Journal of Educational Planning and Administration

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

JOURNAL OF
EDUCATIONAL PLANNING AND ADMINISTRATION
Vol. XXV No. 1 (January 2011)

CONTENTS

Book Reviews

Obituary

We deeply regret to announce that Professor Tapas Majumdar, a member of the International Editorial Advisory Board of the JOURNAL - has passed away on 15th October 2010. Professor Majumdar served as a Professor at the Jawaharlal Nehru University and chaired several important committees on financing of education, constituted by the Government of India. We miss his valuable advice that he offered frequently for the improvement of the JOURNAL.

(1929 -2010)

Systems Theory Perspective on Education for Rural Transformation

In the Dialectic Between Global Contexts and Local Conditions*

H.S. Bhola[#]

Abstract

Saints and sages and the other wise ones across the ages have been telling us that Reality enveloping us all is one and indivisible. Those among us, with reflective minds and uncommon commonsense, have understood all along, that the social world also is one and indivisible. Social scientists have now distilled commonsense about the workings of the social world into principles and organized those principles into "Systems Theory" to guide us in our analyses, interventions and evaluations to realize our designs of imagined perfect futures. Systems Theory itself is shown to be embedded within an Epistemic Triangle formed by systems thinking, constructivist thinking and dialectical thinking. The CLER Model – advising optimization of synergy among social Configurations, Linkages, Environments, and Resources – is offered for the application of Systems Theory in real world of practice.

The Essential Theoretical Perspective

Systems theory (or systems thinking, or total system thinking or holistic thinking) is offered as the essential theoretical perspective for both understanding and for intervening in the dynamic relationship between education and rural transformation, within nations. Systems Theory is shown to be fully integrated with constructivist theory and dialectical theory as part of an epistemic triangle. Thus seen, the epistemic triangle is able to reveal the complexity of a social setting in which Education will be used as a means to achieve anticipated ends of Rural Transformation. Further, it will enable us to Construct Boundaries of systems of Education and Rural Transformation as appropriate to particular settings. This epistemological perspective will also permit us to focus on the calculus of means and ends to be employed in the project at hand; and to live with all Emergences, resulting from Interdependence and Interrelations of mutual shaping between and among systems. Most importantly, it will enable us to do all this in resonance with the multi-layered Contexts, from the Global down to the Local. It needs to be said that Systems Theory is not confined to the social world but is indeed interfaced with the ever present, culturally-rooted Spiritual Systems, thereby invoking questions that relate to the Moral and the Ethical.

Let us begin by stating that there is a significant difference between being Systemic and being Systematic. Being systematic is to be a positivist in our plans, interventions and evaluations. Being Systematic does not include being Systemic, which is to take a system as a whole, and not be confined to its particular parts or to linear connections within. Systemic, however, can and often does include the systematic, because the larger system as bounded, may include "social spaces", wherein indicators of outputs and behaviours are so concrete that they are not contestable in that particular setting, and where assumptions about cause-and-effect chains are not arguable in the immediate time-frame. This means that in the study of social systems, Numbers and Meanings can, and perhaps should, come to be joined.

Expanding on Systems Theory for Holistic Thinking

The understanding of our existential reality as one cosmic whole is embedded in the sayings of the prophets, poets, and philosophers from ages long ago. But formalized and codified Systems Theory, as a tool for understanding and reconstructing the world, entered the discourses of social sciences much more recently, with the publication of Bertalanffy's General Systems Theory (Bertalanffy 1968). Much has been written on systems theory and practice since then, as evidenced in the four-volume set of books on Systems Thinking, edited by Midgley which includes 76 select classical and contemporary papers on General Systems Theory which now subsumes cybernetics and complexity; second-order cybernetics; systemic modeling; systemic therapy and other soft systems. Also included are critical systems thinking and systemic perspectives on ethics, power and pluralism (Midgley 2002). More recently, we have come to the realization that Spiritual Systems as well have been embedded within the complexities of social systems (Bhola 2000).

The Epistemic Triangle

Based on a critical analysis and parsing of the Systems Theory, Bhola (1996) had suggested that Systems Theory was not one self-sufficient epistemology and that indeed

some of its essential conceptualizations such as Boundary Setting, and Emergence, had their roots in two other epistemologies of Constructivism, and of Dialectics. Hence the idea of an Epistemic Triangle of three equal sides representing Systems Theory, Constructivist Theory, and Dialectical Theory succinctly introduced above (Bhola 1996, 2002).

Some significant attributes of each of the three components of the Epistemic Triangle are suggested below.

The First Angle: Systems Thinking

The Absolute Essentials of Systems Thinking – Complexity, Interdependence, Hierarchy, and Emergence: The first and foremost essential of Systems Theory is that it assumes any initially bounded parcel of social reality under consideration (call it an initial system) to be located within the complexity of on-going social processes and existent social arrangements. This initial system is in interdependence with other micro-social organizations (bounded subsystems) within it; and also with other macro-social organizations (bounded super systems) without. All these interdependent systems are related both horizontally and vertically; and may be in states of interfaces, overlaps and/or intersections. These interdependent systems are also in continuous relationships of mutual-shaping which create what are called Emergences – these Emergences being 'consequential', rather than 'causal', cannot necessarily be anticipated in advance. Various Emergences can ultimately be organized as a Hierarchy of knowledge-laden statements.

The Process of Boundary-setting: The bounding an initial system, referred to above is by no means an easy task since the criteria used for boundary-setting may seldom be merely territorial, and will more importantly, also include the socio-geographical, cultural, and political-economic; and in our times also "virtual" spaces carved from various media domains.

Of Contexts and Conditions: Systems Theory seen as part of the Epistemic Triangle is rich in theoretical content in several ways. First, regarding its theoretic substance is its recognition of the importance of Context – the umbrella under which the particular system in transformation is located. Contexts – actually the outermost significant boundaries of mega systems -- are, more often than not, multi-layered. Contexts may include layers of History, Culture, Political-Economy, Technology, and Social and Bureaucratic Structures globally and within nations. It can be suggested that in our times, first Globalization, and then Political Economy of a nation, may easily be the two most important layers of the Context of any large-scale social change, anywhere on the globe. At the other end of the layered Context, are the concrete local Conditions – mini-contexts of sorts. Concrete conditions govern our actions on the ground, determining what the local circumstances will permit or will forbid. The dialectic between Contexts and local Conditions is an important consideration in analysis of any and all policy processes of planned change and transformation.

The Second Angle: Constructivist Thinking

Constructivist Theory asserts that reality does not lie out there for everyone to see and accept as it appears, without disagreement regarding its meaning; but that reality is indeed individually and socially constructed. Of course, there are not over 8 billion plus versions of realities, one for each man, woman and child on the globe. These realities do get

collectivized more or less broadly, over long historical and cultural calendars. Some through processes of knowledge-making by research and analysis, come to acquire the status of truth – at least tentatively. In the same vein, systems do not exist in nature, but are constructed through the process of boundary-setting, again involving individual and social constructions. Boundaries may also not always be constructed anew. Some socially constructed systems with their particular boundaries and levels may have served us so well that they have come to be accepted as "natural systems." On the other hand some systems will sometimes be purposely constructed to be "Open Systems."

In our case of the social dynamics of Education for Rural Transformation, we should expect to face a confounding mixture of agreement and disagreement, of clarity and confusion, about all our constructions and reconstructions. Even the three Key Concepts used in the title of the Symposium – Education, Rural, and Transformation – will need to be reconstructed in the Contexts and Conditions of nations and regions where education will be harnessed for the project of Rural Development. Even the boundaries of the system wherein the processes will unfold will continue to be reconstructed over time to respond to history, ideology (Harding 1998) and standpoints of the power-elite (Durham 1998).

The Third Angle: Dialectical Thinking

Dialectical Thinking essentially means that relationships among social entities are not one-directional, or deterministic, but interactive and mutually-shaping processes. Thus, Dialectical Theory accommodates the idea of mutual shaping leading to Emergences – a process not amenable to Aristotelian logic. Dialectics also enables us to negotiate the limits of rationality and join it with the possibilities of praxis, and thus need not reject positivism out of hand. This conception of an epistemic triangle also enables connections with critical theory, feminism and postmodernism (Bhola 2002).

Globalization and Political Economy: Two Most Significant Layers of the Context of 'Education for Rural Transformation'

In presenting the essentials of Systems Theory – as part of the Epistemic Triangle – we had suggested that all social Policy and Action is shaped, first and foremost, by the dialectic between the Context (almost always multi-layered) on the one hand, and Conditions in the local setting on the other hand. Any exercise for putting Education to work in Rural Transformation must therefore begin with an understanding of its layered Context. In our case the two most important layers of the Context are: (1) Globalization, and (2) the Political Economy of the respective nations.

Globalization, a universal phenomenon of our times, is often viewed to have accelerated world history and shrunk the Globe, making all nations and peoples, neighbors of each other. Under Globalization, all nations of the world – sometimes categorized as Weak States, Fragile States and Strong States – are in the processes of assuming the same ways of being and behaving through shared ideology (but with own definitions of democracy!) and technology. Some nations in the global community are moving too slowly, hindered by sentimentality about their indigenous traditions and knowledge; and others running headlong into the new futures, even recklessly (O'Meara, Mehlinger and Krain, 2000).

Agents and Agencies Influencing Globalization of Thinking and Acting for Rural Development

As expected, Globalization has dramatically influenced national policies and practices of Education for Rural Reconstruction around the globe. And indeed, it is the whole conclave of international agencies that has been responsible for the renewed interest in Rural Transformation around the Globe. Several important initiatives have been taken under the aegis of United Nations in cooperation with others of its affiliated agencies, such as UNESCO, UNDP, WHO, FAO, UNIDO and others like UNICEF. Several international agencies outside the UN family, such as OECD and World Bank, and multiple bilateral agencies, have also worked in cooperation with the UN and provided support to developing nations through Loans and Grants for project planning and implementation. It is not within the scope of this paper to present a detailed history of influences of Globalization and of Global institutions on Rural Development worldwide. However, a thumbnail sketch could yet be useful.

Establishment of INRULED

In 1994 in cooperation with the Peoples' Republic of China, UNESCO established INRULED – the UNESCO-International Center for Research and Training for Rural Education Development (INRULED), which has since engaged in developing discourses in Rural Education and promoting theory and practice in the area ever since. Undoubtedly, this initiative of UNESCO and PRC (Peoples' Republic of China) can be seen as a special marker in focusing international interest on Rural Education for Rural Transformation (UNESCO/INRULED, 2010).

The Wikipedia entry on the above subject states: "Over the years INRULED has initiated and facilitated a wide range of programs and activities focused on rural education which have direct bearing on rural development and poverty reduction with linkages to the midterm and biennial programs of UNESCO in literacy, continuing education and primary education within the broader framework of Education for All (EFA). INRULED is inclusive in these programs and activities, in that it has involved practitioners and specialists from around the World, with particular emphasis on South-South participation and collaboration. The products and outcomes of these activities are significant and have resulted in many valuable publications (paper and electronic) and informal networking of a wide range of institutions and professionals whose work focuses on development of education in rural areas in developing countries (Wikipedia 2010)."

Folding of the "Education for Rural Development" into Other United Nations' Initiatives with Shared Goals

The most significant development in regard to Education for Rural Development may have been that United Nations (and its affiliated agencies working together have folded the project of Education for Rural Development into its ongoing international initiatives such as EFA (Education for All) Initiative and then into the Millennium Development Goals (MDGs), leading ultimately to Sustainable Development, with emphasis on Poverty Eradication (2008, 2009).

A series of ministerial meetings organized under the aegis of United Nations on the subject of Rural Development have adopted Resolutions directed to policy makers around

the globe. For one, the Ministerial Declaration of July 2003 stated that the eradication of rural poverty and hunger was critical to the achievement of the internationally agreed development goals now included in The Millennium Development Goals (MDGs); and then went on to declare emphatically that "rural development should be an integral part of national and international development policies, including bilateral donor response strategies and the activities and programmes of the United Nations system (UN Public-Private Alliance 2004, accessed 2010)."

A subsequent Resolution of 12 July 2004 emphasized the use of systems approach to Rural Development asking for a "Coordinated and integrated United Nations system approach to promoting rural development in developing countries, with due consideration to least developed countries, for poverty eradication and sustainable development."

Another Meeting in 2004 asked for "firm Global Partnerships." A meeting in July 2005 returned to the problem of poverty eradication and sustainable development (United Nations, 1996, 2010). The July 2005 meeting was not meant to be the last and such meetings were anticipated to continue during the coming years.

Parallel to the series of meetings reported above, during 2003- 2004, another important meeting took place at the behest of the Economic and Social Council of UN which in the spirit of the times, asserted: "It is almost self-evident that in this age of globalized trade and information, an integrated approach to development is the only possible course. Any successful development must take into account the social, cultural, economic, environmental and geographic realities that shape the lives of peoples all over the world." The Council went on to suggest that all this was possible to encompass by taking systems theory perspectives (United Nations 2004).

The recent report by United Nations Research Institute for Social Development (UNRISD) and speeches made on the occasion do take a macro political-economic view of poverty eradication which has to be at the core of any project of education for rural transformation: "Even if globally the poverty rate is reduced by half by 2015, as the latest United Nations progress report on the MDGs [Millennium Development Goals] suggests, about one billion people will still be mired in extreme poverty by 2015." .... "The authors do not deny some of the macroeconomic policy needs embodied in the World Bank's PRSPs, or the goal-setting of the UN-MDGs and of programs in specific sectors. But they argue that these approaches are doomed to fail by addressing poverty as a "residual category" rather than pursuing structural transformations, including job creation, universal rights to social services, and countering inequality as well as poverty. .... The "often contradictory impact of certain macroeconomic policies; and the political and social relations that structure power and exclusion" continues to prevail (UNRISD, 2010)."

The same issues and themes were reiterated by the United Nations General-Secretary in his "Closing Remarks at High Level Plenary Meeting of the General Assembly on the Millennium Development Goals (New York, 22 September 2010' where "a rejuvenated global partnership was sought for "inclusive and sustainable development', with special emphasis on women empowerment.   [http://www.un.org/en/ga/65/meetings/index/shtml]. [See also, the Working Document for current International Symposium: Internet Address, ERT Symposium 2010 Working Document/PDE.pdf, Adobe Reader].

Context of Political-Economy of Nations

Having projected the dominant all-pervasive influences of Globalization on projects like the one in hand, we now move to the second most important layer of the total context, that of Political Economy. It should be pointed out that Globalization as the outermost layer of the total Context has influenced the second layer of the total context, that is, of Political Economy, in significant ways. Yet, the layer of political economy has acted as a filter that was often selective and active in re-shaping what it let through.

The Making and Un-making of the Breton Woods Consensus

In the discourses of development within United Nations and other international agencies, direct references are hardly ever made to political ideologies, or to political-economies of nations. This is so because the United Nations and its affiliated organizations are all supposed to assume an apolitical stance in all their discourses of development to be able to serve the interests and needs of all its member states which do of course have different ideologies and political economies, ranging from Marxists, Maoists, Socialists and Fascists to Monarchist, Theocratic, Capitalist and Democratic states. Yet Globalization had always embedded in it, an ideology of political-economy, as sanctified in the Breton Woods Consensus of 1944 that foresaw a world where nations pursued Politics of Democracy with popular voting and Free Market Economy linked on to privatization, free trade, and minimum state regulation. The World Bank and the International Monetary Fund came to be the standard bearers of this Ideology of Political-Economy.

The ideology and the model of change in the politics and economies preached by the ex-colonial, powerful nations of the West, often accompanied by Grants and Loans and technical assistance, could not be completely resisted by the powerless and poor developing nations – only a few nations with mature polities and economies such as India, China and some others could hold their own – to an extent. Yet no nation was an empty slate on which the new scripts could be written in quick short-hand. The processes of social-structural changes in politics and economy are inherently gradual. There were complexities of history, culture, demography, economy and technology within which proposed models had to be re-invented and slowly implanted in social structures and individual identities. That helped the powerless nations to withstand the pressures of Globalization to some extent.

In the 1980s, the Model of political economy being sold by the West was itself under pressure. "Capitalism with a Human Face"; "Market with Social Responsibilities", and similar other slogans were being invented. Economic Development became Socio-Economic Development, which then morphed into Sustainable Development with clear and direct emphasis on Poverty Eradication (Bhola 2008).

Adam Smith's vision of capitalism based on Free Market, suggesting that the Invisible Hand of the Market will solve all problems, is now considered laughable. Anatole Kaletsky in his book has talked of four generations of Capitalism that have emerged during the last two hundred years: (i) The classical era of laissez-faire (or Capitalism 1.0); (ii) The Depression (which spawned the government-heavy era of Capitalism 2.0); (iii) The stagflationary 1970s (from which rose the free-market Capitalism 3.0); and (iv) Capitalism that is now emerging is Capitalism 4.0 -- transforming relationship between markets and governments; and between Politics and Economics (Kaletsky 2010).

Choosing the Middle Way: In China and India

While the Free Market was being bridled in the West, the political elite both in China and India, for their own reasons, wanted to harness the Market to their Political and Economic ends. In China, Deng Xiaoping, the paramount leader from 1978 to early 1990s, was toying with the idea of moving China toward the Market Economy. In 1990, when this author was in China for a one-month-long UNESCO Mission on Literacy for Development, he was astounded when every national counterpart that he worked with was repeating Deng's already famous quotation: "*To get rich is glorious.*" China has since accepted "Socialism with Chinese Characteristics," and embracing Capitalism only insofar as it could be used as an instrument of state power." State-owned Industrial and Business Corporation and Banks, for example, engage in Market behaviour, but the Communist Party diktat of "Macro-prudential supervision" prevails. The goal is the search for "harmonious society."

The Economist in a recent issue suggested that China is not quite rejecting Western values such as democracy but rather fighting over those values. The supporters of the Chinese Model believe "that people should obey the government, the state should control assets and the interests of individuals are subordinate to those of local development." They are today pitted against the liberal model of Universal Values – *pushi jiazhi* – that includes concepts commonly associated with "freedom, democracy and human rights." As Mr. Wen, an authoritative voice in China, had said in 2007: "science, democracy, rule of law, freedom and human rights are not unique to capitalism, but are values commonly pursued by mankind over a long period of history (October 2nd, 2010)."

India with its Parliamentary Democracy – in spite of all its distortions, disruptions and corruptions – was yet congenial to the political ideals of the West. The Economic Order as it prevailed in India did not, however, have much to commend itself. The rural economy overall was in the hand of landlords, and the new industrial economy was shaping up into a State owned system – benefiting only the new political class, the managers and bureaucrats, and new professionals. India's State Capitalism, joined with Permit-License Raj was suffocating innovation and entrepreneurship. During the years 1991-1996, Manmohan Singh, who at one time held a high position in the World Bank, became India's Finance Minister. In that position, he undertook dramatic steps to move towards the Free Market Economy, to end the Permit-License Raj and to open the economy to greater opportunities for trade and investments. Yet the state was not to neglect its responsibility for the common welfare of peoples, particularly of the poor, powerless and the excluded. These policies are very much alive today. Such re-constructions of national political-economies had consequences for Rural Development both in China and India.

Systems Analysis for Informing Both Policy and Action

Systems-Thinking as the arrowhead of the Epistemic Triangle formed by Systems Thinking, Constructivist Thinking and Dialectical Thinking (as presented in Section I above), compels the understanding that Policy Making, Policy Implementation, and Policy Evaluation are first and foremost social processes which are, of course, at the same time informed by analytics, methodologies and technologies provided by philosophy and social sciences and now computer sciences. Each of the three processes of policy making, implementation and evaluation are in dialectical relationships each with the other. A good Policymaker engaged

in the process of policymaking, looks ahead to implementation and evaluation. Successful Implementers look before and after as they develop the logic of action, and design programs and projects and innovative strategies for actualization of policy intents. Good Evaluators look back to policy assumptions and statements, to choose priorities among evaluation questions and to write indicators based on the work of policymakers and implementers. In conducting formative evaluation studies, they influence changes, big and small, in policy itself, as also in the objectives and designs of implementation. In conducting summative evaluations, Evaluators, produce assessments of results obtained, enabling more important rethinking of policy and implementation processes. By developing comprehensive Management Information Systems (MISs) they influence similar projects elsewhere, at home and abroad (Bhola 2005).

The Practice of 'Education for Rural Transformation'

In the praxis and practice of social intentions on the ground in society, the following basic questions arise: What will be done? Who will do it? How will it be done? Who will it be done to?

The categories of the Configurations Model for Planned Change and Innovation Diffusion (the CLER model) (Bhola 1988), should provide an understanding of the complexities of the project of "Education for Rural Transformation"; and then enable us to invent strategies for appropriate interventions (See Graphic Below).

A View of Actors and Actions

Multi-layered Context of Policy Processes

Planner System	Objective of Change	Adopter System

The Logic of Action
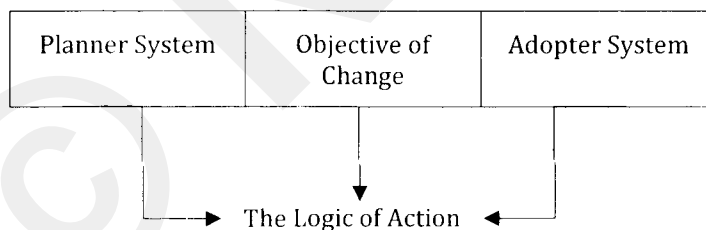
In developing a Discourse relating to the Calculus of Means-and-Ends for using "Education" to generate "Rural Transformation," dictionary meanings or standard definitions of the concepts and descriptors contained herein will not do; nor will their usage in other national and international projects suffice. These concepts and descriptors will have to be reconstructed in the contexts and conditions, at a particular time and location, of our particular project of planned change. The logic of action in this case, that is, using Education as the Instrument of Rural Transformation will also need to be justified. Serious work will be needed in boundary-setting both of the Planner System and the Adopter System that cannot be taken as granted and for good, since the two exist in dialectical interfaces with each other – and with the Objective of Change. All this could compel the planners to re-form the boundaries of Planner and Adopter Systems – and include new actors and agents and oust

13

old ones – as new realities may demand. In the following we will expand on some of these predicaments.

Defining the Rural Condition

There is more to a rural area than being "located outside the municipal limits of a city." As defined in an FAO-UNESCO monograph, Rural Area is: "a space where human settlement and infrastructure occupy only a small share of the landscape; natural environment dominated by pastures, forests, mountains and deserts; settlements of low density (about 5-10,000 persons); places where most people work on farms; the availability of land at a relatively low cost; a place where activities are affected by a high transaction cost, associated with long distance from cities and poor infrastructures (Atchoarena and Gasperini, 2003. p. 25).

This definition provides a useful springboard for developing useful definition in situ, to resonate to the fast-changing new demographic realities. Consider the phenomenon of migrations from the rural to the urban. In China today, we see villages "of empty rooms, children left behind and frail grandparents who struggle to hold it all together. Most of the able-bodied adults have left the hamlet of rutted muddy roads and drought-withered fields of corn." Almost a third of the rural children, we are told, "are growing up without one or both parents who have migrated in search of work" (Stack October 2010.)

Regarding the coming over of the Rural to the Urban in India, a Hollywood Film, Slum Dog Millionaire, now world known, told the story at the other end of migrations from rural to urban. Except for the fictional slum dog growing up to be a millionaire, the depictions of slum dwellers living in filth, surrounded by crime, exploitation and inevitable despair is close to realities of the rural migrants now settled in city slums. There is nothing fictional about it. The phenomenon of migration from rural to urban is not confined to high population countries like China and India, but is occurring in all developing countries.

This challenges us to re-define the Rural Condition and what Rural Transformation would mean, in our times?

Meaning of Rural Transformation

What is the structure and content of Rural Transformation that development professionals seek to bring to the people in rural communities in present-day rural areas? How is it different from the older and perhaps less passionate term, Rural Development? How do we derive a practical set of operations to undertake to actualize development or transformation?

Atchoarena and Gasperini of the FAO/UNESCO study of 2003 stay with the old more staid term, Rural Development which for them: "encompasses agriculture, education, infrastructure, health, capacity-building for other than on-farm employment, rural institutions and the needs of vulnerable groups. Rural development aims at improving rural people's livelihoods in an equitable and sustainable manner, both socially and environmentally, through better access to assets (natural, physical, human, technological, and social capital), and services, and control over productive capital (in its financial or economic and political forms), that enable them to improve their livelihoods on a sustainable and equitable basis" (Atchoarena and Gasperini, 2003, page 25)."

The theoretical perspective offered in this paper will, of course, require that the concept of Rural Transformation be re-constructed and re-defined within the existent dialectic between Context and Conditions within a particular place – well-bounded Rural areas under review.

Education as Instrument of Rural Transformation

Education, in itself, is a complex concept. One set of categories of education includes: Formal Education (meaning schooling), Non-formal Education (provided in out-of-school settings for those bypassed or underserved by formal schooling) and Informal education (that comes closest to socialization within families and at work places). Formal Education has been further classified by levels, such as Basic (or Elementary or Primary) Education; Middle or Junior Higher School Education; High School or Secondary Education; Higher Secondary Education; and College or University Education. In one sense Rural Transformation will need to draw from all these categories of education for meeting its needs for Research and Development, Capacity Building within Institutions, and Training of agents to work within these institutions and out in the field. The more important question, however, that must be answered is: "What category and content of education will be required for the prospective beneficiaries of Rural Transformation?

In earlier debates of what education will best serve the purposes of development, including Rural Development, the answer more often than not was Adult Literacy. It was assumed rightfully that adult men and women – who were already in the culture, in the politics and in the economy of the community – would have to be the agents of their own development and the development of their rural communities. Literacy as the Chinese educators had proclaimed was the "Portal to All Knowledge." As knowledge-content was added to the 3-Rs, Adult Literacy would inevitably become Adult Education including agricultural extension and health extension. By an irony of History, Literacy a term which was always used in relation to adults (Reading was the term reserved for "literacy" for children) was now made ambiguous by using the term literacy both for adults and school children. With the equation of Development with Modernization, schools came to be preferred as places for imparting literacy; and "adult education" as it used to be, now came to be neglected. The United Nations projects of Education for All (EFA) over time came to be "Education for All Children". The Millennium Development Goals proclaimed in 2000 have continued with their sharp focus on Primary Education of Children and make no mention of Adult Education of Rural folks. More recently whatever used to be "Education" has become "Learning" and thereby "Adult Education" has become "Adult Learning" – as if Learning could always happen without any formal or non-formal, more or less organized experience called, "Education!"

