

F_{hc}^{hu} is a vector of unobserved predetermined family (household), characteristic that affect education (e.g., intellectual atmosphere),

C_c^{hu} is a vector of unobserved predetermined community characteristics that affect education (e.g., general intellectual atmosphere, expected returns on investing in education given technology and structure of local community),

X_{ihc}^{hu} is a vector of unobserved resources allocated by the household that affect individual i 's education (e.g., parental time and reading material);

e_{ihc}^h is a stochastic disturbance term,

Subscript i refers to the i^{th} individual,

Subscript h refers to the household (family) of the i^{th} individual ,

Subscript c refers to the community of the i^{th} individual,

Superscript u means unobserved in the data (though observed by decision makers in the processes being investigated), and

Superscript h means that the variables are defined for health.

There are two major ways in which these benefits flow from education. First way is called *the informational efficiency* and the second way is called *the allocative efficiency*. It is hypothesised that an educated person is likely to have a better access to different kinds of information which is necessary to take decision. For example, an educated job seeker is more likely to know different sources from where he can obtain job information e.g., online job portals, newspaper postings etc. Due to having better information, an educated person can take a better decision which will result into enhanced benefits for that person. This process

¹¹ To know more about the fixed effect model, please refer to Allison (2005).

is likely to be absent in the case of a less educated person. Education also increases efficiency in allocating resources to achieve different ends. An educated person is better equipped with knowledge of different means for achieving different ends which he is seeking. For example, suppose better health is the end sought-after, then an educated person knows different means of achieving better health like nutritious diet, exercise, mental peace etc. And accordingly s/he will allocate these means to achieve better health.

So far in India, no major attempt has been made by any researcher to measure the above discussed non-market benefits of education, especially women's education. The literature¹² suggests that so far Indian researchers have mainly explored the link between women's education and her fertility rate, child's education, infant mortality rate etc. To fill this research gap, the present work has tried to capture the relationship between women's education and the above cited various non-market benefits. This study used a non-random sample of 300 women of 25+ age¹³ who are selected from a random cluster sample of four different zones of Surat city¹⁴. A structured questionnaire was used to elicit the information regarding various variables of education, non-market benefits and various control variables. For measuring women's education, two different variables were used viz. number of years of education and different levels of education (a nominal qualitative variable). To isolate the impact of education on non-market benefits, various control variables were used viz. respondent's mother's education, her age, family annual income (before and after marriage), family size (before marriage), community related variables like the locality where respondent was living and average education level of the neighbourhood of the respondent while they were studying etc. The questions were designed mainly to know the behaviouristic pattern and education's impact on that behaviour. This way we can study the household production function where individuals are using their education combined with different market commodities and their time to produce the non-market commodities. To analyze and study the relationship between education and various non-market benefits, different regression techniques were used. Where dependent variables were qualitative, dichotomous type (like YES or NO), logistic regression was used and where the data were quantitative, multivariate regression was used. Cross-tabulations were used as a preliminary device to gauge the correlation between different variables. The study used the following empirical model to study the relationship between education and non-market benefits:

$$O = \alpha + \beta_1 S_r + \beta_2 A_r + \beta_3 S_{rm} + \beta_4 S L_r + \beta_5 F S_r + \beta_6 I_r + \epsilon \quad (3)$$

Where,

O = Outcome variable such as respondent's child's schooling status,

S_r = Years of schooling of the respondent,

A_r = Age of the respondent,

¹² To see this literature please refer to Raj (2009).

¹³ The rationale for selecting only 25+ age women is that 25+ age women have normally finished their education and are thus already using their education in producing non-market benefits in their households.

¹⁴ Because of the unavailability of sampling frame the sample of women could not be selected randomly. Four zones of Surat city were selected randomly through lottery method and from those zones respondents were selected by going to field directly. Because of the non-random nature of the sample the external validity of my research is weak.

S_{rm} = Level of schooling of respondent's mother,
 SL_r = Respondent's schooling locality environment as measured by average educational level of that locality,
 FS_r = Family size of the respondent,
 I_r = Annual family income of the respondent (before and after marriage); and
 ε = Stochastic disturbance term.

The collected data were fitted to the above given empirical model and the various results were studied. The following section discusses the empirical findings of this study.

Findings of the Study

Table 2 below presents the combined¹⁵ results of logistic regression and Ordinary Least Square (OLS) regression together. It presents the relationship between all non-market benefits variables (qualitative dichotomous as well as quantitative) and education as measured by respondent's *total number of years of schooling* while controlling for family background variable as measured by mother's education and family size, community variable as measured by community's average education level, the income variable as measured by family's total annual income when the respondents were studying and in present time, and their age to control for experience. Now the main results in detail.

Women's Education and Own Health

The major variable for measuring women's health in this study was her body mass index (BMI). Other variables being used were: the days spent in hospital before one month of the survey date and frequency of doing exercise as well as other behaviour such as eating habits, smoking and drinking habit, and health related knowledge.

The results suggest that the impact of education on women's health is mixed. The non-market health benefit is present in the study in the form of health related knowledge, but is missing when we consider the body mass index and regular exercise as the measure of women's health. That means, as the number of years of education increases there is no perceptible effect of this increase in education on the body mass index and knowledge of health.

Women's Education and Child and Husband's Health

To measure child's health, this study used his/her body mass index as a major variable. The results of correlation analysis suggest rather a weak and statistically insignificant relationship between women's education and her child's health. The results of regression analysis, where control variables are introduced into the model, give similar results as the correlation analysis. Increased years of education have no impact on child's health as measured by the above mentioned variables.

¹⁵ These results include only major dependent non-market benefits variable and the independent education variable with which their relationship is being studied. Because of space constraints all the variables are not included here.

TABLE 2
Education and Non-market Benefits: Empirical Results

Dependent non-market benefit variable (Y ₀)	β coefficient	Wald statistics OR t-statistics	ρ value (significance)	Exp (β) (Odds ratio)
BMI	-.074	-.841	.401	
Child BMI	-.181	-1.322	.188	
Husband Weight	.177	.941	.348	
Fertility	-.041	-.928	.354	
Child Schooling	.283	8.793	.003	1.327
Child Year Education	.324	4.290	.000	
Job	.225	14.265	.000	1.252
Bank Account Status	.183	9.898	.002	1.201
Economic Independence	.117	3.715	.054	1.124
Product Price	.165	3.906	.048	1.179
Reading Instruction	.307	15.973	.000	1.359
Time Donation	.015	.035	.851	1.015
Money Donation	-.104	2.024	.155	.901
Court Marriage	-.085	1.092	.296	.918
Dowry	-.129	3.667	.055	.879
Fasting	-.172	7.427	.006	.842
God Belief	-.168	1.958	.162	.845
Superstition	-.012	.056	.813	.988
Political Knowledge	.198	9.653	.002	1.219
Voting	.023	.219	.640	1.024
Environment	.365	23.023	.000	1.440
Traffic Knowledge	.241	10.858	.001	1.273
Railway Queue	.036	.473	.492	1.036
Spitting	-.052	.142	.706	.950

The relationship was found to be significant when children's food habits were studied. It was found that women respondents were giving healthy food to their children and possibly through that were affecting their health. Husband's weight was the major variable for measuring husband's health. The correlation analysis between wife's education and her husband's health shows a weak but positive relationship. That is, as wife's education increases, husband's weight also increases, quiet contrary to what is being expected according to theories where there should be a negative relationship between these two variables. This relationship is statistically significant. The regression analysis showed similar results with no separate impact of women's education on their husband's weight.

To measure the impact of wife's education on her husband's health, this study also used two more categorical variables, namely, how much impact wife's education has on husband's smoking and alcohol drinking habit. It is expected that educated women are more successful in keeping their husbands away from smoking and drinking. This will have direct impact on husband's health. But the result of logistic regression showed no such relationship.

Overall results suggested that the non-market benefit of women's education in the form of child's healthy diet is present in the study but it is absent from child's body mass index perspective. The non-market benefit in the form of husband's good health, as measured by

his weight and smoking and alcohol drinking habit, is also missing. More research work is required to understand these relationships further.

Women's Education and Fertility Rate¹⁶

The celebrated negative relationship between women's education and her fertility rate is not present in this study. Although the sign of the relationship was negative as expected but it is statistically insignificant. The logistic regression model showed that women's education level has a statistically significant and positive impact on her knowledge of various methods of family planning. As the number of years of education increased the knowledge of family planning methods also increased.

Overall, we can say that women's education can be one important factor in reducing her fertility rate through her increased knowledge regarding various birth control measures. Educated women are likely to have fewer children when they know more about various family planning methods which ultimately help them in stopping the *unwanted* pregnancies.

Women's Education and Child's Schooling

Child's schooling was measured by using variables such as his/her schooling status as measured by his/her going to school or completing school or dropping out of school, and his/her number of years of schooling.

The cross-tabulation between child's schooling status and mother's education level showed a statistically significant positive relationship. It was found that educated mother's children have either successfully completed all levels of education or were presently going to school. On the other side, uneducated mothers' children have mostly dropped out of the school. Logistic regression model also showed similar results between these two variables when the model is controlled for other variables. Educated mother's child has higher probability of finishing his/her school compared to uneducated mother's children.

The regression model also showed a positive and statistically significant relationship between mother's years of schooling and her child's years of schooling. As mother's education increases by one year, children's education increases by three months. This clearly suggests that the non-market benefits of women's education in form of higher schooling for her children is strong and present in the study. Educated mothers do have educated children.

Women's Education and Saving Behaviour

Saving behaviour was measured by using categorical variables viz. saving status (do they save money or not) and their status of bank account holding. The logistic regression model of this relationship is statistically significant and showing a positive impact of education level on both the predicted variables. This suggests that educated women are having high probabilities of having a bank account and more likely to save than their uneducated women counterpart.

Women's Education and Economic and Social Independence

To measure the economic independence this study used different variables like women's labour force participation rate, the mode of bank account, and a direct behavioural variable

¹⁶ How many children to have is the decision of individual parents. If a family can support more children on their own then there is nothing wrong in having them.

of perception about their overall economic freedom. The logistic regression model showed a positive and statistically significant impact of women's education on their labour market participation. Educated women were participating more in labour market compared to uneducated women. Educated women were also having a higher probability of keeping a single mode bank account¹⁷.

Based on these two results I expected women to be more economically independent overall. But their answer on the question of their feeling about overall economic freedom contradicts the previous finding. The logistic regression model showed an insignificant effect of education on women's overall economic freedom. Even well educated women felt that they don't enjoy higher economic freedom in their homes. The dependency of women makes them vulnerable. Economic freedom is a prerequisite for all other kinds of freedom and when women don't have economic freedom, they are likely to lose their other freedoms too.

Once the economic independence is lost by women, other freedoms which women wish for are hard to come by. This is reflected in the analysis of social independence variable. Women were asked whether they need to take someone's permission before going out to attend any social function. The results suggest that even educated women had to take permission for attending social functions.

Women's Education and Consumer Choice Efficiency

To measure women's consumer choice efficiency, this study used two major variables.

1. Knowledge of product prices and food availability places; and
2. Habit of reading manufacturing date and expiry date instruction on package while shopping.

The logistic regression showed that educated women are having higher probability of reading the instructions on the packet vis-à-vis uneducated women. But they were unaware about the product prices and place of food availability.

Overall results suggest that when it is a matter of information regarding various aspects of shopping, education has no real impact on that behaviour. But once the women are on the shopping place, education does start to show its impact in a way that more educated women tend to check manufacturing and expiry date more than uneducated women.

Women's Education and Charitable Activity

Charitable activity was measured by using two variables. One variable measured their status of voluntary work (donation of time), and another measured their donation of money to some charitable institutions like Non-Governmental Organisations (NGOs).

The result suggests that women's level of education had no statistically significant impact on both the predicted variables of voluntary work and donation of money. The non-market benefit of women's education in form of charitable activity is not present in this study.

¹⁷ According to me, sharing a bank account with husband shows a likely economic dependency, although not necessarily. A joint bank account can also be the result of mutual consent between husband and wife.

Women's Education and Marital Choice Efficiency

To measure the marital choice efficiency, this study used three different variables.

- a) Choice of doing a court marriage, which will save financial resources and time;
- b) Status of dowry i.e., whether her parents gave dowry or not? The presence of dowry shows inefficiency; and
- c) Total cost of marriage which again will reflect the efficient choice in marriage.

The results showed that women's education has no statistically significant impact on dowry and court marriage decision. On the contrary, educated women were giving more dowries in their marriages.

The regression analysis between women's education and their total marriage cost also shows no impact of women's education. This suggests that even educated women were spending more financial resources on their marriages.

Overall, there was no evidence of non-market benefit of women's education in the form of their marital choice efficiency¹⁸.

Women's Education and Superstitious, Religious and Social Beliefs

To measure the superstitious behaviour of women respondents the study used the behavioural variable of their action when they see a cat crossing their road (if they stopped that shows belief in superstition and vice versa), to measure their religious behaviour it used frequency of going to temple/mosque/church etc., (regular visits suggesting religious beliefs), and to measure their social custom beliefs it used variable of frequency of fasting (regular fasting showing social beliefs).

The results suggest:

- Regarding fasting, education does have a statistically significant negative impact. The probability is high for educated women of not doing fast for various social and cultural traditional purposes like for a long life of her husband¹⁹.
- Education has no impact on religious beliefs²⁰. The parameter estimate B was statistically insignificant suggesting even educated women go regularly to temple/mosque/church etc., to worship God.

¹⁸ All these results may just reflect the fact that marriage is seen as a once in a lifetime event in individual's life in India and is also an opportunity to show the social status so people spend lavishly in marriages. I see no problem with this behaviour as long as individuals are facing consequences of their decision and not passing such cost on other individuals in society.

¹⁹ There is no logic here as how by remaining hungry a wife can increase longevity of her husband. If she wants to increase his life then, as research shows, she has to take care of his physical and mental health directly. She has to give him nutritious food, has to take control over her risky health habits and need to give her mentally healing emotional support throughout her life. This is true for all husbands too. In a married life husband and wife both are partners of everything. So the responsibility lies on both to take care of each other. I wonder why husbands don't do such fasting for long life of their wives, even if it just doesn't work!

²⁰ Believing in God is harmless as long as it does not involve retardation of one's development as a good human being. If such beliefs are retarding mental growth and thinking power of an individual then I see it as a major problem.

- The impact of education on women's superstitious beliefs is also not statistically significant. This again suggests educated women's belief in such superstitious beliefs.

All these results show that education still has to make big in roads to make people more scientific or logical. The non-market benefit of scientific critical thinking doesn't exist in this study.

Women's Education and Political Awareness

Political awareness is necessary to keep an eye on what is going on in the political sphere of the country. An alert citizenry can keep total control on rogue governments and notorious politicians from doing whatever they wish to. If educated and aware about the politics, then people can forever remove the State rulers when they see it fit to do. This way people around the world can protect their liberty. To measure the political awareness, this study used two categorical variables, namely, knowledge regarding different election types and the name of present prime minister of India. I used the voting frequency to see whether respondents were actively participating in the political process or not. The results suggest the following:

- Regarding their knowledge of various types of election, women's education has a positive and statistically significant impact. Probability was high that educated women would know more about various types of election vis-à-vis uneducated women.
- The odds were also high for educated women to know more about the prime minister of India.
- This knowledge of various political issues amongst educated women is not resulting into more voting in election. Odds ratio suggested that the level of education has no impact on voting²¹.

Overall, the non-market benefit of women's education in the form of political awareness is high amongst educated women compared to uneducated women, but majority of them were not voting in elections because of some logical reasons which future studies need to find out.

Women's Education and Environmental Awareness

Global warming and climate change are big debatable issues of the present time. The debate is predominantly of a political nature rather than scientific. However, clean and healthy environment is desirable²². No one wants to live in a pollution ridden world. To measure the environmental awareness, this study used two variables namely, women's knowledge of the problem of global warming and local environmental problems of Surat city.

²¹ Given the low voting turn out ratio all over the country, it will be very important to study the causes of such low turnout. There must be a logical reason behind people not voting. I think people are so fade up with the overall political atmosphere of the country that they are refraining from voting. Probably they just don't want to be ruled.

²² But environmental extremism is very dangerous. Trading-off the standard of living and lives of people for green environment and few animal species etc., is never a good option to choose.

The regression model showed impact of level of education on women's awareness regarding environmental issues. Similar results were found regarding knowledge of different environmental problems of Surat city.

Women's Education and Civic Sense

Civic sense of people reflects the maturity and character of the country. It shows how civilized the society is. This study used, as measure of civic sense, three variables, namely, respondent's traffic knowledge, their implementation of these rules on road, and whether they stand in queue at railways station and their behaviour of spitting in public places. The logistic regression showed the following results:

- Educated women are more knowledgeable about various traffic rules i.e., as the number of years of education increases the knowledge of traffic rules also increases;
- Educated women are also implementing traffic rules on road;
- But when it comes to standing in a queue at railway station during testing situations, even educated women were breaking the queues frequently; and
- Similar results were found between women's education and their spitting habit. Most educated women were having this habit.

Overall results suggest that the relationship between women's education and their civic sense is very weak and only exists in their traffic sense. As the level of education increases, the study didn't see any perceptible difference in civic behaviour of women respondents. Education is not making these women civilized. This shows a failure of education system. The non-market benefit of education in form of higher civic sense is missing in this study.

Conclusion and Policy Implications

If we see the total picture of different non-market benefits of women's education, then the results are mixed. Increased years of education improved women's own and her family's health to some extent; it had an impact on her children's cognitive development. It increased savings rate and through that it did show an impact on long run economic progress of the family as well as of the economy at large. It improved the consumer efficiency to some extent. Educated women were also politically aware in context of measured variables and they also had basic awareness of various environmental issues.

On the other hand, women's education is failing in giving them their desired freedom. Educated women are also not very generous in terms of charitable activity. Education is proving to be quite ineffective in inducing women to make efficient marital choices. Superstitious, religious and social beliefs are still firmly gripping even the educated women. Education also has no perceptible influence on making women of this study more civic.