The Logic of Action

The logic of action in this discourse – that is, focusing on Education as the Instrument of choice for Rural Transformation -- also needs justification. Most social scientists and policy makers and planners today would assert that while Education is necessary for social change including Rural Transformation, it is by no means sufficient. Planned social change does indeed have two dimensions – the instructional and structural, and the two must be joined together. Education (that is, the instructional component) will not only teach needed skills

for life and work but also help beneficiaries to internalize their rights, realize their own self-interests, be prepared for the new powers and responsibilities, and acquire knowledge, attitudes and skills needed to continue to enhance their life styles and life chances and the futures of their children. But without accompanying structural change, educational achievements will be systemically inconsequential. Atchoarena and Gasperini in their definition of Rural Transformation emphatically make this same point of joining the instructional with the structural (2003, page 25)."

Related with the above is another consideration: the question of "What Education?" The type, level, and content of education suitable in one set of context and conditions would not suite another setting. What is good for urban slums may not be suited to agrarian communities. Most developing nations have not just one homogeneous economy, but three simultaneous economies – subsistence economy, intermediate economy, and corporate economy (Bhola 2007). Learners in different locations must be prepared to function first within their communities – but without blocking their possibilities to migrate to another economy for better rewards.

Scenarios and Scripts for Rural Transformation

The CLER Model, presented earlier in the preceding, also suggests that for designing interventions, all of the four factors, relevant to action on the ground: Configurations of Planner and Adopter Systems; Linkages between and within Configurations and their constituent parts; Environments in which Planner System and Adopter System are located; and Resources available to both systems, should all together be synergized, not necessarily be maximized – to increase the probability of a change event occurring as intended.

Understanding the Dynamics within the Systems Bounded as Planner and Adopter Systems: Analysis of the larger system defined as Education for Rural Reconstruction should reveal the presence of two major Social Configurations formed of systems, supra-systems and sub-systems: (i) one describing the policymaking Configuration; and (ii) another of the Configuration including beneficiary entities. Both will in turn include Individuals, Groups, Institutions or Organizations, and Communities or sub-Cultures all joined in horizontal or hierarchical relationships. The Linkages creating these configurations will be both formal and volitional. The Resources available to various entities, at various levels and locations of the total system, will be different and varied including: cognitive-conceptual, institutional, material, of personnel, of influence and goodwill, and of time. Not all entities necessarily will be responding to the same one Environment – they might indeed be dancing to many different drummers. These four analytical razors, organized together as the CLER Model, will first help in understanding the field situation and then provide a Logic of Action for transforming it (Bhola 1988).

Using the CLER Model for Socio-graphics for Choosing Points of Intervention and Resource allocations: It should also be stated here that Configurations of Planner and Adopter Systems can be further identified as Individuals, Groups, Institutions and Communities or Sub-cultures and then be seen to exist in sixteen configurations-based relationships: I-I, I-G, I-IS, I-CL; G-I, G-G, G-IS, G-CL; IS-I, IS-G, IS-IS, IS-CL; CL-I, CL-G, CL-IS, CL-CL. This analysis can thus be used in developing useful socio-graphics to identify points of potential intervention and their content.

Strategies of Making Change: The Socio-Graphic placed beside the statement of Objectives would also beg further questions such as: What agents and agencies identified as constituents of the policy system have the rights and obligations of achieving one or more of those change objectives? What level or levels of the state will (or should) be engaged in the implementation and subsequent evaluation? Should civil society and private organizations be invited to join the state initiative? Another set of questions would be regarding Commitment, Competence, Communication, and Compassion among the providers, for the poor and powerless to whom these programmes are directed. A programme like Education for Rural Transformation that deals with the poor and powerless cannot be seen as just one of scores of such initiatives undertaken by government. The power elite at the highest levels should set an example and work consistently at all levels to keep commitments alive. Accountability should be more than a fancy word but joined with clear incentives and disincentives (Bhola 2010).

Competence Through Organized Capacity Building for Competent Work: Capacity Building within the total system will on the one hand require Agendas of R&D, and on the other hand, training of field workers, with trainers and evaluators. Between these two ends, Agendas for Research, both general and applied, and for Development based on that research, would lay bare further needs for Capacity Building and Training of agents and agencies involved. The Evaluation function will require particular attention and guidance for designing and developing Management Information Systems (MISs) for storing data usable for formative and summative in-house evaluations and for sharing with national and international data systems.

Drawing Lessons from Experience

Lessons from experiences of self or others, from own country or other nations are neither easily nor correctly drawn. Different lessons may be learned by different agents and agencies depending on their standpoints and perspectives that are brought to bear on the processes of "reading the reality" as constructed; analyzing the calculus of means and ends employed; and then engaging in the act of applying those lessons to own condition.

To illuminate these processes, considerable amount of theoretical work has become available in such areas as innovation diffusion, technology transfer, social intervention models, management theory, knowledge transfer, and programme and implementation theory. More recently, there has been discussion of planned change under the rubrics of "Policy Borrowing" and "Scaling-Up, that is, going from small-scale experiment and tested results to a large-scale programme" (Coffman 2010). Once again the essential point to be made in drawing lessons is that borrowing and scaling up should be done, both by borrowers and lenders, within the perspectives of systems theory and practice.

The Moral Imperative

Finally, all said and done, the Moral Question must be faced. Here again, systems thinking should help, for Systemic thinking does include not only ideology and epistemology, but also the moral system. System theorists crave for joining the social scientific with the spiritual (Bhola 1994). They seek a universal moral order of social justice, mutual tolerance and global peace. Both China and India can rightly boast of grand moral traditions – but that

all seems to be in the distant past. Stories, from both these great lands, are today sadly of greed, corruption and deceit. These stories are not just spun by detractors at home and the enemies abroad, but are based on carefully developed evidence from everyday life of people of these two nations by agencies like Transparency International.

Hoping against Hope, I like to end by hoping that We Will Overcome!

References

Atcharena, David and Lavinia Gasperini, Coordinators and Editors (2003): *Education and Rural Development: Towards New Policy Responses*. Rome: FAO/Paris: UNESCO/New Delhi: Rawat Books.

Bertalanffy, Ludwig von (1968): *General Systems Theory: Foundations, Development, Applications*. New York: George Braziller.

Bhola, H.S. (1988): The CLER Model of Innovation Diffusion, Planned Change and Development: A Conceptual Update and Applications. *Knowledge and Society: An International Journal of Knowledge Transfer*. 1(4), 56-66.

___ (1994): Self, Systems, Cycles, and Harmonies: The Essence of Guru Nanak's Japji. (pp. 1663-1669). *Proceedings of the Thirty-Eighth Annual Meeting of the International Society for Systems Sciences*, July 14-19, 1994. Asilomar, CA., USA.

___ (1996): Between Limits of Rationality and Possibilities of Praxis: Purposive Action from the Heart of an Epistemic Triangle, *Entrepreneurship, Innovation and Change*, 5, 33-47.

___ (2000): Civilizing Globalization, Celebrating the New Millennium: Not Without Systems, Not Without the Spirit, *Proceedings of the Forty-Fourth Annual Meeting of the International Society for Systems Sciences*, July 19-22, 2000. Toronto, Canada.

___ (2002): A Discourse on Educational Leadership: Global Themes, Postmodern Perspectives, *Studies in Philosophy and Education*. 21 (2), 181-202.

___ (2003): Policy: A Holistic Perspective, *Journal of Educational Planning and Administration*. Volume XVII, No. 1, pp. 85-104.

___ (2005): "Approaches to Monitoring and Evaluation in Literacy Programs", a paper commissioned by UNESCO Institute for Education for the Editorial Team, preparing *Education for All -EFA Global Monitoring Report 2006: Literacy for Life*. Paris: UNESCO. [Available on UNESCO/GMR Web-site: www.efareport.unesco.org].

___ (2007): Capacity Building for Three Simultaneous Economies: Seeking Poverty Eradication for Sustainable Development in India, *Manpower Journal* (Quarterly Journal of the Institute of Applied Manpower Research). Vol. XLII, No. 1 (January-March 2007), pp. 1-18.

___ (2009): Role of Education in Sustainable Development under Globalization, in the Context and Conditions of India, *Perspectives in Education*, Silver Jubilee Year Issue. 2009. Vol. 25, no. 4, 234-251.

___ (2010): Designing and Delivering Adult Education: Within the Quadrangle of Commitment, Capacity, Character and Communication, *Indian Journal of Adult Education* (Special Anniversary Issue, 71 Years, 1939-2010), Vol. 71, No. 4 (October-December), pages 5-19.

Bhola, H.S., and Gomes, Sofia Valdivielso (2008): *Signposts to Literacy for Sustainable Development*. [Two Complementary Studies by the joint winners of the 2004-2005 International Award for Literacy Research.] Hamburg: UNESCO Institute for Lifelong Learning (UIL).

Coffman, Julia (2010): Broadening the Perspective on Scale, *The Evaluation Exchange*. Vol. XV, No.1, pages 2-3.

Durham, Meenakshi Gigi (1998): On the Relevance of Standpoint Epistemology to the Practice of Journalism: The Case of "Strong Objectivity, *Communication Theory*, 8, 2, 117-140.

Economist, The, *China: The Debate over Universal Values*, October 2nd, 2010, pages 43-44.

Harding, Sandra G. (1998): *Is Science Multicultural? – Post-colonialism, Feminism, and Epistemologies.* Bloomington, IN: Indiana University Press.

Kaletsky, Anatole (2010): *Capitalism 4.0: The Birth of a New Economy in the Aftermath of Crisis.* USA: Public Affairs; London: Bloomsbury. (See also; The ECONOMIST, 10th July 2010. New Capitalism: Magic by numbers, p. 81.

Midgley, Gerald, ed. (2002): *Systems Thinking* (Four-Volume Set, 1664 pages). London: Sage Publications.

O'Meara, Patrick, Howard D. Mehlinger, and Matthew Krain, eds., (2000): *Globalization and the Challenges of a New Century.* Bloomington / Indianapolis: Indiana University Press.

Stack, Megan K. China's left-behind generation faces emotional challenges, *Los Angeles Times Feature*, reprinted in Arizona Daily Star, October 3, 2010.

UNESCO/INRULED Website, accessed July 2010
http://unesdoc.unesco.org/images/0013/001359/135913eo.pdf

United Nations (1996): *Observance of the International Year for the Eradication of Poverty and proclamation of the first United Nations Decade for the Eradication of Poverty.* UN General Assembly A/RES/50/107, 26 January 1996.

United Nations (2004): *An Integrated Approach to Rural Development: Dialogues at the Economic and Social Council.* New York: Department of Economic and Social Affairs, Office for Forecosoc Support and Coordination.

United Nations Research Institute for Social Development (UNRISD), *Report on Combating Poverty and Inequality*, September 2010. http://www.unrisd.org / direct URL: http://tinyurl.com/3994c27

UN Public-Private Alliance for Rural Development: Policies and Practices, 2004. Accessed on September 6, 2010 at: http://www.un.org/esa/coordination/Alliance/resolutions.htm.

Wikipedia, 2010, http://wikipedia.org/wiki/International_Reserch_And_Training_Centre_For_Rural_Ed… 5/16/2010.

JOURNAL OF INDIAN ASSOCIATION OF SOCIAL SCIENCE INSTITUTIONS (IASSI)

IASSI QUARTERLY: Contributions to Indian Social Science

Vol.29	April-June 2010	No.2

<u>Articles</u>

Rural Non-Farm Sector in India: Role and Prospects
to a Globalising Economy
T.S.Papola

Development of Non-Farming Activities, Globalisation and
Employment Guarantee Scheme
S.C.Jain

Microenterprise Development in India: Experiences and
Possibilities
Nisha Bharti

Globalization,Gujarat State and Welfare for Poor
Ghanshyam Shah, and Kiran Desai

State and Cities in Rajasthan: Pali between the 17th and
19th centuries
Sunita Zaidi

Indians in Trinidad: A Study of Sandwich Culture
Surendra K.Gupta

Book Reviews

Satish Chandra: Social Change and Development in Medieval Indian History,
Har-Anand publications, New Delhi, 2008, pp. 204, Rs. 395/-
Inayat Zaidi

S.R.Mehta **(ed.):** Socio-cultural Diversities and Globalization : Issues and Perspectives
Indian Institute of Advanced Study, Shimla
Surendra K.Gupta

SUBSCRIPTION RATES

For India and SAARC Countries, including postage: Rs.400/- for one year, Single Copy Rs.100/-.
For other countries: US$.75 per year or equivalent, including postage by surface mail.

Enquiries and Correspondence should be addressed to Editor, IASSI Quarterly, Room No.76,
I I P.A Hostel, Indian Institute of Public Administration, Indraprastha Estate, New Delhi-110 002.

Tel: 23324581/2331 5284/23356834, Fax No.011-23315284, Website:www.iassi.org/www.iassi-ssis.org. e-mail: stiassi@bol.net.in/iassi79@yahoo.com.

Persistent, Intensified and Emerging Rural/Urban Educational Stratifications

A Central and Eastern European perspective[*]

Monica E. Mincu[$]

Abstract

The rural-urban dimension of processes of social stratification has always been particularly significant in Central and Eastern Europe. In this article, I will propose the thesis of the persistence, intensification and newly originated forms of rural/urban stratification and inequalities from a system-theory perspective. Pre-communist and communist legacies are all visible cross-regionally as internal development patterns inside these countries. In spite of some development policies and programmes, new economic, administrative, financial and educational restructuring through decentralisation mainly contributed to maintain and produce new stratification effects.

Introduction

As maintained by the eminent historian Bibo (1986), the rural-urban dimension of processes of social stratification and polarisation has been particularly significant in explaining Eastern European realities for centuries and, as scholarship shows, continued to be so through the post-socialist years. Moreover, this common characteristic of both Central and Eastern social realities not only helped to explain apparent internal contradictions, it also originated and partially validated a differentiated East/West national pattern (Shulman, 2002). Notwithstanding regional differences, a social stratification, which traditionally lacks a consistent middle-class and which cuts across urban/rural differentiation, has also fuelled nationalistic sentiment in the area.

Until the 19th century, the building of national identity in the region was a matter of geography: nations were composed of various regions and provinces, mostly under foreign control, all sharing the same imperialistic influences cross-nationally, whether in a direct or mediated way (Wandyz, 2001). The issue of national identity, in all the countries considered here, resembled a mosaic of "internal voices". This cultural diversity, prior to the process of nation formation, is still discernible in regional differences confirmed by voting behaviour patterns, strength of civic culture, ideological and political orientations (Tworzecki, 1996) as well as persistent differences in terms of rural poverty.

During the first half of the 20th century, the polarisation of public themes around a cosmopolitan ideal, such as the "European idea" and an endogenous ethno-specificity became even more manifest. Public discourses supporting industrialisation and urbanisation processes were paralleled by the circulation of particularistic ideologies, such as "traditionalism" and "agrarianism," the latter in the Romanian versions of 'samanatorism' and 'poporanism'. Hungarian culture oscillated between urbanism and populism (Gyurgyak, 1991). The traditionalist and agrarian political cultures in Romania favoured the building of rural schools for the masses, which had hitherto been largely ignored. This resulted in a substantial decline in illiteracy. Another significant consequence was the creation of a "rural" sociology (Dimitrie Gusti in Romania) which influenced pedagogical thought, producing the theories of pedagogical "regionalism" and "localism." These theories, based on statistical and empirical analyses, were supposed to improve the social and cultural conditions of small rural communities. In all probability, the idea of a differentiated curriculum for rural and urban areas did not produce the expected outcome. On the contrary, it ran the risk of aggravating an already polarised situation. In practice, rural education continued to be inadequate[1]. The "dual" rural/urban education reinforced the crystallised "dual" citizenship on social grounds (richer vs. poorer classes). Not surprisingly for that time, the idea of "two kinds of children" was also put forward, in accordance with the "ethnical spirit of the Romanian pedagogy" (Stanciu, 1995, p. 213).

The communist socio-political and educational experiments in Central and Eastern Europe [CEE] displayed common traits as well as differences. A process of ongoing stratification also rooted in school practices (see Mincu, 2009), has been particularly visible

---

[1] Because the intellectualistic tradition of the Romanian school was slow to die, education in rural settings was neither really pragmatic, nor did it promote an explicit political and civic education. It therefore ran the risk of strengthening existing stratification.

since after the 1970s[1]. The same has been said about the method used to promote rural development in the area during communism:

> The communist regime made considerable investments in rural development. It built physical infrastructure (roads, water and electricity supply), promoted general education, medical services and culture. Yet, something went wrong with this style of rural development (Zichy, 2001, p. 87).

A critical account of communist rural politics[3] is to be found in Verdery (2004), for instance. Jigau (2000) outlines the more problematic well-known Romanian case of forced industrialisation and 'rural systematisation', especially during the '80s. Imre (2009) describes the "Communist Party's anti-village and anti-peasant policies" in Hungary. These processes also resulted in the restructuring of the school network and the closure of many village schools over time.

> However, a genuine sociological interest in stratification processes, clearly at odds with the Party's documents and ideological perspective, flourished in the '60s and '70s in Romania and thereafter in Hungary (Kozma, 2008). The intensifying of the stratification processes in the Eastern communist area has been fully and comparatively analysed by Shavit & Bloosfeld (1993).

In all probability "evidence-based studies, like school mapping, somewhat loosened up the system" (Kozma, 2008):

> They indicated that there were growing inequalities between the different areas and schools of Hungary, even though the Party stated in every document that differences had been diminished. Our field researches indicated that, in certain areas, the population changed completely: in a period of ten years, many Gypsy (Roma) students appeared in the schools – nobody knew how? (p. 3).

Post-socialist countries have all exhibited different experiences with communism and dissimilar transitioning pathways thereafter. Most scholars agree on this post-socialist divergence between Central and Eastern European countries. However, from the perspective of the traditional characteristic of a rural/urban divide, they are all to a certain extent still alike.

---

[2] The communist parties and regimes officially promoted communist egalitarian politics. On practical grounds, during Stalinism a certain democratic effect of social justice has been noted, even though it was more visible in the poorest national settings. These positive outcomes, which were limited to the initial stage of the socialist period, were rapidly replaced by many other social and political dysfunctions, notably the unbalanced emphasis on social rights, to the detriment of civil liberties and political, economic, and cultural rights.

[3] Another explanation may be that communist ideology denied alternative discourses on social developments, which meant that the official discourse based on collectivism, democratic centralism, polytechnic/vocational education and citizenship education had a mere ritualistic political function. Besides, such catchwords 'produced' or veiled contradictory outcomes and paradoxical realities, particularly in the 1970s and 1980s. This was true not only for dictatorial and "sultanistic" Romania, but also for authoritarian Poland and "advanced post-totalitarian" Hungary (Linz & Stepan, 2000, p. 208). As a matter of fact, the ideological cage was for all those countries a common trait d'union, which remained a ritualistic duty until 1989.

In this article, I will propose the thesis of the persistence, intensification and newly originated forms of rural/urban stratifications and inequalities. Pre-communist and communist legacies are all visible cross-regionally as internal development patterns inside these countries. In spite of some development policies and programmes, new economic, administrative, financial and educational restructuring through decentralisation mainly contributed to maintain and produce new stratification effects. A case in point is that most Polish researchers, working in the field of regional diversification of Poland, especially of its rural areas, stress the role of historical legacy to interpret today's differences. The historical diversification of Poland prompts some researchers to call Poland "Multi-Poland" (*Wielo-Polska*) (Tarkowska, 2008, p. 301).

The rural question in post-socialism and renewed inequalities

The revolutionary year 1989 was a symbolic cultural and economic watershed in European history. Central and Eastern European countries underwent a complex process of deep transformations, entering the so-called "transition period" from a communist planned economy, or partially state-directed in the Hungarian and Polish cases, and a single-party system, to democracy and a free market. The legal and institutional reforms to rebuild the state were accompanied by liberalisation, restructuring, privatisation, and macroeconomic stabilisation – the strategies prescribed by the International Monetary Fund (IMF) worldwide. Although from different starting points and socio-economic premises, Poland, Hungary and Romania have all undertaken numerous and complex reforms of their social, economic, political, and educational arenas. The first two have been members of the European Union (EU) since 2004 and joined OECD (Organisation for Economic Cooperation and Development) in 1996 (Hungary) and 1999 (Poland). Romania joined EU in the second phase in 2007 and it is not an OECD member. In the pre-accession and post-accession phases we can consider Europeanization processes in all the three cases.

Although economic reforms proved to be quite successful in Hungary and Poland (OECD, 2008 and 2010), both inter- and intra-regional disparities have widened in these countries. In Hungary, a reverse trend has been reported: "while North-Eastern regions were among the most developed during the communist period, growth has now shifted to the West. This East-West divide, the trend towards urbanisation encouraging suburbanisation around Budapest, the rural exodus and the accompanying processes of urbanisation are increasing territorial fragmentation. These trends are widening income disparities between the countryside and the main cities" (OECD, 2001, p. 12). There are differences in the development of the regions. The Eastern part of the country is, in general, less developed than the Western part, and so many villages in the Western regions are far more prosperous than some towns in the Eastern regions. It should also be noted that 3 of the 7 Hungarian NUTS (Nomeclature of Territorial Units for Statistics), 2 regions (Northern Hungary, Northern Great Plain, Southern Great Plain) are among the 10 least developed of the 254 regions of the EU-25. As maintained by several Hungarian scholars, in contemporary Hungary, people living in villages are at a significant disadvantage compared to those living elsewhere (Imre, 2009).

A similar trend has been reported in Poland, considered a "fast growing economy with rising territorial disparities" (OECD; 2008, p. 36). Poland has one of the OECD area's greatest territorial disparities in terms of GDP per capita at NUTS 3 level. Similarly to the Hungarian

patterns of regional inequalities, three set of disparities are visible: a) a persistent gap between Eastern and Western Poland; b) a gap between Warsaw and the rest of the country; c) rising intra-regional disparities, particularly in the region of Warsaw (Mazowieckie), Poznan (Wielkopolskie) and Cracow (Malopolskie), due to rising disparities between large urban areas and rural ones (OECD, 2008, p. 15). According to Tarkowska (2008), the current pattern of regional inequality in Poland has strong historical underpinnings and has demonstrated exceptional stability over time. This "regional inequality" is connected with the initial process of urbanisation, the different speeds at which different regions experienced the processes of modernisation and industrialisation and political and ideological changes of the 20th century. She distinguishes two main forms of today's inequalities:

> The metropolitan dimension with the large urban centres is growing faster than the rest of the country. This dimension has replaced the traditional urban-rural one, typical of an industry-driven country. (2) The East-West divide, which is historically rooted and is reinforced by the processes of post-socialist transformation (Tarkowska, 2008, p. 301).

Consolidated North-Eastern and South-Eastern patterns of less developed areas are also noticeable in Romania. The capital Bucharest and the regions surrounding it as well as Central and Western areas are generally more developed. Some county capitals, which were already big industrialised cities in the first decades of socialism, continue to dominate the regions and counties today (such as Iaşi, Craiova, Cluj-Napoca, Timişoara, Oradea or Târgu-Mureş). Secondary centres of a second wave of industrialisation in the 1960s and 1970s remained mono-sectorial. Thus, these encountered more difficulties to dealing with the consequences of post-1989 restructuring. The same has been observed in the Polish case of Slaskie, a "looser region" in post-socialism, since it has had more problems restructuring its socialist-style heavy industry. This dynamics has played an important role in widening regional discrepancies. After 1990, Romania moved from a centralised policy to a regional one, in compliance with EU standards. Romania was divided in 1998 into eight Development Regions. The eight regions serve as NUTS-2 units and the counties serve as NUTS-3 units. It has been argued that the recent regional configuration makes regional disparities less visible.

Countries		NUTS 1		NUTS 2		NUTS 3	
Poland	PL	Groups of Voivodships	6	Voivodships	16	Podregiony (groups of Powiats)	45
Romania	RO	Macroregions	4	Regions	8	Counties and Bucharest	42
Hungary	HU	Groups of regions	3	Regions	7	Provinces + Budapest	20

More generally, it has been considered that the initial processes of transition in the CEE area initially focused on macro-economic processes. All the more, the increasing income disparities between rural and urban areas have been largely ignored over the first ten years (Davis & Pearce, 2001). Davis and Pearce maintain:

we now know that the increasing inter-regional divergence is the transition economies is one of the major transformation problems. This is one of the reasons why the World Bank, OECD and the EU have formulated special rural development strategies (p. 111).

The rural question was traditionally conceptualised in all these contexts as a problem of agricultural development and, notably, continued to be so until the end of the '90s. Thus, the trend towards an integrated approach to rural development, specifically between social policies, agricultural and non-agricultural economic policies, is cross-regionally quite recent. For instance, a comprehensive Romanian rural development policy was prepared no sooner than 1998. This emblematic shift can be seen in the renaming of the Ministries of Agriculture in Hungary and Poland to Ministries of Agriculture and Rural Development in 1998 and 1999, respectively.

Over the last twenty years, we can observe different approaches to rural development:

1. EU programmes dedicated to agricultural and non-agricultural development in rural areas with or without a human development component such as SAPARD (Special Accession Programme for Agriculture and Rural Development) or LEADER+ [Liaison Entre Actions de Développement de l'Économie Rurale];

2. More focused and balanced rural development programmes involving a more substantial inclusive policy or educational priority (PHARE[4] programme in Romania, ESF [European Social Fund] in Poland from 2000 onwards, the World Bank Rural Development project in Poland); and

3. Quite uniquely, a specifically conceived World Bank programme on rural education in Romania.

Some Conceptual Clarifications

The improvement of education quality in rural areas is essentially intertwined with the issues of access and equity. I will use quality as a process dimension in terms of management, teaching and learning processes (Cheng & Tam, 1997), while equity, read as fairness and inclusion, will refer to personal and social circumstances and to a minimum "quantity" of education delivered (OECD, 2007). In addition, this conceptual framework should be within national definitions of what counts as quality and equity in education in a specific country and moment in time and their relation to the "rural question". For instance, in some countries the contextual dimension that is rurality may be plainly evident in relevant policy such as the annual reports on the state of education (e.g., the Romanian case). In other contexts, e.g. the Hungarian case, rurality may remain a background issue and become substituted by other concepts, such as "small village schools

---

[4] Originally created in 1989 as the Poland and Hungary: Assistance for Restructuring their Economies (PHARE) programme, Phare has expanded from Poland and Hungary to currently cover ten CEE countries.

in small settlements" and the problem of the rural poor fully coinciding with other specific categories, highly relevant though they may be (e.g. Roma[5] population and students).