Education's impact is felt to some extent in the household but it is failing to have any big impact on larger issues like women's freedom, civic sense, blind beliefs etc. These results show that there is something wrong with the education system of the country. Education is not resulting into overall development of a girl child²³. The vast resources which the country is spending on girl's education are going waste if it is not resulting into overall development of a girl child. There are many causes of this failure. The main causal factor is the present

²³ And same may be true for boys too who are also the product of this same education system.

schooling system. Social and cultural environment of the country is also responsible for this. But, because schooling system is expected to change the societal structure, and instead of doing that it is only reinforcing the prevalent system so, ultimately schooling system is the main factor responsible for this problem.

At school level, I personally see the kind of education schooling system provides to our children as a fundamental problem. The way school promotes rote learning and its sole concentration on examination is truly problematic. The brainless process of classroom provides no stimulus to a child for learning new things. Instead of instilling and improving the critical faculties of children, classroom processes frequently try to kill those faculties. Suppressing child's curiosity is the major act of large number of teachers and even many parents. Textbooks are packed with useless information instead of concrete methods of acquiring knowledge. Schools fail to teach our children how to learn things. *Learning to learn* is the basic skill one needs to be an independent thinker and a good human being. The compulsory schooling system is a *weapon of mass instruction* (Gatto, 2009); it is *dumbing down* the children (Gatto, 1992).

Our society need to reintroduce the holistic concept of education into the schooling system. Education should promote and develop critical thinking of students. Schools should give them basic tools of acquiring and using knowledge effectively. Education should teach everyone how to live life fully. It should equip them with all the required skills so that they can face their life and its various problems successfully. Making education just geared towards job market creates problem for individuals and overall progress of the society.

Education will also make societal structure more conducive for girls. The task of changing this environment is herculean. It requires lot of patience and constant effort on part of people who understand the need for change. Societal institutions must protect the fundamental private property rights of women and everyone else. Institutions must see to it that no woman is coerced to do things against her will. If any individual woman is forced to do things against her will and if she raises her voice against that then she must get justice from the judicial institutions. Women themselves are required to work for their betterment by becoming aware about their *natural rights*. This requires lot of courage on the part of women and I know not many will attempt it. But changes come from the actions of small number of courageous people.

Education will help women in protecting their natural rights. It will make them independent from all sorts of unwanted dependencies. Educated women are the backbone of any society and its progress. To end with an important quote:

"Educate a boy, and you educate an individual. Educate a girl, and you educate a community: African proverb via Greg Mortensen" - (Greg & Relin, 2007)

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Women in School Leadership in Ethiopia

The Case of Arsi Administrative Zone Secondary Schools

Birhane Sime Geressu*

Abstract

The purpose of this study was to explore different views about women leadership and factors affecting women to come to educational leadership positions in some selected secondary schools of Arsi Zone. The researcher used mixed methods research paradigm (qualitative and quantitative). The participants of the study include: 81 teachers (33 female and 48 male), 6 school principals and 7 educational experts (6 District and 1 Arsi zone). Questionnaires and interviews were employed to solicit data from key informants in the study setting. Data were analyzed both through qualitative and quantitative analysis methods. The result indicated that current political environment is enabling for women to come to leadership positions. The vigilance is, however, the local level authorities are not free of favouring male supremacy owing to their own social and cultural backgrounds. As a result, the actual implementations of policies which encourage women to come to educational leadership positions were frail. Besides, the attitude of men towards women and the attitude of society towards women leadership were found hostile in general. Hence, the study recommended the importance of designing training to better position women to move into school leadership and current authorities should make the existing structures more transparent, attractive and encouraging for women to come to educational leadership positions. Furthermore, schools ought to involve female students on leadership responsibilities and help them to generate confidence of female students for future leadership.

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Introduction

The study presents the extent to which political, organizational and socio-cultural factors influence the assignment of women to educational leadership positions. Emphasis was given to assess the impact of attitudes of men towards women and women towards themselves that affects the coming of women towards a leadership position. To do so, essential research questions were formulated to guide the whole activities of the study. In this regard, the first part of the study discusses the background of the study which is intended to give a brief explanation about the necessity of the study. The second part narrates the statement of the problem, objective of the study, basic research questions, significance of the study and delimitation of the study.

Background of the Study

Like other complex human activities, leadership is difficult to pin down. Nonetheless, a working definition can provide a useful frame of reference. In this regard, Hersey, Blanchard, and Johnson (1998:91) defined leadership as 'the process of influencing the activities of an individual or a group in efforts toward goal achievement in a given situation. Leithwood and Riehl (2003) on their part also noted that leadership is a social process which provides direction and exercising influence on followers to act willingly without force. Leadership manifests itself through leader's personal dispositions, followers' role and the situation interplay and the extent to which leadership fabrics interwoven and the degree to which leaders strike balance among these constituents and the rational and emotional sides of human experience determine the quality of leadership (Kellerman, 1999).

Supporting this Bennis and Nanus (1985) identified a 'range of talents' which is central to highly successful leadership, and this includes: fostering a culture of trust, developing an openness to learning, encouraging and stimulating staff learning and communicating organizational aims with clarity. In this regard, different questions were posed by many of the scholars in comparing male and female leadership styles and behavior and accumulating a knowledge base that would document female competence as equal to or better than male capability. Further the research began to move away from comparisons of women and men toward understanding the world of women. However, in both cases the result of the research showed that there are several key ways in which people respond differently to women and men who are leaders (Brown & Ralph, 1996).

Some research findings also support the notion of gender differences, for example, that women tend to be slightly more "transformational", and democratic, participative and inclusive. Research on gender-related comparisons of leadership styles often associates male leadership styles with instrumental and "transactional" qualities and female leadership styles with more communal, nurturing and people-oriented qualities, which are either considered to be dissimilar with idealized leadership attributes or represent the so-called "feminine advantage" (Rosener, 1990).

Other research findings, however, do not support the concept of many distinct differences between men and women leaders. A meta-analysis of 45 studies measuring different kinds of leadership behaviors found only small differences between the leadership styles of women and men leaders. Due to the high degree of similarity in the behaviors of women and men leaders, this study concluded that knowing that an individual is female or

male is not a reliable indicator of that person's leadership style (Eagly et al., 1992). Davis (2005) also considers these effect sizes too small to matter in practice. So while research has not demonstrated significant differences between men and women with regard to leadership styles, what matters more is the belief or sex-role stereotype, rather than gender by itself (Eagly et al., 1992). It is with this background that the researcher finds it appropriate to investigate current practice and challenges that affect women to acquire educational leadership positions in Arsi administrative zone secondary schools.

Statement of the Problem

Recently, Lip (2009) in her research findings has shown that women are well equipped to assume the roles and responsibilities of leadership positions in educational institutions than men. This in practice, however, in many countries women were not given opportunities to test the zest of their talent in leading educational organizations and schools (Newman, 1995; Sarah, 2007). The problem is also true to our country-Ethiopia. Acknowledging this, the government of Ethiopia has taken considerable measures to empower and attract women into various leadership positions. This was evidenced by its commitment to gender equality which involves enacting constitutional provisions, signing and ratifying international treaties supported by a gender policy at the national level.

Hence, the 1995 Constitution of the Federal Republic of Ethiopia vividly recognized gender equality as a basic requirement for the full realization of all other rights and the establishment of a society founded on the rule of law, incorporated a separate provision on the rights of women. Among the rights recognized in this provision are equal rights of women in the enjoyment of all constitutional rights including the right to vote and be elected; the right to full participation in the formulation of national development policies and the designing and execution of ventures that affect the interests of women; and the rights to measures of affirmative action to enable them to participate in political, social and economic life on the basis of equality with men. This has been pronounced in various policy instruments issued by the government, among which is the 1993 National Women's Policy (National Women's Forum, 2005).

In addition, the Education and Training Policy of Ethiopia (TGE, 1994) has given due attention to women participation in educational leadership at various echelons of the system. However, study conducted in Addis Ababa by Action Aid Ethiopia and UNICEF (2006) described that majority of women's employment goes to elementary, technical and service areas with no significant position in terms of leadership. Incredibly, only 16.6% women occupy professional work in the formal sector. The situation in Oromia National Regional State is also similar as women's participation in educational leadership residue less than 3% (OREB, 2006).

Evidences also show that, though new programs have been in place in recruiting women to the leadership status, women's participation in leadership positions remains low (Nogay, 1996). The justification for these encompass a wide range of issues including qualifications, less involvement in school management, the job structure in place and inadequate mentoring system. Regardless of the efforts made by the governments, the participation of women in educational leadership has remained weak. According to the data obtained from Arsi Zone Education office out of 69 secondary school principals found in 33 secondary

schools only 4 (3.6%) female teachers were assigned as secondary school vice principal to lead the school (Arsi Zone Education Office, 2011).

Aware of the above issues, therefore, the purpose of this research work is to explore different views about women leadership and factors affecting women to come to educational leadership positions in some selected secondary schools of Arsi Zone. In doing so, the following questions were raised.

1. How women view themselves towards school leadership positioning?
2. Is there enabling environment for women to acquire educational leadership positions?
3. What major factors hinder women to come to educational leadership positions?

Significance of the Study

The findings of this research work may create awareness among school community, District and Zone educational experts about the current underestimation of women in educational leadership positions and initiate them to implement gender policies, rules and regulations and affirmative actions to improve future representation of women to educational leadership positions.

Scope of the Study

To investigate factors that affect women to acquire educational leadership positions, out of 33 secondary schools in Arsi administrative Zone, 6 (18.18%) schools were selected for the study. Consequently, the selected secondary schools are Kula, Kulumsa, Shirka, Siltana, Huruta and Chole. Even though, the study would be delimited to 6 secondary schools, it is believed that it would still give some insights to the rest of the schools found in the country.

Ethical Consideration

- Before collecting the information the researcher would brief the participants about the objectives of the study and the benefit they are entitled to.
- The researcher will never force participants to answer a question to which they have a reservation.
- The informants will be told that the information they provide will be kept confidential and will not be used for any purpose other than this study.

Review of the Related Literature

The purpose of this section is to get insight about the theoretical aspect of women in leadership in general and the representativeness of women in educational leadership position in particular. The major issues discussed in this part include the nature and concept of leadership, gender and leadership, leadership in education and factors affecting women to come to educational leadership. This review enables the researcher to recognize to what extent the previous research findings are in consistence with the findings of the current study and to develop questionnaires that help to find answers to the selected topic.

The Nature and Concepts of Leadership

Leadership is an inherently subjective concept with many definitions associated to it. Most of those definitions found in the literature agreed that leadership is mainly concerned with a person who tries to influence groups or followers to achieve certain objectives (Yukl, 2006). For some people, the word leadership has an inspirational connotation, suggesting leaders who inspire followers to achieve greater objectives. For others, leadership is providing support – assisting followers rather directing them. In practice, however, leadership is an attempt to inspire, influence and support groups to the achievement of organizational goals (Sue & Derek, 2000). It requires strong social affiliations – formal and informal. In brief, leadership is characterized by involving others (followers), asymmetrical distribution of power between leader and group members (Ellison and Davies, 2006).

Different scholars have studied leadership and indicate that there are various theories describing leadership such as the traits that lead to successful leaders and the roles that leaders need to perform (Yukl, 1994). The literature also points to the style and approach that leaders need to adopt such as shown by early studies conducted by Iowa University, Ohio University and Michigan University and later studies by other researchers (Yukl, 2006). Leadership theories also take into account of the contingencies and situations they face.

Besides, in recent years, transformational and transactional leadership construct has become a popular theme in leadership literature in the general management domain. Unlike task versus relationship oriented leadership, the transformational–transactional leadership notion is viewed as a continuum allowing for individuals to employ transformational and transactional qualities at the same time (Bass, 1985). According to the writer, transactional leadership is based on exchanges between the leader and the followers where followers are rewarded for meeting specific goals or performance criteria. On the other hand, transformational is seen to be charismatic and visionary in nature, and leaders lead and motivate followers in ways beyond exchanges and rewards. Transformational leadership is generally held to be a superior form of leadership, built on transactional leadership, but not vice-versa (ibid).

Gender and Leadership

Global experiences have shown that women do have different leadership styles from men. The first studies were conducted in US in the early 1970s. The results of these studies revealed that successful women managers were tremendously identified with male traits. Since then, a number of similar studies have been carried out and all have confirmed that the successful managerial stereotype remains male. Indeed, women managers' perceptions of the successful manager are only slightly less conclusive. However, unlike the women managers in the 1970s and 1980s, not all women managers affix success with male managers only. No one, male or female, ever identifies thriving manager as feminine. Male, and only to a slightly lesser extent, female, managers continue to describe successful managers as possessing masculine traits, such as self-confidence, competitiveness, decisiveness, aggressiveness and independence (Susan, 1999).

Stereotypic views specifically on gender and leadership have been studied since the 1950's and confirmed the notion that women were thought to be unfit for management positions and the attitude, "Think manager – Think male" prevailed (Lips,2009). While researchers considered the actual leadership behavior of men and women to be similar in

practice, it was perceived to be widely different by both genders. Later, it seems as if women have changed their perceptions to some extent, but men less so (Schein, 1985).

According to Chliwniak (1997) good school administration is more attuned to feminine than masculine modes of leadership behavior. Female attributes of nurturing, being sensitive, empathetic, intuitive, compromising, caring, cooperative, and accommodative are increasingly associated with effective administration. While these characteristics are innate and valuable, women possessing the qualities of a good leader still face higher attrition and slower career mobility (Porat, 1991). The quality of pupil learning and the professional performance of teachers appear to be higher, on the average, in schools with female administrators (Porat, 1991). Ryder (1994) described female principals as very effective and Hensel (1991) described them as capable and as productive as men in the academic arena. Some continue to hold to the belief that women are less capable, less competitive, or less productive than men.

According to Conner (1992), men stress on task accomplishment and they tend to lead through a series of concrete exchanges that involved rewarding employees for a job well done and punishing them for an inadequate job performance. Many women support contributive, consensual decision making and emphasize the process, but men tend to lean toward majority rule and emphasize the product, the goal (Porat, 1991).

Men utilize the traditional top-down administrative style, (Eakle, 1995) women are more interested in transforming people's self-interest into organizational goals by encouraging feelings of self-worth, active participation, and sharing of power and information (Getskow, 1996). There is a line of argument in leadership literature contending that female leaders tend to be more transformational than male leaders (Rosener, 1990).

Whatever the case, many research findings revealed that the extent to which individuals characterize themselves in terms of dominant values, in this case, masculine behavior remains dominant to date (Porat, 1991). Managers describe themselves in terms that fit with the prevailing rhetoric of good management practices. In terms of gender, many female managers are uncomfortable with imposed leadership style and this, in turn, can lead to severe stress. To Porat (1991) women lean toward facilitative leadership, enabling others to make their contributions through delegation, encouragement, and nudging from behind.

Because women's main focus is on relationships, they interact more frequently than men with teachers, students, parents, non-parent community members, professional colleagues, and super-ordinates (Conner, 1992). Many women support contributive, consensual decision making and emphasize the process, but men tend to lean toward majority rule and tend to emphasize the product, the goal (Porat, 1991). Men utilize the traditional top-down administrative style (Eakle, 1995), women are more interested in transforming people's self-interest into organizational goals by encouraging feelings of self-worth, active participation, and sharing of power and information (Getskow, 1996).

Leadership in Education

Education is a gargantuan industry which involves leading various stakeholders (students, teachers, administrative personnel, parents, political authorities and the community) and mobilizing massive resources. The effectiveness of schools in educating students is highly dependent upon the presence and nature of multi-level leadership within the individual school (Goldberg, 1993). While principals are formally required to lead the

school, leadership is not the sole province of the principalship. Indeed most schools are characterized by a combination of formal and informal leadership as evidenced by teachers assuming responsibility for particular tasks and programs (Ellison and Davies, 2006). Hence, in education, leadership is a building block as it inspires transformation for real development. It demands the participation of stakeholders, availability of clear visions, team building, dynamism, collegiality and strong social relationship (ibid).

Gender Issues in Educational Leadership

The notion of leadership and how it applies to men and women is a concept that has been studied and discussed by business, education, psychology, anthropology, and sociology during the past 60 plus years. Women in leadership have been viewed as anomalies, as deficient, with respect to the traditional male models of leadership. Rosener (1990), for example, in a survey of male and female executives with similar jobs and education and of similar age, found that women tend to be more transformational in their leadership style than men.

Furthermore, Gray (2003) distinguished men and women leadership qualities. To him men gender qualities characterize as aggressive, independent, objective, logical, rational, analytical, decisive, confident, assertive, ambitious, opportunistic and impersonal. However, female gender qualities describe as emotional, sensitive, expressive, cooperative, intuitive, warm, tactful and receptive to ideas, talkative, gentle, tactful, empathetic and submissive.

Aburdene and Naisbitt (1992) also identified 25 leadership behaviors that characterize women in educational leadership. The behaviors clustered in six central patterns that empower, restructure, teach, provide role models, encourage openness, and stimulate questioning.

Getskow, (1996), on the other hand, used four behaviors: (a) a vision behavior – in this category, women leaders would take appropriate risks to bring about change; (b) a people behavior – women leaders provide care and respect for individual differences; (c) influence behavior – women are acting collaboratively; values behavior in which women leaders spend time building trust and openness. No matter how the leadership behaviors of women are delineated, the fact is that women do possess the capabilities and skills to be excellent educational administrators.

Similarly, Gross and Trask (1976) listed capabilities of women in leadership: To them women principals have a greater knowledge of and concern for instructional supervision, superiors and teachers preferred women over men, students' academic performance and teachers' professional performance rated higher under women principals, women were more effective administrators, supervisors and teachers preferred the decision-making and problem-solving behaviors of women, women principals were more concerned with helping deviant pupils, and women principals placed more importance on technical skills and organization responsibility of teachers as a criterion for evaluation.

Supporting the above idea, Ryder (1994) said that women spend more time in unscheduled meetings, visible on school campus, and observing teachers considerably more than male principals. To her women principals are more likely to interact with their staff and spend more time in the classroom or with teachers discussing the academic and curricular areas of instruction. Women principals are more likely to influence teachers to use more desirable teaching methods.