In other countries, the issue of access and equity may have specific meanings. This is particularly visible from internal statistics and reports give the different profile of rurality in each context: enrolment issues for the overall student population and material facilities (Romania), enrolment issues mainly for the Roma population (Hungary), but this is not the case for the overall under-18 school population in Poland and for the non-Roma in Hungary. At the same time, equity may be mainly promoted through improving education quality in Poland and Hungary, given high educational attainment discrepancies and so forth. In Hungary, as shown in the OECD statistics (PISA[6], 2006), small village vs. city serves as a statistical proxy for the rural/urban dimension. In addition, education in rural areas is intrinsically a question of combating poverty and ensuring children's and human rights in the most deprived areas. Noting that rurality per se does not always imply poverty and deprivation, the study of poverty from the perspective of education has always a strong geographical dimension, be it rural or remote areas. National definitions of what counts as the "rural poor" are quite strikingly convergent cross-nationally, except for the Roma issue, which is not such a relevant issue in Poland. In point of fact, in this country poverty has no ethnic dimension, given the very small size of minority populations.[7]

Romania	Poland	Hungary
1. Roma households 2. Households with more than 3 children 3. Self-employment and unemployment 4. Low educated people	1. Low income and poverty 2. Unemployment 3. Lower level of education of rural population and educational barriers 4. Lack of perspective for young people in local communities (Roma and immigrants less relevant, but mentioned in the literature)	1. Large families, single parent families, the elderly, especially in one-person households 2. People with lower education 3. Unemployed, inactive persons of working age 4. Roma/Gypsy population 5. People living in smaller villages, especially in the Eastern part of the country

A theoretically sound policy of rural educational development requires, as do more general development strategies, "the need for explicit rural policy" (Freshwater, 2001, p. 27). It should be found on a balanced consideration of three concepts, too: rurality as a contextual dimension and umbrella concept, especially if strongly related to poverty; quality as a process dimension inside schools; equity as fairness and inclusion inside and outside the

---

[5] Many Roma do not complete primary education, while only a small group completes secondary studies and an insignificant minority has a university degree. 2.5% in Bulgaria, 4.7% in Romania, 12% in the Czech Republic, 16% in Hungary and 19% in Slovakia. (UNDP, 2004)

[6] PISA: Programme for International Student Assessment

[7] It does not exceed 4%; in the 2002 Census, only 1.2% of Poles declared openly minority nationality. A relatively new issue regards immigrants, mainly from the Ukraine, working within the shadow economy, sometimes in very bad conditions (Tarkowska, 2008, p. 314).

school and related to wider social and economic issues. However, the relationship between equity and education quality is not so clear-cut. Indeed, when issues of access and participation to education are not problematic, education quality as a process dimension becomes one of the main battlegrounds for achieving equity.

Another dimension of this theoretical perspective deals with the possibility to promoting real educational change in specific contexts such as rural areas. It is not only a matter of reducing disparities through a maintenance policy, it also has to promote a full development policy. All the more, one should be aware of the danger of quick-fix solutions viewed from outside and as top-down strategies. In addition, some rural development policies may run the risk of substitution and confusion with policies situated at the regional level, which is a very different issue.

Furthermore, rurality itself as a specific contextual configuration may be subject to different interpretation by various institutions. It is therefore clear that the improvement of education in rural areas cannot but take into account different layers of the contextual dimension: the economic (such as poverty, intra- and inter-regional disparities), the social (women but not exclusively unemployment, social capital, social services such as health and kindergartens), the anthropological and historical specificities (administrative peculiarities and legacies, such as French vs. other legacies or the socialist institutions, minority settlements, and geographical issues).

As the scholarship indicates, providing programs that treat all parts of a nation or all groups equitably may require different approaches to various parts or groups. In point of fact, in order to reach equal outcomes, different resources on the basis of local needs are required. In addition, if it is to be equality of opportunity then the (federal) government has to play a major role in stimulating and controlling the efficacy of investment in development. In analysing the politics of rural development it is necessary to distinguish between several dimensions: a rhetorical level (how relevant is the rural agenda in national discourses and policies), outlays (the easiest level to investigate) and the effectiveness of such investments, which is definitively the most difficult to assess.

The Impact of Decentralisation of Education Finance on Rural Education

Restructuring processes through decentralisation reforms of general administration and education have been in place cross-regionally since the early '90s in Poland and since 1994 in Romania. In Hungary, an Education Act on school autonomy was issued as early as 1985. In Poland and Romania, the decentralisation of education has remained a paper exercise and was therefore fairly limited over the '90s. Conversely, the Hungarian education has quite proudly been considered as one of the most decentralised systems of the world (Imre, 2009, p. 6).

The Case of Rural Gminas in Poland

In Poland, administrative and fiscal decentralisation had its beginnings in 1999. After the educational reforms of 1999/2000, a new system for subsidising education was introduced. *Gminas* (local administrative units), responsible for pre-school and primary education since 1996, were also made responsible for the lower-secondary *gimnazjum*.

Powiats (counties) are responsible for upper-secondary schools. *Gminas* are financed through a per-pupil basis from the centre (about 70% of total revenues is transferred as general subventions, while the remaining 30% is covered by own revenues). Another important limitation is that teacher salaries are centrally set but locally paid by *gminas*. In addition, while the decentralisation of education is commonly regarded as a 'success story', the decentralisation of education funding is still rather limited. However, some very important tasks are still regulated centrally and most of the *gminas* revenues are also centrally set, although they are classified in the category 'own resources'" (Jakubowski & Topinska, 2006, p. 10).

Moreover, a significant characteristic from the perspective of the situation of rural education is that the unit (per student) cost of school maintenance varies dramatically between different schools and localities[8] (Herbst, 2008, p. 14). From recent political debates, three possible directions for reforming Polish education funding emerged: partial re-centralisation (mainly of teaching salaries), a voucher scheme intended as a 'money follows pupils' rule, and finally, funding from the locality's own revenues (Herbst, 2008, p. 18)

Pre-school education, as well as local transportation, is the exclusive responsibility of *gminas*. A relevant issue for Polish education is that rural *gminas* revenues are lower than urban ones, and also the variation remained the same between 1996 and 2004. Moreover, the reorganisation of school network in 1999/2000, resulting in school closure and creating important problems in rural areas: limited school accessibility, poor school transport (the responsibility of the *gminas*, which it must provide free of charge by law); some students have to commute for over an hour to get to the school and may therefore have limited access to other school facilities.

Solutions to Local Governments in Hungary

At the end of the '90s, decentralisation in Hungary was well established. The responsibility for public education is shared between 4 levels: *national* (NUTS I level): weak, indirect control; *regional* (NUTS II level) composed of regions, counties and micro-regions: weak competences, Multifunctional Associations of Local Governments (MALGOs), voluntarily formed in 2004; *local* (NUTS III level): local governments, fairly heterogeneous in size and socio-economic situation; *institutional* (NUTS IV level): wide ranging administrative competences.

School maintenance is typically fragmented and an extremely onerous task for local governments in small settlements. The proposed measure undertaken by the Education Ministry since the mid-'90s was to encourage collaboration between local governments. It has been said that :

> [i]nequalities between settlements are a significant component in the development of disadvantaged areas [...] [T]his can be counteracted to a certain extent by cooperation or partnership between settlements, and by setting up compensatory systems or targeted programs designed to support settlements, institutions and pupil groups (Imre, 2009, p. 8).

---

[8] However, since 1995, the Ministry of Education's allocation formula for the education component of the general subsidy has included a multiplier that gives rural Gminas one-third more money per pupil than their urban counterparts. (Levitas, Golinowska & Hercinsky, 2001, p. 16)

A partnership for maintaining schools jointly can take two forms: (a) one of the local governments (or a committee of that local government) is appointed to perform the functions of operation, maintenance and employment of staff; and (b) a special decision body (partnership council) is formed from all local governments in partnership. To sum up, a municipality is free to decide how to complete its duty by maintaining an educational institution, by forming a school association or by contracting another municipality or school maintainers.

A policy for encouraging *school associations* started in the mid-'90s through additional per capita funds and purchase of school buses. More recently, settlement-*level cooperation* is in force given the high numbers of village and small town schools and the demographic decline. This is a multifunctional partnership between local governments (Imre, 2009, p. 8) - MALGOs - for a more efficient organisation of service delivery (public education, social services and health care). In 2003, 40% of local governments were insufficiently funded, so the vast majority of micro-regions funded MALGOs, which received significant support from the central budget (Imre, 2009).

The worsening of the financial provision in the early 2000s, together with the amendments to the Education Act in 2006 and 2007, resulted in an accelerating process of reorganisation of the primary school network at the local level, involving the amalgamation of schools. Under the new legislation, only 8 grade primary schools were allowed to function. As a result, in 2006 there were sudden school closures in small settlements (Imre, 2009).

Fragmentation and Dysfunctions in Rural Schools Finance in Romania

Decentralization politics were introduced in Romania in 1989. Romanian decentralisation, both of governance and instruction, is largely still on paper. Several measures were undertaken to introduce a new school curriculum based on the principle of diversified educational provision and its local adaptation. In order to implement this, framework programmes based on key competences and promoting interdisciplinary approaches were introduced. These were intended to supporting locally developed curricula and alternative textbooks. In addition, the hiring of local teaching staff and new financial mechanisms were trialled in selected schools. The Romanian decentralisation reform is mainly a reform of governance, inspired by political legitimacy and mainly market efficiency principles, and not as yet a reform of instruction to enhance teacher's autonomy (Mincu & Horga, 2010). Financial difficulties proved to be an impediment to school and curricular autonomy. At the same time, new financial mechanisms and local control over schools proved to be equally problematic, considering the poverty of most rural areas, the lack of local governing competences and problems of corruption.

The present system of education finance in Romania exhibits remarkable fragmentation and relevant dysfunctional traits. The main element of this fragmentation is the division of financing responsibilities into two basic categories: maintenance costs, financed by local governments; and salaries, financed by the central government through earmarked grants to local governments. Transfers to local councils are filtered through county authorities and redistributed according to rules and priorities set by the county council. Therefore, the distribution of the local share of taxes becomes a relevant issue. As a result, at the county level there are very severe regional differences in per student maintenance expenditure. The Ministry, through its Inspectorates, does not monitor those differences (SAR, 2008). One

important characteristic is that the appropriation of state funds by local county council budgets may hinder or alter an objective disbursement of funds.

Accusations of politicisation of funds allocation, lack of transparency or corruption are also very common at all school levels. For instance, a national programme of investment in school rehabilitation mainly focused on rural schools has been questioned, for its lack of transparent principles of school selection (SAR, p. 5). A research team formulated the thesis of the residence as one of the most important variables that influence the budget distribution. In other words, the "more a school is isolated from a municipality, the less likely it is to receive funds matching the core needs for teaching equipment, maintenance costs, repairs and investment in infrastructure" (SAR, p. 13). Important recommendations are made by a team of experts from the World Bank (2010):

> to widen the per-student financing to non-salary recurrent costs and allow school principals the ability to re-allocate across budget lines" and to funnel the capital budget from the state to schools via local governments and make allocations conditional on making progress on school consolidation (p. 15).

Quality and equity in rural CEE schools

A relevant issue is that of the reorganisation of the school network and the closure of small village schools as a common trend in all the three contexts under examination. In Hungary, as a result of a rationalisation of the school network and measures to provide quality education in the post-war decades, the number of schools fell by almost half between the late 1950s and the first half of the 1980s (Imre, 2009). The change in the number of schools between 1990 and 1999 displays significant variation according to the size of the settlement. The number of schools decreased in villages with fewer than 500 inhabitants; this decrease was significant where there were fewer than 250 inhabitants, and more modest in villages of 250-500 inhabitants. At the same time there was an increase in the number of schools in larger villages, with a particularly large increase in villages of 750-1000 inhabitants and a small increase in villages of 500-750 inhabitants (Imre, 2009). The tendency to reduce the number of small village schools over the last ten years is still noticeable.

Looking at the Romanian situation, we cannot have a clear picture based on complete data. Of the 12,549 schools with legal status in 2000/2001, only a third was still functioning in 2009/2010. Schools with less than 300 students in small settlements have no legal status, and so have not been included in the Table below. A declining demographic trend of school population is said to be the main reason. Only very recently, Ministry officials recommended reducing of the number of teachers, for financial reasons, which will certainly lead to the closure of small village schools. From a World Bank (2010) report we can learn that in 2009:

> there were 3, 315 schools with less than 15 students. In an attempt to rationalize the schools' network, the Ministry closed down 991 schools. It is expected to be able to close or merge other 2000 schools in 2011-2012, if funds for the bussing of children from closed schools, and for the repair and upgrading of these schools are available (p. 14).

In Poland, for instance, it has been reported that 25% of the 5,000 schools have been closed and that an effective bussing system for pupils is in place (Herbst, 2008). Some scholars claimed that it may benefit students, increasing overall efficiency and saving funds

to investment into quality raising programs (Levitas, Golinowska & Herczynski, 2001). Other scholars have pointed out that "the [1999/2000] reform was deeply based on stereotypes of small rural schools with poor teaching quality, and that extending student distances to school and closure of rural schools have a negative impact on students and their communities" (Jakubowski & Topinska, 2006, p. 17). Moreover, due to transport barriers (insufficient number of school buses, insufficient financing) not all rural pupils can make full use of the good quality infrastructure of lower secondary schools (Tarkowska, 2008).

A Hungarian research team analysed differences in attainment between village schools which were closed and those which survived. There is a well-known tendency for pupil attainment to decline gradually the smaller the size of the settlement. This analysis showed that in comprehension, pupils attending schools in small villages and towns which were to be closed in 2007 performed significantly better than those attending schools which continued to operate. This effect was only found in the comprehension test. But no significant difference was found for mathematics (Imre, 2009). The authors hypothesise that the schools which were being closed were not the weakest ones but were in fact the better performing ones, and that school closures so far have probably not served to remove segregation but have in fact reinforced social isolation.

Looking at school buildings and infrastructure, the vast majority of Hungarian rural schools seem to have the most important facilities, with the provision of showers with hot and cold water and a library occurring least frequently. Small village schools are no worse than the average in terms of classrooms, but they are below average in terms of library and sporting facilities: half of them have no library or sports hall, and other sporting facilities (changing rooms, equipment store) are also lacking. Important investments have been made to school infrastructure in Romania through the Word Bank's Rural Education Program, and certain improvements have been reported (PIR, 2005). However, rural education in this country remains in a very difficult situation, in terms of distances students have to commute to reach their schools. A good advice comes from a World Bank team of experts, which recommended putting in place a list of "protected schools": schools whose closure would impair access to education because no other nearby school exists (World Bank, 2010, p. 15).

Education quality in rural areas is also a matter of available pathways for academic vs. technical and vocational courses, choices, distances to school, and school attainment. Before the 1999/200 reform of the Polish education, the situation of access to different secondary schools was as follows: if secondary, professional or vocational schools were located in small towns or rural areas, then the percentage of rural children in them was large and these schools were clearly accessible. However, there are very few of such schools. As a result, rural pupils have to compete for places in urban schools against urban children. This was particularly problematic with respect to academic secondary schools. To attend urban secondary schools, rural children must either commute or board, both of which impose significant additional costs on their families.

Before the 2001 reform, city school directors used a combination of their own operational autonomy and the budget flexibility to effect change. Many vocational and professional schools transformed into academic secondary schools, but without a serious overhaul of curriculum or teaching staff. Moreover, the changes preceded the Ministry's development of programmes and curricula for the new three-year secondary schools. The official provision is expected to expand academic training to 80 per cent of all secondary school students.

The Hungarian data consistently show that pupils attending small village schools diverge from the national average in terms both of the proportion entering secondary education or training and of the route taken. On average, the majority of pupils continuing in education or training beyond primary school go on to vocational secondary schools, fewer to academic secondary schools, and fewest to vocational training. However, in the case of pupils attending small village schools, the majority go on to vocational training, a significant proportion to vocational secondary schools, and fewest to academic secondary schools (Imre, 2009). Examining the data on post-primary education, a Hungarian report also confirms that in general, small village schools are no less successful than other schools (Imre, 2009). However, comparative statistics show that the Hungarian education system is one of most uneven. This is the reason for which Horn (2006) maintains: "small settlement schools are just as bad as the larger ones in compensating for initial social inequalities" (p. 18).

Participation levels in rural *gminas* in Poland are still much lower than in urban areas (16-18% depending of the year, compared to 36-38%). *Gminas* did not seize the opportunity created by demographic decline to keep the existing network of schools and improve participation levels. In fact, the percentage of *gminas* with kindergartens decreased from 82% to 78% (from 73% to 66% in the case of rural *gminas*) (Jakubowski & Topinska, 2006). According to Herbst, at the end of 2003 the share of children between 3 and 5 educated in nursery schools was only 34.3% in Poland, with 58.9% in urban areas and 8% in rural areas (Tarkowska, 2008). In Romania there has been a steady improvement between 2001 and 2010, from 64% to 76% participation rates in rural areas compared to 70.8% to 87% in urban areas.

Compulsory school age has been raised to 18 in Hungary and Poland. Therefore, participation rates of 15-19 year olds increased significantly from 64% to 89% in Hungary and from 78% to 93% in Poland between 1995 and 2008 (Education at a Glance 2010, Table C1.2.). Nevertheless, dropping out is not a rare phenomenon in Hungary, and may be particularly relevant for rural areas and Roma students. Unfortunately there is no reliable data for this (Imre, 2009, p. 11). Missing data on rural drop-out rates is also visible from international and national reports in Poland (from latest Ministry Reports in Poland and Hungary).

The raising of the compulsory age to 18 in both countries and the 2001 reform of the Polish education system have undoubtedly positively affected the situation of rural education. In Romania, the compulsory age is 16 and a current reform project proposes a structural change (in which the first year of secondary school is to be integrated into *gimnazium*) in order to reduce by 20% the drop-out rate at this level and to allow 14-year old rural pupils to study close to home. Similarly, in 2007, the secondary school leaving examination, in which rural students performed particularly badly, has been eliminated (see Table 1 below).

TABLE 1
Student Success Rates at National Examination Test
(Completion of Lower Secondary Education) in Romania

	2000/2001	2001/2002	2002/2003	2003/2004	2004/2005	2005/2006	2006/2007
Total	76,3	76,2	74,9	66,9	57,6	59,6	62,7
Urban	85,7	84,0	83,3	75,7	68,3	68,4	70,5
Rural	62,2	65,0	63,2	55,0	43,6	48,0	52,8

Source: National Institute of Statistics INS, 2001-2008.

One of the most relevant issues for rural/urban equity which clearly indicates lower quality of rural education is educational attainment. With the exception of Poland whose mean scores are high, not polarised and above the OECD average (especially in reading literacy more than 30 points above the OECD mean), significant discrepancies are noticeable while looking at the Romanian and Hungarian attainment scores. Romania shows the weakest score of the three countries and even more concerning, a negative trend has been ascertained over the last 10 years or more (based on PIRLS[9] 2001, 2006). For instance, the mean scores for rural pupils are 499 in 2001 and 462 in 2006, suburban improved from 473 to 498, while urban pupils attainment reflect a negative trend, from 526 to 515.

Using Pisa 2006 database, indicator school community (1, 2 village and small town, 3 town, 4/5 city and large city) we can notice that the largest discrepancy village – large city is to be found in Hungary, almost 200 points (mean values) in reading, and less in mathematics and science. Polish and Romanian village students' mean scores are 70/75 points below the large town students' mean scores. A comparison between village and small town student achievement (mean scores) shows a difference of 129 points in reading for Hungarian students and 111 in science. In Poland the mean scores are very close while in Romania small towns' students ranked 31 points less than small village students in mathematics and 13 points less in Science.

Conclusions

Although the economic reforms proved to be quite successful in Hungary and Poland (OECD, 2008 and 2001) and Romania endorsed policies of macroeconomic stabilisation with GDP growth one of the highest in the area over the last 10 years, reaching a peak of 8.3 in 2004. Inter- and intra-regional disparities have widened in all these countries and rural poverty continues to be a highly relevant issue which is not always sufficiently acknowledged. In fact, the lack of data on rural/urban divergence is clearly visible from national and international statistics.

Rural development policies in the three countries over the last twenty years have displayed different approaches to development of the rural areas. While at a rhetorical level they highlight the relevance of the rural agenda in national discourses and policies, data on the effectiveness of such investments and of their impact on rural education is clearly

---

[9] Progress in International Reading Literacy Study, an IEA study.

lacking. An exception is the Romanian longitudinal analysis (PIR, 2005) of the World Bank Rural Education program. From this impact study we gain a meticulously developed image of the measures of support, material facilities, and teacher training. However, participation rates and student achievement over the last ten years in which the programme has been running have largely remained static or even worsened for Romanian rural pupils.

The persistence, intensification and newly originated forms of rural/urban stratification and inequalities are plainly visible while analysing schools in rural areas from the point of view of quality and equity in education. More specifically, decentralisation has been regarded by some scholars as an opportunity to improving rural education (Atchoarena & Gasperini, 2003). As shown by the selected case, financial shortages in rural, also due to decentralisation politics may represent one of the most relevant challenges. However, not all rural areas in the CEE areas are confronted with the same issues nationally and cross-regionally.

School choice consequences in terms of segregation, traditionally longstanding practices of segregation within schools and in certain types of schools (e.g. of the Roma pupils in special schools in Hungary), problems linked to identifying compensatory mechanisms of finance, although partially functioning in different ways, are all relevant issues in the area. The low number of kindergartens is a highly specific issue in the Polish case, while the situation of the Roma students, a clear process of newly originated form of segregation, is very high on the Hungarian policy agenda. The closure of small village schools, low participation rates in higher education and problems linked to transportation are common issues in all these countries. In addition, notwithstanding the high number of international organisations' programmes on this matter, statistics on the rural/urban divide as well as best practices, are strikingly absent.

References

Atchoarena, D. & Gasperini, L. (2003): *Education for Rural development. Towards New Policy Responses.* Rome: Fao & UNESCO/IIEP

Balázsì, I., Bódi, F. & Obádovics, C. (2008). *Iskola teljesítmény, iskola átszervezés. In: Helyi szociális ellátórendszer* (szerk.: Bódi Ferenc) MTA PTI, Budapest. (pp. 105-126)

Bibo, I. (1986). *Misère des petits états d'Europe de l'Est.* Paris: L'Harmattan.

Cheng, Y.C., and Tam, M. (1997): Multi-models of quality in education. *Quality Assurance in Education*, 5(1), 22-31.

Davis, J. & Pearce, D. (2001): Non-agricultural Rural Sector in Central and Eastern Europe. In C. Csaki & Z. Lerman (Eds). *The challenge of rural development in the EU accession countries.* Third World Bank/FAO EU accession Workshop. Washington: The International Bank for Reconstruction and Development & the World Bank.

Freshwater, D. (2001): A Non-European Perspective Evolution of Rural Policy and Agricultural Policy in North-America. In C. Csaki & Z. Lerman (Eds). *The challenge of rural development in the EU accession countries.* Third World Bank/FAO EU accession Workshop. Washington: The International Bank for Reconstruction and Development & the World Bank.

Gherghinescu, O. (2008). *Poverty and social exclusion in rural areas. Country studies: Romania.* European Commission. http://ec.europa.eu/employment_social/spsi

Gyurgyak, J. (1991): *Cambiamenti nella cultura politica ungherese* [Changes in the Hungarian political culture]. In V. Bèlohradsky, P. Kende, & J. Rupnick (Eds.). *Democrazie da inventare. Culture politiche e stato in Ungheria e Cecoslovacchia* [Inventing democracies. Political cultures and the

state in Hungary and Czechoslovakia] (pp. 13–19). Turin: Edizioni della Fondazione Giovanni Agnelli.

Herbst, J. (2008): *Bottlenecks in the decentralisation funding in Poland.* MRPA papers (unpublished). http://mpra.ub.uni-muenchen.de/9291/

Horn, D. (2006): Do Small Settlements Provide Education of Inferior Quality? The Case of Hungary *CEU Political Science Journal*, 1,available at: www.ceeol.com.

Imre, A. (2009). Efficiency and Quality of Education in Small Village Schools in Hungary, Available at: http://edutech.elte.hu/kp-lab/content/smallschoolsangol.pdf

Jakubowski, M. & Topinska, I. (2006): *Impact of Decentralisation on Public Service Delivery and Equity. Education and Health Sectors in Poland 1998-2003.* Unpublished paper.

Jigau, M. (Ed) (2000): *Învăţământul rural din România: condiţii, probleme şi strategii de devoltare* [Rural education in Romania: conditions, issues and development strategies]. Bucharest: ISE.

Kozma, T. (2008): *IIEP's Contributions to the Transformation of Hungary. A Personal Account.* Paper prepared for the symposium "Directions in Educational Planning", Unesco IIEP, Paris, 3-4 July 2008.

Levitas, A., Golinowska, S., & Herczynski J. (2001): *Improving Rural Education in Poland.* Warsaw: CASE - Center for Economic and Social Studies.

Linz, J., & Stepan, A. (2000): *L'Europa post-comunista* [Postcommunist Europe]. Bologna: Il Mulino.

Mincu, M. (2009): Myth, Rhetoric, and Ideology in Eastern European Education: Schools and Citizenship in Hungary, Poland, and Romania. *European Education*, 41(1), 55-78.

Mincu, M. & Horga, I. (2010): Visions of Reform in Post-Socialist Romania: decentralisation through hybridisation and teacher autonomy. In Silova, I. (Ed.). Post-socialism is not dead: (Re)reading the global in comparative education. Oxford: Elsevier Science.

OECD (2001): *OECD Territorial Reviews. Hungary.* Paris: Author.

_____ (2008): *OECD Territorial Reviews: Poland.* Paris: Author.

_____ (2007): *No more failure. Ten steps to equity in education.* OECD: Author.

_____ (2005): *Equity in education. Thematic Review.* Hungary – Country Note. Paris: OECD.

PIR (2005): *Implementarea metodologiei si a instrumentelor pentru monitorizarea si evaluarea proiectului pentru învăţământul rural - primul studiu longitudinal.* ISE: Bucharest

SAR. (2008): *Effectiveness and efficiency in the Romanian primary school system.* Bucharest: SAR.

Shavit, Y.; & Blossfeld, H. P. (Eds.). (1993): *Persistent inequalities: Changing educational attainment in thirteen countries.* Boulder, CO: Westview Press.

Shulman, S. (2002): Challenging the Civic/Ethnic and West/East Dichotomies in the Studies of Nationalism. *Comparative Political Studies*, *35*(5), 554–585.

Stanciu, I. G. (1995): *Scoala si doctrinele pedagogice în secolul XX* [The school and pedagogical theories in the twentieth century]. Bucharest: EDP.

Tarkowska, E. (2008): Poverty and Social Exclusion in Rural Areas. Country Studies: Poland. European Commission. http://ec.europa.eu/employment_social/spsi

Tworzecki, H. (1996): *Parties and politics in post-1989 Poland.* Boulder: Westview Press.

Verdery, C. (2004). *Dialogic collectivization: "rich peasants" and unreliable cadres in the Romanian countryside, 1948-1959.* http://web.gc.cuny.edu/anthropology/docs/ChiaburiEng9-6-03.doc.

Wandycz, P. (2001): *Il prezzo della libertà: Storia dell'Europa centro-orientale dal medioevo ad oggi* [The price of freedom: A History of East-Central Europe from the Middle Pages to the present]. New York: Routledge.

World Bank (2010): *Romania Functional Review. Pre-university Education Sector. Final Report.* World Bank, Europe and entral Asia Region.

Zichy, A. (2001): The status of rural Development in Central and Eastern Europe. In C. Csaki & Z. Lerman (Eds). *The Challenge of Rural Development in the EU Accession Countries.* Third World Bank/FAO EU accession Workshop. Washington: The International Bank for Reconstruction and Development & the World Bank.

Eradicating Illiteracy as a Tool for Poverty Alleviation and Rural Transformation in Tanzania[*]

Suleman Sumra[$]

Abstract

Given that more than 80% of its population was rural at the time of independence, the ruling class that emerged at the time formulated social and economic policies that focused on rural transformation. The paper looks at the policies followed by the Tanzanian State in the last fifty years since independence. The policies are divided in three phases. During the first phase, both the economic and the education policies were formulated primarily by the then President Julius Nyerere. Nyerere believed that socialism was the only viable option for a rural society to develop. Nyerere also saw education as the key for social transformation. In 60s and 70s, the education policy aimed to achieve universal literacy in the country through adult literacy programmes and through provision of basic education for all the children. The aim was to have a literate population that was a pre-requisite for building a socialist society. By early 80s, nearly all the children in Tanzania were enrolled in primary schools and more than 90% of the adult population was literate.

By early 1980s Tanzanian economy was in total collapse, like many other economies in Africa. This is the period when institutions like the World Bank and International Monetary Fund (IMF) intervened to "help out" these countries. Financial aid provided to countries like Tanzania was conditional on meeting criteria set by these organisations. The criteria used were same for most countries getting aid – devaluation of the local currency, cutting down government expenditure, which in practice meant cutting down on education and health. These policies seriously affected provision of both primary and adult education in the country. The Net Enrolment Rate which had reached 95% in 1982 declined to 57% in 1998. Schools became dilapidated and lacked even the most basic resources. Number of adults attending literacy classes declined.

The recent period is marked by polices aimed at poverty reduction. Poverty reduction strategies adopted recognised the role of education in reduction of poverty. Various efforts were made to ensure that all children enrol in primary school. Despite half a century of efforts to transform rural areas through education, the paper shows that rural areas remain poor. Both illiteracy and poverty remain entrenched in rural areas.

Introduction

Tanzania is a country where majority of the population is rural. Bringing out changes in the lives of rural people has been at the centre of Tanzania's policies since its independence from United Kingdom in 1960. The vision as to how rural transformation will take place has changed over time depending on the leadership in place. Three features define Tanzania in the post-colonial period. First, unlike many other countries in Africa, Tanzania has been ruled by the same party throughout its post-colonial history. Secondly, the country has remained peaceful, without significant internal strife. Third, Tanzania has been recipient of generous assistance from developed countries, especially the Scandinavian counties. Tanzania has plenty of land suitable for agriculture and for raising cattle. Tanzania is also blessed with minerals such as gold, Tanzanite and diamonds.

Successive governments placed faith in education to bring about social and economic transformation in the country. As a result there has been heavy investment in the education sector. Tanzania achieved Universal Primary Education (UPE) in early 1980s, well before the international agencies focused on Education for All.

Given this historical reality, it is surprising to see that Tanzania remains one of the poorest countries in the world, and the rural areas in the country are characterised by poverty, hunger, diseases, ignorance, lack of potable water and poor sanitation. What has gone wrong? This paper will examine various efforts that have shaped Tanzanian rural transformation policies and the role education was envisaged to play in this transition and try to find out why despite all the efforts and assistance, Tanzania remains one of the poorest countries of the world.

The leadership that led the independence struggle and which came to power after the colonial rule always realised the power of education to transform society. The faith in education defined the rural transformation policies in the country. This paper looks at the extent to which Tanzania has succeeded in transforming the lives of its rural population through basic education.

Phase 1: Socialism and Rural Development (1961 – 1980s)

Historically we can divide Tanzanian social and education development in three phases. The first phase was the period following independence and lasted till 1980s. Things that happened both in terms of national development and education policy followed were driven by the vision of the then President Julius Nyerere. Nyerere took a view that development was meaningless unless it meant improved life for all. He wanted to follow a policy that did not create individual millionaires but that improved the life for all its citizens. The only way to achieve this was through socialist policies. His vision of this could be achieved was articulated in Socialism and Rural Development.

> Yet, the present trend is away from the extended family production and social unity, and towards the development of a class system in rural areas. It is this kind of development which would be inconsistent with the growth of a socialist Tanzania in which all citizens could be assured of human dignity and equality, and in which all were able to have a decent and constantly improving life for themselves and their children. (Nyerere: 1972, 346).

As the vast majority of population was rural, for Nyerere, any effort to improve the lives of people had to focus on rural areas and on agriculture. He argued:

> For the foreseeable future the vast majority of our people will continue to spend their lives in rural areas and continue to work on land. The land is the only basis for Tanzania's development; we have no other. ..... This means that we have to build up the countryside in such a way that our people have a better standard of living, while living together on terms of equality and fraternity. ..... And finally, the whole rural society must be built on the basis of the equality of all Tanzanian citizens and their common obligations and common rights. There must be no masters and servants, but just people working together for the good of all and thus their own good (Nyerere: 1972, 346/347).

The Tanzanian view of socialism focused not only on increasing resources but also on creating socialist institutions, building socialist attitudes and providing socialist way of life. In order to build socialist institutions, pillars of capitalist development – banks, multinational companies, privately owned agricultural estates were nationalised and put under the state ownership. Land was declared to belong to the government and could not be bought or sold. The centre piece of the rural transformation strategy was to establish "ujamaa" or communal villages.

> In a socialist Tanzania then, our agriculture organisation would be predominantly that of co-operative living and working for the good of all. This means that most of our farming would be done by groups of people who live as a community and work as a community. They would live together in a village; they would farm together; market together; and undertake the provision of local services and small local requirements as a community (Nyerere: 1972, 351)

Education was seen to play an important role and in order for that to happen what was taught and how it was taught had to be transformed. However, education for Nyerere was for the benefit of an individual. Educating a person only made sense if the nation and the community benefitted from a person's education. For Nyerere the purpose of education was to liberate man. He argued:

> Education has to increase men's physical and mental freedom – to increase their control over themselves, their own lives, and the environment in which they live. The ideas imparted by education, or released in the mind through education, should therefore be liberating ideas; the skills acquired by education should therefore be liberating skills. Nothing else can properly be called education. Teaching which induces a slave mentality or a sense of impotence is not education at all – it is an attack on the minds of men (Nyerere, 1976)

Nyerere's vision for transforming the education was defined in a seminal work titled Education for Self Reliance (Nyerere: 1968). As development was to be for all, similarly education had to be for the masses. Provision of basic education to all its population became a priority at the expense of elitist education. As a result of focusing on basic education, Tanzania in the late 70s and early 80s had one of the highest enrolment rates in primary education in Africa and the lowest enrolment rate in secondary education. Schools were to become training grounds for Tanzanian socialism. Nyerere's vision on how schools would look like mirrored his vision on what a village would be.

Schools must, in fact, become communities – and communities which practise the precept of self-reliance. The teachers, workers and pupils together must be the members of a social unit in the same way as parents, relatives and children are the family social unit. There must be the same kind of relationship between pupils and teachers within the school community as there is between children and parents in the village. And the former communities must realise, just as the latter do, that their life and well-being depend upon the production of wealth – by farming or other activities (Nyerere: 1972, 283)

At the same time, education for adults was seen as crucial for development. Nyerere argued that it will take decades before investment on educating a child will bear fruit for the nation, while educating an adult will have an almost instant impact. Adult education was therefore seen as crucial for developing a socialist Tanzania.

Kwamsisi School Community Experiment as a Model for Rural Transformation

Nyerere's philosophy of rural transformation was based on his belief that socialism was the only way for a poor country like Tanzania to develop. The strategy for transforming rural areas into socialist units of production was spelled out in a document "Socialism and Rural Development" (Nyerere: 1967). He also realised that education had a big role to play in this transformation. "Education for Self Reliance" outlines his vision of the kind of education needed for this transformation. The main theme in ESR was to break down the separation between mental and physical labour. He argued that the colonial education inculcated in school graduates a sense of superiority over those who did not go through the formal education. For Nyerere the source of knowledge was not only formal schooling but also the process of living which everyone goes through. A peasant who had no schooling had knowledge that was as important as knowledge gained by children who went to school.

Nyerere's ideas on the role of education and establishment of socialist units of agricultural production came together in the community school movement in the early 1970s. The best known example of the community school movement was the Kwamsisi experiment. Kwamsisi is a small village in the north eastern part of the country. As part of the drive to establish socialist units of production, Kwamsisi became Ujamaa (communal) village. At the time of the "experiment" the village had about 60 families. The community school movement was to strengthen the already created ujamaa villages through the establishment of a formal cooperation between the school and the village through a reform of the curriculum to promote the skills and attitudes of relevance to the village economy and the declared political philosophy.

Community school curriculum and supporting curriculum materials were designed by the Ministry of Education. The curriculum covered standards V to VII and attempted to integrate the traditional primary school subjects into four main areas: literacy and numeracy, political education; community studies; and cultural studies and skills related to village life. Literacy and numeracy contained the normal school programmes in Kiswahili, English and mathematics although a clear vocational bent. It included, for example, the study of better methods of farming, craftwork, building techniques and commercial methods as well as general science related to the local physical and human environment, health

education and hygiene.   Community and cultural studies aimed at maintaining the integration of the pupils in the local culture and environment, and at heightening their capability to solve local problems and further the ujamaa philosophy. The emphasis on the integration of the school with the community implied both the active participation of the community in school affairs and the active participation of the school in village affairs. Through this integration villagers became teachers in schools and taught subjects such as culture, music, dancing and local history. The students taught their parents modern farming techniques such as row planting, following proper spacing, selecting appropriate seeds and use of manure. Students also helped in the literacy classes in the village to eradicate illiteracy.

What was the outcome of the transition to a socialist society? On the economic front, the transition to socialism was a disaster. Reasons behind the failure are complex and need a separate discussion. On education, Nyerere's efforts were unmitigated successes. One of the poorest countries in the world was able to put nearly all its children in primary schools. It is often forgotten that Tanzania achieved Universal Primary Education in early 1980s, more than two decades before Jomtien and MDGs, and Dakar Framework for Action. Similarly, through its efforts on adult education, 90.4% of the population were literate by 1988 (URT: 1990, 18). There are no data that show the levels of poverty during the period.

The Transition Phase: The Early 80s - 90s

By early 1980s Tanzanian economy was in total collapse like many other economies in Africa. This is the period when institutions like the World Bank and International Monetary Fund (IMF) intervened to "help out" these countries. Financial aid provided to countries like Tanzania was conditional on meeting criteria set by these organisations. The criteria used were same for most countries getting aid – devaluation of the local currency, cutting down government expenditure, which in practice meant cutting down on education and health. Many of the policies followed during the early years were reversed, land was commoditised, and markets opened up, private investment encouraged. Cost sharing for services such as education and health became a reality. Although economic indicators improved as a result, the impact on social structure was disastrous. The gap between the rich and poor which was the main target of the Tanzanian socialist policies widen significantly. The Net Enrolment Rate which had reached 95% in 1982 declined 57% in 1998 (URT: 1999, 9). Schools became dilapidated and lacked even the most basic resources. Parents have to contribute money to enable teachers to buy chalk and other school requirements. Private schools emerged to cater for education of the children of the rich. Number of people attending literacy classes declined. Between 1985 and 1989 number of people attending literacy declined from 2,.5 million to 1.6 million, by 34.2 per cent.

Village dispensaries and district hospitals lacked even the basic medicine. Illiteracy that was almost wiped out during the earlier period increased again. Rural areas particularly suffered as a result of importation of food stuff from developed economies. Progress achieved on all the social indicators declined during this period. The rural population particularly suffered heavily during this period. Table 1 shows incidences of poverty in Tanzania.

Education during Poverty Reduction Strategies Period

The same organisations that deepened the poverty in many developing countries came up with the notion of poverty reduction. Funds were made available to these countries to reduce poverty. All countries that desired assistance from IMF and the World Bank were required to develop a Vision for reducing poverty. Based on the vision paper, each country was required to develop a poverty reduction strategy. Tanzania developed a vision called Vision 2025 which stated:

The economy will have been transformed from a low productivity agricultural economy to a semi-industrialized one led by modernized and highly productive agricultural activities which are effectively integrated and buttressed by supportive industrial and service activities in the rural and urban areas.

Since 2000, Tanzania has developed three poverty reduction documents. The first one was called the Poverty Reduction Strategy Paper. The second one which is currently operational is called National Strategy for Growth and Reduction of Poverty (NSGRP) called Mkakati wa Kukuza Uchumi na Kupunguza Umaskini (MKUKUTA). MKUKUTA II is currently being prepared. Each of the poverty reduction strategies recognises the role of education in reduction of poverty.

As a result of poverty reduction strategy, Tanzania implemented Primary Education Development Plan (PEDP) with an aim of revamping education. The PEDP I was implemented from 2001- 2005 and PEDP II from 2006 – 2010. As a result of PEDP significant improvements in enrolment took place. Nearly every school age child is now enrolled in school.

The rest of the paper will look what difference ten years of MKUKUTA implementations had on poverty reduction and on literacy levels. Table 1 shows the trend of poverty since 1991/92, base on data from the Household Budget Survey (HBS).

Poverty, Literacy and Education

Table 1 shows that poverty is basically a rural phenomenon. Various initiatives taken over last 50 years have not succeeded in significantly reduce poverty in rural areas. In 2007, nearly one-fifth of the rural population were reported to be under food poverty line, that is, they did not have adequate levels of nutrition. As a result data shows that more than 40 per cent of the under five years old children are stunted in rural areas compared 26.0 % in urban areas (URT: 2009, 59).

Poverty reduction seems to be more effective in Dar es Salaam, where number of people under both the food and basic needs poverty lines declined significantly. Proportionally, people under the basic needs poverty line declined by 11.7% in Dar es Salaam and only by 3.2% in rural areas.

TABLE 1
Incidences of Poverty in Tanzania

Poverty Line	Year	Dar es Salaam	Other Urban Areas	Rural Areas	Mainland Tanzania
Food	1991/92	13.6	15.0	23.1	21.6
	2000/01	7.5	13.2	20.4	18.7
	2007	7.4	12.9	18.4	16.6
Basic Needs	1991/92	28.1	28.7	40.8	38.6
	2000/01	17.6	25.8	38.7	35.7
	2007	16.4	24.1	37.6	33.6

Source: URT (2009, 11)

Poverty seems to go hand in hand with literacy levels. Table 2 shows that illiteracy, like poverty, is more a rural area phenomenon. The literacy levels are highest in Dar es Salaam and lowest in rural areas. One-third of the rural population is illiterate compared to less than one-tenth in Dar es Salaam and less than one-fifth in other urban areas. Secondly, more women than men are illiterate in every location; most of the illiteracy is among women in rural areas, where more than 40 per cent of the women are illiterate, compared to 12.3% in Dar es Salaam and 19.1% in other urban areas. Thirdly, as shown in Table 2, illiteracy has increased slightly between 2000 and 2007. In Dar es Salaam the illiteracy levels between 2000 and 2007 increased from 8.7% to 9.0%; remained at 14.2% in other urban areas and increased from 33.1% to 33.2% in rural areas.

At first sight it is difficult to understand the current levels of illiteracy in Tanzania as in 1980s the illiteracy was almost wiped out in the country and during the 80s Tanzania achieved almost complete universal primary education. It appears that illiteracy neither does, not appears to be related to no education. Table 3 shows the highest levels of education reached by people in Tanzania.

TABLE 2
Adult Literacy Rates in Tanzania

Language	Dar es Salaam		Other Urban		Rural		National	
	2000/01	*2007*	*2000/01*	*2007*	*2000/01*	*2007*	*2000/01*	*2007*
Swahili	68.0	64.3	66.7	64.2	60.0	59.7	61.5	60.9
English	3.8	4.2	4.1	2.7	1.9	1.1	2.4	1.7
English and Swahili	19.4	22.3	14.9	18.5	4.8	5.8	7.2	9.7
Other languages	0.2	0.2	0.2	0.4	0.2	0.2	0.2	0.2
Illiterate	8.7	9.0	14.2	14.2	33.1	33.2	28.6	28.7
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
% Men illiterate	5.7	5.4	8.5	8.5	23.9	25.3	20.4	20.5
% Women illiterate	11.7	12.3	19.0	19.1	41.2	40.5	36.0	33.9

Source: HBS, 2009

Table 3 shows that majority of Tanzanians, both in rural and urban areas, have at least primary education. However, proportionally the number of adults with primary education in 2007 has decreased by a percentage point since 1991/92. Table also shows that the percentages of adults who are illiterate are higher than those with no education. For example, in 2007, 23.6% of the population had no education, but the illiteracy rate was 28.7%. It means that education, going to school does not necessarily mean literacy.

TABLE 3
Highest Levels of Education reached by Adults in Tanzania

Level Achieved	Dar es Salaam			Other Urban			Rural			Total		
	1991/92	2000/01	2007	1991/92	2000/01	2007	1991/92	2000/01	2007	1991/92	2000/01	2007
No Education	9.0	7.6	7.9	13.0	13.1	12.1	28.0	29.0	28.5	24.9	25.2	23.6
% of women with no education	11.7	10.6	11.1	18.7	17.7	16.6	36.0	37.1	35.3	32.3	32.5	29.5
Adult Education	1.2	0.9	0.4	1.3	1.1	0.7	3.7	2.3	1.2	3.3	2.1	1.1
Primary 1 – 7	65.6	67.0	62.2	73.1	67.4	66.8	64.8	65.3	64.7	65.9	65.7	64.9
Forms 1 – 4	17.4	14.9	16.6	8.9	12.7	13.7	2.1	2.2	4.1	3.9	4.6	7.0
Forms 5 - 6	1.4	1.7	2.4	1.0	0.9	1.0	0.1	0.2	0.2	0.3	0.4	0.6
Post - Secondary	5.4	7.9	9.7	2.7	4.8	5.7	1.3	1.0	1.3	1.7	2.0	2.6
Other	0.0	0.0	0.8	0.0	0.4	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.2
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

Source: HBS, 2009

Uwezo Findings

Findings from recently carried out assessment of learning outcome by Uwezo Tanzania confirms this. Uwezo assessed more than 40,000 children in basic Swahili, and English literacy and in numeracy. Children were assessed to find out if they can read standard two level texts and do standard two level sums.

Figure 1 shows the percentages of children who could read Swahili text by age, gender, class attending and location. Swahili is the national language of the country and used for all communications within the country. It is therefore surprising that even after seven years of education, one in five of the children assessed, was not able to read a simple text. Table 4 summarises the findings from the Uwezo assessment.

FIGURE 1

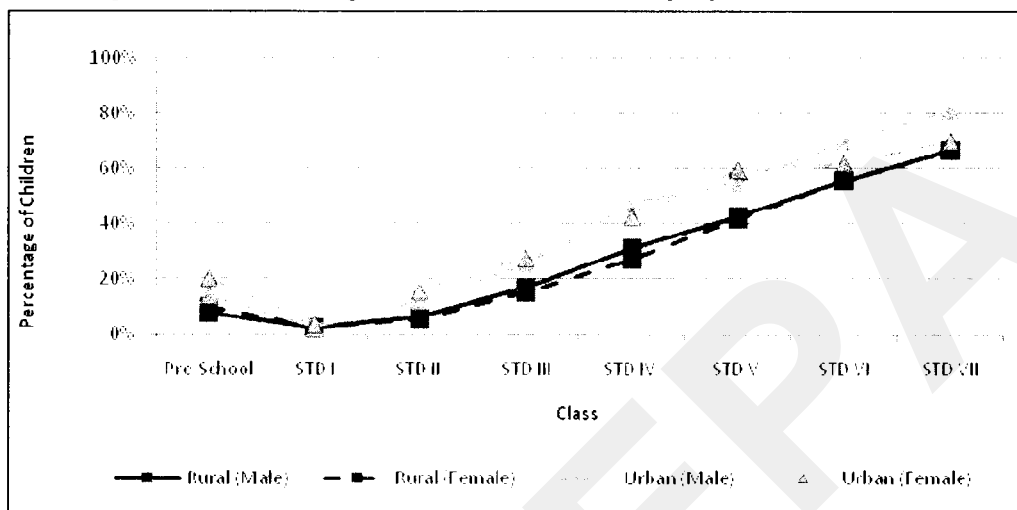## Percentage of Children Meeting Standards Two in Numeracy: By Class, Gender and Location

TABLE 4

Number of Children who can Read Swahili in Standard 3 and Standard 7 by Location

| Class	National	Rural	Urban
By class 3 every child should be able to read the Kiswahili Story			
3	33 children out of 100 are able to read standard 2 level text	29 children out of 100 are able to read standard 2 level text	45 children out of 100 are able to read standard 2 level text
7	81 children out of 100 are able to read standard 2 level text	79 children out of 100 are able to read standard 2 level text	87 children out of 100 are able to read standard 2 level text
All	42 children out of 100 are able to read standard 2 level text	40 children out of 100 are able to read standard 2 level text	50 children out of 100 are able to read standard 2 level text

As the tests developed were at standard 2 level, it was expected that all the children in standard three would be able to read the text. Swahili, the national language is used in all forms of communication. The findings were particularly surprising. In standard 3, where the expectation was that all children would be able to read, only one-third of the children were able to do. In urban areas nearly half of the children were able to read compared to less than one-third in rural areas. By standard 7, 21 children out of 100 in rural areas and 13 children out of 100 in urban areas were unable to read standard 2 text. It was particularly worrying that only 19 out of 100 children finish their primary schooling. Primary schools produce more illiterate children in rural areas than in urban areas.

Children's performance in English was even more pathetic as shown in Table 5. Table shows the number of children who can read a standard two level English test. As most of

communication in Tanzania is done in Swahili, the importance of English is low. However, for children finishing primary education it is important to have gained enough knowledge of English to enable them to cope with English as a medium of instruction in secondary education.

Data shows that English reading levels are particularly low. There are no significant gender differences in reading English. Both females and males from pre-school to Standard 7 are not performing well. Although reading English is a challenge for children both in urban and rural settings, urban children are generally better readers than rural children. Nationwide, just over 50 per cent of all children in Standard 7 can read an English story.

TABLE 5

Number of Children who can Read English in Standard 3 and Standard 7 by Location

Class	National	Rural	Urban
By class 3 every child should be able to read the English Story			
3	8 children out of 100 are able to read standard 2 level text	6 children out of 100 are able to read standard 2 level text	12 children out of 100 are able to read standard 2 level text
7	51 children out of 100 are able to read standard 2 level text	48 children out of 100 are able to read standard 2 level text	60 children out of 100 are able to read standard 2 level text
All	19 children out of 100 are able to read standard 2 level text	17 children out of 100 are able to read standard 2 level text	24 children out of 100 are able to read standard 2 level text

Children were also tested in their ability in basic numeracy. The findings from the survey show that overall 65 per cent of 16-year olds are able to solve a Standard 2 multiplication problem. The situation is not encouraging between ages 5–11. For example, only 15 per cent of children age 9 are able to solve Standard 2 multiplication problems. As with literacy skills, urban children outperform rural children in numeracy, though there is not a large difference between girls and boys.

Figure 1 shows the numeracy levels achieved by children by class attending, gender and location. As with literacy, the level of numeracy was pegged at standard 2 level. If children were properly taught, all children in standard three should be able to do the numeracy tests. In examining numeracy by location and age (above), the location gap developed in favour of urban children but then all but disappeared among 16-year olds. When looking by class instead of age, however, it is clear that the gap disappears among urban females but not among urban males by Standard 7. Over 80 per cent of urban males in Standard 7 are able to perform the numeracy task, as opposed to 70 per cent of urban females and 67 per cent of male and female rural children. Even by the time children complete primary education, 33 per cent of the children in rural areas and 25 per cent of the children in urban areas were not able to do standard 2 level sums.

Influence of Mother's Education Levels

Apart from location, child's performance is correlated to mother's educational level. Children of better educated mothers tend to do well both in literacy and numeracy. Children whose mothers received higher education perform better both in literacy and numeracy but especially in English as shown in Figure 2.