Factors Affecting Women to Come to Leadership Positions

A study of women in educational leadership positions in education undertaken by Brown and Ralph (2004) indicated that women were making little progress in achieving equity with men in attaining leadership positions in educational administration and policy making. The study suggested that women are hindered both by internal and external barriers which keep them from advancing to leadership. Internal barriers included the effects of socialization and sex stereotyping. External barriers derived from the structure of the education system that locked women into low-power, low-visibility, dead-end jobs, and limited their performance and opportunities as a result (ibid).

Similarly, survey conducted across professions by the Women's Research and Education Institute, the lack of women in leading organizations continues to be the case in large part because of gender misconceptions and stereotypes, systematic discrimination, through occupational segregation also remains a serious social problem that has not been solved by either legislative or judicial action. Jobs statistically dominated by men have higher status and pay better than those in which women are concentrated. Consequently, the trend toward more women in leadership positions will continue, and overlook the necessity of rooting out the discrimination and occupational segregation that are still prevalent in any kind of leadership (Brown & Irby, 2005).

Besides, the paucity of women in leadership has been the concern of various concerned bodies that are running the gender issues and supporting gender equality in every matter. This is due to major obstacles throughout the world that prevent women from taking a full fledged part in leadership positions. Among the barriers of women and leaders, therefore, the major ones are as listed below.

Lack of self-confidence: In studies of females aspiring to become administrators, Brown and Irby (1996) found a marked lack of self-confidence. Although, Walker (1995) and Gupton (1998), both noted that female administrators rarely see themselves as experts, often expressing a lack of confidence about seeing themselves at the top.

Lack of support, encouragement, and counseling: Women receive little or no encouragement to seek leadership positions, while men were encouraged to enter administration to a greater degree than women, despite the positive perceptions of principals toward female capabilities (Cullen & Luna, 1993). Supporting this, Shekeshaft (1985) pointed out that women had little support, encouragement, or counseling from family, peers, super-ordinates, or educational institutions to pursue careers in administration.

Lack of role models and mentors: Martell (1996) found that gender stereotypes may be the cause for attributes of work behaviors to men rather than women. Studies also revealed that bias occurs when individuals rely on a stereotype of performance rather than thinking back and reflecting on actual performance. In effect, the phenomena of gender bias or attributing specific behaviors to males or females are a well developed social-cognitive theory (Bauer and Baltes, 2002). Female leaders have historically been expected to perform at a lower positional level than men due to the fact that they did not fit into the traditional image of the leadership stereotype (Maher, 1997).

Gender politics: In terms of gender politics, there is a myth about gender and leadership capabilities. This holds that women are better team players than men; more open and mature in the way they handle sensitive issues; and more conscious of their impact on others

and hence they stand as better managers than men. On the contrary, some studies revealed that the myth is false. An international survey by comparing top male and female managers in the private and public sector clearly showed that women are no better or worse than men in the practice of management and leadership. It all depends on the man or woman in question, and the organization for which they work (Susan, 1999).

Working conditions and sex discrimination: Working conditions and sex discrimination to women's participation in leadership positions in their work place have a direct influence on the socio and economic inequalities. Relatively, it is easier for women to get employment at the lower echelons of the organization while it has been found difficult to assume executive positions in an organization. Some people believe that women are challenged by invisible politics, whatsoever they become competent, committed, qualified and talented. To this end, women entering to educational leadership positions have been commonly influenced by male dominated policy-making. On top of this, global experiences have shown that the overall organizational culture, the structure of organizations, sex stereotyping, occupational segregation and discrimination have been among intimidating challenges for women to assume educational leadership positions (Shekeshaft, 1985)

Attitude of men towards women: Studies show that the attitude of men towards themselves is more selfish and mainly characterized by male dominating character. Men should run all organizations as they feel that they are more capable, competent and efficient in leading organizations to achieve goals successfully (Sarah, 2007).

Attitude of women towards themselves: Women's perception of the ideal world and their self-concept has been among the daunting challenges faced to attain leadership positions in educational institutions. Women themselves acknowledge the world of masculine and perceive themselves as compliant, submissive, passive, and less skillful than their male counterparts. They prefer to evade competitions and appreciate collaboration in lieu of their perception that they are not suited to the educational leadership positions. They also fear that success in competitive achievement situation will lead to negative consequences like loss of femininity and unpopularity (Ouston, 1993).

Attitude and socio-cultural factors: society's attitude toward appropriate male and female roles is another obstacle that identifies women as not task-oriented enough, too dependent on feedback and evaluations of others, and lacking independence (Cullen & Luna, 1993). Supporting the above idea, Sarah (2007) identified that the altitude of individual and the society towards women's ability in holding the responsibility of leadership positions could influence the participation of women significantly. These challenges were aggravated by the social and cultural factors which may result in negative spillovers. For example, if caring for children is a task much more often assigned to women, they would be expected to have appropriate characteristics, such as nurturance and interest in helping others. If warfare is common in a society, and men are expected to be warriors, they would be expected to have appropriate characteristics, such as aggressiveness and willingness to take risks. Societies ensure that both men and women develop the psychological characteristics that are generally needed for competent adult functioning, as it is defined by the culture (Eagly, Karau and Johnson, 1992).

Generally speaking, societies work through socialization processes that are tailored somewhat to children's sex. These socialization processes involve some direct teaching and much modeling one after parents and other adults. Also, societies give children direct experience in practicing the kinds of roles in which they would learn components of their

adult roles. Different cultures would, of course, have somewhat different emphases in socializing their boys and girls. Male leaders are viewed as more effective than female leaders as reported in the vast majority of research studies (Thompson, 2000; Vecchio, 2002). Hence, though differences are there in terms of scale, the politics of discrimination is until now high in general and in developing countries in particular.

Addressing Gender Inequality in Leadership: The Ethiopian Case

Ethiopia is a landlocked country located in the Horn of Africa, and officially known as the Federal Democratic Republic of Ethiopia. It is the tenth-largest by area, with its, 1,100,000km². The capital is Addis Ababa. Ethiopia is bordered by Eritrea to the north, Sudan to the west, Djibouti and Somalia to the east, and Kenya to the south. According to a projection made in the 2007 Census, the Ethiopian population is estimated to be 73,918, 505; women make up 49.5 % of the population. As various data and studies show, women are disadvantaged in the workplace. Though women make up about one-third of the employees in the civil service, most of them are found in low-status, low-paying jobs such as secretary, cleaner and others. According to the Federal Civil Service Commission statistics (FCSC, 2005), only 8% of the professional and scientific service positions, and 2% of the sub-professional service positions, are occupied by women. While the number of women in the Ethiopian civil service has been relatively small, the senior positions are overwhelmingly held by men.

To this effect, the Ethiopian government has issued a national policy on women in 1993. Apart from issuing women policy and guaranteeing the rights of women in the national constitution, Ethiopia has also ratified international conventions such as the convention on the elimination of all forms of discrimination against women in 1981 and made it part of the Ethiopia's domestic law (Meron, 2003). To this effect, Article 7 reinforces that state parties shall take all measures to eliminate discrimination against women in the political life of the country which includes the right to participate in the formulation and implementation of government policy and participate in non-government organizations and associations with the public and political life of the country (Sarah, 2007). Above all, opportunities that women should forgo have an intergenerational impact to the society as violence against them has life-long psychological costs by robbing their self-esteem and aspirations (UNFPA, 2000).

On the whole, due to the various obstacles that Ethiopian women encounter: political, socio-economic, cultural, ideological and psychological, etc., their representation and participation in leadership and decision making position has been limited. Hence, even if the government has given a lot of emphasis to the issue of gender equality and its significant role in leadership at all levels, a lot remains to be done in terms of translating these policies into practice.

Research Methodology

Method

This study is aimed at examining the current practice and challenges that affect women to acquire educational leadership positions. The empirical investigation is based on the mixed methods research paradigm. Because, the mixed methods are used to triangulate

qualitative and quantitative data sources as several lines of sight provide a better, more substantive picture about the problem under study (Creswell, 2009). Specifically, the quantitative method employed for the study was cross-sectional survey method. Because, the method was found appropriate, it enabled the researcher to identify major factors that affect women to acquire educational leadership positions in the context of Arsi administrative zone.

Participants

The data for the study was drawn from primary and secondary sources. In order to get first hand information, primary data was collected from secondary school principals, teachers, and District and Zone educational leaders. Those groups were taken as research participants because they have direct relation with the issue under consideration. Accordingly, by using simple random sampling techniques, out of 289 male and 36 female teachers found in sample secondary schools, 58 male (20.06%), 36 female (100%), that is, a total of 94 sample respondents were chosen. Furthermore, by using purposive sampling techniques, 6 sampled secondary school principals, 7 education office heads (6 from District and 1 from administrative zone) were selected as sample interviewee. In addition to the primary sources of data, various reports and documents in schools were reviewed and used as secondary source of data.

Data Gathering Tools and Procedures

In order to obtain first hand information, primary data was collected from the subjects through questionnaire and interviews. A questionnaire was the preferred tool because it enables the researcher to secure information from many respondents at a time. Besides, in order to get additional relevant information, interview was administered to secondary school principals, District and Zone education office heads.

To assure the validity of each item in terms of appropriateness and language clarity, the data gathering instruments was pilot tested at Adama secondary school and Adama town education office. Based on the comments obtained, some ambiguous questions were simplified, modified and the size of the questionnaire was also reduced. To maximize the rate of return, convenient time for the respondents was arranged. A close follow-up was made in the distribution and collection of questionnaires. Brief orientation was also conveyed to respondents to facilitate the data gathering process and to maximize the speed of return of the filled in questionnaire. Then responses were categorized and tallied.

Data Analysis Techniques

Different methods of analysis relevant to each variable were employed to analyze the gathered data. The data collected in a qualitative approach were analyzed by using case by case and cross-case analysis. The raw data collected through a quantitative approach were tallied, tabulated, and analyzed by using different statistical tools. The first statistical tool was percentage because it is used to determine the relative standing of characteristics; and second: the mean value was computed to find out average values of the factor.

Analysis and Interpretation of the Data

Educational inequities have been among the major problems given due attention by the government of Ethiopia. These inequalities can be expressed in terms of gender (male and female), geographical location (urban and rural) and economic background (rich and poor). In Ethiopia, the official indicators used to describe inequalities have been the first two (gender and geography). The focus of this research is to identify the major gender related factors hindering women to come to educational leadership positions in the context of Arsi administrative Zone. About 94 copies of questionnaire were prepared and administered to the participants for rating. Of the administered questionnaires, 81 copies (86.17%) were properly filled and returned. Information collected through reviews of documents and interviews was also systematically organized.

In terms of sex composition, 33 (96.7%) were female and 48 (82.8 %) male. Evidently, the number of women involved in this study was relatively low and thus might create some favoritism towards male. Concerning experience, majority 56 (69.13%) of the participants have served for 10 - 20 years while considerable share, that is 25 (30.87%) of the participants have served for over 20 years. This implies that the participants were well experienced to respond to the questions raised with reference to the issue under study.

In this study, four major assumptions were considered as a cornerstone in identifying and analyzing the major factors challenging women to come to educational leadership positions. The first assumption: environmental conditions may affect women to come to educational leadership positions. The second assumption: women's capacity in terms of leadership and management functions affects women to come to leadership positions. The third assumption: the attitude of men and socio-cultural factors significantly hinder women to come to leadership positions. The fourth assumption: women's opportunities to assume educational leadership positions are challenged by their own view.

Bridging the Gender Gap in Educational Leadership Positions

There are several key ways in which people respond differently to women and men who are leaders and global experiences have shown that efforts to alleviate gender discrimination have been commonly confronted with daunting challenges. These challenges have been aggravated by the social, cultural and political contexts. In this regard, sample secondary school teachers were asked to assess the extent that gender policies, standards, procedures, rules and regulations has been implemented by using five-point scale ranging from Very Low (1) to Very High (5). Results are summarized in Table 1 as follows:

As can be seen from Table 1, the availability of gender policies that encourage women to assume leadership positions was rated high with mean score of 4.49. Similarly, respondents agree on the clarities of standards and procedures and the presence of affirmative actions in place with mean scores between 4.23 and 4.11. It seems that the overall policy environment is enabling. Furthermore, gender sensitive policies such as affirmative actions remain open to implementation by the public and academic communities with mean average 3.44. In contrast, the level of implementation policy, rule and regulations and the degree to which women claim for leadership positions were found threat as indicated by the mean scores that range from 1.65 to 2.17.

TABLE 1
Assessing Enabling Conditions for Women to Acquire
Educational Leadership Position (N=81)

Items to be Rated	Mean	SD
Political Environment		
a) The extents of gender policy that encourage women to assume leadership positions are in place	4.49	.63
b) The extents of the clear standards and procedures are in place	4.23	.76
c) The extents of affirmative action's are in place	4.11	.78
d) The degrees to which rules and regulations are prepared to support women to assume leadership positions are in place	3.08	1.00
e) the extent of the implementation of rules and regulations	2.17	.84
f) the extent of the implementation of affirmative action's	3.44	.93
g) the extent of the implementation of gender policy	1.65	.74
h) The degree to which women claim for leadership positions	1.79	.73
Organizational Culture		
a) The level at which the established norms support women to assume leadership positions	1.55	.65
b) Organizational culture enables women to be represented in the hierarchy of positions	1.36	.80
c) The level at which the established norms encourage people to listen or take direction from women	1.73	.97

The above findings were supported by the interviews conducted with District educational heads and school principals as they confirmed the existence of enabling environment for women to come to educational leadership positions. However, the participants did not hide the deficiencies of policy implementation at the various echelons of the system. In brief, the participants reported that the extent of policy implementation in alleviating gender inequalities has been weak throughout the various echelons of the system.

In addition, the participants depicted the absence of transparency in assigning people to the educational leadership positions. This might be attributed to competences in creating transparency to make informed decisions otherwise deliberate acts of those who hold the leadership positions (dominated by male counterparts). To sum up, despite the existence of enabling policies and willingness primed for change, almost all the major issues raised under the environment were found inadequate. Previous studies also revealed the participation of women in leadership positions as extremely low (Action Aid Ethiopia and UNICEF, 2006). Similarly, a study conducted by (OREB, 2006) revealed women's participation in educational leadership as daunting (less than 3%).

Other issues were about the culture of educational organizations. To this effect, three major issues (the level at which the established norms and procedures support women to assume leadership positions, the level of the representativeness of women in educational hierarchy and the level at which the established norms encourage people to listen or take direction from women) were administered to the participants for rating.

As can be seen from Table 1, the level at which 'established norms and procedures support women to assume leadership position' and the degree of the representativeness of women to leadership position was found low with an average mean scores of 1.55 and 1.36 respectively. This might be attributed to already established culture and norms or perhaps related to the challenges created by gender bias. It may also in part go to the religious discrimination and which underrate the role of women in educational leadership. In the same way, the degree to which school culture encourages people to listen or take direction from women was rated low with mean score of 1.73.

Similarly, response given for the open-ended questions by more than 80.6 % women depicted that their male counterparts do not feel comfort to listen and take direction from women. This is evidenced that when they speak in meetings, their comments and suggestions are ignored and that the same comments are accepted and/or suggested from men have more impact on the implementation.

Factors that Hinder Women to Come to Educational Leadership Positions

Capacity to Perform Leadership Functions

The next issue, which was administered to the participants, refers to the managerial and administrative functions with regard to leadership.

TABLE 2
Assessment on Women's Managerial and Leadership Functions (N= 81)

Item	Mean	SD
Managerial Functions		
The ability to plan effectively and efficiently	4.29	.62
The ability to organize	4.31	.74
The ability to coordinate resources	4.52	.64
The ability to create smooth channels of communication	4.32	.72
The ability to make sound decisions	4.12	.85
The ability to control the entire organization	4.31	.74
Leadership Issues		
The extent to which followers are created	2.17	.84
The extent to which coercive forces are being used	1.57	.81
The degree to which they participate with their followers	4.60	.49
The ability to motivate others	4.11	.78

As indicted above, the ability to develop sound plan was rated high with mean score of 4.29. Women's ability to organize resources and activities in coordinating resources, in creating smooth communication, in making sound decisions and in controlling the entire organization was found high (mean score > 4). Other issues were assessing women leadership function. As it was seen from the data, women have high capacity of participating with their followers and motivate employee with mean average of 4.60 and 4.11, respectively.

On the contrary, however, women have low capacity of creating followers and taking coercive measures. Hence, women that are found at the various echelons of the education system might require a more inclusive move of capacity building to lead educational organizations.

Capacity to Play Leadership Role

Increasingly, today's organizations seeking many leadership roles need not be continued to traditional managers. Concomitant with this, questions were posed to respondents with intention to identify the capacity of women to play leadership role by using a five point scale ranging from very low (1) to very high (5). Accordingly, more than average of respondents believe that women have the capacity to play interpersonal role. Especially, they are good in creating favourable work conditions, establish and maintain a web of relationships with followers and perform symbolic duties with mean average between 4.33 and 4.54.

TABLE 3
Respondents' Views on Capacity of Women's to Play Leadership Role (N=81)

Item	Mean	SD
Leadership Roles		
Interpersonal roles. Women can play a role to:		
• create favourable working conditions	4.33	.73
• establish and maintain a web of relationships with followers	4.54	.48
• perform certain symbolic duties of legal and social nature	4.47	.62
Information processing roles. Women can play a role to:		
• share information with partners	4.65	.50
• act as a spokesperson	3.21	.91
Decision making roles. Women can play a role to:		
• handle disagreement	2.33	.67
• initiate change	2.76	.73

Similarly, respondents agree that women can play great role in sharing information with partners and act as spokesperson with mean average 4.65 and 3.21 respectively. On the contrary, the data revealed that women are weak to handle disagreement (mean=2.33). However, a role to initiate change is rated as average (mean= 2.76). In general, according to the response, women have ability to play interpersonal and informational role but weak in decision making role. This might be related to other factors such as male dominance, socio-cultural barriers and so on.

Women's Leadership Skills

Issues that are related leadership capacity of women were among the major aspects presented to the participants for rating. In this paper leadership capacity refers to the skills (conceptual, human and technical) acquired by women to assume leadership positions.

TABLE 4
Women's Leadership Skills

Items to be Rated	Mean	SD
Leadership Skills		
<i>Conceptual</i>		
The ability to see the organization as a whole	3.45	1.03
The ability to deal with the external environment	3.08	1.00
The ability to prepare strategic plans	2.71	.83
<i>Human Relation Skills</i>		
The ability to build team	2.76	.73
The ability to communicate with others	3.11	.91
The ability to deal with the informal group	3.02	1.25
The ability to solve conflicts	2.61	.95
<i>Technical Skills</i>		
The knowhow of the job	2.85	.77
The level of technical expertise	2.62	.95

Conceptual skill refers to the ability of a manager to view an organization as a whole. In this regard, women's ability to view an organization as intact, the ability to deal with the external environment and the ability to prepare strategic plans were rated average with mean scores that range from 2.71 to 3.45. The other important issue that was raised regarding the leadership capacity of women was human relation and technical skills. All the items raised under human relation skills (women's ability to build team, to communicate with other people, to solve conflicts and to deal with informal groups) were found moderate. Similarly, issues that are related technical skills were found fair. On top of the above, through the interview response, the participants depicted that women often do not manage their time properly primarily owing to family related responsibilities.

Attitude of Men towards Women

The largest body of research related to women has examined barriers to women in entering the leadership hierarchy. These studies focus on a number of challenges for women and largely expand or repeat the research. The other important issue raised under this category was attitude of men towards women. In line with this, the attitude men towards women, respondents were asked whether they agreed on the issues raised or not on the specific issues raised to be rated. In this regard, 5 major issues were raised for rating by respondents on how men perceive women in relation to leadership positions in educational institutions.

TABLE 5
Assessing the Attitude of Men Towards Women

Items	N=81	
	Mean	SD
Women lack confidence and skill to be a leader	4.45	0.63
Women do not physically fit to leadership positions	4.41	0.62
Women leaders are more assertive and persuasive	1.72	0.74
Women leaders are more empathetic and flexible	4.14	0.79
Women leaders have stronger interpersonal skills	4.45	0.63

Overall, the Table above indicates that respondents agree on prevalence of factors stated. According to the finding items rated in relation to the attitude of men towards women, except for third item which was stated as 'Women leaders are more assertive and persuasive', the participants depicted that the attitude of men towards women was highly negative. As a result, the finding is consistent with early 1950s finding that says, think 'male' when you think 'leader' (Lips, 2009). According to the interview response women are often required to soften their leadership styles to gain the approval of their constituents. Besides, women who do not temper their group and competence with warmth and friendliness risk being disliked and less influential, men face no such necessity to be agreeable while exercising power. In general, the data obtained about men's attitude on women leadership is consistent with the above finding which states that organizational culture is not favorable for women to assume leadership positions.

Attitude of Women Towards Themselves

Other factors affecting women to come to educational leadership position are the attitude of women towards themselves. Amusingly, the attitude of women towards themselves was found very frail as depicted by the participants. They tend to appreciate male counterparts for leadership than women.

TABLE 6
Assessment on Attitude of Women Towards Themselves

Items	Mean	SD
Men are capable than women to assume leadership positions / Lack of self-confidence	4.56	0.63
Men have high level of acceptance than women	4.46	0.64
Poor self-image / Men do not consider women as co-equal	4.62	0.60

The above findings were supported by the interviews conducted with school principals and educational officials. According to them women are stereotyped and less competent than men. However, women in 3 District education offices responded that self-promotion of women is dangerous. This response is consistent with Shakeshaft (1985) that says, when women promote their own accomplishment it can cause their audience to view them as more competent but at the cost of viewing them as less likeable. Men who promote their own accomplishment, do not reap the same mixed outcomes. Self-promotion brings them both

higher evaluations of competence and likeability. Moreover, respondents argue that the cultural perception that says women is less able than men led women to be confined to the domestic sphere with little or no exposure to the leadership arena. Maxims such as “do not trust the women”, “the wisdom of women and the lights of the stars do not take you far”, the notion that women were thought to be unfit for management positions and their attitude, etc often underpin the negative attitude towards women and their role in leadership.

Social and Cultural Factors

TABLE 7
Assessing Social and Cultural factors

Items	Mean	SD
Men have high level of acceptance than women	4.55	0.61
Men are more risk takers when compared to women	3.02	1.25
Women are more responsible to home / have more family and home responsibility	4.25	0.75
Lack of support, encouragement and counseling	4.50	0.63

As depicted by the ratings of the major items described under Table7, issues that are related to social and cultural factors were rated in favor of men than women. For instance, among the major issues raised under the socio-cultural factors, statements which were described as ‘men have high level of acceptance than women’, ‘men are more risk takers when compared to women’, ‘women are more responsible to home’, and they do not aspire leadership positions were welcomed by the participants with average mean scores that ranges from 3.02 to 4.55. Besides, lack of support, encouragement, and counseling affects women not to come to leadership positioning. Accordingly, the finding is consistent with Schmuck (1980) that pointed out that women had little support, encouragement, and counseling from family, peers, super-ordinates, or educational institutions to pursue careers in administration. Overall, the data gathered from the participants, reviews of documents as well as the information gathered through interviews revealed the incidence of favoring men as leader than women.

Summary, Conclusion and Ways Forward

Summary of the Major Finding

The major purpose of this study was to identify the major factors that hinder women to come to educational leadership positions in Arsi administrative zone. The approach of the study was mainly based on the review of related literature supported by empirical evidences that were gathered via a descriptive survey. The instruments used were questionnaire and interviews. Hence, both quantitative and qualitative methods were employed. To this effect, major themes (political environment, organizational culture, leadership capacity- role, skills, management functions and attitude of individuals and the society were reviewed and subsequently presented to the research participants for rating. The information gathered

was organized, analyzed and interpreted. As a result, the following major findings were drawn.

Enabling Environment for Women to Come to Educational Leadership Positions

Political environment: The availability of gender policies that encourage women to assume leadership positions, the clarities, standards and procedures and the presence of affirmative actions in place was rated high. In brief, the data gathered from the participants has shown sensible satisfaction pertaining to the political environment. In contrast, the level of implementation policy, rules and regulations, and the degree to which women's claim for leadership positions were found a threat.

This was also supported by the interviews conducted with school principals and educational officials. However, the participants did not hide the deficiencies of policy implementation at the various echelons of the system. On the whole, despite the very existence of enabling policies and willingness for change, almost all the major issues related to its implementation raised under the political environment were found scarce.

Organizational culture: Of the items administered to the participants under this category the level at which 'established norms and procedures support women to assume leadership position' and the degree of the representativeness of women to leadership position was found low. In the same way, the degrees to which school culture encourage people to listen or take direction from women was rated low. Similarly, majority of women through open-ended questions depicted that their male counterpart do not feel comfort to listen and take direction from them. That when they speak in meetings their comments and suggestions are ignored or belittled and that if the same comments are suggests by men, they have more impact. In general, the established organizational norm is not enabling for women to come to positions.

Women's capacity to perform leadership functions: The data obtained from the sample teachers shows that women have the ability to develop sound plan, organize resources, coordinating resources, creating smooth communication, making sound decisions participating followers and motivate employee was rated high. On the contrary, however, women have low capacity of creating followers and taking coercive measures. Hence, from the data it is possible to say that women might require a more inclusive move of capacity building to lead educational organizations.

Women's capacity to play leadership role: In this regard respondents agreed that women can create favourable work conditions, establish and maintain a web of relationships with followers and performing symbolic duties. Similarly, women can play great role to share information with partners and act as spokesperson. On the contrary, the data revealed that women are weak to handle disagreement. However, a role to initiate change is rated as average. In general, according to the response, women have ability to play interpersonal and informational role but are weak in decision making role. This might be related to other factors such as male dominance, socio cultural barriers and so on.

Women leadership skill: Every leader/manager needs three basic skills: conceptual, human and technical. Regarding the skills, women respondents were asked a series of questions and their response showed that women have ability to view an organization as intact, deal with the external environment and prepare strategic plans which were rated average. The other important issue that was raised regarding the leadership skill of women

was human relation and technical skills. The items e under human relation skills and technical skills were found fair.

Attitude of men towards women: The ratings of these items clearly depicted that the attitude of men towards women was a threat or extremely negative towards women in terms of leadership. Specifically, men believe that women lack confidence, are not physically fit, and focus on relationship rather than task.

Attitude of women towards themselves: Amazingly, the attitude of women towards themselves to assume leadership position was found fragile. Women believe that men are capable than women to assume leadership position, men have high level of acceptance than women and women do not consider themselves as co-equal with men.

Socio-cultural factors: Worse than the above factors, the social and cultural attitudes toward women leadership were found a threat to women in their attempt to assume leadership positions. According to the respondents, men have high level of acceptance, more risk takers than women. Besides, the society supports, encourages men than women and see women as a manager of home.

Conclusion

Literature revealed that women's aspiration to come to leadership positions have been confronted by discrimination, socialization, societal attitudes, and women's lack of confidence, conflicting discourses and politics. Evidently, the findings of this research support the existing literature. Specifically, as depicted by the analysis of various documents plus the finding of this research, the current political environment is enabling for women to come to leadership positions. The vigilance is, however, that the local level authorities are not free of favoring male supremacy owing to their own social and cultural backgrounds.

Worse than this, as evidenced by the interviews, leaders currently working at the District and Zone education office are not quite aware of the social costs of women's discrimination. As a result, the actual implementation of policies which encourage women to come to educational leadership positions was frail. This implies that the mere existence of policies on paper could not be a guarantee for its implementation primarily in alleviating the under-representation of women to leadership positions. The situation was also aggravated by weak affirmative actions and hostile institutional culture.

In addition, the study showed that women have capacity to play interpersonal and informational leadership role, however, they are weak in decision making role. Similarly, informants argue that women have even more interpersonal and human skill than men leaders and equal in technical skills. Regarding managerial functions, respondents argue that women can perform almost all functions as equal as their male counterparts. One of the major features that hinder women to acquire educational leadership positions are attitudinal and socio-cultural factors. In this regard, the attitude of men towards women and the attitude of society towards women leadership were found hostile in general. Amusingly, the attitude of women towards women and their own self-image was found not brave.

Ways Forward

Based on the major finding and conclusions drawn from the study, the following recommendations are forwarded.

- a) One of the problem that can be the cause for ineffective implementation of gender policy, rules and regulation, affirmative actions, standards and procedures might be related to less considerations given by current leaders at different educational echelons. To improve current underrepresentation of women, regional and local level authorities should create structure which is clear to all and encourage women to come to educational leadership positions.
- b) Other major problem is related to the attitude of women toward themselves. To improve the view of women, “men are capable than women to assume leadership” and “men have high level of acceptance than women”, national, regional and local government bodies should empower and educate women and girls in schools.
- c) Male domination of senior administrative positions and the appointment and selection process in the past may have created a situation that discouraged, or actively deterred women from reaching the selection process of leadership opportunities for girls in coeducational secondary schools. In this regard, it is advisable that schools ought to involve female students on leadership responsibilities and help them to generate confidence of female students for future leadership.

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Macaulay Reconsidered[§]

Suresh C. Ghosh*

Introduction

The credit for introducing English education in the country correctly and historically rests with Bentinck, the Governor-General of India, between 1828 and 1835. Yet in our country we give this credit to Thomas Babington Macaulay, the Law Member of the Governor-General's Council, who wrote a long rhetorical Minute when asked by Bentinck to advise him on the future education policy of the British India.

In his Minute of February 2, 1835, Macaulay discussed the advantages of using English vis-à-vis Arabic, Persian, Sanskrit and the vernaculars as the medium of instruction and opted for the former on the grounds that "a single shelf of a good European library was worth the whole native literature of India and Arabia" and that the vernaculars in the country were not sufficiently developed to serve the purpose. On the other hand, Indians well-acquainted with Western knowledge and science would have "the inclination and the ability to exhibit European knowledge in the vernacular dialects" and would help "raise a vernacular literature in the country" within twenty years.

Macaulay, however, agreed with the opponents of the English education that it was impossible to educate all in Western education and science. And, therefore, he advised Bentinck: "We must at present do our best to form a class who may be interpreters between us and the millions whom we govern, a class of persons Indian in blood and colour, but English in taste, in opinions, in morals and intellect." He also threatened to resign his post as the President of the General Committee of Public Instruction if his advice were not acted upon¹.

The General Committee of Public Instruction was formed in 1823 to disburse the amount of rupees one lakh sanctioned by the Clause 43 of the Charter Act of 1813, out of the surplus revenues, on the education of the people of India. And the members of the Committee led by Prinsep and Wilson who were greatly interested in the advancement of the Oriental education largely because of the past influences of William Jones and his Asiatick Society at

[§] This is an abridged and adapted version of the paper first published in *History of Education* (Vol.24, No.1), London, 1995.

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¹ For details about Macaulay's Minute, see H. Sharp (ed.), *Selections from Educational Records of the Government of India*. (Calcutta, 1920), Vol. 1, pp. 107-117.

Calcutta², had spent the annual grant of rupees one lakh in setting up Oriental colleges at Calcutta and Agra in 1824 and at Delhi in 1825 as well as in the publication and translation of Oriental manuscripts. In the process, the Committee had also encountered and overcome local challenges from Rammohan Roy in 1823 as well as from the Court of Directors, in 1824, who impressed upon the Committee that the great end should not have been to teach Hindu learning, but useful learning.

However, from 1831 onwards, the Committee had begun to experience a division in its ranks when it was found that the places of the departed or retired members had now been taken over by newcomers who while studying Oriental languages at the Hailebury College in Hertfordshire³ had become profoundly influenced by the prevailing utilitarian philosophy of Hume, Bentham and Mill, and these new and young members were now in no mood to support the activities of the Committee in furthering the cause of Oriental education.

Both Mill and Bentham had wanted to modernize the British colonial possessions by the introduction of Western education and science and the new members imbued with utilitarian philosophy, now began to initiate action on this when they proposed to convert the Calcutta Madrasah set up by Warren Hastings in 1781 into an institution of Western learning and to organize the Agra College on the model of Hindu School set up in 1817 as a result of an indigenous endeavour of the upper class Indians⁴ to teach Western education and science to the young Indians. When no decision could be taken on the subject for a pretty long time, the Committee decided to refer the matter to Bentinck in January 1835 for his opinion on the future education policy of the government

Like the new young members of the Committee of General Public Instruction, Bentinck was a firm believer in the utilitarian principles. He was an admirer of James Mill. In December 1827 just on the eve of his departure for India as the Governor-General, he had told James Mill who was attending his farewell dinner at Grote's house: "I am going to British India but I shall not be Governor-General. It is you that will be Governor-General"⁵. He fully shared James Mill's view of the Indian society as a decadent one and agreed with him that the key to its regeneration lay in the introduction of Western knowledge and science⁶. Acting on his firm belief he took every step of making wide use of the English language in

² William Jones who was a noted Persian scholar at Oxford came to Calcutta in 1783 as a judge of the Supreme Court set up by the Lord North's Regulating Act of 1773. Jones formed the Asiatick Society of Bengal in 1784 with thirty elite Englishmen to investigate into the Arts and Sciences of Asia. For further details, see my book *The Social Condition of the British Community in Bengal, 1757-1800* (Leiden,1972)

³ Haileybury College was set up in 1801 in the suburb of London at the advice of the Governor-General Wellesley to teach the recruits of the East India Company Oriental languages

⁴ Both David Hare, a watch maker and Rammohan Roy were associated from the very beginning with the foundation of the school but Roy had to withdraw at the last stage because of the opposition to him for his religious views by the conservative section of the society headed by Raja Radhakanta Deb. In 1855 Dalhousie reformed the school then known as the Hindu College and renamed it as the Presidency College.

⁵ Quoted in J. Bowring, ed., *The works of Jeremy Bentham* (London,1843) Vol. 10, pp. 576-77.

⁶ James Mill expressed his views about the decadent nature of the Indian society in his *History of British India* published in London in 3 vols in 1817. The work obtained for him and his more famous son, John Stuart Mill, an appointment in the East India Company's Examination Department responsible for sending dispatches to India.

official works as well as of persuading the young Indians to learn English by throwing open subordinate positions in judicial and revenue branches though mainly as a measure of economy. In a letter to the General Committee of Public Instruction on June 26, 1829, he observed: "It is the wish and admitted policy of the British Government to render its own language gradually and eventually the languages of public business throughout the country, and that it will omit no opportunity of giving every reasonable and practical degree of encouragement to the execution of this project"⁷. He also confided to Metcalfe in September 1829 that he considered "the British language" as "the key of all improvements"⁸. Soon, as a mark of respect to the wishes of the Governor-General, the Committee added English classes to the Benares Sanskrit College set up by Jonathan Duncan in 1792, thereby providing for English classes to all the Oriental institutions at Calcutta, Delhi, Agra and Benares.

Bentinck's official position as the Governor-General did not allow him to openly support the evangelists in the country but he was sympathetic to those like Alexander Duff, the Scottish missionary, who set up the General Assembly's Institution, now known as the Scottish Church College, at Calcutta in 1830, to attract a select group of Indian students from upper classes to learn English. In "a private interview" given to Duff and recorded by him in his Diary, in February 1833, Bentinck "heartily approved of the design of giving a higher education to a select few, in preference to the plan of giving a common education to the many"⁹. He further told Duff that "if there was one opinion on which he was more decided than another, it was the expediency of teaching English in all our Higher Seminaries gradually substituting it throughout every department of government business, instead of Persian which ought as soon as possible to be abandoned"¹⁰.

Duff's interview with Bentinck happened more than a year before Macaulay actually appeared on the Indian scene in the summer of 1834 and it clearly reflects Macaulay's projection of offering English education to a select group of Indians nourished by Bentinck as early as February 1833.

Macaulay was the son of Zachary Macaulay, the Governor of a British colony, Sierra Leone. Zachary Macaulay was a member of the Clapham Sect which included the Parliamentarian William Wilberforce, Henry Thronton, James Stephen, Milner of Queen's College and Simeon of King's College, Cambridge. As the son of Zachary Macaulay, he grew up in the circle of the Clapham evangelists and imbibed their ideas and philosophies. Macaulay's interest in consolidating the British possessions overseas by the propagation of English laws and English culture thus began quite early. And later as a member of the British Parliament he gave vent to them when invited to speak on the occasion of the renewal of the Charter of the East India Company in July 1833¹¹.