FIGURE 2
Percentage of Children Reading English: By Age and Mother's Education
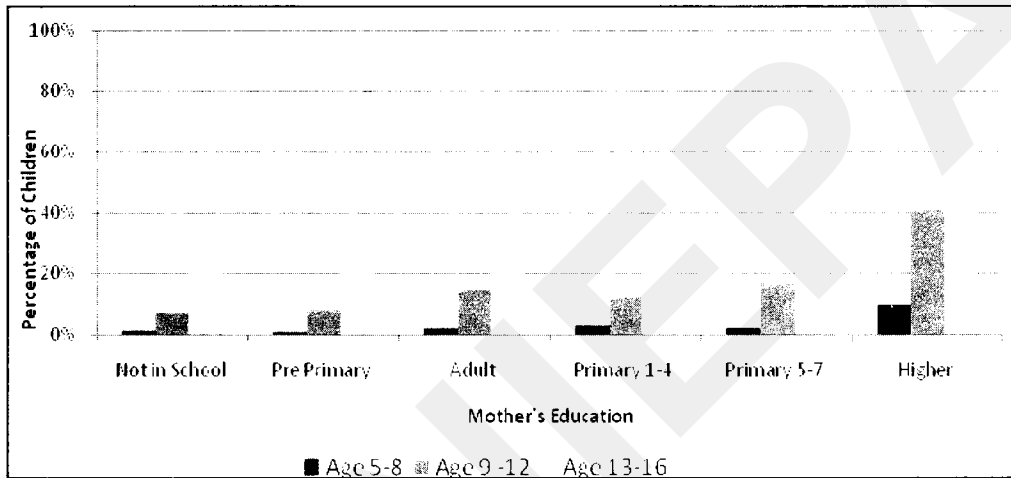
About 70 per cent of children aged 13-16 whose mother received higher education can read English, compared with 30 per cent whose mothers did not attend school. Similarly, about 10 per cent of children aged 5-8 whose mother received higher education can read English, compared with one per cent whose mothers did not attend school.

Resource Ownership by Location

Uwezo datas show that there is close correlation between resource ownership and performance of children. Uwezo findings show that household income strongly influences children's reading ability. Forty per cent of children from the houses with very low incomes can read Kiswahili at a story level. As the household income increases the numbers of children who can read a story tend to increase. For example, 55 per cent of children who are coming from very high income homes managed to read a story without any problem.

FIGURE 3
Kiswahili Level: By Family Income
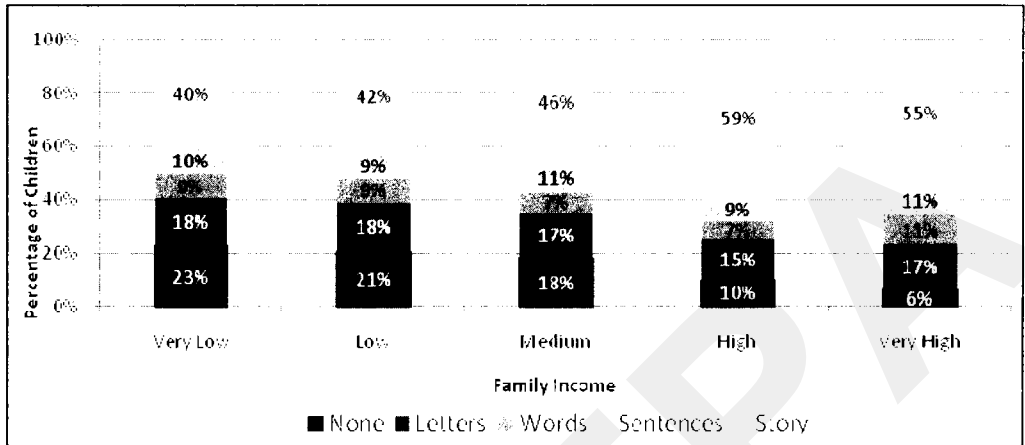
Socio-Economic Status and Reading Level: English

The influence of income on English literacy is even more dramatic. Figure 4 shows households with high income recorded 38 per cent of children who can read an English story, and on the other hand the same households recorded 15 per cent of the children who cannot. Very low income households recorded 20 per cent of children who can read an English story, while very low income household recorded great proportion of children who cannot read anything. As the income increases, the number of children who can read a story increases as well. Similar relationship exists between the household income and numeracy levels.

FIGURE 4
English Level: By Family Income
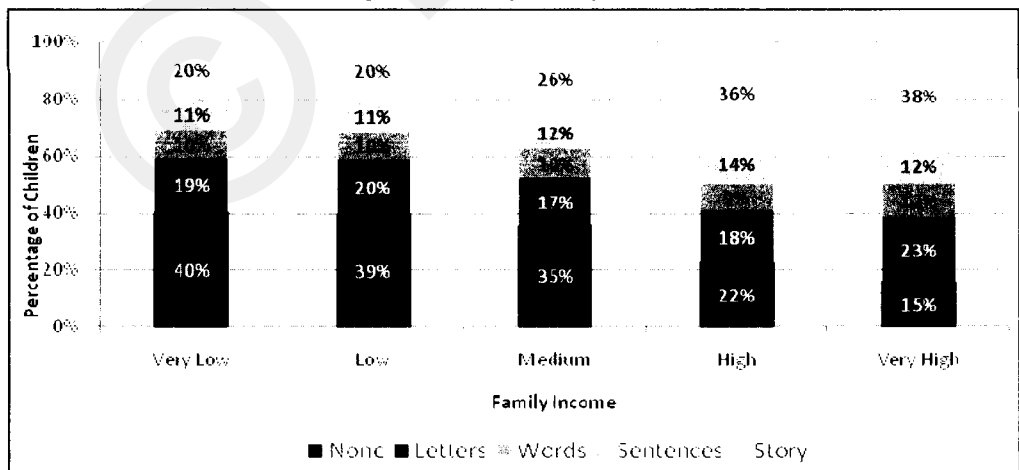
Conclusion

Fifty years after independence from colonial rule in 1960, Tanzania remains one of the poorest countries in the world. Rural areas, where most of the population live, is characterised by poverty, ignorance, diseases and lack of basic services. Efforts to transform rural areas have met with little success.

Education was seen as a tool for transforming rural areas by wiping out illiteracy among the rural population. This was to be done through double pronged approach of universal primary education and concerted adult literacy programmes. Nyerere's dream unfortunately was not fulfilled. On one hand the adult illiteracy is on the rise, and more importantly, schools are producing illiterate children. Has Tanzania lost the battle of transforming rural areas?

References

Buchert, Rene, (1994): *Education in the Development of Tanzania 1919-1990.* Dar es Salaam: Mkuki na Nyota.

Carnoy, Martin and Joel Samoff (1990): *Education and Social Transition in the Third World.* Princeton: Princeton University Press.

Lema, Elieshi; Marjorie Mbilinyi and Rakesh Rajani (ed) (2004): *Nyerere on Education.* Dar es Salaam: Hakielimu and E&D Limited.

NBS (2009): *Household Budget Survey 2007.* Dar es Salaam: National Bureau of Statistics

Nyerere, Julius (1972): *Freedom and Socialism/Uhuru na Ujamaa.* Dar es Salaam: Oxford University Press.

Nyerere, Julius (1976): *Adult Education and Development.* Opening speech to the International Adult Education Conference, Dar es Salaam, 21st June 1976.

URT (various years): *Basic Education Statistics in Tanzania (BEST).* Dar es Salaam, the Ministry of Education, 1981-2010.

URT (2009): *Poverty and Human Development Report 2009.* Dar es Salaam, MKUKUTA Secretariat, Poverty Eradication Division, Ministry of Planning, Economy and Empowerment

The Asian

Economic Review

Journal of the Indian Institute of Economics

CONTENTS

Democratization of Education Through Public Private Partnership in Indian Perspective

Shahla Tabassum[*]
T. Sadashivam[*]

Abstract

One of the important things, in the present time, which need greater attention, is the education sector. Because of infrastructure shortages, constrained public resources, rising pressure from citizens and civil society have combined to push government and policy makers to explore new ways of financing and managing the education sector, in which private sector investment can be attracted through mutually beneficial arrangement. The present paper outlines the conceptual framework of Public Private Partnership, need for it and various initiatives in education, constraints in implementing and suggestion for improving.

[*] Department of Political Science, Faculty of Social Sciences, Jamia Millia Islamia, New Delhi-110025.
Email: shahlajmi@gmail.com

Introduction

High population in India, one time considered as a burden for national development, but now being seen as an opportunity to convert population into quality population for achieving national development, and more importantly, individual development. As India is emerging as a growing economic force and may be one of the largest economies in few decades from now, this will not automatically happen; the government and other stakeholders in the society have to strategically work in this direction. One of the mechanisms of enhancing quality in population is providing mass education of best quality. Quality, to be defined within the parameters of democratic and secular values, is something that is inclusive of all classes, castes, regions and gender. The citizens and civil society have put pressure on government to provide quality education for all in the society, which can be done with the help of private sector participation. The world is working towards providing Education For All (EFA), which is one of the main goal of Millennium Development Goals.

Democratization of Education –Need for Public Private Partnership

Education is an important asset for development to any country. According to T.P NUNN, "Education is complete development of the child so that he can make an original contribution to human life according to best of his capacity". Man's development depends upon the kind of education which he receives through educational institutions. Gandhiji says "By education I mean all-round drawing out of the best in child and man – body, mind and spirit". In a democratic polity, the sustenance of cultured governance is dependent upon enlightenment of the populace. That is why it becomes a social as well as a political necessity (Sanjeev Kumar Pandey, 2009, p.2).

After Independence, India adopted the system of democratic, social, secular, sovereign and welfare state. Jawaharlal Nehru, the first Prime Minister of India, envisaged education for all viewed industrial developments as crucial tools to unite a country divided on the basis of wealth, caste and religion and formed the cornerstones of the anti-imperial struggle. The legacies of this Nehruvian approach to education are considerable (Shashank Chaturvedi, 2009, pp. 25-28). In the contemporary world, the concept of democratization and thus the concept of education for democracy as well, is enhanced by the wider perspective of human rights and global society (exceeding the framework imposed by the nation and the state) so that it includes multiculturalism and active citizenship asking for the new forms of social (human) solidarity (global), participation and increased responsibility (not only for the actual but for the future as well) (Report of the Expert Team, 2001, p. 2). Democratization of education system, its institutions and the education process itself in all its formal and informal aspects thus makes simultaneously both the goal and strategic path towards the reform of education.

Democratization of education as a social practice and education system as social institutions must be considered in a broader social and political context. While they are embedded in democracy not only as a form of political arrangement and governmental structure (the rule of people by direct or representative democracy) but, also assume and incorporate democratic society; a type of social life that implies acceptance and practice of

the principle of equality of rights, opportunities and treatments for all members of the society. Democracy in education relies on respect of two basic principles:

- The principle of equality, equity, access and respect of equal rights for all regardless of their gender, age, race, ethnic or religious background, place of living and wealth, ability, health status.
- The principle of participation (freedom to express opinion, make choice and take active and responsible part in decision making and practice education (ibid, Report of the Expert Team, 2001, p.4).

When we talk about democracy, it means 'Rule of the people, by the people, for the people', and when we talk about democratization of education, it means every individual in the society should get equal and easy access to education without any discrimination. Human beings living in society need different kind of goods and services, which are provided by various stakeholders like government, market and other sectors. The nature of goods and services will determine the role of different agencies in providing the services to the common man. Savas has rightly identified four kinds of goods and services in terms of intrinsic characteristics which are:

	Easy to Exclude	Difficult to Exclude
Individual Consumption	Individual goods (e.g. food, clothing, shelter)	Common-pool goods (e.g. fish in the sea)
Joint Consumption	Tool goods (e.g. cable T.V, Telephone, electric power)	Collective goods (e.g. national defense)

The Individual and Tool goods are generally best provided by the market, while the state here may be regulating their activities or are responsible for providing a framework for operation to the market. While for the Common-pool goods like fish and transport network, collective action is needed as these goods will be consumed continually until exhaustion. In order to preserve these resources, government intervention is required (Savas, 2000, p.62).

But the government faces difficulties in providing collective goods, if we take into account especially the education sector. Over the last decades, the Government of India, with the exception of some notable ones, have, however, not been able to maintain the high standards of education. If we take the example of government schools in Delhi, except Kendriya Vidyalaya and Navjivan schools, others are not in good position although the main reason will be the lack of infrastructure, but even when the minimum infrastructure was there the quality of education was not up to the mark, if we compare with above government schools. According to National Knowledge Commission, Public expenditure (centre and states) on education is only around 3.6 per cent of GDP. Government funding of higher education is still below 1 per cent of GDP. The percentage expenditure on university and higher education to GDP, which was 0.77 per cent in 1990- 91 showed a gradual decrease to 0.66 per cent in 2004-2005. Various committees have unanimously recommended that state funding be increased to 6 per cent. See the below data for better understanding.

Expenditure of the Centre and States Combined on Education is as under:

	2001-02	2002-03	2003-04	2004-05	2005-06	2006-07	2007-08 BE
Expenditure (Rs. crore)	68,071	71,298	75,607	84,111	96,365	119,199	133,284
% of GDP	2.98	2.90	2.74	2.67	2.69	2.88	-

Private consumption expenditure on education as per National Accounts Statistics (2007) is as under:

1999-00	2000-01	2001-02	2002-03	2003-04	2004-05	2005-06
42,779	49,278	54,163	57,641	65,771	76,375	86,058

Combining the government and private expenditure given above, the total expenditure on education is approximately below 5.3 per cent of GDP and private sector share works out to be 47 per cent. The above data clearly indicate that the total amount allocated is not sufficient, if we see the Indian education system that is perhaps the largest system in the world catering to above 20 crore students of different socio-economic background in pre-primary to primary, upper primary, secondary and higher secondary to college and university level (Nand Dhameja and Rakesh Gupta, 2008, pp. 456-457).

India also has one of the lowest public expenditure on higher education per student at 406 US dollars, which compares unfavourably with Malaysia (11,790 dollars), China (2728 dollars), Brazil (3986 dollars), Indonesia (666 dollars) and the Philippines (625 dollars) (National Knowledge Commission, 2009, p.186). Even the amount which is allocated every year does not fulfil the three objectives; Economy: the waste should be eradicated; Efficiency: the education as a service has to be streamlined; and Effectiveness: the various objectives have to be specific, so that resources are allocated accordingly.

There are great financial constraints on the part of government as even for implementing newly enacted Right to Education Act in the age group of 6 to 14 years, the different states are not in a position to implement this law, because of lack of funds or resources, in opening new schools, increasing of present available seats in the school, running school in two shifts, recruitment of teachers and other personnel and more importantly creation of the necessary infrastructure as per requirements of the Act. For example, the Rajasthan government will require 14,000 crores for implementation of this Act in the next 3 years. Also the Delhi government needs Rs 1500 crores which they have asked from the central government. Although the total responsibility of implementing this Act is not with state government only, the ratio approved in principle at present is 65:35, still the state governments are struggling to meet the required resources for implementing this Act.

Going by the recommendations of the Kothari Commission and a committee appointed by the Central Advisory Board of Education (CABE), public expenditure on education should be increased to at least 6 per cent of GNP, of which 25 per cent should be set a part for higher education. With all the rhetoric about the 11th Plan being an "education plan", the actual allotment in the plan for major schemes in higher education is estimated to be only 12 per

cent of the actual requirement of ₹ 2,52,000 crores. The rest of the investment is sought to be raised through Public Private Partnerships (*The Hindu*, 2010).

For the OECD (2007), the introduction of Public Private Partnerships in education addresses issues such as new financing arrangements to enable governments to bring forward their works, programmes, and to meet the demand for new projects; additional new skills and tighter discipline which focuses on the planning and delivery of building projects and their associated services; innovation in the planning and delivery of services and especially in financing arrangements; and greater discipline in procurement processes (Report by Educational International, 2009, p. 22).

The main advanced reasons for the governments to enter into contractual Public Private Partnerships as mentioned in the above Report include:

- Improve the quality of spending by lifting the efficiency of service delivery and by allowing better targeting of spending;
- Allow governments to take advantage of specialized skills from the private sector;
- Allow governments to overcome operating restrictions such as inflexible salary scales and civil service restrictions;
- Allow governments to respond to new demands and facilitate the adoption of innovations in service delivery and experimentation;
- Permit economies of scale;
- Allow governments to focus on those functions for which they have comparative advantage;
- Increase access to services, especially for those groups who have been poorly served under traditional forms of service delivery; and
- Increase transparency of government spending by making the cost of services more visible.

Thus, there is a need for involvement of private agencies along with N.G.Os with public sector to fulfil educational need in our society at all levels. As rightly pointed by Economic Survey 2006-07, there is now a widespread consensus that exclusive dependence on government for the provision of all infrastructure services introduces difficulties concerning adequate scale of investment, technical efficiency, proper enforcement of user charges and competitive market structure. At the same time, complete reliance on private production, particularly without appropriate regulation, is also not likely to produce optimal outcomes. India, while stepping up public investment in infrastructure, has been actively engaged in finding the appropriate policy framework, which gives the private sector adequate confidence and incentives to invest on a massive scale, but simultaneously put pressure on adequate checks and balances through transparency, competition and regulation (Economic Survey, 2006, p.178).

Specific studies need to be done regarding the sources of funds invested by the private sector as there are allegations that such funds are either unaccounted wealth from business and political enterprises(occasionally with some bank loans for purposes of legitimacy). What is required in order to make all of them work efficiently and serve overall national goals is the framing of rational and consistent ground rules overseen by a transparent regulatory mechanism. They should not confine themselves only to commercially viable sectors of education such as management, accountancy, medicine, etc. but should also encompass areas of social and natural sciences by establishing comprehensive universities

(Yashpal Committee Report, 2009, pp.33-35). There are various private organizations within the country and also coming from foreign countries, who offered number of programmes or courses in various modes, with misleading advertisements, which attract students to it. But the majority of them are providing sub-standard quality of education. Still, we do not know about how many private educational institutions was existing, their mode of operation, fee structure, their partnership with other institutions. The private educational institutions who are interested in Public Private Partnerships should have track record in providing various recognized and accredited degree and diploma programmes for at least 15 to 20 years. It also applies to foreign institutions who are interested in it. They should also register with the designated authority, deposit some amount of money, which will be helpful in prevent the entry of private educational institutions which was commercially motivated. Also, there should be evaluation of its activities annually according to established norms and standards; as it is changing every time, and if any malpractices are seen then hefty penalties and other hard punishment should be given. The recommendation of National Knowledge Commission for multi-member single regulator involving all stakeholders will be beneficial. The government should also regulate function in matters of setting goals, facilitating the exercise of academic autonomy by institution and setting minimum standards for other activities.

David Osborne and Ted Gaebler in their book 'Reinventing Government: How the Entrepreneurial Spirit is Transforming the Public Sector' rightly emphasize that community problems are sought to be solved by combining all sectors – Public, Private, Voluntary – into action and also for providing public service (Rumki Basu, 2004, P.50). Thus, effective education can be achieved when government collaborates with a range of other actors – private sector, civil society, communities and families.

Conceptual Framework of Public Private Partnership

Generally, there is lack of consensus over definition of public private partnership. Certainly, it is important to recognize in what context public-private-partnerships are used. Public private partnership is essentially collaboration between the government and the private sector to create a structure in which improved value for money can be achieved through the involvement of private sector. So, it does not undermine the government's overall responsibility to the taxpayer for the quality of the services provided to them (Aparna Singh, 2005, p.22). But it emphasizes on the role of government from direct service provider to managing and coordinating the different services as suggested by the New Public Management (NPM) theory. Before discussing about New Public Management it is necessary to know about how it comes into existence, which also influences the Public Private Partnership.

The 'State versus Market' debate or the role of 'Public and Private' sectors in the society and the economy is not a new phenomenon that we are seeing presently, rather it was there from the period of Adam Smith, the father of Economics. Presently, it came into existence in the forefront with great vigor, due to the concept of LPG (Liberalization, Privatization and Globalization), emphasized by various international organizations including the World Bank and International Monetary Fund. These new concepts have questioned the hegemony of public sector. There exist various approaches that also attacked the role of state; and the one most important out of all of them is the 'Public Choice' approach. It came into existence during the period of 1960s and the main focus of its thought was organizational pluralism or

variety of institutional arrangements required to provide different goods and services. They view the citizen as the ultimate source of administrative power because he is a rational consumer of public goods and utilities. It is suggested that there is need for dividing administrative power and offering it to the citizens in several options in order to cater to the preference of the public and to avoid the institutional weakness created by a dominant bureaucratic form. (*op.cit*, Rumki Basu, 2004, p. 41). This approach has limitation also which is not going to be discussed in this article, but what it has done is that it led to new thinking or paradigm called New Public Management which came into existence in the early 1980s and it is a synthesis of Public and Private administration, as it takes 'What and Why' from the former and 'How' from the latter. It has been defined by Garson and Overman as an interdisciplinary study of the generic aspects of administration... a blend of the planning, organizing and controlling functions of management with the management of human, financial, physical, information and political resources. This definition expresses the wish of many of those who deal with administration and public policy, to shake the conservative approach in this field and start motivating a process of managerial 'liberalism', whose main interest is to introduce changes into bureaucratic systems, which have failed in achieving their main goals and in implementing the required public policies in other fields. Even though this approach is not free from faults and mistakes, some important principles of it can be adopted by public sector to perform their functions better by changing the management, structure, and internal organizational culture strategies. In present time the modern countries can make their public sector thinner, improved, flexible and more efficient in its functioning. Only such is a reasonable correlation between the forces of the market and the economy and the forces of the society and welfare for the benefit of public interest (Eran Vigoda, 2003, pp. 127,140).

So public private partnership is a system in which a government service or private business venture is funded and operated through a partnership of government with one or more private sector companies. According to the Government of India, public private partnership means a project based on a contract or concession agreement between a government or statutory entity on the one side and a private sector company on the other for delivery of an infrastructure service on payment of user charges. The World Economic Forum defined public private partnership as 'A voluntary alliance between various actors from different sectors whereby, they agree to work together to reach a common goal that involves shared risks, responsibilities, means and competencies'. Thus, public private partnership entails the pooling of resources, competencies and capacities from the public and private sector to achieve outcomes that add value beyond what either party could achieve acting alone. The approach builds on the idea that different sectors in society – public, private, civil society – have different yet potentially complementary core competencies and resources that, if appropriately joined, produce a positive sum to advance public and private goods (Ilona Genevois, 2008, p.9).

Public Private Partnership and Privatization

Public private partnership differs from privatization in that the former refers to private management of public services through long term contract between a private operator and a public authority, whereas privatization involves outright sale of public service or utility to the private sector. As to Montek Singh Ahluwalia, the Deputy Chairman of the Planning

Commission of India, 'public private partnership should not be seen as public partnerships and private projects. They should rather be viewed as private partnership and public projects'.

Public private partnership does not reduce the responsibility and accountability of the government. In this collaborative arrangement, the government remains accountable for ensuring the standard of the service quality, price certainty and cost effectiveness. In fact, in public private partnership the role of government gets redefined as one of 'facilitator', and 'enabler' while the private sector plays the role of financier, builder and operator of service. The public sector (government) contributes assurances for stable governance, citizens' support and financing, besides assuming social, environmental and political risks. On the other hand, the private sector brings along with it operational efficiencies, innovative technologies, managerial effectiveness, access to additional finances and assumes construction, commercial, and operational risks of the projects.

Privatization may take several forms some of which are Deregulation, Divestiture (Disinvestment), De-licensing, Complete Privatization, etc. Under deregulation, while retaining the ownership and responsibility for existing public services in its hands, government allows the entry of the private sector for development of new assets through contractual relationship. This is normally done through Build, Operate and Transfer (BOT), or Build, Own, Operate and Transfer (BOOT). The strategy involves less political commitment and does not entail opposition to change. Divestiture paves the way for de-monopolization of existing State resources like state or public sector enterprises. For instance, the State Electricity Boards (SEB), in the pre-public private partnership days, held the monopoly in generation, transmission and distribution of electricity in its own hands in India. After the public private partnership policy came into force, most of these SEBs have been de-monopolized through de-bundling, or privatization of the distribution function as in the Union Territory of Delhi, or generation or both as in the state of Orissa. Under complete privatization existing government enterprises are fully (100 per cent) sold to private sector entities as was the case in the United Kingdom during Thatcher's regime (Noorjahan Bava, 2008, p. 405).

Initiatives of Public Private Partnership in Education

In developing countries like India, the onus of development lies mainly with the government, which faces the predicament of multiple demands and limited resources. This leads to a situation where even fundamental objectives such as basic literacy for all are not met. On the other hand, there exists a vibrant private sector, which has resources and the desire to undertake social responsibility and coming up with innovative approaches to overcome barriers to education and is targeting the have-nots.

In Indian education system, the public private partnership has started to come into effect from 1991 onwards, as rules and regulation have been liberalized, which has given the opportunity for the private players to enter the education field. However, successful working public private partnership models are a more recent phenomenon. In 2002, the then Prime Minister, Atal Bihari Vajpayee gave the suggestion to strengthen public private partnership in education. He said, the government educational bodies should employ professional as part times teachers and lease their infrastructure to the private sector for a second shift to impart specialized training. Recently, Prime Minister , Dr. Man Mohan Singh underlined the need for

expanding the scope of public private partnership to include projects in the social sector such as health, education and urban development while chairing the first full-fledged meeting of the Planning Commission in his 2nd tenure (*The Hindu*, 2009).

The 11th Plan emphases that since the establishment of world class institutions involves considerable expenditure on creating facilities; the scope for public–private participation in setting up these universities will be carefully explored. The location of these institutions should take advantage of the collocation of other scientific and research institutions in certain places. The scope for setting up institutions of higher education in the private sector must also be explored. State governments would be well advised to adopt a supportive stance on this issue, including flexibility in charging higher fees (Eleventh Five Year Plan, 2008, p.18).

Noble laureate Amartya Sen also called for synergy between Government, Teachers' Union and combination of Industries led by the Confederation of Indian Industries (CII), so as to improve the quality of education across the nation which could ultimately lead to equity and access in education system in coming future (www.business-standard.com). The public private partnership model is being looked at for some of the innovation universities that are to be set up by the government (the 11th five year plan proposes the establishment of 14 such universities aimed at world class standards) (www.pib.nic.in). The government also plans to set up 2,500 model education centres under public private partnership, where private sector is expected to invest about 10,000crores. An additional 3,500 schools will also be opened through public funding by the next academic year. The new schools are expected to provide quality education to over 25 Lakh under-privileged children. The proposed schools are expected to be called Jawahar Kendriya Vidyalayas, where private parties will have the freedom to manage the school as per the government policy. The infrastructure of the new institution will be as per C.B.S.E. standards (Eleventh Five Year Plan, 2009, p. 24).