⁷ Stirling to the General Committee of Public Instruction, 26 June 1829 *Board's Collections*, 1170, ff. 377-93 Consulted at the India Office Library, London.

⁸ Bentinck to Metcalfe, 16 September 1829. *Bentinck Papers*. Consulted at the Department of Manuscripts, Nottingham University Library, England. Microfilm copies of the Bentinck Papers are available with the National Archives of India, New Delhi.

⁹ Duff to Inglis, 1 March 1833. M.S.7530, p.140. *Duff Papers*. Consulted at the National Library of Scotland, Edinburgh.

¹⁰ Ibid.

¹¹ G. M. Young, ed., *Macaulay, Prose and Poetry* (London, 1967), pp. 717-18

It was the Charter Act of 1833 that brought Macaulay to India as the Law Member of the Governor-General's Council in June 1834. Macaulay did not land at Calcutta where he was posted but at Ooty in the Nilgiris where the Governor-General Bentinck was camping for his summer holidays¹². The object of such an action was quite obvious and though we did not have a record of what passed between Bentinck and Macaulay at Ooty, we could guess that both of them must have discussed the educational situation in the country¹³. For immediately after his return to Calcutta in December 1834, Bentinck appointed Macaulay as the President of the General Committee of Public Instruction which was then seized with the debate on the future education policy of India. So when Bentinck asked Macaulay for his advice on the subject referred to him by the Committee in January 1835, he could boldly advise him for the introduction of English education in the country. He was confident that his advice would be accepted by the Governor-General. And therefore he could boldly throw a challenge to the opponents of the English education by asserting that he would resign from his post as the President of the General Committee of Public Instruction if his advice were not acted upon.

And within a month of Macaulay's Minute on February 2, 1835, Bentinck as Governor-General passed the necessary order on March 7 banning Oriental education and introducing English replacing Persian as the medium of instruction in the existing institutions of learning and as the official language in the administration of the East India Company without obtaining the necessary mandatory approval from the Court of Directors at London.

The reason why Bentinck acted in haste as he did was because of his decision to retire on March 31, 1835 following the return of the Tory Party to power at home. He did not certainly want to leave the fate of such an important subject as the introduction of English education in the country, which was very close to his heart, to his successor. He thus took a great risk to his own political and professional career. His action without approval from London earned him the displeasure of the Court of Directors to such an extent that back home he was almost forced to withdraw himself from the affairs of the Company and chose a secluded life. The Court of Directors, which felt that Bentinck's order was not only ill-timed but also improper, decided to cancel it by sending a despatch to Calcutta. The draft of the despatch was almost ready by October 1836 but was never sent to India as Hobhouse, the President of the Board of Control, did not agree to the draft despatch sent to him for approval by Carnac, Chairman of the Court of Directors, under pressure from Auckland, the Governor-General of India, who succeeded Bentinck through Metcalf in 1836¹⁴.

While Bentinck was leading a secluded life in a London's suburb, Macaulay was basking in the glory of his rhetorical Minute which became a secretarial sensation from the very

¹² Ooty was a familiar summer resort of Bentinck known to him since 1807 when he went to Madras as its Governor. For details about Bentinck's governorship of Madras where he was instructed by the British Foreign Secretary, Wellesley, to found "British greatness upon Indian happiness" see, John Rosselli, *Lord William Bentinck: The Making of a Liberal Imperialist, 1774-1839*. (Delhi, 1974), pp. 123-146.

¹³ There is evidence to suggest that Bentinck's mind remained preoccupied with education even at Ooty. In a letter to Mancy on 1 June 1834, Bentinck wrote: "General education is my panacea for the regeneration of India." *Bentinck Papers* 2643/i

¹⁴ K.A. Ballhatchet, "The Home Government and Bentinck's Education Policy" in the *Cambridge Historical Journal*. (Cambridge, 1950-52), Vol. 10, No.1-3, pp. 226-229

moment of its composition on February 2, 1835. It shot him to further prominence in England and India. Within four years large portions of the Minute were made public by the zeal of his brother-in-law, Charles Edward Trevelyan, one of the very favourite officials of Bentinck and within hundred years from 1835, it had been published either in full or in parts on nine different occasions. The already great reputation of Macaulay assured the Minute's notoriety in India for its contempt and condemnation of Oriental learning¹⁵ and later his meridian fame secured its cordial reception in England.

In the ultimate analysis, Macaulay's Minute did not herald a new policy but signalled the onward march of a policy already pursued by Bentinck since 1829. It gave to Bentinck the confidence to go forward on a subject upon which he lacked the necessary intellectual, though certainly not the moral, conviction. Bentinck's order on the introduction of English education on March 7, 1835 not only opened Europe to India but also India to Europe and marked the advent of far reaching socio-economic and political changes in the country in a none too distant future.

¹⁵ During the struggle for freedom in India, Macaulay's rejection and condemnation of Indian history, civilization and culture in his Minute of February 2, 1835 was used by the militant nationalists to whip up anti-British feelings among the people. And this is one of the most plausible reasons why until recently Macaulay was looked down upon by both the common and the educated people. However, globalisation has now redeemed Macaulay from this slur when unemployed English educated people could reap the advantage of their knowledge in the BPO.

Reducing Out-of-School Children in India

Lessons from a Micro Study

Dipa Mukherjee*

Abstract

Ensuring formal education to all children has been an area of lively debate throughout the world for about a decade with several viewpoints emerging. Sadly, Universalisation of Elementary Education is still a distant prospect in substantial parts of the globe, including India. Sarva Shiksha Abhiyan was launched in India in 2001 to extend useful and quality elementary education to all children in the age group of 6-14 years before the end of 2010. It has been able to bring the children to school but has failed to retain them and high incidence of drop-out emerges to be the most critical problem facing the Indian education scenario. Using information gathered from Field Surveys in selected rural areas of West Bengal, the present paper explores the trends in school drop-out, reasons behind leaving schools, performance of current programmes and policies in reducing school drop-out and suggests steps to make these programmes more effective. Low level of income emerges to be the most crucial factor responsible for the incidence of out-of-school children. Other factors include insufficient educational infrastructure, earning opportunities for children, lack of awareness among parents etc. It seems that time has come to refocus and reorient the operation of SSA, transforming it from an infrastructure based approach to a facilitating approach. A targeted approach with different policies for retention of different age-groups of children in schools should be taken. The gender and regional dimensions should also be taken into consideration and policies must reflect local socio-economic conditions. A concerted and converging approach with economic growth, poverty eradication and expansion of elementary education going hand in hand is the need of the hour.

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Introduction

Throughout the world ensuring formal education to all children has been an area of lively debate for about a decade with many different viewpoints on the issue. The Millennium Development Goals (MDG) also speak of Universalisation of Primary Education and Promoting Gender Equality in Education. The World Declaration on Education for All, the Framework for Action to Meet Basic Learning Needs, the E9 Declaration for Education for All and the 40-year old Universal Declaration of Human Rights were aimed at giving prominence to basic education. The Jomtien Conference of 1990 established the goal of achieving basic Education for All (EFA) by the year 2000 and provided an expanded vision for basic education, to include early childhood care and education, programmes for out-of-school children and literacy programmes for adults. In spite of all the rhetoric, universal access to basic education still remains an unfulfilled pledge in many parts of the world, despite pronouncements at various international fora. Sadly, Universalisation of Elementary Education (UEE) is still a distant prospect in substantial parts of the globe, including India. About a decade back, in 1999-2000, only 69 per cent of rural children (aged 6-14 years) and 83 per cent of urban children in India were going to school, the percentages being further lower if we include children up to 16 years, the age by which students complete school education in India. Under such circumstances, Sarva Shiksha Abhiyan (SSA) was launched in India in 2001 to extend useful and quality elementary education to all children in the age group of 6-14 years before the end of 2010. While it has been fairly successful in improving the Enrolment in schools, only marginal dent has been made in the Drop-out rates. The core issue therefore now is how to retain children in schools and reduce the magnitude of Out-of-School Children (OOSC).¹ The present paper, using both secondary data at national level and primary data from selected areas of rural West Bengal, explores the trends in school drop-out, reasons behind leaving schools, how programmes and policies have fared in reducing school drop-out and how to make these policies more effective.

Trends in Enrolment and Drop-Out

As has been mentioned, SSA has been a flagship programme to achieve the MDG of Universalisation of Elementary Education (UEE). This programme includes specific schemes for the development of pre-primary education, education of female children, education of children belonging to SC/ST community, education of mentally and physically challenged children, education of the school drop-outs and the education of the displaced children. School lunch programme, Computer education at the elementary level, activity oriented education, education through 'Bridge Courses', 'Remedial Courses' and 'Back to School Camps' are some of its other schemes. The Government of India implements the Sarva Shiksha Abhiyan (SSA) in partnership with the State Governments/Union Territories and the Local Self-Governments. The SSA targeted the Physical factors like school infrastructure – both physical and human. The modus operandi of SSA was to start informal educational centres in regions and hamlets not served by formal schools, run short-term camps for Out-of-School Children so that they can be brought back to formal schools, improve

¹ Out-of-School Children are all those children who do not attend any educational centres (formal or informal) on a regular basis.

infrastructure in existing formal schools to make it a better and attractive place for children and fund appointment of Shiksha Sahayikas to supplement the number of teachers.

TABLE 1
Enrolment and Drop-Out Rates in Primary and Middle Levels

States	Net Enrolment Ratio				Drop Out Rate			
	2000-01		2008-09		2000-01		2008-09	
	Primary	Middle	Primary	Middle	Primary	Middle	Primary	Middle
A & N Islands	82.7	53.7	66.8	60.3	5.6	33.4	6.4	9.0
Andhra Pradesh	58.2	30.0	79.4	58.1	40.3	66.5	24.0	56.7
Arunachal Pradesh	71.2	38.8	-	75.1	50.2	64.9	30.4	54.0
Assam	77.9	43.5	-	71.7	33.7	69.8	44.3	73.6
Bihar	63.1	31.6	-	43.4	57.3	77.6	51.6	76.1
Chandigarh	65.5	68.1	72.8	59.2	0.0	0.0	22.5	36.9
Chhattisgarh			98.0	54.7			25.3	0.0
Dadra & Nagar Haveli	72.2	31.1	-	54.2	31.5	57.0	34.3	44.0
Daman & Diu	80.2	52.2	75.9	57.1	3.6	3.1	5.0	12.8
Delhi	76.8	81.7	90.6	70.5	5.7	15.2	0.0	23.5
Goa	78.9	57.3	56.3	44.4	8.6	10.1	-	-
Gujarat	76.1	56.1	86.0	41.9	29.5	61.0	25.7	49.3
Haryana	67.8	50.4	71.6	51.1	14.6	31.0	9.3	0.0
Himachal Pradesh	82.3	64.1	91.2	80.7	35.4	26.4	6.8	4.5
Jammu & Kashmir	52.1	47.6	95.2	67.6	51.8	37.6	12.5	41.2
Jharkhand			-	54.2			41.9	0.0
Karnataka	78.2	48.5	98.6	60.0	28.9	62.5	11.9	38.8
Kerala	77.2	82.0	65.3	66.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0
Lakshadweep	87.6	54.3	84.6	64.7	2.7	24.9	-	0.0
Madhya Pradesh	76.3	37.2	-	64.2	19.0	47.2	0.0	48.4
Maharashtra	70.9	47.6	88.0	67.9	20.3	29.6	2.6	21.9
Manipur	89.6	67.3	-	69.0	43.3	43.1	45.7	41.2
Meghalaya	56.4	28.2	-	51.0	57.4	77.7	44.1	60.4
Mizoram	77.4	43.0	-	80.8	51.6	65.8	49.6	62.6
Nagaland	47.1	25.7	-	62.6	46.7	40.3	20.2	38.6
Orissa	72.9	43.9	95.5	61.4	36.1	62.8	27.8	62.6
Puducherry	90.7	87.2	85.2	79.4	-6.3	0.3	0.0	0.0
Punjab	72.6	54.6	59.7	49.6	22.5	29.9	9.9	29.9
Rajasthan	55.7	35.4	-	57.3	52.5	44.9	40.7	62.3
Sikkim	56.7	21.1	98.0	35.8	58.9	70.3	24.3	65.9
Tamil Nadu	78.1	86.9	99.3	90.5	41.1	43.2	8.0	0.0
Tripura	91.8	48.4	-	80.6	49.5	68.2	18.2	50.5
Uttar Pradesh	47.6	40.6	-	43.3	56.6	53.0	31.1	44.2
Uttarakhand			91.2	64.3			18.6	0.0
West Bengal	50.1	31.0	84.5	54.6	54.1	70.9	30.1	61.4
All States	64.2	44.8	98.6	56.2	40.3	54.5	25.4	46.0

Source: Author's calculation based on DISE (2009), MHRD (2002).

During ten years of its operation since 2000, ₹ 5700 billion has been allocated to SSA through Union Budgets from 1999-2000 to 2009-10. This has enabled the SSA to finance

construction of 248465 school buildings and 978738 additional classrooms in existing schools by March 2009. To equip more and more schools with basic amenities, 189729 schools were provided with drinking water facilities and 263899 schools with toilet facilities. 986 thousand new teachers were recruited during this period to solve the problem of under-staffed schools and high student-teacher ratio. The scheme succeeded to a large extent, and by 2004-05 prevalence of elementary school attendance among corresponding age-group children increased to about 80 per cent in rural areas and 88 per cent in urban areas (as obtained from NSSO, 61st Round Survey). In addition, another 1.6 million children were going to school in a subsidiary capacity, mostly to informal centres under SSA, after completing their principal activity outside school. It is observed that over the period 2001-2008, Net Enrolment Ratio² increased from 64.2 to 98.6 per cent at the primary level and from 49 per cent to 56 per cent at the middle level (Table 1). The Drop-Out Rate³ on the other hand has decreased from 40 per cent to 25 per cent at the primary level and from 56 per cent to 46 per cent at the middle level during this period. At the regional level, more than 70 per cent students in Bihar and Assam, and more than 60 per cent students in Rajasthan, Orissa, West Bengal, Sikkim, Mizoram and Meghalaya drop out before completing Middle level of schooling. More than 40 per cent of the students drop out even before completing the primary level of education in the states of Bihar, Assam, Manipur, Meghalaya, and Mizoram while this ratio is more than 30 per cent in West Bengal and Uttar Pradesh. The situation is significantly better in Haryana, Himachal Pradesh, Kerala, Tamil Nadu and Uttarakhand. Thus the success of SSA has mainly been concentrated to the area of enrolment, and that too, at the Primary level, with transition to and completion of Middle level remaining poor. It is evident that there is no significant improvement in the area of drop-out, both at the Primary and Middle levels, but more so at the latter stage. The question that arises now is how to retain the children in formal schools after they come out of the ambit of informal centres run by SSA. This is an important issue since the purpose of SSA will be defeated if children continue dropping out of formal schools and swell the numbers of OOSC, perpetuating the clientele of alternate institutions under SSA which are typically short term and remedial in nature.

Why Children Drop Out?

It is argued that in developing countries with inadequate educational infrastructure, poverty, inequality, social norms, credit-land-labour market imperfections, high fertility and unpredictable employment scenario, children drop out of schools at an early age. Schools are

² Net Enrolment Ratio is the ratio of population of a particular age group enrolled at a specific level of schooling to the total population in that age group. Thus, for instance, NER for primary classes will be ratio of children of 6 to below 11 years enrolled in classes I to V to the total number of children in the age group 6 to 11 years. The ratio overcomes the shortcoming of gross enrolment ratio as it captures age-specific enrolment of students in the classes they ought to be as per the prevailing norms for school enrolments.

³ Drop-out Rate is the ratio of enrolled children of a particular stage who drop-out of school before completing the stage to the total number of enrolled children in that particular stage. For example, Drop-out Rate for Primary stage would be proportion of children enrolled in class I-V who drop-out before completing primary education to the total number of enrolled children in class I-V.

too far, often in dilapidated buildings, if any, with handful of teachers and dearth of facilities like drinking water and toilets, making education an ordeal for the children. Timings of formal schools are rigid and often in conflict with other activities of children, especially in rural areas. Even when children do go to school, they do not find any incentive in completing school stages since post-school employment scenario is bleak and there are no significant additional returns to school education. All these factors interplay to persuade children to leave school and these decisions are taken mostly by their parents.

TABLE 2
Correlation of Children's Status with Causal Variables

Proportion of Children	Poverty ^a			Primary Schools ^b		
	1993	1999	2004	1993	1999	2004
School Going	-0.62*	-0.64**	-0.68**	0.31	0.17	-
Child Labour	0.09	-	0.18	-0.30	-0.27	-0.36*
Nowhere Children	0.66**	0.66**	0.65**	-0.21	-0.10	

Note: Based on State level data for the year 2004-05. ** indicates significant at 1% level, * indicates significant at 10% level, coefficients with significance level above 20% are not reported. a - Percentage of people below poverty line; b - Primary Schools per 1000 Square KM.

The success of SSA in creating more and better equipped educational centres and bringing children to school over the last decade vindicates this view. Positive association between spatial spread of primary schools (measured by number of primary schools per thousand square km) and incidence of *School Attendance* seem to indicate that indeed physical infrastructure has a major role to play in retaining children in schools (Table 2). However, will this be sufficient in ensuring full term schooling among children? Perhaps not, as SSA has failed to address the social and economic issues related to school drop-out. A significantly negative association between levels of Poverty and incidence of *School Attendance* at the macro level indicates that poor children are more often not sent to school in spite of the infrastructure being in place. Thus, fulfilling only the physical targets as set by SSA are not sufficient to ensure that the children complete schooling. More comprehensive policy formulation with emphasis on retention is crucial in achieving the MDG of Universalising Education. This requires closer understanding of the problems of out-of-school children. An attempt has been made to explore this issue has been made in the next section using information from field surveys.

Out-of-School Children – Interplay of Several Factors

Survey Background

As has been already noted, apart from the areas targeted by SSA, various other factors keep children out of school. To bring to light factors that keep children out of school we have undertaken a Field Survey in selected rural areas of West Bengal. This would help us in identifying the problems faced by the stakeholders and their actual requirement. We interacted with the out-of-school children, their parents, NGOs, Self Help Groups and

Administrators of several programmes to elicit information and arrive at policy conclusions. The first part of the Field Survey (Survey-I) was carried on in selected rural areas of four districts of West Bengal – Bardhaman, Birbhum, Bankura, and Purulia. While Bardhaman is a developed district, Birbhum and Bankura are moderately developed districts and Purulia is a declared backward district. Such a selection enables us to understand the role of economic conditions in affecting children’s schooling status. Survey was conducted through a set of Structured Questionnaire in the Households, mainly to identify children engaged in different activities. The second part of the survey (Survey-II) was a more intensive one and was undertaken in Bardhaman and parts of Purulia district to critically examine the situation of children who are out of formal schools, their background characteristics, their reasons for not attending formal schools etc. In addition, various stakeholders like Government Officials, NGOs, members of SHGs and PRIs, and Administrators of Formal Schools and Informal education centres running under various schemes of the government were interviewed to elicit information and opinion. While many of the survey findings have been quantified, the essence of this paper is qualitative in nature and field experience and perception of the author play a major role in arriving at the inferences and suggestions. The broad findings and their implications are discussed below. But first, some background information on the four districts as obtained from secondary sources.

TABLE 3
District Profile - Schooling Facilities and Schooling Performance

Indicators	Purulia	Bankura	Birbhum	Bardhaman	All WB
Primary Schools per 1000 population	1.30	1.11	0.80	0.61	0.76
Middle Schools per 1000 population	0.13	0.14	0.25	0.12	0.13
Villages with Primary School (%)	79.50	69.48	71.43	85.25	69.09
Villages with Middle School (%)	9.54	8.80	13.48	19.30	13.58
Schools with Pucca Building (%)	76.63	74.34	78.75	80.26	55.88
Schools with Drinking Water (%)	80.28	93.00	84.86	94.88	77.21
Schools with Toilet (%)	37.38	73.81	77.14	93.42	67.54
Enrolment Rate – Primary	95.00	94.98	94.12	75.65	81.00
Enrolment Rate – Middle	51.82	57.57	56.12	49.12	49.37
School Drop-Out Rate – Primary	42.30	17.70	9.00	18.40	25.80
School Drop-Out Rate – Middle	34.10	36.10	43.80	37.30	37.60

Source: DISE (2009).

Children in Formal Schools

If we consider secondary data obtained from *District Information on School Education* (DISE, 2009), it is observed that in the densely populated district of Bardhaman, which is highly developed both in agriculture and industry, the spread of schools per thousand population is low compared to other districts (Table 3). This results in lower enrolment ratio both at primary and middle levels. The basic amenities in the existing schools are better compared to other districts, but that seems to be of lesser importance in attracting children to school. The extensive agricultural sector and high incidence of family farms may

also have some contribution in this regard by engaging children. On the other hand, in the comparatively less populated and less developed district of Purulia the spread of schools per thousand population is higher, leading to higher enrolment, though this district lags behind Bardhaman with respect to basic amenities in existing schools. However, drop-out at the primary stage is highest in Purulia, indicating that students get enrolled but very often leave school before completing primary schooling. It thus seems that availability and accessibility of educational infrastructure especially in terms of distribution of schools per thousand population is an important factor in determining the size of the educational net. The other two districts of Bankura and Birbhum exhibit enrolment figures in between Purulia and Bardhaman for the primary stage and higher enrolment for the middle stage. Drop-out rates in Bankura and Birbhum are lower than the other two districts for primary stage and at par for the middle stage. However these findings are based on DISE data, which reflects mostly the formal schooling system since reporting under DISE by informal educational centres is very rare in West Bengal. In our field survey we have also taken into consideration the informal schooling system under SSA and hence obtained a considerably different picture. These, we discuss in the next section. The descriptive structure of the Field Data is depicted in Table 4.

TABLE 4
Descriptive Features of Field Data

Survey	Indicators	Purulia	Bankura	Birbhum	Bardhaman	Total
Survey - I	Households Surveyed	2550	123	229	3951	6853
	Children Surveyed	6840	393	421	5298	12952
Survey - II	Households Surveyed	42	-	-	205	247
	Children Surveyed	172	-	-	245	415

Source: Author's Calculation based on Field Data collected during 2008-09.

Survey Findings

Estimates of OOSC

Table 5 provides estimates of OOSC from Survey-I field data. It is observed that about 19 per cent of the surveyed children are out of school, of which two-fifths are working while the rest are neither going to school nor working. In sharp contrast to the enrolment figures obtained from DISE, the incidence of OOSC is highest in the backward district of Purulia, followed by Bankura and Birbhum and least in the developed district of Bardhaman. The informal wing of the SSA is found to be operating fairly successfully in the district of Bardhaman through Bridge Course Centres, Mobile Camps, etc. As a result the quantum of OOSC reduces to a large extent when informal schooling is taken into consideration. In the district of Purulia, on the other hand, intense poverty dominates over all other factors and children are withdrawn from school. It is also found that while incidence of work is more among boys compared to girls, being 'Nowhere' is more common among girls than boys, especially for the 10-14 year age group. Being out of school is more frequent among girls than boys for the higher years age group indicating that girls are sooner withdrawn from schools while boys continue their education a bit longer.

TABLE 5
Survey-I Findings – Out-of-School Children

District	Variables	5 – 9 Years			10 – 14 Years			All
		Boys	Girls	All	Boys	Girls	All	Total
Purulia	Out of School	60.8	61.9	61.4	44.4	58.2	51.3	61.6
	Working	15.5	12.3	14.1	24.8	8.5	15.6	15.3
	Being No-Where	44.5	49.6	47.3	19.6	49.7	35.7	46.3
Bankura	Out of School	31.6	31.0	31.3	20.0	51.7	34.4	32.8
	Working	18.4	13.8	16.4	20.0	20.7	20.3	18.3
	Being No-Where	13.2	17.2	14.9	0.0	31.0	14.1	14.5
Birbhum	Out of School	21.4	10.3	16.9	11.1	21.2	15.9	16.5
	Working	0.0	0.0	0.0	8.3	3.0	5.8	2.9
	Being No-Where	21.4	10.3	16.9	2.8	18.2	10.1	13.6
Bardhaman	Out of School	11.1	10.3	10.6	0.0	14.3	9.1	10.1
	Working	7.4	2.6	4.5	0.0	0.0	0.0	3.0
	Being No-Where	3.7	7.7	6.1	0.0	14.3	9.1	7.1
All Total	Out of School	17.7	16.5	17.2	13.2	30.1	21.6	19.2
	Working	8.4	5.2	6.9	12.0	8.4	10.2	8.4
	Being No-Where	9.3	11.3	10.3	1.2	21.7	11.4	10.8

Source: Author's Calculation based on Field Data collected from Survey-I during 2008-09.

Linkage with School Infrastructure

We examined whether the incidence of OOSC is related with the lack of school infrastructure – absence of schools, distance of schools, lack of facilities in schools, etc. It was earlier noted that when only the formal schooling system was considered, educational infrastructure in terms of distribution of schools per thousand population emerged as an important factor in determining the enrolment levels at the district level while other amenities seemed to be of lesser importance. But when we consider informal schooling system also, we find that magnitude of OOSC seems to be negatively linked with school facilities in the district (Table 6). Districts with better facilities are also those with lesser incidence of OOSC.

TABLE 6
Schooling Facilities and Out-of-School Children

Indicators	Purulia	Bankura	Birbhum	Bardhaman
Schools with Pucca Building (%)	76.63	74.34	78.75	80.26
Schools with Drinking Water (%)	80.28	93.00	84.86	94.88
Schools with Toilet (%)	37.38	73.81	77.14	93.42
Out-of-School Children – (5-9 Yrs) %	61.4	31.3	16.9	10.6
Out-of-School Children – (9-14 Yrs) %	51.3	34.4	15.9	9.1

Source: DISE (2009).

However, it seems that we have crossed the stage of acute shortage of basic physical infrastructure. Most of the schools now have their own buildings and mid-day meals are

served in most of them. The problems being faced right now are qualitative in nature. In an overwhelming majority of the primary schools there is acute shortage of teachers leading to chaos and indifference in classrooms. Curriculum and teaching methods are neither interesting nor inspiring and students hardly develop any interest towards their studies. Most of the students come to school for the purpose of having the mid-day meal only. Perhaps this is leading to high drop-out rates in the higher classes. A more effective schooling system with adequate number of teachers and a better rapport between the teachers and the students can make the process of imparting quality education easier. A favourable teacher-student ratio and more initiative on the part of the teacher can play a very vital role in this respect.

Linkage with Poverty

During the field visits, it was evident that the parents generally want their children to attend school and continue education but are most often left helpless because they lack adequate income. Thus poverty seems to have a very vital role in determining the status of the children. Field experience suggests that rather than incidence of poverty (most often measured by *Head Count Ratio*), intensity of poverty is more important in pulling children out from school. This is supported by the fact that incidence of OOSC, especially among the boys, is much higher in Purulia where the severity of poverty, indicated by *Income Gap Ratio*, is much higher (Table 7). Moderate level of poverty prepares the ground for withdrawing children from school but may not actually push them out unless reinforced by factors like lack of educational infrastructure, availability of earning opportunities for the children (e.g. in the mining areas and the brick kilns of Bardhaman district). On the other hand, acute poverty of the nature observed in Purulia is sufficient to remove children from schools. In this case, the children are engaged in some or other remunerative jobs even if the jobs are ill-paid and accessible educational infrastructure is present. Even if they are provided incentives to continue education through various government schemes like National Child Labour Mission. Alternative educational centres under SSA, etc. they are often found to attend only the non-formal centres and tend to drop out again when they are put into formal schools on completion of such courses.

TABLE 7
Consumption, Poverty Levels and OOSC

Indicators	Purulia	Bankura	Birbhum	Bardhaman	State
Mean Consumption Levels (MPCE – Rs)	492	588	490	685	609
Poverty – Head Count Ratio %	31.7	28.5	38.1	22.4	34.7
Poverty – Income Gap Ratio %	29.2	18.7	25.0	18.6	21.7
Out-of-School Children – (5-9 yrs) %	61.4	31.3	16.9	10.6	17.2
Out-of-School Children – (10-14 yrs) %	51.3	34.4	15.9	9.1	21.6

Source: NSSO (2005); DISE – 2009; Field Survey 2008-09

Note: MPCE is in ₹ per Capita at current prices; Poverty figures are Author's calculations from NSSO (2005)

Lack of local earning opportunities for the adults also affect children's schooling through the process of migration. In backward districts of Bankura and Purulia, people migrate to neighbouring districts during busy agricultural season in search of employment. The children often accompany their family as both parents migrate and therefore discontinue schooling. Once they return, the child cannot keep pace with the studies in formal school and drop-out.

It is therefore evident that intensity of poverty is an important factor responsible for the persistence of OOSC, and hence employment-generating schemes that augment earning of the parents would be immensely helpful in combating this problem. It was thought that MGNREGS will bring a revolution in this respect. At the ground level, however, various bottlenecks seem to be hindering effective operation of MGNREGS. In the developed regions the market wage rate is higher than the wage rate paid by MGNREGS leading to lack of labour supply. This not only causes non-utilisation of funds but also deprives the region of the infrastructure that are supposed to be built under this scheme. In the underdeveloped regions, on the other hand, the supply of labour outstrips the labour demand generated by the scheme. This mismatch between demand and supply of labour acts as a detrimental factor for successful operation of this scheme. Moreover, in many cases, the households suffering from acute poverty and lack of employment have not been able to get the Job Cards due to various local factors and hence are not getting jobs under MGNREGS. Though efforts have been made to maintain transparency by paying wages directly to Bank Accounts or Post Office Accounts of the labourer, in many cases there are instances of late payments. More effective operation of these schemes can go a long way in solving the problem of school drop-out through income generation for the parents and creation of local earning opportunities and tackling migration.

Different regions have different comparative advantages depending on the availability of natural resources. A decentralised approach of income generation depending on the potential of the specific region is the need of the hour. For example, in agriculturally developed areas like Bardhaman stress may be given on animal husbandry, handicrafts, and textiles; whereas in mono-cropping dry land areas like Bankura and Purulia schemes must focus on creation of check-dams, rain-water harvesting and watershed development for multi-cropping. Formation of various Self Help Groups may also play a very vital role in this respect and a coordinated approach between governmental and non-governmental organisations can go a long way in solving this problem. Though some instances of success are already there, they should be more widely replicated.

Children's Job Availability

While poverty creates an enabling atmosphere, lucrative earning opportunities also attract out-of-school children in some regions. For example in the mining areas, the children are often found to be engaged in illegal collection of coal etc. As a result, during Survey-II, it was observed that in the western region of Bardhaman, which is predominantly a mining area, more than 32 per cent of the boys are out of school because of their engagement in earning opportunities (Table 8a and 8b). Most of the jobs being of illegal mining, engagement of girls is rare. On the other hand, in agriculturally developed areas, there are twin roles of children – either they are working themselves in the field or they are engaged in domestic duties while their parents are working in the field. As a result, both Household work and Working

to earn are important reasons for being out of school. It is however to be noted that while common perception is that Domestic duties would be an important reason for Girls being out of school, in our survey Financial problem emerges to be the main culprit. It appears that the parents perceive that they are not financially sound enough to spend both for educating their daughters as well as their marriage. As a result they sacrifice the former for the latter. In the regions with dense forest cover children are often found to be engaged in firewood collection and collection of various kinds of forest products both for self-consumption and selling. This also induces parents to withdraw children from schools. In some cases the cartels are so strong that administrative intervention are also unable to resist the forces effectively. In these cases, not only are the children deprived of their childhood and blooming of their inherent potential but also face severe health hazards. Thus both their physical and mental developments are adversely affected. Stronger enforcement of the child labour prevention acts is necessary. An effective monitoring agency that can perform the dual role of enforcing the laws on one hand and also build up awareness among the people regarding the evil effects of the incidence of child labour should be put in place. Some compensation scheme for rehabilitation of the working children can make the job easier. Awareness building by children themselves, like few girls in Purulia who have been able to create a wave of admiration and emulation, is also an important part of the strategy.

TABLE 8A
Survey Findings (II) – Reasons for being Out of Formal School –
Boys in Bardhaman

Percent of Learners	Total	East	Central	West
Left due to				
Financial Problem	12.1	3.8	18.0	10.0
Household Work	18.1	34.6	8.0	20.0
Working to Earn	26.7	23.1	24.0	32.5
Poor Performance	3.4	7.7	4.0	0.0
Lack of Interest / Incentive	15.5	11.5	20	12.5
Parents not Interested	6.0	3.8	10	2.5
Poor School Environment/ Ill Treatment by Teachers	18.1	15.4	16.0	22.5

Source: Field Survey, 2008.

TABLE 8B
Survey Findings (II) – Reasons for being Out of Formal School – Girls in Bardhaman

Percent of Learners	Total	East	Central	West
Left due to				
Financial Problem	40.8	20.0	60.0	22.5
Household Work including Sibling Care	10.0	15.0	8.3	10.0
Working to Earn	10.8	25.0	6.7	10.0
Poor Performance	3.3	5.0	5.0	0.0
Lack of Interest / Incentive	10.0	15.0	6.7	12.5
Parents not Interested	13.3	10.0	8.3	22.5
Poor School Environment / Ill Treatment by Teachers	11.7	10.0	5.0	22.5

Source: Field Survey, 2008.

School System and Child Labour

Apart from poverty, a major reason behind high incidence of school drop-out and therefore No-where children is the inefficiency of the formal schooling system. The children very often are utterly disinterested to go to nearby primary schools and are often scared of the teachers. In many cases these schools suffer from acute shortage of teachers also and for a single teacher to manage 4-5 classes becomes an impossible feat. Students learn nothing and teachers wield the stick just to maintain some sort of discipline. Thus even the provision of mid-day meals cannot prevent the children from dropping out. In our survey, 18 per cent of boys and 12 per cent of girls in Bardhaman district say that poor school environment and ill-treatment by teachers are reasons for their dropping out.

The informal schooling system (e.g. Sishu Shiksha Kendras, NCLP Schools, Bridge Course Centres), on the contrary, is found to be much more effective not only in developing interest among the students but also motivating the drop-outs to join these schools and continue their education. The personal rapport of the students with the teachers plays a pivotal role in successful operation of these informal schooling systems. There are 605 Bridge Course Centres in Bardhaman district operating under Sarva Shiksha Mission. Managed by the Gram Panchayats and Village Education and Health Committees, they have been tutoring 13 thousand of the total 35 thousand out-of-school children in 2007-08. So far they have been able to mainstream 5000 of these children. Given the fact that these centres operate only for 9 months a year there is no doubt that they are doing a very good job. Most significant success of the scheme is that the learners are now attracted towards education and they want to continue their studies. In Purulia district, out-of-school working children have been brought under the ambit of National Child Labour Project and it is found that the NCLP schools are doing a very good job in bringing the out of school working children back to school, who ultimately are mainstreamed and admitted to formal schools. Various innovative techniques are used by these schools to provide not only general education but also some amount of vocational training. In 90 special schools under this scheme, quality education is provided to the withdrawn child labourers through participatory learning methods. The objective is to make the special schools child-friendly and to make learning joyful to the students. As a result, in less than two years, more than 1000 students have been mainstreamed and there is not a single case of drop-out from formal schools among the students coming from NCLP schools so far. The NCLP Schools have been able to motivate the children to fight social evils as well. Three such girls spoke up against their own early marriage and this created a spark across this district, obtaining special prize from the Honourable President of India. They are now working actively to create awareness against child work and early marriage.

Concluding Comments

It is thus evident from our Field Study that the crucial areas that require intervention are: Employment creation and Income generation for the adults, Revitalising the Education system through out of the box non-formal methods, and Prevention of engagement of children in work. While various policies have been adopted in these areas and numerous schemes are operative, some modifications and streamlining seems necessary to make them more effective. Some of these issues are discussed below.