The Manipal group has been involved in Joint Ventures both within the country and abroad. The Melaka-Manipal Medical College captures the spirit of partnership at its best. Melaka–Manipal Medical College is the first Indo-Malaysian Joint Venture in private medical education. The proposal was conceived from the 'Look East Policy' of the former Prime Minister Dr. Tun Mahathir Mohamed. The Joint Venture Medical College Corporation [JVMC] Malaysian and the Manipal Academy of Higher Education [MAHE] India to offer a twinning programme leading to MBBS degree. The objectives were to provide additional Doctors for Malaysian and offer opportunities for students in this region to study medicine at a cheaper cost than in the west. The Melaka-Manipal is an example of the manifold dividends of public private partnership. The project has been cited as a success story by the International Finance Corporation (Nagraj, 2005, pp.451-454).

Issues in Public Private Partnership in Education

The concept and implementation of public private partnership is still very nascent in India. Diverse models are being operationalised by multiple stakeholders in a wide variety of sectors and Government policy regarding regulatory, legal and institutional framework is still evolving. Public private partnerships are a complex relationship. Foster argues, that the behaviour and the culture within which the project is delivered have the greatest overall impact on project success, that true partnerships are not created overnight, but are developed over time by people working together cooperatively and building robust, open

and trusting institution. Partnerships are expensive to create and maintain and must have real purpose to justify the additional overhead both parties need to invest.

Despite the growing interest in and adoption of public private partnership in education, they have been facing criticism from civil society organization, public interest groups, media and other stakeholders. Wide publicity of some of the problematic public private partnerships has raised concerns about the role of the private sector in education as lack of trust in the private sector with public, tariff increases, layoffs, and poor stakeholder management have contributed to these concerns. Accountability in the public private partnership was a major challenge or issue if we see in the context of who should be responsible to whom, how and for what. Accountability has long been recognized as an important public ethos because it is an as old as civilized government itself; it is indispensable to regimes of every kind. It provides the post-mortem of action, the test of obedience and judgment, the moment of truth (Normanton, 1971, p.312). While some kind of public resources are also involved in the public private partnership which have implications for users as well citizens, but in the name of better performance or services with low cost can become an excuse for lack of accountability on the part of agencies providing the services.

The detractors also accuse public private partnership of high procurement costs, which deter small companies and curtail competition and also there is criticism that public finance project is actually cheaper than the public-private partnership project. According to the Department of Finance and Administration, Australia, 'it is generally more expensive for the private sector to raise capital through private capital markets than for the common wealth to do so directly (Department of Finance and Administration, Australia, 2001,). In practice, the private sector usually, in most times, has higher borrowing and set up costs than their counterparts i.e. government or public sector. Thus these costs will lead to a large cost of the public-private partnership.

In recent times, there are many educational institutions which called themselves as deemed university or affiliated with other government university, have sub-standard faculty, infrastructure and more importantly sale of degrees, in name of providing quality education in society. The good example is State of Chhattisgarh, where government launched a private sector university act to encourage private university to start up in the region. As a result more than 100 private schools sprang up with offices in Chhattisgarh but campuses elsewhere. Regulators realized that lay rules were allowing many of the schools as diploma mills. The Supreme Court knocked down the act in February 2005, this episode emphasizes why just private investment in education will not solve the problem; a public private partnership is necessary in education, to combine the agility of the private sector, with the social responsibility obligation of the public sector (Sunil Kewalramani, 2010,).

Also, Krishna Kumar argues that teacher education and training has been a sadly neglected area, and it is not surprising that public private partnership in their return current form, are not forthcoming. It lends strength to the view that public private partnership is not an idea with a considerable inheritance, but rather an ideology which promotes privatization as a means of reducing the government's responsibility to increase the number of schools (Amrita Datta, 2009, pp. 73-74). However, there is doubt among the academicians that through public-private partnership, the control of government will be lost to a certain extent especially in making decisions regarding delivery of services related to education and their price control.

Difficulties of vulnerable populations with regard to access and equity in the market place are not ameliorated when services are delivered by public private partnership. Turning provision of education over to private for-profit companies even within partnership, imposes a Caveat emptor philosophy that creates problems. According to the Economic Survey of India (20007-08), while encouraging Public-Private Partnerships, Government of India has identified six constraints (Dhar, 2008, p. 419). These are:

1. Policy and Regulatory Gaps – specially relating to specific sector policies and regulations;
2. Inadequate availability of long-term finance (ten years plus tenor), both equity and debt;
3. Inadequate capacity in public institutions and public officials to manage PPP processes;
4. Inadequate capacity in the private sector, both in the form of developer/ investor and technical manpower;
5. Inadequate shelf of bankable, infrastructural projects that can be bid out to the private sector; and
6. Inadequate advocacy to create greater acceptance of PPPs by the public.

The central government itself concedes. "PPPs are not panacea. They represent a claim on public resources that needs to be understood and assessed by the government, and are often complex and long term transactions in which mistakes in design can be costly. The Dabhol experience in the past has amply demonstrated how this apprehension can become a stark reality (ibid, Dhar, 2008, p. 419).

These lingering challenges, among others, combine to suggest that public private partnerships are not inherently successful arrangements and that a great deal of proactive preparation is required.

Suggestion for Overcoming Problems in Public Private Partnership in Education

Although public private partnership can provide mechanisms for exploiting the comparative advantages of public and private sectors, several conditions must be met for public private partnership to be successful. The government certainly has certain advantages running educational institutions particularly in remote rural areas. Private trusts and educational institutions need to partner with government to introduce innovation, for that private entrepreneurs need to be encouraged a lot more. There is need to revise the regulatory framework; relating to the governance of educational institutions in such a way as would combine autonomy with accountability, in order to enable them to fulfil their educational objectives and social obligations. A screening system has to be developed to separate genuine educationists from others.

Public private partnerships are likely to be successful in certain contexts, if they are structured in specific ways. They perform well if there is broad community or social consensus in the value of the policy goals. The agreement of the business sector is as critical as having a 'cohesive society and masterful government'. The Approach Paper Document of the Eleventh Plan (2006), has categorically said that due attention has to be given for creating an enabling environment which would not only attract private investment but must

also be seen to be in public interest and that is best assured if the process is seen to provide services at reasonable cost and in a transparent manner. If we adopt best practices it will be possible to create credible PPP projects (ibid, Dhar, 2008, p. 424).

Public private partnerships must be accountable if they are to fulfil policy objectives successfully. A central principle of democracy theory is that leaders and government be held accountable for their actions. When critical public functions are entrusted to partnership, substantial policy responsibility may be granted to non-governmental agencies (Pauline Vaillancourt Rosenau, 1999, p. 32).

The failure of many alliances can be traced to the partner selection and planning stages identifying the four C's of compatibility, capability, commitment, and control as critical for successful pre-selection of alliance partner. Particularly important are the notions of compatibility, which identify complementary strengths, weakness, and commitment as reflected in the formalized commitment of necessary time, energy, and resources.

Since PPPs are an instrumentality for optimizing resources and opportunities for planned development and would be covering more and more of both physical and social infrastructure projects including education sector, and this is a new area for most planners and official agencies (even for many in the private sector), there is an urgent need for guidance material, to and fro exchange of information, experience sharing, standard contract-related model documents and exposure to what is happening in other countries. This is an area where gaps persist and these need to be filled (op.cit, Dhar, 2008, p. 428).

Conclusion

At the world summit on sustainable development in Johannesburg in 2002, the need for and the importance of collaborative alliance between the public sector, private sector and civil society was highlighted. Partnership as a new approach to development was emphasized and since then the partnership model has gained further ground as a new approach to development and an important tool for the realization of the Millennium Development Goal partner. Indian education system is perhaps the largest system in the world and its problems fall into a 2x2 matrix. There are problems that have accumulated, thanks to our socio-political past, and there are problems that we need to address to prepare for the future. On the other side, there are problems of quantity and problems of quality also. Problems of the past are largely quantitative related to creating access and basic literacy and problems of the future are largely qualitative. For quantitative expansion and improvement in quality, educational sector will require large induction of fresh capital, which cannot be met from government finances alone. The only way to bridge the yawning gap between the available and required educational infrastructure is to place greater reliance on public private partnership in terms of attracting private capital as well as in improving efficiencies in the provision of educational services. It must be appreciated that people have understood the economic value of education and are now ready to invest, what is required is greater freedom with fierce competition and constructive regulatory framework aimed at diverse and emerging needs of our human resources.

References

Amrita, Datta (2009): Public Private Partnership in India : A Case for Reform. *Economic and Political Weekly,* Mumbai, Vol44, No.33, August 15, pp-73-74.

Aparna, Singh (2005): The Public Private Partnership. *Yojana*, New Delhi, Vol. 49, May, p.22.

Department of Finance and Administration, (2001), Australia, Common Wealth Policy Principles for the use of Private Financing, Retrieved on 10th December 2009, from: http://www.finance.gov.au/budgetgroup/commonwealth_budget_overview/pf_principles.html.

Dhar, T.N (2008): Public Private Partnerships in India: Policy, Strategies and Operationalization Issues. *The Indian Journal of Public Administration,* New Delhi, Vol.LIV, No. 3, July-September, pp. 419,424,428.

Economic Survey (2006-2007): Ministry of Finance, Government of India, New Delhi, p.178.

Eleventh Five Year Plan (2008), Vol. I, *Inclusive Growth*, Planning Commission, Government of India, Oxford University Press, New Delhi, p.18.

"Eleventh Five Year Plan" (2009): *Yojana*, New Delhi, Vol. 53, September, p. 24.

Eran Vigoda(2003): "Reconstruction of a Modern Public Sector: Some Key Concerns", Alka Dhameja(ed.) *Contemporary Debates in Public Administration*, New Delhi: Prentice Hall of India, p.127.

Ilona Genevois (2008): *Working Document* on "Can and Should Public Private Partnerships Play a Role in Education", Directions in Educational Planning: Symposium to Honour the Work of Francoise Caillods, Organized by International Institute for Educational Planning along with United Nation Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization, on 3rd and 4th July, Paris, p. 9.

Nagraj, J.S. (2005): Public-Private Partnership: A Case Study of Melka-Manipal Medical College. *Kathmandu University Medical Journal*, Nepal,Vol. 3, No. 4, Issue-12, September, pp. 451-454.

Nand Dhameja and Rakesh Gupta, (2008): Public Private Partnership for Elementary Education. *The Indian Journal of Public Administration,* Vol. LIV, No.3, July-September, pp. 456-457.)

National Knowledge Commission- *Report to the Nation* (2009): Government of India, New Delhi, p. 186.

NoorJahan Bava (2008): Public Private Partnership in Public Service and Development: A Conceptual and Empirical Frame Work. *The Indian Journal of Public Administration*, New Delhi, Vol. LIV, No.3, July-September, p. 405.

Normanton(1971) "Public Accountability and Audit: A Reconnaissance", in B.L. Smith and D.C. Haque (ed.): *The Dilemma of Accountability in Modern Government: Independent versus Control*, London: Macmillan Publication, p. 312.

Pauline Vaillancourt Rosenau (1999): "The Strength and Weaknesses of Public-Private Policy Partnership". *American Behavioural Scientist*, Sage Publications: United States, Vol. 43, No.1, September, pp. 10-34.

Report of the Expert Team on "Democratization of Education and Education for Democratic Citizens", Belgrade, [*National Seminar on Education for Citizenship and Democratization of Education System*, Belgrade 12th- 15th December, 2001] The Results of this Seminar and, in particular, the Elaboration and Proposals Resulting from the Discussions Held in 4 Working Teams are Incorporated in this Report, in collaboration with United Nations Educational Scientific and Cultural organization and Council of Europe, pp. 2,4.

Report by *Education International*, on Public Private Partnership in Education, Brussels, 2009, September, p. 22.

Rumki, Basu. (2004): *Public Administration – Concepts and Theories*. New Delhi: Sterling Publishers Private Limited, pp.50,41.

Sanjeev Kumar Pandey (2009): Education: the Spinal Cord of the Society. *University News*, NewDelhi, Vol. 47, No 34, August 24-30, p.2.

Savas, E.S. (2000): *Privatization and Public-Public Partnerships.* New York: Chatham House Publication. p. 62.

Shashank Chaturvedi (2009): "Challenges before Education in India". *Yojana,* New Delhi, Vol. 53, September, pp.25-28.

Sunil Kewalramani, Public Private Partnership in Education needed in India, Retrieved on 2nd March 2010, from http://www.freeonlinearticlesdirectory.com

The Hindu Newspaper (2010): April 24, Saturday, New Delhi.

_____ (2010): September 2, Wednesday, New Delhi.

www.business-standard.com/india/news/amartya-for-public-private-partnership-in-education/308/34/, Retrieved on 20th December 2009.

www.pib.nic.in, Retrieved on 15th September 2010.

Yashpal Committee Report on Renovation and Rejuvenation of Higher Education, Retrieved on 23rd June 2010, from http://news.oneindia.in/common/documents/yashpal committee_ report_ higher_education_2009.pdf

A Study of Stakeholders' Perception of Role-Performance of Itinerant Special Teachers in Elementary Education in Uttar Pradesh

Deepshikha Singh[*]

Title	A Study of Stakeholders' Perception of Role-Performance of Itinerant Special Teachers in Elementary Education in Uttar Pradesh
Research Scholar	Deepshikha Singh
Supervisor	Harikesh Singh
Department	Department of Foundations of Education National University of Educational Planning and Administration, New Delhi-110016
Degree Awarded	M. Phil
Date of Award of Degree	2010
Availability of Thesis	Library, National University of Educational Planning and Administration
Number of Pages	130

[*] NUEPA, New Delhi-110016. E-mail: dssingh1984@gmail.com

Introduction

Special educator's role-performance and the quality of their services has come up as an important matter out of the need to provide specialist support and suitable environment that is rich in stimuli and experience in order to meet the individual needs of children with disabilities. Special educators are seen as being in the vanguard for bringing inclusion. Today, the role of special educators is in a state of flux as attempts have been made to reform the regular education system to make it more inclusive. They are seen not simply as supporting individual pupils, but as taking on a more proactive role in improving the capacity of the mainstream school to overcome barriers to learning and participation.

Itinerant teaching is a special education teaching model that is a financially viable model for educating children with disabilities. Itinerant teachers are the 'visiting' or 'peripatetic' teachers who travel around local mainstream schools and communities to offer advice, resources and support to children with disabilities, their teachers and their parents.

In India, Sarva Shiksha Abhiyan, Government's Education for All programme has the provision for the appointment of resource teachers/itinerant teachers on contractual basis in order to provide specialist support to the children with disabilities. SSA has the provision of itinerant teaching model in order to provide additional support and counseling to children with special needs, their parents and the regular classroom teacher. These teachers work in a mobile mode and have the responsibility of about 8-10 schools in which children with a particular disability (disability in which itinerant is trained) are integrated.

This study aimed to examine the role-performance of itinerant special education teachers appointed under Sarva Shiksha Abhiyan. The study investigated stakeholders' perception in order to understand the extent to which these local stakeholders of education were aware of the roles and responsibilities of itinerant teachers and at the same time examined the benefits received from the services of itinerant teachers. This study intended to achieve the objective of finding out the perception of stakeholders about the role-performance of itinerant special teachers of elementary schools in Uttar Pradesh; finding out the perception of itinerant special teachers about their own role-performance; and identifying the suggestions for improving the role-performance of itinerant special teachers of elementary schools in Uttar Pradesh. The study is considered important due to the fact that the Indian education literature is lacking in research studies that investigate the role performance of special educators in integrated settings.

Methodology

This study was a survey-type and its data were based on Ex post facto design. Uttar Pradesh was selected as area of the study as the state has the provision for the appointment of itinerant teachers under SSA in all districts. In Uttar Pradesh, the appointment of itinerant teachers under SSA is being done on a large scale. Six districts were selected through random sampling namely Deoria, Lucknow, Gonda, Faizabad, Kanpur Nagar and Unnao. A total number of 24 blocks (i.e. four blocks from each district) where there was the appointment of itinerant teachers and a total number of 48 elementary schools (i.e. 2 schools from each block) visited by itinerant teachers were selected through purposive sampling.

Stakeholders (N=222) including Basic Shiksha Adhikari (N=6), District Coordinators-Inclusive Education (N=6), Itinerant teachers (N=90), Head teachers (N=48), General teachers (N=48) and Parents (N=24) were the respondents in this study.

Interview schedule and questionnaire was constructed to answer the study questions. These consist of both the closed-ended and open-ended questions. Three sets of semi-structured interview schedule with 25 items in each was developed to collect the responses of Basic Shiksha Adhikaris (BSAs) and District Coordinators (DCs); head teachers and general teachers; and parents of children with disabilities, respectively regarding the role performance of itinerant teachers. A 25-item questionnaire was developed to collect the responses from itinerant teachers to know their own perception about their role performance and to know the underlying issues related with their job.

The data derived through interview schedule and questionnaire was quantitative as well as qualitative in nature. The closed-ended items were analyzed by calculating frequencies and percentages and the qualitative data derived from open-ended items was coded in themes and then analyzed in form of frequencies and percentages for quantitative representation of stakeholders' perception.

Result

The findings of the study based on stakeholders' perception indicated that identification of children with disabilities, referral services, preparation of individualized education plan, parent counseling, student counseling, teaching and evaluation, advocacy and consultation, training for use of aids and appliances are some of the most frequent tasks performed by itinerant teachers. A majority of parents have responded that itinerant teachers provide regular counseling to them. Itinerant teachers generally provide support to parents for registration of aids and appliances, support for child's enrollment in school, support for medical assessment and check-ups and support for issuance of disability certificate. The findings show that the services of itinerant teachers in integrated settings have resulted in better academic achievement of children with disabilities, their self-esteem have increased, communication skill has become better and their participation in school has increased.

The results show that many itinerant teachers are not regular and punctual in schools. Itinerant teachers do not keep enough collaboration with general teachers in integrated settings. The main reasons for limited collaboration were identified as increased workload of itinerant teachers, difficulties connected with inflexible subject-oriented curriculum, lack of subject knowledge and awareness in general teachers, difficulties connected with pupil's concentration and on-task behaviour.

The study findings revealed a number of job related problems of itinerant teachers that affect their role performance. The combined response of all stakeholders' indicated that inadequate transportation facilities to visit schools, lack of training and opportunities for professional development, large number of children on caseload, inadequate planning time and inadequate support from administration are major job related problems of itinerant teachers. The combined analysis of all stakeholders' suggestions for effective role performance of itinerant teachers indicated the major suggestions as permanent nature of job, effective training and professional development, reduction of excessive workload and expectations, provision of adequate resources, better job recognition and status and effective supervision and feedback from administration.

THE
INDIAN
JOURNAL
OF
INDUSTRIAL
RELATIONS
A Review of Economic & Social Development

A Quarterly devoted to dissemination of knowledge in the Industrial Relations and Human Resources, including relevant aspects of labour relations, personnel management and social and economic issues. Besides, communications from policy makers, social and economics thinkers, managers and union leaders and Book Reviews are also incorporated.

EDITOR : N.K. NAIR

RESEARCH ABSTRACT

Impact of Armed Conflict on School Education in Manipur

N. Rebecca Devi*

Title	Impact of Armed Conflict on School Education in Manipur
Research Scholar	N. Rebecca Devi
Supervisor	Dr. Rasmita Das Swain
Department	Department of Educational Administration National University of Educational Planning and Administration, New Delhi-110016
Degree Awarded	M. Phil
Date of Award of Degree	2010
Availability of Thesis	National University of Educational Planning and Administration

* NUEPA, New Delhi-110016. E-mail: becky1012@gmail.com

Introduction

Armed conflict in any form affects the everyday lives of the people and children are the most vulnerable section of the population who suffers the most. They are the primary victims of armed conflict; they get killed or hurt, made orphans, abducted, suffer from malnutrition and psychological problem, and deprived of education. Overall the consequence of armed conflict is seriously affecting the child development and well being.

The ongoing armed conflict between the state and non state actors in the state of Manipur has dismantled the life of innocent civilians. Whenever armed conflict occurs in the state, it leads to bandhs, curfew, strikes, protest movement, etc which remain on for a long period. Sometime conflict drags for months, limiting the educational opportunities, impeding the prevalence of a conducive educational environment in conflict situations. Sometimes even when educational opportunities exist in the disturbed areas; parents are just reluctant to send their children to school. They are afraid that the children will not be safe while they are on their way to and from school. Overall, during conflict situations, not even schools are safe from attack and children lose the opportunities to learn and are denied the structure, stability and predictability they need to develop their potential.

The study examines the various factor of ongoing armed conflict in Manipur, India and its impact on school education. To attain the aim of study certain objectives are framed such as (1) to study factors of armed conflict as perceived by Xth Grade students, Principals, Teachers, Parents and Education Officers in two districts (Imphal West and Churachandpur) of Manipur, (2) to study the status of Secondary education specifically the enrollment at Xth Grade in Manipur across 2000-2008, (3) to study access related problem in secondary education during armed conflict by Xth graders, Principals and Teachers in government and private schools in two district i.e Imphal West and Churachandpur, (4) to study the role of Principals , Teachers and Education Officers in managing the school, (5) to study the government initiatives for provisioning of school education during conflict, and (6) to study the mental health and academic stress and academic outcome trajectories of Xth grade students across gender in government and private schools in two district i.e Imphal West and Churachandpur.

Sample

The study was conducted in two districts namely Imphal West and Churachandpur of Manipur, India. Four schools (two private schools and two government schools) from these two districts were selected and the target groups were Principals, Teachers, Students, parents and education officers. Stratified Random sampling technique was applied. Total 4 Principals, 28 teachers, 174 students, 20 parents and 5 education officers were selected. Based upon the multi method approach which include questionnaire, semi- structure interview, and standardized Psychological Test data were gathered.

Procedure

The research study was both qualitative and quantitative in nature. For the students, principals, teachers and parents different set of questionnaire was prepared and semi structured interview were conducted for educational official. A set of two questionnaires

was constructed for students. Set I - an open ended questionnaire included all the concerned questions related to armed conflict and its impact on school education and set II included all the items of mental health and academic stress of psychological test. For the mental health analysis items was selected from the symptom of psychological disorder given Pierangelo and Giuliani (2008) and distributed into three dimensions namely emotions, anxiety and depression level. The items of academic stress were generated after being interviewed 8 Principals, 1 Parents, 1 teacher and 3 students of class X. After content analysis, 140 items were generated. Out of that 39 items were selected for the study depending upon the responses. The items are about physical environment of school, psychological climate of the school, institutional demand, teacher- student interaction, personal affectivity, and competitive climate. Students were asked to rate the items based on five point rating scale ranging from least applicable to strongly application. The data were analyzed based on content analysis and descriptive statistics such as mean, standard deviations, t-test, Pearson's product moment co-relation, reliability and factor analysis were computed to determine the mental health and academic stress of the students.

Results

The findings of the study indicate that insurgency is one of the reasons of armed conflict as well as biggest hurdle in the development of the state. The ongoing armed conflict has a negative impact on school education leading to frequent school closer, irregular classes, class boycott, teachers are unable to cover syllabus, teacher and student absenteeism, unavailability of transport system due to bandh, strikes, curfew, at times students and teachers faced problem reaching to school or sent back home, delay in school examination, losing interest in studies, decline in quality of education. Students and teachers are compelled to take part in people protest movement. As students are used in protest movement, parents' do feel reluctant or even stop sending their children to school. Uncertain imposing of curfew or strikes in the districts create tense environment for parents when their children are in school. Over the last few years there has been declined in school enrolment. The reason of behind this varies with various reasons such as displacement of family, poverty, lost of parents in conflict, lost of interest in studies, irregular teaching learning process and sending off the child outside state for better education.

To cover the syllabus, teacher rush through the chapter leaving lots of doubt unclear and making the classroom studies unsatisfactory for the students, that's the reason many students are taking up private tuition paying extra money for education. The results also indicate that all the parents of children in do feel that during the last eight years, children education is affected due to conflict situation. Most of the parents who can afford are sending off their children to other part of the country for better education. With the entire above mentioned problem all the respondents' students have shown their willingness to study outside the state given an opportunities. The results also highlight that state government is not taking enough initiatives for provisioning and protecting school education and people of the state are not happy with this.

The psychological test indicated that students in conflict zones do suffer from mental health and academic stress. The correlation of mental health and academic stress were highly significant which means mental health reported to affect the academic stress.

INDIAN JOURNAL OF AGRICULTURAL ECONOMICS
(Organ of the Indian Society of Agricultural Economics)

Vol. 66	JANUARY-MARCH 2011	No. 1

CONTENTS

BOOK REVIEWS*   REVIEW IN BRIEF*   PUBLICATIONS RECEIVED*

INDICATIVE OUTLINES OF SUBJECTS SELECTED FOR DISCUSSION AT THE 71ST ANNUAL
CONFERENCE OF THE ISAE*

Book Reviews

Shoutir Kishore CHATTERJEE (2009): **Human Development and Its Quantification - A Holistic Approach.** Ramakrishna Mission Vivekananda University, Belur Math, District Howrah, West Bengal, First Edition, ISBN: 978-81-908944-0-1, Price: ₹200/- (Hardbound)

Human Development (HD), conceptually speaking, ought to be in a state of flux. As per the title of the book, quantification is being sought from a holistic standpoint. The author being an eminent statistician, some professional intrinsicalities have irresistibly crept into the analysis pursued in the book. Ethics as a resource has been allowed to have a perceptible dent in what the author seeks to establish.

Any exercise on critiquing the book should begin with the layout of its content. The introduction serves as a fairly acceptable prologue, summarizing, of course, the essentials of the chapters to follow. The author next turns to the necessity of raking up the genesis, growth and a bit of contentions around HD; conceptual issues with accompanying measures also figure here. This allows the author to go in for "the basic postulate" whose implications in the context of HD are then presented and the next chapter deals with applications. Quantification appears to be the mainstay in the last two chapters. The book doesn't have formally an epilogue or an afterword which usually finds a site in a book of this kind. The chapters are not only well-structured but marvelously, matter-wise, well nuanced. It would perhaps be apposite now to delve into the conceptual dimensions of a select few features of the chapters.

The exercise with the concept of quantification *per se* has to be prioritized. There seems to be often a kind of naivety when one goes in for quantification. There is hardly any point in historizing quantification as such, but quintessentially universal quantification of logical propositions as tools for accessing a vast array of theoretical ideas has come to stay. Expressing a quantified proposition in a formal language, often used glibly to negate a statement, so as to argue about both the original statement and its negation is a pretty difficult task. One often tends to have a constructivist and, also, a cognitive view of the concept of quantification.

As development is taken as the cornerstone of this treatise, some classical works need to be drawn upon. Although the author has critically taken on what Amartya Sen, J. Dreze and Martha Nussbaum propound on development and HD, in particular, any quantified view, as dealt with in the book, can ill afford to dissociate itself, for example, from what in Jean Piaget's view are called schemas. The individuality in the processes of development being not disregarded, how to re-equilibriate an individual encountering a situation even for existence ought to have been deliberated somewhere; for the process of equilibrium has to be made use of for constructing or reconstructing the schemas. Quantification has not merely to be theoretically correct, but must also contain, to the extent possible, subtleties

and ramifications of this involved concept; otherwise, its role in a wide spectrum of human endeavours may not at all be brought wholly to the fore. Without going into the process of generalization in any exercise on construction, any schema must reflect clearly, at least, the phase of formulation. Accordingly, quantification schemas demand a special consideration and more so, in statements about HD. Level(s) of quantification need to be taken care of. As a matter of fact, the contextualities referred to in the book, must turn to the quantification forming a single proposition whose value is the truth or falsity of either all of them, which are otherwise known as universal quantification or at least one of them, often referred to as existential quantification.

Developments, whatever be the scenarios, now or earlier, can possibly become amenable to quantification if one reckons with its hierarchies. The author of the book could have gone ahead so that innovation and excellence, as aspired through development, become social realities. A dominant intelligent enterprise may then enable an individual to move back and forth between an internal process and its encapsulation as an object. The necessity of ethics and ethos as well, obviously comes in the aftermath of such processes. All these belong to the domain of quantification vis-a-vis developmental irritants. The spirituality, as well fathomed by the author, somewhat inescapably, comes up through a consideration of what may be called spiritualistic decomposition of quantification, instead of one with a purely genetic counterpart.

It would be in the fitness of things to skip now through, temporarily, the chapter on concepts and measures and move over to those relating to postulates. The author's endeavour for chracterising development–individual-collective levels brings in, perhaps, necessarily the spiritualistic modes of Sri Aurobindo and also, to a large extent, of Swami Vivekananda. Their striking originality and extraordinary ability within the overarching spiritual mode, are superbly brought out. The connotations on such scores are not always revealingly set forth. It is undeniably true that Swami Vivekananda could steal a march over others, mostly his contemporaries, even in his brief span of life. The repertoire of spiritual treasures of Swami Vivekananda's expose could become a major contemporary challenge to some traditional notions of spirituality. His was, indeed, a thesis which provides a measure for future experiments in the domain of spirituality. In the arena of development, a syndrome or a synthesis of some redeeming elements are justifiably sought for. Swami Vivekananda endeavoured to quantify a major aspect of a synthesis involving the expressive potential of the human voice and restoration of the same to its intrinsically innate domain. Swami Vivekananda's emphasis on "being" and "becoming" can well be taken as a facet of a consciousness, obviously, of different genres. This represents, in one way or the other, alternate modes of realization approaching the frontiers of a possible synthesis. The author's characterization thereby brings to the fore versatility, without being inhibited by myths of austerity. The development in such realms requires a kind of spiritual consonance.

In the introduction, the author addresses to himself about the possibility of conceptualization of HD in terms of quantification. Moreover, few lines, in the above paragraphs pertaining to quantification, need to be considered with what the author has sought as responses. A postulational approach ought to lurk somewhere and if so, that may run counter to some of author's close-ups. Formulation as an important tenet of modeling can hardly make use of all aspects of human existence, but this is somewhat deftly kept in view in this book. Further, any holistic approach has to run through the entire gamut of

modeling in theoretic terms, so that the philosophy and language of modeling do not go by default.

Any bid for conceptualization has to fall back upon contextualization. But Vivekananda's statements continue to be incontestably so perennial that one can scarcely miss their relevance even now. Indeed their contextualities on scores of affirmation and/or inclusivity, in a variety of garbs, provide appropriately some distinctive areas to be conceptualized if HD is to be deeply looked into. Several examples of antiquity are drawn upon and legitimately so, and these ought to trigger off an analysis of multilateralism and multiculturalism, as of now, again in the arena of HD. If these go off well as evidences, as they ought to be, the evolution of such thoughts should find trajectories while interacting with their counterparts in contemporary times. Indeed, three Cs – conceptualization, contextualization and characterization – ought to be scrupulously dovetailed so that human developmental orbits can well stay in evolving landscapes. An overarching quantification which the author has articulated nicely and that, too, along with some genres indicated above, can hardly disallow an open-ended quantification. Even though that may raise eyebrows, the innateness of development can in no way end up simply with an impressionistic claim.

Holistic view, in these days, calls for sustainability imperatives. Any measure or a metric or even, a value-attribute for this, is to be a mapping from the range of material development to the domain of spirituality. Simplistic quantification may end up as an exercise in futility. Complexity cannot be abjured and so nonlinearity, which could not be envisaged in the process of quantification, has to creep in and, thereby, ushering in the developmental spirituality. These remarks pertain, somewhat briefly to measures dealt within the book.

In sum, this is an excellently readable and an excitingly thoughtful book not only seeking the material loci of development but also exploring, often invincibly, the corresponding spiritual foci which we often miss in trajectories of development. One may well afford to dwell on what has been envisaged in the Foreword of the book. Presumably, a hermeneutic framework may emanate sometime later because of the contentious yet serene and sublime elements, as ideated through the book.

69/A Ekdalia Road   D.K. Sinha
Kolkata-700 019   dilipkumarsinha@rediffmail.com

John W. MORGAN, Amanda SIVES, and Simon APPLETON: (2006): **Teacher Mobility, 'Brain Drain', Labour Markets and Educational Resources in the Commonwealth,** Central Research Department, Department for International Development, Nottingham, ISBN: 66-1-86192-762-2, (Paperback), Pages 218, Price Not stated.

The importance of education as a core objective of human development and a major instrument to attain other human development targets have been well documented in research. From its role as 'human capital', education has become one of the key strategies for poverty elimination, economic growth and improving health and gender outcomes. The degree of success in improving the educational scenario, particularly at the school level,

crucially depends upon the availability of a large pooled of skilled teachers. While international funding facilitates augmentation of the pool of skilled teachers by funding retraining of teachers, it also increases their mobility. A recent study estimates that the number of skilled migrants from developing countries currently living in OECD countries has increased by 8 million between 1990 and 2000, and is expected to reach 20 million by the end of the millennium (Katseli, Lucas and Xenogiani, 2006). The latter may result in 'brain drain', leading to erosion of the human resource base of developing countries (Skeldon, 2006; Beine et al., 2007) particularly, in the education sector (Ochs, 2003). This concern forms the focus of the book by Morgan et al.

The book focuses on three issues:

1. Ascertain the seriousness of the problem by estimating the extent and nature of international flow of trained teachers. In particular, Morgan et al. tries to shed light on whether there is disproportionate flow of skilled teachers to certain countries, to the detriment of others. The authors also consider the possibility of reverse flow, a phenomenon that is increasingly becoming an important issue in literature on the international diaspora.
2. The authors also examine the causes of such flows. Both demand side and supply side factors are considered. An interesting issue that the authors consider is the extent to which the performance of teachers from a particular country creates demand for more teachers, intensifying the brain drain from the country of origin.
3. Finally, the authors consider the social impact of these flows. While literature on 'brain drain' tends to focus on remittances and 'lost' cost of investment in training the migrating teachers, Morgan et al. state that their objective is to focus on the impact within the originating country in terms of erosion of skilled manpower and its impact on the delivery of educational services, particularly in schools serving 'poorer' population.

Evidence from four Commonwealth countries is used in the study – Jamaica and South Africa (originating countries) and England and Botswana (destination countries). Questionnaires administered to migrant teachers were used to obtain information on remittances, other ties with the country of origin, and their career plans – specifically with respect to return to source countries. In addition, the authors also conducted interviews of and held focus group discussion with recruiting agents, policy makers, employers, migrant teachers and their colleagues.

The study finds that higher pay does attract teachers away from Jamaica and South Africa, but the impact of this migration may be overstated. Overall, teacher recruitment and mobility have a net positive effect on poverty and international development, mainly due to teachers sending money home and returning home with savings. While staff shortage may occur, this is more due to bureaucratic procedures rather than shortage of substitutes. However, the issue of networks intensifying migration of teachers is examined cursorily.

Morgan et al.'s book is in a long line of work that has become popular in the 1990s when brain drain came to be considered as available emigrated capital susceptible to mobilization for the benefit of the country of origin (Meyer and Charum, 1995). Many analysts began to see it as a good thing, emphasizing the positive impacts that the migration of skilled individuals can generate through remittances, the return of the expatriates to their country of origin, or the creation of networks fostering exchanges resulting in a net gain in human capital formation for the countries of origin (Johnson and Regets, 1998; Gaillard and Gaillard,

1999; Özden, & Schiff, 2006). While this positive approach is useful in looking at a phenomenon made inevitable by globalization and integration of economic systems, and making the best of the situation, the work offers interesting pieces of information whose implications are not explored subsequently. Some of these issues are identified below:

(i) The authors admit that the issue of teacher migration is complex. However, they posit on the basis of remittances and lack of teacher shortage that the net effect of such migration is positive. This seems a dubious conclusion, not supported by the findings of the study. It is true that shortages of teachers do not occur in Jamaica, while in South Africa the shortage is mainly caused by bureaucratic hurdles embedded in the recruitment process. However, quantity and quality should not be confused. In countries characterized by heterogeneous surplus labour, a reasonable assumption is that more productive or skilled applicants will be recruited by developed countries,[1] leaving behind teachers who are relatively less skilled. In such a situation, although the presence of surplus labour will not create teacher shortage, it will reduce the quality of the teaching staff, which will have a long run detrimental effect on society. The timing of resignation is often inconvenient, creating temporary shortage. Another short run effect is the psychological cost following disruption of student-teacher bonding. Although recognizing such effects (see pages 25, 31, for instance), Morgan et al. fail to incorporate this point in their estimations.

(ii) For instance, when discussing Jamaica, Morgan et al. mention that a large proportion of migrating teachers are female. The reasons for this gender difference are not explored. Later on, the possibility that husbands are followed is mentioned (p. 19), but not analyzed. This conflicts with the primacy of personal development, salary and scope for travel as factors motivating migration. Again, the possibility that transfer of husbands lead to return migration is a point that should have been examined. This is an important policy issue that will determine the impact of policies to manage teacher shortage in countries of origin.

(iii) In the case of South African teachers, Morgan et al. estimate that teachers suffer a loss of pay in real terms. Why migration occurs despite this loss, whether this is compensated by increase in *joint* income – these questions remain unanswered.

(iv) In Botswana, the majority of teachers recruited from developing countries plan to leave teaching on their return to the country of origin. While this negates possibility of 'brain gain' (UNESCO, 2009), the reason for this choice is an interesting policy issue that should have been explored, at least through some case studies.

(v) An interesting study is that the pattern of in-migration in UK does *not* match the pattern of shortages of teaching staff in schools. The persistence of recruitment of overseas teacher remains an interesting question that is not explored.

To sum up, the book raises questions of topical interest to policy makers increasingly concerned with designing policies to convert the negative effects of brain drain in the education sector to positive gains. It presents a wide range of findings on mobility, migration patterns, their motivations, and their impact, which raise interesting questions that should

---

[1] Morgan et al. estimates, for instance, that 70 per cent of South African teachers recruited abroad are rated to be 'above average', while it is generally 'seasoned' teachers who are recruited from Jamaica.

pose further research. However, a limitation of this analysis is its surface level of the interesting results of the study, without delving deeper into the issues and their policy implications. In addition, supplementing quantitative results with revealing case studies of individuals would have resulted in this work becoming a satisfactory and comprehensive follow up to Ochs (2003).

References

Beine, M., Defoort, C. & Docquier, F. (2007): *A Panel Data Analysis of the Brain Gain.* Discussion Papers (ECON - DÃ©partement des Sciences Economiques) 2007024, Université catholique de Louvain, Département des Sciences Economiques.

Gaillard, J. & Gaillard, A.M. (1998): The International Circulation of Scientists and Technologists: A Win-lose or Win-Win situation? *Science Communication*, 20, 1, pp. 106-15.

Johnson, J. M. & Regets, M. (1998): *International Mobility of Scientists and Engineers to the US - Brain Drain or Brain Circulation?* NSF Issue Brief 98-316, June 22.

Katseli, L.T., Lucas, R.E.B. & Xenogiani, T. (2006): *Policies for Migration and Development: A European Perspective.* OECD Development Centre Policy Briefs 30, OECD, Development Centre

Meyer J-B & Charum, J. (1995): La fuite des cerveaux est-elle épuisée? Paradigme perdu et nouvelles perspectives. *Cahiers des sciences humaines*, 31, 4.

Ochs, K. (2003) *A Summary of "Teaching at Risk" – Teacher Mobility and loss in Commonwealth Member States. A study Commissioned by the Commonwealth Secretariat Education section as the Request of Ministers of Education of the Commonwealth Caribbean.* London: Commonwealth Secretariat.

Özden, C. & Schiff, M. (2006) *International Migration, Remittances and the Brain Drain.* Washington D.C.: The World Bank.

Skeldon, R. (2006): Inter-linkages between internal and international migration and development in the Asian region. *Population, Space and Place*, 12, pp. 15-30.

UNESCO (2009) *Brain Gain Initiative: A digital infrastructure linking African and Arab Region universities to global knowledge.* A UNESCO/HP Project. Paris: UNESCO.

Institute of Economic Growth, Room No. 102   **Zakir Husain**
University Enclave, University of Delhi, Delhi-110007   dzhusain@gmail.com

P.K. SAHOO, D. YADAV, and B.C. DAS (eds.) (2010): Professionalism in Teacher Education: Contemporary Perspective. Concept Publishing Company, New Delhi.

What is it that qualifies a discipline or an area of study to catch a cursory glance, much less an intimate intellectual engagement of academia? This is one such question which has been for decades posing a formidable challenge to all those who have invested their unalloyed cerebral capital in Teacher Education. Having remained consigned to the hinterlands of academic pursuits for all these years, the area of Teacher Education is receiving a fair amount of stimulus to claim the attention of all those who matter. There are intimations of an awareness which pledges better future for its adherents. There is ample evidence to support this claim. The very fact that some serious efforts of teacher educators and researchers are being directed to explore the varied parameters of professionalism justifies this premise. The intellectual discomfort witnessed in the recent publications

regarding the quality of all variants of Teacher Education programmes is a sure sign of its arrival on the scene, even while grappling with its inner rumblings.

The book in hand, *Professionalism in Teacher Education*, edited by PK Sahoo *et al.* has taken up this task in all genuineness. The book which is a collection of 33 articles and research papers, contributed by some distinguished teacher educators from all over India is divided thematically into five sections. The write ups, discrete in their style and presentation, touch up issues and problems which directly or indirectly relate to the central theme.

Section One i.e., Curriculum Framework opens up with the article entitled Teacher Education in My Dreams, authored by RN Mehrotra, as an epitome of subtle insights into the pursuit and futuristic developments in Teacher Education in India. Extensive in its scope and purpose, it unfolds forward-looking schema for Teacher Education, not to miss the concept of 'gloculisation'. Representing commonwealth of learning (COL) Mohan Menon dwells on models of effective Teacher Education and the over-arching goal of development, apprising us of DEEP (Digital Education Enhancement Project). Menon's experience is fairly in evidence as he suggests measures for desirable direction in Teacher Education.

Any mention of co-curricular activities may hardly capture one's attention but the write up by KC Sahoo, Vashisht and Sodha is an exception in its content and treatment as it provides new vistas in expanding educational value of co-curricular activities. An exposition of the socio-political dimensions extended to the context of Teacher Education by Chenna Reddy and Saroj Pandey respectively is well condenced in their respective papers, while P Sahoo focuses on the central theme of the curricular segment.

The second section presents papers related to the subthemes of globalisation knowledge economy and ODl contexts, the common denominator there being professionalism. SP Malhotra's exposition of knowledge economy with all its ramifications, underlines the linkages between the interdependence of educational advancement and the economic ecology. He suggests recipe for making Teacher Education totally professional in nature, duly hemming in the entrepreneurial culture in Teacher Education for enhancing its qualitative outputs. PK Sahoo enlivens the field of Teacher Education, highlighting the feasibility of Distance Education Mode, as he responds to the challenges posed by globalisation as a live context. Moving along the same dimension MTV Nagaraju in his argumentative stance, juxtaposes various issues as offshoots of post-modernity. He contends that there is need to refine the roles of social agents in the context of emerging paradigm of technical rationality and the dialects of liberal tradition in Teacher Education. SN Sahoo talks of quality concerns for preparations of teachers, referring to appropriate values and skills for globalisation. NK Dash picks up the all important issues of professional development of teachers through the apt use of distance mode. He emphasises capacity building attempts in order to facilitate corrective practices and the prevailing 'digital-divide' among teachers of today, whereas D Yadav underlines 'thinking skills' for affecting pedagogical analysis.

The volume lends considerable space and weightage to the section on professional ethics. In fact any organised human pursuit, whether cerebral or technical, needs to take full cognisance of the attitudes and values in the services rendered by the professionals. While PK Sahoo very cogently argues the case for, now the buzz word – constructivist approach, and its suitability for value education as an ingredient of teacher preparation, Mohd Miyan and Priya Khanna specify and elaborate the intricacies of interpersonal relations in a write up which apprises the readers with the dynamics of human behaviour and some relevant

theoretical models for developing competencies among teachers. GNP Srivastava takes one along somewhat familiar terrain of 'typologies' and models for developing value sensitivity and then leads the readers into the knitty-gritty of the Yogic practices advocated by various scriptures and schools of ancient Indian thought for strengthening healthy attitudes in life. C.S Shukla and Joshi try to widen the discourse on values by roping in Piaget and Kohlberg and HS Bajwa attempts to familiarise us with the various dimensions of teacher training. There are a few more articles which strike similar notes.

It's unthinkable to conceptualise any programme of teacher empowerment without administering a fast widening network of cybernetics. Considering the quantum of knowledge available and the demands for appropriate and adequate delivery systems, ET today is occupying the centre-stage for any expansion-oriented scheme or innovative practice in pedagogy. Section 1V of the book is commissioned to ICT and context specific competencies for teachers who need, not only to update their knowledge base but also to hone their skills for living upto the challenges posed by knowledge economy and the compelling requisites of a developing profession. DN Sansanwal minces no words in apprising us of the relevant development in the arena. He elaborates CBT, World Wide Web and other such mechanisms as would undergird research and teacher performance. L. C Singh and Dahiya spotlight issues that have hitherto remained unattended to with regard to the extended use of ICT. The problem of suitable management and evaluation has been dealt with in a highly readable paper. There are a couple of research studies which fathom the impact of ICT based practices in terms of teacher anxiety, attitudes and also awareness (including ethical) of cultural transformation that is taking place. These micro level studies leave much room for instituting wider ones for providing insights and generalisations. Min Bahadur Sreshtha's exposition of Van Hiele Model of Thinking in developing teacher competencies is interesting. Grounded in geometrico-mathematical reasoning, it is a valuable contribution. So is the solicitation of the empowerment of tribals through education by BC Das. More of such off-beat themes provide lucid intervals amidst repetitious writings.

This book commits its last section to the all important issue of quality assurance – an aspect of professionalism which has started capturing the attention of all those concerned, only in recent times. Right from preparation of teachers to their performance in the classroom, there is a need to streamline parameters of quality assurance. However the pitch is queered by the absence of criteria or measures of excellence, which are readily available in positive or social sciences which have empirical bases. But that does not deter those devoted to teaching profession. There are challenges galore and Shyam N Menon assures us of taking them head on rather futuristically. He talks of premises and contours of those challenges in Teacher Education (prudently stopping short of providing 'crystal ball' himself). Problems related to accreditation and maintenance of norms constitute such challenges, he contends. Subhash Gakkar scans the areas of performance and underlines pedagogical research for qualitative enrichment. There is perceptible discomfort, lack of perspective and 'future vision' as also the political will. Some other contributions refer to the nodal agencies to carry out onerous regulatory tasks. And yes, the seminal issue of 'conceptual inputs' also figures therein quite significantly.

Capitalising the insights and foresights and incisive perceptions of some of the renowned names in this field of Teacher Education as contributors, the book in hand strives and to a great extend achieves a holistic picture of professionalism. Spanning ten distinct sub-themes, it moves inductively from knowledge-based pursuits to refinement of

professional skills and strategies within the ambit of pedagogical interventions. It highlights the contextual issues and challenges eminating from technological revolution and emerging socio-economic scenario. It tries to measure the new developments against the normative yardsticks of professional ethic and quality assurance.

The book, dedicated to the memory of Prof. MB Buch, an eminent teacher educator with a foreword by Prof R G Harshe, Vice Chancellor, University of Allahabad, is deftly introduced by the editors. It does not overstate its case. There are sparks and sprinkles of philosophical reflections and sociological analysis here and there. The comparative dim visibility of so called foundational (theory based) themes is an 'invitation' to all those who profess this genre. The book does take cognizance of the 'inner dynamics' of Teacher Education and deals with the dialectics of the theoretical frameworks nominalistically. But the inclusion of field studies is always a welcome addition. Researches regarding the aftermaths of technology applied to education in predominantly rural economy also merit more extensive attention.

In fine this collection of papers presented at the annual conference of IATE, held at the University of ALLAHABAD (2006) has successfully threaded together various sub-themes to deliver useful readings. This endeavour should go a long way up as scaffolding in building up professional expertise. The volume is quite handy. Its diction remains thoroughly professional and its style evocative. *The book is deliberative, seldom doctrinaire, fairly descriptive, judiciously prescriptive, overtly analytical and subtly suggestive.* A must for the libraries and a useful possession for all concerned with education and Teacher Education *per se.*

B-5/38, Sector 4   R.P. Sharma
Rohini, Delhi-110085   prof.rps@gmail.com

Neelam SOOD (2010): Elementary Teacher Education in Haryana: Re-envisioning the Role of District Institutes of Education and Training. NUEPA, New Delhi. Paperback. Pages: 132, Price: Not mentioned.

A teacher would always remain at the core of a country's education system. He is the one who has the responsibility of inculcating norms and values in the children. A teacher is of critical importance in any formal and institutionalized system of education. Unless a teacher is equipped with competency and skills, the quality of any educational outcome may not yield the intended results. In today's technology-driven world, a teacher has to update himself with new knowledge inputs on a continuous basis. Up-gradation of teacher's knowledge and skills is very important to enable him to develop his capacities and competencies according to the fast changing educational needs. Thus arises the need of education and training at every stage of a teacher's career. This need has always been emphasized by the educational planners of our country. The University Education Commission 1949 under the Chairmanship of Dr. S. Radhakrishnan observed that it is extraordinary that our school teachers teach whatever the subject they learn before reaching the age of 24 or 25 years and their further education is left to experience which, in most cases, is another name of stagnation. The Secondary Education Commission in its report also

stressed the importance of in-service training at secondary level. The Education Commission (1964-66) highlighted the significance of teacher training underlining the need for a comprehensive programme of improvement of teacher education. In 1964, State Institutes of Education (SIEs) were established for organizing in-service education for teachers and other stakeholders in primary education. The National Education Policy 1986 gives paramount importance to professional competence of teachers. Keeping in view the central place of teacher education, National Policy of Education (NPE) 1986 and Programme of Action observed that the teacher training should be on a continuous basis. In nutshell, the need for teacher education has been reiterated time and again in all the National policy documents pertaining to education. In the light of this perspective, District Institutes of Education and Training (DIETs) were established in 1989 as part of a centrally sponsored scheme for restructuring and reorganizing teacher education in the country. These institutes were formed with a view to redesign the elementary teacher education in the country in pursuant to the resolve of NPE 1986. These DIETs are intended to organize pre-service and in-service trainings for elementary school teachers and for personnel working in non-formal and adult education. These institutions work as resource centres and learning centres for primary as well as upper primary schools at grassroot levels.

The volume under review examines the status of elementary education and provides empirical evidence on the functioning of DIETs with a particular reference to the State of Haryana. Divided into eight chapters, the study presents a detailed account of the internal structure and the infrastructural capacities of these bodies. It also makes a comprehensive review of training, field studies and experimentation carried out by their faculty. To achieve the objectives, the teachers study has included 97 pre-service trainees (61 boys and 36 girls), 77 in-service trainees and 148 elementary school teachers for collecting the required information. Perceptions of a total of 98 faculty members and four principals have also been gathered. The study is a part of the national level evaluative study sponsored by the Government of India in each state to review the functioning of DIETs with a view to suggest measures of improving and strengthening these bodies.

In the foreword of the present volume, Prof R. Govinda, Vice Chancellor, NUEPA has emphasized the importance of establishing DIETs in every district of a State. He is of the view that the establishment of DIETs at the district level is pertinent in the decentralized management scenario as well as in the wake of the Constitutional Amendment Act of 1992 on Panchayati Raj Institutions that transfers considerable powers to the district level with regard to school education. Looking at the importance and mandate of DIETs, it is often argued that these bodies must be given full autonomy and freedom for embarking upon their own programmes of training and research so that they are able to perform their expected role in bringing about quality improvement and reforms. In this study too, it is advocated that the DIETs must gradually move towards academic, administrative and financial autonomy. The Principal of every DIET may be given some flexibility with regard to financial matters. And the institute established in a district-specific mode should have an independent existence, an identity of its own.

Presenting the profile of Haryana state in the first chapter, the author points towards the gender and social gaps at primary level and underlines that the State plans for strengthening elementary teacher education must reflect the concern for girls' education. She is of the view that poor attention paid to girls' education is likely to have a far reaching effect on future generations as mothers' education plays a pivotal role in the development of children.

Although the point may seem out of context with regard to the functioning of DIETs but the concern is genuine. Chapter second of the volume is devoted to the state of elementary education of Haryana. It presents that a little less than one-fourth primary schools in rural areas of this state do not even have drinking water whereas a little less than three-fourth do not have sanitation facilities for the girls. Enrollment of girls in schools is invariably less than the boys both in rural as well as urban areas. The study points out that the quality of education in schools in the state and the resultant learning is not very good. Chapter on elementary teacher education presents details about the number, location and year of establishment of DIETs and other teacher training institutes. There are 12 DIETS, 10 Government Elementary Teacher Training Institutes (GETTIs) and 10 Elementary Teacher Training Institutes (ETTIs) in Haryana. Apart from that this chapter presents various methodological inputs like the objectives and scope of the study, functions of DIETs, sample and the instruments for data collection. The main tools for data collection used in the study are questionnaires and interviews.