The problem of Out-of-School Children is deeply rooted in the socio-economic structure of our nation. Children are out of school because of various reasons – poverty and lack of educational infrastructure emerging to be most important among them. Factors like availability of lucrative job opportunities for the children, lack of consciousness among the parents, gender discrimination, etc. are also very much prevalent. The reasons vary across regions. Whereas in the agriculturally developed regions children substitute adult labour doing domestic duties and also working in family farms, in the backward areas they emerge to be *No-where Children* who neither have the economic condition to carry on their education, nor have sufficient employment opportunities. While SSA has been able to improve enrolment situation it has not been able to stem drop-out as evident from high incidence of Out-of-School Children.

While boys are withdrawn from school and sent to work, the initial brunt falls on the girls who are withdrawn much before their brothers to simply stay at home and help their mothers. Thus incidence of No-where children is much more among girls. To do away with such gender disparity, building up awareness among the people in general and the parents in particular is necessary.

At the conclusion it may be stated that it is now necessary to refocus and reorient the operation of SSA, transforming it from an infrastructure based approach to a facilitating approach. Rather than merely improving entry, the focus must now shift to retention. A targeted approach should be taken whereby different policies should be formed for retention of different age-groups of children in schools. The gender and regional dimension should also be taken into consideration and policies must reflect local socio-economic conditions. A concerted approach with economic growth, poverty eradication and expansion of elementary education going hand in hand is the need of the hour. Convergence and better coordination between Rural Development Schemes, NREGS, Sarva Shiksha Abhiyaan and child labour eradication programme through spread of NCLP schools would succeed in securing a better future for the children.

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Book Reviews

Radhika CHOPRA and Patricia JEFFERY eds. (2005): Educational Regimes in Contemporary India. Sage Publications, New Delhi. ISBN: 81-7829-485-0, Pages: 346 (Hardbound) Price: ₹450.

The educational discourse in the contemporary political regimes has so far been preoccupied with the peripheral issues. The volume under review in this context perfectly established about how the developmental debates in Education have been overlooking the complexities in India. The analysis consequently confirms the importance of the social structure in the inclusive ideals. The book, *Educational Regimes in Contemporary India*, is a collective effort of a group of eminent sociologists and anthropologists. The volume has been carefully planned into three broad headings namely the Changing Contexts of Education and the State; Teaching and Learning Regimes; and Different Transitions, Different Adulthoods. The fifteen authors in this precious book have covered almost all the significant aspects like the exclusion, access as well as outcomes of Education with gender dimensions in India.

The book successfully holds the readers' attention in each of its inter-connected chapters by an intense deconstruction of these crucial variables. Firstly, the indigenous skill learning process like *ustad-shagird* is mostly under-researched in Indian Education. As a result, Hameed's discussion (pp. 197-215) on them provides the importance of the various social institutions in Education. This has also been further validated differently by various experts in this volume. Chopra, for instance, provides the analysis of family and its crucial role in economic and social mobility of the individuals. This altogether offers a newer insight into the migration studies on India. In addition, Thapan successfully analyses how the social institutions (especially the family and marriage) interplay in the adolescence of the educationally disadvantaged women. Her gender lens further captures the contours of Education from the perspective of the social physics, the Sociology.

The book as a whole validates an important finding that the differential outcomes for the differential social groups have mostly been determined by their social capital in the country. Therefore, the success of this volume lies at the basic fact that the authors make the readers to think about the related issues simultaneously. Their convincing arguments substantiate the lateral thinking on the subject. For instance, Winkelmann's chapter deconstructs the pedestrian views on Madrasa Education in India. By taking up the case of girls' Madrasas, she provides the functional and dysfunctional descriptions. Further, the minute observations provided in the chapters are mostly invisible to the naked eyes. This is gaining momentum against the dominant research methods in general and positivist paradigm in particular. For instance, Parry is successful in his analytical rigour whereas Rampal argues (pp. 237-255) for the need to look at poverty mainly from the perspective of entitlement failures of the social institutions. Remarkably, this is the most under-researched subject in India where the definition of poor merely stops at the income inadequacies so far.

Although the review exercise comes across a few minor errors in referencing and nomenclature (p. 239 and 265), the book convincingly provides the newer insights into the subject. This is undoubtedly crucial at a time when the research trends in Education studies in India have been dominated by the positivist paradigms. This volume with its thorough analysis places the ethnography and social anthropology at the centre-stage. Hence, this is a special volume. Furthermore, almost all the contemporary discourse and debate in India's Education has been efficiently covered in this book. The exhaustive reference list provided at the back will definitely be useful for the readers to research further into the complex educational realities. Therefore, this carefully edited volume with lucid rigorous analysis becomes a precious work. For these reasons, the thick descriptions of this volume become an essential reading for the scholars in social science.

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Raoul BLINDENBACHER in collaboration with Bidjan NASHAT (2010): The Black Box of Governmental Learning: The Learning Spiral – A Concept to Organize Learning in Governments. IEG World Bank, Washington DC 20433. ISBN: 13: 978-0-8213-8453-4, Pages: 183, (Paperback), Price: \$25.

In September 2000, leaders from all the member countries of the United Nations Organization adopted the United Nations Millennium Declaration to eradicate poverty and hunger from the world by 2015. In 2001, eight Millennium Development Goals (MDGs), with twenty-one targets were developed out of the eight chapters of the United Nations Millennium Declaration. Apart from eradication of poverty, the goals included achieving universal primary education, promoting gender equality and empowerment of women, reducing child mortality, improving maternal health etc. The last goal of developing global partnership for development was meant to put these plans into practice. As per this goal, developed nations committed themselves to contribute finances through the United Nations to meet these targets. It is in this backdrop that the book has been written by the persons who have had a close association with the World Bank and witnessed a gap between the resources spent and the outcomes realized.

Based on the systems theory of political analysis, 'black box' symbolizes the process that transforms input of policy demands into output of political action. The book aims at illuminating this black box not only by throwing light on the process of 'throughput' but by adjusting the light with the concept of Learning Spiral. Here is an attempt to combine theory and practical experience to provide a framework to realize these goals through effective, relevant and continuous learning and governance by democratic governments. Setting of the book is the globalized world where economic boundaries have opened up in modern democratic countries- both the developed and not so developed. To be precise, these are the countries that either provide or receive aid for certain ventures through World Bank and other international organizations. The concept of Learning Spiral, a 'heuristic' and 'multidisciplinary concept' has been designed for governments of these countries to

optimally use this aid in accordance with the perceived objectives. Government here includes all the three organs of a democratic government and their functionaries, political parties and civil services. For effective learning – euphuism for training – and implementation of action plans, non-governmental setups such as civil society and private organizations are equally indispensable in a democratic system. Hence, governmental learning includes all the stakeholders.

The ten chapters of the book are clearly divided into two parts. First part of the book builds up theoretical basis and explanation of the concept of Learning Spiral and the second part of the book describes in detail how some of the learning events were actually designed and operationalized according to the Learning Spiral. After the introductory chapter, the next two chapters examine analytical and theoretical concepts of governmental learning, respectively. Examination of the analytical concepts is an historical analysis of the past and present approaches to governmental learning. While developed countries evolved their system of governance over a period of time through trial and error approach, developing countries did the same by emulating developed countries. Here the author makes a very valid point as to why the approach of developing countries to blindly apply models of governance of developed countries is not appropriate because of the peculiar circumstances of each and hence, “one size fits all” approach cannot be effective. The model that suits the contemporary globalized world is learning from each other. Strength of the chapter and the book lies in identifying the challenges in the form of particularities and barriers that democratic governments are likely to encounter while borrowing models from other countries. The chapter on theoretical concepts deals with the theoretical concepts of government, governmental learning and knowledge creation in democratic governments. It is in this chapter that the ‘black box’ is illuminated. A sub-section on individual learning theories attempts to sum up major individual learning theories and approaches. The purpose of adding this section is to clearly differentiate between the process of individual learning and governmental learning. Since individual learning is not the focus of the book at all, these theories get a sketchy treatment making these not easily comprehensible without a previous background of the same. The authors could have well skipped this section altogether.

Fourth chapter demystifies the concept of Learning Spiral through a template with eight stages of conceptualization, triangulation, accommodation, internalization, externalization, re-conceptualisation, transformation and configuration. Conceptualization is the stage of planning the event and selection of relevant content. Second stage of triangulation is practically a selection of participants who are selected on the basis of their perspectives so that a wide range of viewpoints can be considered. These participants are called learning actors who are both knowledge holders and knowledge recipients. There is no hierarchy among participants. Third stage of accommodation takes care of learning environment by communicating background material and the proposed procedure of the event. This stage is also about logistics of boarding, lodging, transportation etc. Fourth and fifth stages of internalization and externalization relate to bringing together participants in a physical or virtual space to reflect on their own experiences and share their individual reflections with other participants. There are no prepared speeches and no designated speakers. There is only dialogue among participants. The reconceptualisation stage culminates into re-shaping of the knowledge emerging out of experiences, perspectives and particularities of learning actors. Stage of transformation is for chalking out action plans in accordance with re-shaped knowledge and sharing the same with other participants. Last stage of configuration is about

wide dissemination of reframed knowledge in the form of written summaries, audio, video tapes etc. through all possible means of communication. Configuration stage also ensures that the new knowledge is reviewed on a regular basis so that it does not lose its relevance. All these stages are to be mediated through a learning broker who has replaced the conventional event organizer and moderator.

Second part of the book containing five chapters describes in detail practical application of the Learning Spiral in one international conference, a global roundtable, a study tour, an evaluation workshop and one e-learning event. The participants in these events varied from heads of states, members of parliament, judges, economists, business leaders, civil servants and members of non-government organizations. All the steps of proceedings of these events are described in consonance with the steps of the Learning Spiral. Those interested in learning from Learning Spiral, for practical purposes, can make do with the second part only.

Black box has a specific focus and target group with a limited objective. This is primarily a 'how to' book with lots of the givens. There are MDGs and donor agencies to provide aid to realize these goals. There are democratic underdeveloped countries to make use of these grants, grants need to be effectively utilized and outcomes to be optimized. There is no intent to question these givens. Governmental learning has to take place and the Black box needs to be illuminated. Focus is on 'how' is this to be done. 'Why' of this learning is outside the purview of this book. Such ventures are best left to an entirely different genre of writing. However, to be fair to the authors, there are no such claims either. This explains the reason that although the focus of the present endeavour is democratic governance only, the authors are not averse to the idea of exploring the possibility of applicability of Learning Spiral to other forms of government:

"The Learning Spiral was applied and developed for democratic governmental systems or governments that want to transform their existing political systems into democratic ones. However, the question is raised to what extent the concept or at least some aspect of it may be applicable in other governmental systems, such as autocracies, monarchies, or different forms of tribal communities.....These are legitimate questions, which should find further attention in future research" (p. 160).

The authors have taken pains to highlight how individual learning and governmental learning are different and that the Learning Spiral is only about governmental learning. But ironically, there are similar pedagogical implications for classroom teaching too. In many ways, what works for the individual learning works for the governments also. The concept of 'black box of learning', teacher as a facilitator and co-learner, significance of contextual learning, a big no to 'one size fits all' approach, dialogical method, a comfortable physical space for effective learning and indispensability of face-to-face interaction along with e-learning are all too familiar clichés, difficult to miss for a pedagogue.

Black box is a timely intervention when the world is already assessing the progress of MDGs, a decade after their declaration. The book does succeed in its limited professed objective of organizing governmental learning and also provides a breezy overview of theories of governmental learning and governance. Written in a simple language and uncomplicated style, it can serve as a ready reckoner for anybody interested in organizing learning(read training) events successfully.

B. C. DAS (2009): Tribal Education – Trends and Future Scenario. Regal Publications, New Delhi. ISBN 978-81-8484-026-1, Pages 186 (Hardbound), Price ₹750/-.

India harbours the highest number of illiterates in the world in spite of the implementation of a series of policy measures since independence, to empower people through education - the key to a future of freedom and hope. It is well recognized by academicians as well as policy makers that education is the most substantive and critical input for the development of a child as well as for a society. The universalisation of education has been the central dogma of the educational plans and policies ever since our independence. A glance at the provisions made for educational expansion under the various five years plans, the recommendation of bodies like the Education Commission (1964-1966), the National Policy on Education, Operation blackboard, District Primary Education Program, Sarva Shiksha Abhiyan, etc., amply demonstrates that all such recommendations and steps that are undertaken post-India's independence, aim at providing equal educational opportunities to all. However, the progress in literacy has been "painfully slow" and this threatens to obstruct the Millennium Development Goals, as stated in the 'Education For All – Global Monitoring Report' of the UN, 2010. It is to be noted that among the various social groups in India, scheduled tribes are the most disadvantaged lot in this regard.

This book on Tribal education is indeed a noteworthy endeavour as it not only identifies the various loopholes in tribal education by reviewing a series of literatures but it has also touched upon the policy requirements which are needed to readdress the situation. The book is well documented and broadly conceptualized in terms of identifying the varying aspects of tribal education which is both informative and insightful. The book is divided into three parts – the first part deals with the theoretical aspects of tribal education like linkages between education and development, approaches and models of tribal education. The second part encompasses a wide range of literature of tribal education and its pros and cons in India and abroad. The only shortcoming in this section is that it has not included the intervention studies which are conducted over tribes in Central and South America. The third part of the book is based on a case study in Orissa mainly to understand the effectiveness of district primary education programme (DPEP) interventions. This part is unique in the sense that it has evaluated the programme through a wide angle telescopic range that has delved into a series of research questions like perceptions of the program users on DPEP interventions, the contribution of DPEP on school infrastructure etc, DPEP's role in motivating tribal children, teacher's competencies in teaching-learning activities and community perception in school management under DPEP. This section entails critical analysis and constructive suggestions. A host of suggestive educational policy measures have been put forth for educational expansion of tribal children.

Education plays a significant role in the overall development of the poor tribal population of India which is otherwise characterized by high school drop-out and low school participation rates apart from being gender sensitive. The impact of tribal education policy after independence can neither be said to be satisfactory nor can it be said to be very disappointing. Studying the shortcomings of the tribal education policy is the need of the hour and this book has made a significant attempt in this regard.

It must be added here that the book has however missed out some appealing policy measures that have proved successful among many Indian tribes. Few such cases which are worth mention in this regard could be the following:

Analyzing accessibility to school in tribal areas in their respective states, while Andhra Pradesh has set up community schools called 'Mabadi' in every habitation with at least 15 children, Tamil Nadu on its part has opened a number of forest schools in areas like Javadu hills of Tiru district. Again in Kerala, over 100 multi-grade centres have been set up in small tribal habitations. Interestingly, in Gadchirauli and Dhule of Maharashtra, contract schools have been set up in these habitations. Gujarat, on the other hand, addressed migrant tribes, with summer camps, seasonal hostels and salt farm schools to cover children from such tribal population. Bridge courses are run for such children to ensure that children could be readmitted back to formal schools. In perspective, in state like Himachal Pradesh, Sirmour district experimented with mobile teachers for managing migrating Gujjar children in Nohrudhar Education Block.

This work, however, lacks adequate details/projection of future scenario for tribal education although the title creates the readers' expectation in that regard.

Finally, it could be argued that as an educationist, the author has done his bit by covering many vital policy angles which can have critical implications for addressing the issues plaguing tribal education. Suggesting policy frameworks is the first step in initiating the whole process of development. Converting those suggestions into action plans need political goodwill and besides investments involving money, management, mentality, while building over achieved milestones are the most crucial parameters and it demands community involvement, motivation among program users and honesty of program personnel. In this respect it could be stated in a nutshell that tribes are poor for which economic assurance must be given for educational improvement and that requires public-private initiatives. Tribes value their culture and thus the schools in tribal areas must be tuned in to their socio-cultural milieu which needs community involvement. The remaining quality control in eradicating illiteracy and educating tribes entails good quality infrastructure in and around schools that demands political honesty (as input of money is not an issue in India but its complete implementation is) – the urge to do good for the people, by the people and of the people. The book has enumerated enough wayouts to improve the educational status among tribals by pinpointing policies at varying levels and thus, it deserves proper appreciation by policy makers.

Kenneth N. ROSS and Ilona Jurgens GENEVOIS (Eds.) (2006): Cross-national Studies of the Quality of Education – Planning their Design and Managing their Impact. International Institute for Educational Planning, Paris. ISBN: 92-803-1289-8, Pages 320, Price: not mentioned.

Expansion in any system invariably results in dilution of various components of quality. Education in developing countries underwent sharp expansion phase after most of them attained freedom from the colonial rule. Several constraints did not permit adequate steps being put in place to ensure minimum loss of quality; what to say of maintaining the existing levels and upgrading them. India's post-independence initiatives could be broadly characterized in three phases: expansion; followed by focus on participation/retention and finally learner attainments. This learner attainment aspect found a very specific focus in the National Policy on Education (1986/92). It is another matter that quality was mentioned in one way or the other in practically every document on educational changes and reforms but the system largely remained bogged-down in ensuring enrolments in schools and retaining them for eight years; and for access and participation. It is roughly estimated that over ten million children in the age group 6-14 still remain outside the school premises. In a large system, in a globalized world and after the ICT revolution, one would certainly like to remain aware of the developments all around and gain advantage from the experience of others, particularly from those facing similar problems and working under comparable conditions. The significance of cross-national studies was never in doubt amongst scholars and policy makers in spite of the nature of resources involved and the considerations of infrastructure and logistics involved in it. The idea was there for decades together and several instances could be cited when inter-country studies were conducted particularly in the context of universalization of education and its quality impacts. As the interest in quality grew and possibility of covering a larger canvas increased, the IIEP, Paris and Germany's Internationale Weiterbildung und Entwicklung gGmbH – Capacity Building International (In WEnt) organized a Policy Forum in Paris on 17 and 18 June 2004 on the topic "Cross-national Studies of Education: planning their design and managing their impact." The book under review is an outcome of the papers presented in that forum.

The Forum, as expected was very comprehensively designed. The Preface by the IBE Director Mark Bray gives the structure and content of the book very concisely. The papers presented, discussions that followed and the conclusions arrived at present a very clear canvas before the national level researchers, policy formulators and those entrusted with its implementation. The book culls out from the papers presented in the 'Forum' major background issues and takes an overview of such details as concepts, definitions on which a common understanding was necessary. An overview of national level studies on quality of education and the extent of impact on national policies was considered necessary before launching the project for comprehensive action. The next major lot on planning strategies attempted examining the three most important elements that are necessary in designing and implementing a project of this nature: 'What will be measured', 'Who will be measured' and 'What are the financial and logistic costs?' The third theme pertains to case studies on how the national ministries and international agencies have managed dissemination of relevant results.

After Jomtien, there is hardly any group or community which is unaware of the necessity of acquiring education to improve the quality of life. The Millennium Development Goals accepted at Dakar in 2000 once again confirmed the global acceptance of expanding education to all and, in the process, overcome all the roadblocks hampering the process. It is now universally acknowledged as the most critical and supportive acquisition for socio-economic uplift and upgradation of the individual family, community and the nation. The UNESCO view on quality which would be generally relevant to every nation, with suitable alterations needed to accommodate national requirements, social aspirations, cultural contexts and the scope of resource mobilization within the country and possible support from outside. This perspective on what is quality of education would interest every teacher end teacher educator apart from policy makers and implementers. A very illustrative description has been presented which accepts the criticality of the relationship between the learner and the teacher. It also acknowledges the importance of the inputs, processes, environment and outputs 'that surround and foster (or hamper) learning. These affect the quality of education at the learner level and also at the level of the system that creates and supports the learning experience.' The learning contexts vary rather invariably from context to context and as such both the elements have to be concretized only in specific contexts. The commonalities do help in contextualizing the strategies. The elements identified at the learner level have been identified as: what the learner brings? Content, processes and environment. Simultaneously, the elements at the education system have been identified as the strength and professional readiness of the administrative and managerial system; supportive legislative framework, resources and implementation of the policies. All this would be relevant only when means to measure what has really been achieved at the learner attainment level are incorporated as inbuilt ingredients of every policy action and initiative. This is necessary for policy formulation and change at the highest level and also for the teachers and schools at the implementation level. It is often complained that education policies are made, revised and reformulated by those who do not necessarily go by the research inputs and field level experiences but have their own considerations and compulsions that dominate policy formulation in democratic set-ups. 'Processes that organically link research and policy formulation still remain some sort of a mystery. The liner relationship in which problem and gap area is identified, research conducted and findings along with recommendations are delivered to the policy makers works rarely now. Growing complexities require effective response that incorporates all possible aspects.

What are the requirements of the policy makers? It has been inferred that in this context, the following six questions shall have to be responded to as essential inputs (pp. 53-54):

1. First, how well are students learning in the education system (with reference, for example, to general expectations, Education for All goals, the aims of curriculum, or preparation for life)?
2. Second, is there evidence of particular strengths and weaknesses in the knowledge and skills students have acquired?
3. Third, do the achievements of subgroups in the population differ? Are there, for example, disparities between the achievements of boys and girls, of students in urban and rural locations, of students from different language or ethnic groups, of students in different regions of the country, or students who drop out early or are repeating grades?

4. Fourth, to what extent achievement is associated with the characteristics of the environment (for example, school resources, teacher preparation and competence, and type of school or with student's home and community circumstances?)
5. Fifth, do the achievements of students change over time? This can be particularly important at a time of major changes in the system (for example, when participation rates are increasing, or when new subjects or curricula are being implemented).
6. Sixth, how do students' achievements relate to students' achievements in other education systems?

These questions need to be answered nationally by every system of education. In India everyone, from primary teacher to top policy maker, is familiar with these and most of them do understand the significance. It would not be difficult to cull out researches, surveys and studies which have attempted to find answers to practically each of these questions in different conditions and situations. There could be limitations because of resources, being area-specific and others but their significance cannot be denied. The All India Educational Surveys and also the Surveys of Research that NCERT undertakes at regular intervals may become more relevant if delays could be avoided. NUEPA surveys on learner attainment have added a new dimension in understanding learner attainments and also, on the other side, the physical and professional support system. Similar and related studies and surveys have been conducted in several countries. Instances could also be cited of bilateral surveys. The cross-national studies provide a far wider canvas and obviously a chance for understanding issues and concerns in depth and detail. Chapter four of the volume discusses relevant details of certain important studies that either are in progress or have been completed. A thorough analysis of all the available national and cross-national studies has been conducted and answers to the six questions posed above have been attempted (pp; 58-62). Some of the apprehensions expressed on cross-national studies have also been analyzed. These include the following (p. 79):

1. Are the Student Achievement Tests equally appropriate for all participating countries and do these take note of varying content and curricula?
2. Are the Target population definitions consistent across countries, and have these populations been sampled in a manner that avoids bias?
3. Have the research results been reported in a manner that informs and improves classroom teaching?

Six questions combined with the three major apprehensions could prove to be the backbone in the design of the instruments and in selecting samples. This 6x3 matrix also prepares ground for taking due care of the environment and socio-economic and cultural diversities. Probably, there is no conceivable diversity that does not find a place somewhere in India. It is also a fact that someone somewhere is attempting a solution. The chapter on What is a 'good' cross-national study presents the analysis for the benefit of informed teacher educators, educationists and planning experts. It attempts to give the possible perspectives of decision makers on one side and the researchers on the other. To accommodate the needs of these would require considerable ingenuity on the part of those who design the study. The analysis under the title 'What do ministers of education really think about cross-national studies' is indeed interesting and it summarizes all (p. 123): "ministers are public figures whose actions are subject to public scrutiny. The decision to participate in cross-national studies of quality is a risk because the publication of the results

may either enhance their public image, or may erode public confidence in them as leaders. They, therefore, have to grapple with tensions created by the need to know the truth (whether positive or negative) and the need to protect their image against potentially damaging messages contained in the results". Obviously, the systems of education do not work in isolation and their dependence on outside elements does make a big impact on initiatives and innovations that may result as a follow-up of even good policies on education. It has been pointed out that in cross-national studies on quality of education, "researchers are frequently motivated by curiosity and face the challenge of accommodating their own interest as well as the individual and collective issues and concerns of participating ministries" (p. 123). Obviously, all these are to be addressed suitably while designing the project and selecting the teams. Once the study is complete, another sensitive issue arises before the report is submitted to the governments. It requires high-level ingenuity 'to communicate both positive and negative results in a balanced manner that constitutes 'positive feedback'. Past experiences could be studied and suitably utilized.

Part one of this publication essentially deals with background issues for cross-national studies of the quality of education. Most of the details of planning the design of such studies are dealt with in considerable details in part two of the volume while part three deals with studies and policy reforms and how countries can manage the impact of excellent or poor-cross-national results. Part two and three supplement the consolidated comprehension of issues, concerns, processes, procedures, management issues and the rest. The details of the studies discussed could provide guidance in formulation, conduct, analysis and transfer of the results to the policy framework. In ideal situation one would like the contents of this book to be available to all the teacher preparation institutions and the policy makers in the ministries. It could also help the curriculum developers in teacher education, particularly when they deal with research methodology and related issues. Dissemination to the level of the classroom teacher is the key word.

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Mark BRAY (2009): Confronting the Shadow Education System: What Government Policies for What Private Tutoring? International Institute for Educational Planning. Paris. ISBN: 978-92-803-1333-8, Pages 132 (Paperback). Price not mentioned.

Mark Bray's book is, without doubt, an important contribution to understanding private tutoring in different contexts in its varied dimensions. The book is a sequel to the earlier works of the author on the same topic and is enriched by the discussions in a Policy Forum hosted by the International Institute for Educational Planning (IIEP) in July 2007 entitled 'Confronting the Shadow Education System: What Government Policies for What Private Tutoring? By giving the same title for the book, which draws extensively from the discussions in the Forum, the author more than adequately acknowledges the contributions

of the Policy Forum. The book illustrates the author's style of presenting even complicated things in a simple, easy to comprehend manner.

The book covers some of the major aspects of the topic in its five chapters. In the introductory chapter, quoting his own 1999 book entitled 'The Shadow Education System: Private Tutoring and its Implications for Planners', the author points out that "unlike most shadows, private supplementary tutoring is not just a passive entity but may negatively affect the body which it imitates" i.e., mainstream education system. The chapter also discusses the conceptual boundaries of the book. The book covers only paid tutoring and is limited to the tutoring given in academic subjects at the primary and secondary levels of education.

The second chapter titled 'Diagnosis' examines the scope, intensity, scale of operations and mode of private tutoring and its features in different countries/contexts as identified by various studies conducted by other scholars. For the same reason, the data provided in the book for different countries pertains to different periods of time and different levels of education. Despite this limitation, one cannot but acknowledge the fact that the phenomenon of private tutoring is growing in many parts of the world. The author observes that the phenomenon is visible both in low income countries and in high-income countries. It is more in urban areas than in rural areas. In some cultures, it is more among boys than girls. The data presented shows wide variations in the proportion of students going for private tuition. For instance, only one-third of primary school students in Bangladesh go for private tutoring while about three-fourths in China do so. Among the countries for which statistics is provided in the book, proportion of students going for private tutoring is the largest in Azerbaijan where over 90 per cent of the students had received it in the last grade of the secondary school. Variations in the intensity of private tutoring have been observed in terms of the time spent by students on private tutoring, subjects for which students seek private tutoring etc. Existing modes of tutoring include those delivered in person, those delivered by phone, television, or internet etc. There are also differences in the qualifications, experience and professional background of the providers of tutoring. The book also presents case studies of private tutoring in three countries viz., Korea, Mauritius and France. The author has also made it an interesting read by citing several country-specific features of the phenomenon as box items throughout the book.

The third chapter on policy responses discusses the various policies in many countries, addressing private tutoring and their strengths and weaknesses. The author differentiates the system prevailing in countries such as Australia, England, France, Singapore and USA from that existing in other countries. The policies in the afore-mentioned countries largely aim at improving the academic performance of low achievers by encouraging private tutoring. For instance, the Australian scheme entitled the Tutorial Voucher Scheme launched in 2004 enabled eligible parents to spend about US\$ 547 on private tutoring of their children. On the contrary, in many other countries the attempts were to dampen the demand for private tutoring. Highlighting the failure of governmental initiatives to prohibit private tutoring, the author concludes that a strong case can be made for prohibition of private tutoring by mainstream teachers but a blanket ban on private tutoring may not be advisable. The book also points out the importance of addressing the root causes (rather than the symptoms) of the increasing demand for private tutoring, some of which lie outside the education system. Though variations are observed in intensity, scale of operations and the mode of private tutoring among different countries, the diagnosis presented in the book

reveals some common features of the market-oriented private tutoring across the globe. However, the book falls short of bringing out policy options which may be uniformly applicable to all countries confronting the issue.

The fourth chapter titled 'Monitoring and Evaluation' emphasizes the need for proper monitoring and evaluation of the private tutoring which can be done by using quantitative surveys and qualitative research techniques. The book points out that including private tutoring as an item in questionnaires used in Censuses or Living Standard Surveys may not be sufficient. It is likely that only basic questions can be asked about tutoring as many government ministries may jostle to get their questions included. Though the book elaborates various methods for monitoring and evaluation such as school visits, student survey, teacher survey and survey of parents, it is felt that the chapter could be strengthened by incorporating additional details about the methodological aspects. Perhaps, a more detailed discussion on evaluating the effects of private tutoring on mainstream education also can find a place in this chapter. This is important as "private tutoring can distort the curriculum in the mainstream education, upsetting the sequence of learning planned by mainstream teachers and exacerbating diversity in classrooms." The last chapter titled 'Conclusions' argues in favour of regulating the sector. It also calls for learning from some of the positive aspects of the private tutoring system.

Mark Bray has made a very useful contribution to this relatively less researched area. The book provides valuable references on some of the major studies conducted internationally on the topic. The book deserves thorough reading, which, in turn, will help policy makers and researchers to address the issues related to the existence of private tutoring, which is rampant in India and elsewhere in the world. The issue has received only limited attention in India and remains largely unaddressed at the policy level. It has received scant attention in education reforms. The limited evidences on this important aspect of Indian education system include those by Sujatha of NUEPA and Jalauddin which have been partially covered in this volume. The National Sample Surveys in India provide some basic data such as the proportion of students reporting expenditure on private coaching and average per student expenditure on private tuition at different levels.

The book, it is hoped, will help in initiating new research on different aspects of the phenomenon of private tutoring – its magnitude, its effects on curriculum transaction, educational mobility of the disadvantaged groups etc. at the international, regional, national and sub-national contexts. Perhaps, the IIEP, to which the author belongs, can take the lead in organizing such studies on this important issue affecting the education system in many contexts, thereby producing comparable data.

Ronald BARNETT (2011): *Being a University*. London/New York: Routledge. ISBN: 978-0-415-59268-0; Pages: 188 (Paperback), Price: £ 24.99.

The world has experienced an unprecedented growth in university education during the 20th century – particularly during the second half, and more strikingly during the last quarter of the century. But for minor exceptions, the growth seems to be continuing unabated during the early decades of the new millennium as well. At the end of the 13th century there were hardly 20 universities. Today there are several thousands of universities, apart from several thousands of other institutions of higher education. Growth of universities is characterised by drastic transformation of their very nature. ‘University,’ drawn from its ancient designation of a ‘Stadium Generale,’ or ‘School of Universal Learning’ is conventionally seen as an institution where scholars, interested in a wide variety of areas of study, come from all over the world and participate in the process of creation and dissemination of universal knowledge. The scholars engage in serious scholarly discussions and debates, not only on their subject but on wider issues of historical and contemporary importance – social, political, economic, philosophical, cultural, scientific and technological. The concept of university is undergoing change over the last several generations, the change being more dynamic in the very recent decades. At a time when there is a craze for developing world class universities, it may be very interesting to re-examine the very concept of the university. *Being a University* becomes a very useful and stimulating reading in this context.

Extending the classification of J.G. Wissema (*Towards the Third Generation University: Managing the University in Transition*. Cheltenham, UK: Edward Elgar. 2009), I have classified the universities into five generations (Tilak: *Universities – An Endangered Species*, *Journal of the World University Forum* 2010): (a) universities of ancient period, for example, in ancient India and Europe, which pursued truth and knowledge, (b) the medieval universities, which could be regarded as those fitting Newman’s idea of a university, that it “is a place of *teaching universal knowledge*... its object is intellectual ... and diffusion and extension of knowledge rather than the advancement;” (c) the Humboldt model universities which added research to their functions and integrated education with research; (d) ‘multi-versities’, where the function of community service meant exploitation of research for economic gains; and (e) a much different fifth generation universities, which are essentially or predominantly characterised by commercialisation; their research activities being extremely limited – limited to revenue-generating activities, and their education programmes weak.

Ronald Barnett identifies four distinct stages in the development of universities. He describes how metaphysical universities of the ancient period where the scholars often wanted to see their endeavours in the horizon of large human ends, such as enlightenment, culture, intelligence, humanity and criticality, were transformed into scientific universities, which later gave way to corporate universities and entrepreneurial universities. However, the nature of all the four types of universities does still exist simultaneously. As Barnett notes that the contemporary university never complexly shrugs off its former stages. Within a single university of the present period, the research university is still present, even as the entrepreneurial university seeks to supplant it. The metaphysical university can also be seen today, especially in the humanities. Though all four forms co-exist, the highly valued and most endeared concept of university is disappearing. Is ‘university becoming an endangered

species?' Barnett says emphatically 'no'. "We do not see a university 'in ruins'. In some ways, the university is in good health" (p. 154). What is the cause for such optimism?

Barnett feels that entrepreneurial university does not mark the end of the change in the nature of the university. Entrepreneurial or corporate universities do not constitute the endpoints of the unfolding of the university. University is a dynamic institution and is always unfolding. It will change and new forms will further emerge, mainly because the entrepreneurial university is "excessively parochial and ill-matched to the challenges facing the university."

While the four chapters in Part I of the book offer a critique of these four forms of universities, Barnett's contribution lies essentially in the next Part II and Part III, more in Part III. Part II is concerned with a rich discussion of 'contending' concepts which are put together with a hope that we may discern a way forward that allows the university to go some way to realising both simultaneously. The contending concepts discussed are 'being and becoming', 'space and time', 'culture and anarchy' and 'authenticity and responsibility' in understanding the university. After all, a university has to live, and does live in multiple spaces and time frames, facing contending options all the time. Barnett makes a bold attempt to be imaginative on the emergence in the near future of new concepts of universities in Part III. Barnett visualizes likely emergence of four kinds of universities: the *liquid university*, the *therapeutic university*, the *authentic university*, and the *ecological university*. The liquid university is amoeba-like: it is always on the move, interacting with environment. It is not exactly shapeless, but it is a never-ending, succession of shapes. It reaches out here, and then there; it touches, it feels its environment and responds; it moves, assuming new shape, but only fleetingly. The therapeutic university is one that contains both virtuous and pernicious elements; at once, the possibilities both of utopia and dystopia. For example, in these universities market relationships exist, but also at the same time, a care of human beings – students and teachers. As Barnett states the therapeutic university is already with us. The authentic university has to be created afresh continually, amid the changing circumstances of the times. A university becomes authentic, according to Barnett, if it satisfies the conditions such as, *contingent-and-general*, *contingent-and-particular*, *particular value position*, and *general value conditions*, all framed in a given context of a country located in a global society. Authenticity would be a matter of continuous struggle in a university. The ecological university is a networked university, which takes its networks seriously; the university inhabits "a new ecosophy, at once applied and theoretical, ethico-political and aesthetic."

Are these ideas utopian? Barnett himself says, 'yes.' "They are utopian; they are almost certainly not going to be fully realised." They are feasible, and are already present. But Barnett also is aware that 'utopias are not necessarily all to the good, even if they were realised. As utopias, they look forward to situations that would be mostly beneficial but, as utopias, as they often harbour extreme hopes."

The dozen essays in the book are indeed full of powerful ideas, stimulating thoughts and serious thinking, and make everyone to critically think about the changing nature of universities. *Being a University* is a serious reading that one interested in the university systems would hardly afford to miss.

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