Structure of DIET in Haryana follows the seven-branch model as visualized by the MHRD. Although the State governments are at liberty to modify the seven-branch structure in any manner that suits the needs of the individual state, however, the Government of Haryana had not made any adaptation and plans to continue with it in future too. The present study underlines that the existing seven-branch structure of DIETs is not viable as far as this state is concerned and recommends for a three/four branch model. The study finds that both for the non-teaching as well as teaching posts, there is a gap between the sanctioned posts and the staff in place. The per cent shortfall for senior lecturer is as high as 41 per cent whereas for Librarian it is a whopping 86 per cent. Invariably in all DIETS, the staff strength is not as per the established norms. The basis of arriving at the number of sanctioned positions was also not clear. As regards physical facilities, the situation was not as bad, although, the availability of the facilities was not as per required norms. All the DIETs have their own buildings and seminar rooms but many did not have sufficient rooms for different branches and laboratories. Hostel facilities were available but were not being properly maintained and used. Equipments like TV, VCR and other audio-visual aids were available in most DIETs but these were ill-maintained and under-utilized as the teacher in-charge kept them mostly under lock.

DIETs are mandated to act as resource centres having full and updated database relating to teacher education, training, action research and other related aspects of teacher education. Therefore, they have seven different branches to perform all the specified functions. But the study finds out that the main activity performed in all the DIETs in Haryana is the two-year pre-service teacher training (PSTE). All DIETs religiously organize PSTE programmes following the NCERT curriculum which is also not very much up to date as it was last revised in 1994-95. As large as 92 per cent DIET faculty in Haryana is involved only in PSTE programme transacting mainly through lecture method. On the research front, a total of eight research studies have been completed by the DIET faculty in last eleven years. Four DIETs at Sirsa, Mohindergarh, Gurgaon and Faridabad have not yet initiated any research activity in their area. The author maintains that the DIETs must adopt villages to serve as lab areas and identify the problems at local levels. Unless these bodies have a link with the grassroots, they may not go too far. Chapter six of the present study describes management issues of DIET including the role of programme advisory committee. The major issues arising from this aspect are lack of vision at the State level, negligence over the

individual needs of a district, divided administrative control, lack of sense of ownership of DIET, unsuitable and insufficient faculty and need of streamlining the fund flow to these institutes. Chapter seven of the book includes the conclusions while the last chapter provides some suggestions and a framework for intervention for the State for strengthening the DIETs in the state of Haryana and meeting the future challenges. The book has rich information on various aspects of DIETs and it is a useful addition to the existing knowledge base. It would definitely be helpful to teachers, policy planners and all those interested in educational planning and reforms.

Department of Social Work   D.P. Singh
Punjabi University Patiala, Punjab-147002   mordps@gmail.com

R.P. SINGH (2010): Dialogue with Teacher Educators – Teaching Content, Modes and its Nature. Shipra Publications; New Delhi. Pages 282. Price ₹850/- $42.

"The present book, which is addressed to teacher-educators, is different from all others on the subject…." Thus begins the 'Preface' of the book and sets the tone for the whole composition. Different it certainly is because of the novelty of its thoughts, the cogency of the evidence it gives and the new interpretations it brings to light. The author's assertion is, beyond even a single speck of doubt, no mere self-eulogy but a candid statement of a fact strongly substantiated by whatever follows thereafter. As we move forward from the crisp 'Preface' which foregrounds the whole argument of the book, we are struck by the meticulously planned and carefully well-executed analysis in the areas of the contents, modes as well as of the philosophy and nature of the whole activity called 'Teaching'. The volume seeks to posit and answer various questions that crop up in the way of teaching and sets about formulating the pragmatics of removing all the incongruities.

Divided into three parts namely 'The Issues: Researched', 'Technology in Indian Classrooms' and 'The Nature of Teaching', comprising twenty well-researched papers in all, the book emits the fragrance of the writer's erudite scholarship. It has a uniquely humbling impact upon the reader who feels tongue-tied in front of this marvelous exhibition of blessed intelligence, innovative thought-processes and persuasively convincing viewpoints that twist one's mind, threaten to make one unlearn whatever one has learnt till date and at the same time pave the path for one to relearn everything in a new perspective.

The first part of the book has seven papers which are all rooted in the argument that what we need today is a rethinking and re-analysis of whatever has been taught or is still being taught in our classrooms. If in the first one, Prof. Singh has exposed several false assumptions based on 'airy nothings' regarding colonization, its genesis, the reasons and factors responsible for the colonization of India, various and variegated ways in which the colonized societies are and must be studied and the parameters involved in such studies, William Bentik's tenure and Lord Macaulay's role in the formulation of the language policy during the time, the role of the colour of skin in the treatment of Indians by the British, the condition of literacy both in England and India at the time when the latter came under the British rule and the concept of India being a culturally homogenous country, in the second,

according to the author's own testimony, he has made *"an attempt to test the hypothesis that caste and education are historically interrelated"* (p. 16). Caste, the learned scholar avers, "*is like an evergreen weed that is resistant to any and every pesticide*" (p. 17). At the same time, however, he argues that India as a nation should feel obliged towards those communities that confronted all the perils and hazards but in the name of 'caste-dharma' protected and preserved our literary heritage for the benefit of posterity and made a significant contribution to the cause of keeping the rate of literacy up in our country. The third article finds the esteemed professor raising pertinent questions on Sir Syed's claim in 1868 and the conclusions of the Sachar Commission in 2006. Both these have projected Muslims as victims of the rulers, of *"Hindu 'mischief' across political and social spectrum"* (p.27) and have regarded the perpetration of injustice by the dominant group as responsible for the educational backwardness among Indian Muslims. Dr. Singh scrutinizes both the arguments thoroughly, delves deep into the vestiges of this delicate issue and advances the view that, to a very large extent, Muslims themselves are responsible for the deplorable phenomenon. He feels that *"for reasons best known to the Muslim leadership... they apparently refused to come out of their self-imposed restrictions and chose to remain uneducated in 'modern' terms"* (p. 30). Backwardness, opines the writer, should first be properly defined and the comparison in literacy-rates must be between compatible variables i.e. between Indian Muslims and those in Bangladesh and Pakistan – the two Islamic Republics and not between Muslims and Non-Muslims or Hindus, whom Muslims have always considered distinctly different and whom they themselves regard as *"neither numerically nor religion-wise compatible/comparable"* (p. 34). The next chapter in this part traces the condition and position of women in Indian society through different periods of history. With utter grief and shame Prof. Singh cries out against their pathetic condition and deplores that even today they have to suffer from several atrocities and have to continue being mute-sufferers bearing male hegemony as a part of their lot. He has enumerated the efforts that have been made to improve their status, pointed out what remains to be done to educate them and has very poignantly declared that it is woman alone who can act as a catalyst for social transformation. In the fifth chapter the sagacious professor has questioned the validity of making a doctoral degree a pre-requisite for getting the job of a teacher. He emphatically reiterates, *"A 'good' researcher need not be a good or effective teacher even as a good teacher may not prove to be a competent or a good researcher"* (p. 49). He pleads in favour of strengthening NET and reconsidering its frequency. Unprecedented quantitative growth in research activities, Dr. Singh regrets, has resulted in a qualitative degeneration. Like a father who takes his little son on a walking tour, holding his hand, showing him and explaining to him the various aspects of beautiful nature, Prof. Singh has provided valuable guidelines for the benefit of the young researchers so that their researches become relevant, their findings useful and their conclusions acceptable. In the article that follows the author has put stress upon the fact that a good, effective teacher has to be a good communicator. This basic skill is unfortunately, more often than not, utterly neglected. The citadels of higher education which are expected to be repositories and conduits of knowledge, stand together like an 'immobile colossus', insensitive to the changing context of contemporary life, unresponsive to the challenges of the present as well as of the future. They appear to be lost in their deep slumber of 'Rip-Van-Winkle' age and have turned out to be absolutely unimaginative and irrelevant. Prof. Singh regrets that in the modern age of galloping technological advancement, when traditional sequential learning has lost its appeal and

relevance for the young learners, teachers find themselves unable to cater to the needs of the students of this 'digital' generation because of the irrelevant syllabi that the prospective teachers are made to go through. Besides diagnosing the disease the pragmatic educator has also prescribed appropriate remedies. He has suggested an alternative to the courses in teacher education already on offer, has put forward proposals for making comparative studies on the effectiveness of female and male teachers and for starting a National Resource Centre for Teacher Education. He has talked about certain future-oriented efforts that have already been rendered to provide easy access to knowledge and has exhorted the university academics to upgrade teacher education programme to make it suitable for a 'knowledge society'. The objective of the last i.e. the seventh chapter in this section is to draw the attention of all towards the need for treating education as a distinct entity and for institutionalizing educational provisions so that our education system becomes responsible and vibrant and thus a tool for perpetuating cultural and material achievements and a powerful instrument for socio-economic change.

After an in-depth, soul-stirring analysis of certain theoretical matters related to the contents of teaching in Part I, in the second part Dr. Singh's study skirts around the issues related to the modes of teaching. In his critical framework he has undertaken the task of providing us with *"a brief glimpse of how and what we have already developed and the stage at which we have arrived"* (Preface: VI). One's heart would certainly distend with pride to be an inhabitant of a country where technology has placed us on a high pedestal and where we can boast of 'virtual' and 'country-wide' classrooms standing on the verge of becoming an everyday reality. Dr. Singh has marshalled all the available facts meticulously with a stunning clarity of perception and maturity of critical acumen. After dealing with the Indian scenario in the first two chapters of this section, Dr. Singh has, in the next, enumerated various modes, strategies and ETV programmes evolved, adopted and followed in various other countries. Chapter 11 focuses on Indian innovative initiatives in the field and Chapter 12 centres around different support systems that have been operational in India in recent years. Prof. Singh is quick to see certain shortcomings in the ongoing programmes, and with talent and brilliance at his command, has put forward ways to ensure quality in quantity in Chapter 13. He makes a definite statement that *"there is no substitute for a good teacher"* (p. 165) but believes that the various burgeoning projects, the aid of internet, virtual classrooms and multi-media techniques may prove to be excellent supplements. The last chapter in this section, Chapter 15 of the book, bears the title 'Looking Ahead: From a Vision to a Mission'. As the title itself clarifies, the article is devoted to a deep pondering over the future course of action. Education being a tripolar process, Dr. Singh underscores the need to identify, establish and specify a direct linkage among the triad in teaching i.e. *"the goals identified, subject or the content fixed according to the laws of the possible, and eventually the examination to ascertain that the goal has been achieved"* (p. 203). The whole section bears an exhaustive and graphic study of the modes of teaching. It is a handy reference tool, a ready reckoner, a reliable guide and is hereby strongly recommended for all the teacher educators to read without fail in order to keep their knowledge updated regarding various technical supports which may be theirs for the asking and also for the whole world of academe to ascertain the path to be taken in order to take the bull by the horn.

In the third part of the book Prof. Singh navigates over the seemingly uneven, difficult terrain, through the hitherto unchartered territory of the nature and philosophy of teaching but successfully comes out of the troubled waters to shore up onto a solid embankment. His

avowed purpose behind writing the first chapter in this part is, as he himself says *"to clear up the cobwebs of ignorance regarding the use of the term 'teaching' as distinct and distinguished from several other terms….and also hopefully present an Indian viewpoint"* (p. 211). The next chapter has been planned as a sequence to the first and it carries forward the argument of the previous one. It makes an attempt to give a concrete shape to whatever has been suggested earlier in an embryo form. What do we mean by teaching? Is it an automatic process or a designed activity? Is it static or dynamic, linear or non-linear? What indelible print does it leave on our behavior patterns? Does it get transmuted before it is transmitted? Is there any need or possibility of formulating a philosophy of education? These and various other similar queries are at first suggested by the learned author and then with an amazing competence, prudence, insight and precision he grapples with them and finally succeeds in driving away all the clouds of confusion. He provides us with nuanced answers and makes the sun of clarity shine in its full splendor. In the common usage the terms like teaching, education, initiation, indoctrination, instruction etc. are all regarded as equivalents or even as synonyms. There, however, exist fine shades of difference among them. Without comprehending the essential points of convergence and drifting apart, it would be impossible to assess the depth or dimensions or the extent of the activity called 'teaching'. It goes to the credit of Prof. Singh that he has so succinctly differentiated these terms – the one from the other – and has beautifully accomplished what originally looked like an uphill task. Both these chapters (i.e. No. 16 and 17 of the book) abound in pithy, axiomatic expressions that may easily be quoted anywhere. A few such examples are noteworthy – *"Teaching is…….guidance to know the truth which in its true sense is never its content"* and *"Teaching….is one of the instruments of discovery of reality"* (p. 212). *"Teaching aims at helping an individual learn how to learn and thereby liberate himself of any authoritarian or formal setting"* (p. 210) and *"Teaching, not unlike 'loving' or 'hating' remains both complex and abstract"* (p. 207) and again, *"Education is different from and superior to teaching because 'education' is the goal and 'teaching' the instrument"* (p. 224) and many others of the same nature. Chapter 18 posts a careful examination of the pre (i.e. presence of a learner, a teacher and a definite body of information to be transmitted) and post (i.e. the outcomes) conditions of teaching. One after the other the writer pours a torrent of subtle questions that threaten to make us get lost in a terrible maze but then like a true guide using the flashlight of his own exceptional knowledge which reflects a confluence of the East and the West, taking resort to scriptures, philosophy, anecdotes and tales, Prof. Singh very adroitly steers us out of the mist and the fog. What actually is the real nature of knowledge? What are its features and components? Is it possible to transmit knowledge in its totality in a true sense? Can knowledge transcend itself and assume the form of para-knowledge? What are the barriers that hinder its proper transmission? – These questions and many others of the same type have been researched here in a logical sequence and the author very wisely concludes that *"….. 'good' or 'effective' teaching vis-à-vis knowledge is not the transmission of a measurable quantum but an attitude which may enable the taught to add or subtract what he has learnt. What we call 'teaching' has for its end-product rationality, an acquaintance with the tools of acquiring knowledge, the ability to distinguish between good and bad. Indeed, teaching as an outcome has education as the ideal though both are neither synonyms nor even similar"* (p. 251). Rationality, he believes, can easily be taught but has enumerated five conditions under which this coveted goal may be achieved. Teaching, the sagacious writer reiterates in Chapter 19, is a purposive act, *"a specific activity*

with a long range goal called rationality" (p. 252). As such he feels it incumbent upon himself to analyze and list the aims of education and to examine them one after the other. Education, he explicitly declares, does not and cannot stand apart or aloof from society and its ethos, from curriculum, from teacher and learner, so setting of appropriate achievable goals becomes as difficult a task as cleaning of the Augean stables was. The writer, however, has here provided us with highly precious directives with the help of which this seemingly impossible task of *"receiving potable water out of a jungle of drain-pipes"* (p. 257) would easily come within our grasp. The last chapter of the book i.e. 'Teaching: An Analysis' stands as an epilogue. It summarizes, redefines, reanalyzes and reemphasizes the ideas discussed in the previous ones. Teaching as an activity results in a lot of social good, says the writer. He is certainly not blind to the fact that it may be misused but that, he believes, is a minor fact which merits no emphasis. What we need to do is to relate teaching to the quality of life, to develop a more intimate relationship between the two, to utilize teaching as a tool to modify our moral behaviour, to make it go beyond ordinary boundaries and to make it propound universal truths. The teacher, Prof. Singh says in the end, has to be a *"seer"* i.e. someone *"who through his word and deed attempts to affect the life-styles of his followers"* (p. 277).

What is really remarkable about the book is the author's ability to keep the interest in the work alive and kicking throughout. Across the entire study the author's scholarly prose is of a quite unusual stylistic elegance. His style is unassuming but stunningly effective. He has an astonishing ability to dive deep into the topic he explores and to bring out novel pearls that appear in a graceful prose which burns with commitment to the ideas. On the lexical level his writing eschews the dire attritions of repetitions though on the level of ideas and thoughts we come across a few of them which perhaps are inherently unavoidable in a discourse of this nature. The writer's narrative moves unimpeded, with none of the usual clumsy, uncouth expressions that divert the attention away. His English is enormously cultivated and highly expressive and his range is sweeping. It encompasses within its jurisdiction a whole plethora of references to Eastern and Western artists, philosophers and scholars. At places we hear a Chaucer whispering or a Defoe insinuating in a sarcastic tone, a Swift or a Shaw being recommended for his ability to make us see the British in their real colours or a Toru Dutt complaining against the burden of patriarchy on the shoulders of women. Plato, Aristotle, Nehru and many more call out from these pages voicing their opinions to validate the author's viewpoints or the writer himself beckons the scriptures like the Vedas and the Upanishads or gives out a clarion call to the other scholars – both Eastern and Western, both ancient and contemporary – to lend him a hand of support. He analyses the books of the other writers, holds them up for proper scrutiny, criticizes them, refutes them, repudiates them or accepts them, admires them, praises them, recommends them – all this with one particular goal in his mind – to ratify his own assertions. These references and allusions have a special charm of their own and add a breadth of fragrance to the already pleasing, refreshing and invigorating breeze.

The book is certainly a veritable feast for literary students. It poses a real challenge to any critic who dares fill his pen with vitriolic ink, wears the mantle of a superior person and decides to pick faults or suggest improvements. If shortcomings are a must to be pointed out, if at all there is a fly in the ointment, we may point out certain typographical errors here (e.g. 'India' in place of 'Indian' in the list of contents (Part 2, Chap. 8), 'sole' in place of soul (p. 6) or 'complaint' in place of 'complaint' (p. 29) and a few others related to punctuation marks. These mistakes trench upon the concentration of the reader and sound like somewhat

discordant notes in what is otherwise a free-flowing violin recital. But these are certainly minor shortcomings of oversight and do not in any way mar or spoil the worth of this book which is like a treasure-trove for the academics and especially for teacher educators to whom it has been addressed and for whom it is specially meant.

Department of English Studies and Research   Gunjan Chaturvedi
B.D.K. (PG) College, Agra

Kemal GÜRÜZ (2008): **Higher Education and International Student Mobility in the Global Knowledge Economy.** Albany, USA: State University of New York Press. ISBN: 978-0-7914-7413-6, pp. 315 + index, (Hardbound), Price: US$ 75.00;

International academic mobility, involving movement of students and teachers across borders is not a new phenomenon. This is one of the most important traditional modes of internationalisation of higher education. This is also at the same time the most widely prevalent mode in the framework of the General Agreement on Trade in Services (GATS) of the World Trade Organisation (WTO) of the present times. The phenomenon can be traced even to ancient periods in several countries. Students and scholars from neighbouring and distant countries were a part of universities of Nalanda and Taxila in the ancient period in India. The author of the book under review traces the historical antecedents to pre-Christ period in Greece and Rome and to the medieval times in Europe. But academic mobility of the past period is altogether different from the present day phenomenon, where commercial considerations replaced academic interests. While foreign students in university campuses were seen as improving diversity and enhancing overall learning environment in the past, nowadays they are essentially seen as a source of badly needed financial resources. Thus, the very nature of international academic mobility has undergone a significant change.

The book starts with an introduction to how higher education systems are undergoing rapid changes along with transformation of the society from the industrial society to knowledge society and to knowledge economy. Chapter 2 briefly outlines the rapid rise in enrolments in higher education. The changing patterns of public spending and increasing reliance on private funds, specifically student fees and growth in private institutions, and the changing models of governance of higher education are analysed in the context of rising market forces in higher education in chapter 3. The remaining three chapters focus on some core issues relating to international student mobility, such as the emergence of new providers of higher education in the international scene in chapter 4 and detailed descriptions of trends of foreign students in a few 'host countries' and in a few 'source' countries in chapter 6. The historical overview of how the international mobility of students, scholars, teachers, programmes and the institutions of higher education presented by Gürüz in Chapter 5 is very in-depth and valuable. Elaborate country-wise details are given in Chapter 6 on foreign students. USA accounts for a large number of foreign students. In 2005, there were 565 thousand foreign students in USA, compared to 345 thousand in 1985. But

countries like Australia, UK and Germany experienced higher growth in the number of foreign students. In UK the number of foreign students tripled from less than 100 thousand in 1991 to above 300 thousand by 2005 and is projected to increase to 869 thousand by 2020. Similarly, in Germany the numbers increased from below 100 thousand in 1990 to 246 thousand in 2005. The growth seems to be fastest in Australia, the numbers increasing from 25 thousand in 1990 to 164 thousand in 2005. Very few students from these countries go abroad. The top ten countries that send students abroad include China, India, Malaysia, Hong Kong, Indonesia, Singapore, Korea etc. Latin America and the Caribbean is the least outwardly mobile region in this respect. The country-wise details presented in the book are rich and very useful. The author also referred, though briefly, to some country-specific policies that promote or hinder growth in student mobility. However, a thorough examination of national policies in this context of at least in a couple of host and source countries could have been very interesting and useful, providing deeper insights into how several countries are responding and how countries can learn from each other.

The rise of the market forces has been the most dominant phenomenon of the last quarter century. The role of the state has undergone a significant change from that of a provider to a regulator and to an enabler and evaluator. Globalisation, the changing role of the state, and rise in market forces all contributed to a rapid rise in international student mobility, which in turn contributed to further rise in market forces. An important feature of the rise in market forces is emergence of a wide variety of new providers of higher education, particularly of 'for-profit' higher education. In addition to virtual universities, corporate universities, franchises and branch universities, Gürüz describes the growth of 'academic brokers.' Academic brokers are of two types. They are: web-based, entrepreneurs or consortia of traditional and new types of providers that specialise in bringing together suppliers and consumers of educational services in different forms; and the second type of brokers are those who even provide direct educational services, including preparatory training in English language and for tests for admission specifically in UK and US universities. While the former ones are found almost allover the world, the latter are concentrated in developing counties of Asia, Middle East, South-eastern Europe, Latin America etc. Academic brokers have become important actors in global educational market and they are dong big business and are making fast bucks. The rise in academic brokers has helped a lot in the growth in international student mobility.

Globalisation and internationalisation are so intricately related that it is indeed difficult to separate them out and make a distinct analysis. Many of the developments in higher education, specifically the fast increase in student mobility can be attributed to the interplay of forces of globalisation and internationalisation and also the revolution in information communication technology (ICT). International student mobility refers, under GATS framework, to one specific mode called "consumption abroad" (mode 2), Gürüz covers in the book other modes as well, though the main focus of the book is on student mobility only. Short critical accounts of the Bologna process, and the GATS framework are presented; but GATS and the developments related to GATS could have formed the main framework for analysis of student mobility. Secondly, international student mobility also described as involving 'brain-circulation' and 'brain-exchange' is widely recognised as having positive impact on the global economy. But obviously, the positive impact is unevenly distributed between the developed and developing countries. Kemal Gürüz provides a scholarly description of how it has had its effect on civilisations, cultures, political ideologies and how

it contributed to economic, scientific, and technological progress. While it is neither feasible nor desirable to arrest international student mobility, the author could have described the measures required to keep market forces away while promoting student mobility. Nevertheless, the author does warn that as per the trends, the world heads toward another bipolar conjecture – with a group of countries termed as 'knowledge producers' and a large number of countries 'knowledge users', which in the GATS terminology are termed respectively as 'exporters' and 'importers' of higher education. Despite the fact that some developing countries like India and China are also attracting foreign students – in small numbers, the pattern largely remains unaffected. This may not necessarily be good for even world development.

On the whole, Kemal Gürüz gives a very useful book, providing cross-cultural and international comparative perspectives on international academic mobility, with a good amount of details on enrolments, governance of higher education institutions, and trends in international student mobility. The book stands as a very important contribution to the burgeoning literature on internationalisation of higher education. Students, researchers and policy makers will find the book, beyond doubt, immensely useful.

Department of Educational Finance, NUEPA   Jandhyala B G Tilak
New Delhi - 110016   jtilak@nuepa.org

Journal of
Educational Planning and Administration

Regarding subscriptions, advertisement, circulation, missing issues, etc., please contact

> *Deputy Publication Officer*
> National University of Educational Planning and Administration
> 17 B Sri Aurobindo Marg, New Delhi 110016
> Tel: 26861635(Direct) or EPABX: 26962120 Extn. 316 and 313
> E-mail: publications@nuepa.org

Regarding exchange of the Journal and missing issues, please contact

> *Librarian*
> National University of Educational Planning and Administration
> 17 B Sri Aurobindo Marg, New Delhi 110016
> Tel: 2686 2507 or 26962120 Extn. 111
> E-mail: deepakmakol@nuepa.org

Only editorial matters be addressed to the Editor, JEPA

> Tel: 26861320 or 26962120
> E-mail: jepa@nuepa.org

For more details please log on to our website *www.nuepa org*

<div align="center">

Subscription Form for the
Journal of
Educational Planning and Administration

</div>

Please enroll me for the subscription of the
JOURNAL OF EDUCATIONAL PLANNING AND ADMINISTRATION

Name and Address
(in Capital Letters)   _____

_____

_____

_____ PIN _____

Subscription for the calendar year _____. Annual Subscription for the **Quarterly** journal commences with January and ends with October every year.

[Please tick mark (✓) the appropriate one]

☐ ₹ 150/- Subscription for individuals in India
☐ ₹ 350/- Subscription for Institutions in India
☐ US$ 60 Subscription for individuals (By Air Mail) outside India
☐ US$ 85 Subscription for Institutions (By Air Mail) outside India

NUEPA offers 20% discount on subscription for three years and above. Please make the payment by Bank Draft in favour of **National University of Educational Planning and Administration** payable at **New Delhi**.

Details of the Enclosed Bank Draft:

Bank Draft No. .... Dated...................... Drawn on ....

Date_____   Signature _____

Please mail this subscription order form along with the Bank Draft to:

The Deputy Publication Officer
National University of Educational Planning and Administration
17-B, Sri Aurobindo Marg, New Delhi-110016 (INDIA)

Tel: 91-11-26861635, 26962120   Fax: 91-11-26853041
E-mail: publications@nuepa.org