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Vol. XXVII No. 4 (October 2013)

CONTENTS

ARTICLES

Higher Education Policy Reforms in India: The Tale of Three Bills 357
K.B. Powar

From Economic Growth to Literacy: A Study of a Developing Backward
Region of India 369
Sumanash Dutta

Quality of Elementary Education in Urban Slums of Varanasi City 385
Jai Singh

RESEARCH ABSTRACT : Ph.D. THESIS

Implications of Economic Globalisation for Higher Education Curriculum
Restructuring: Exploring the Trends in the States, Kerala and Tamil Nadu
of India 407
Solomon Arulraj David

Pre-service Teachers' Creative Thinking about Teaching 413
Niraj M. Rajyaguru

BOOK REVIEWS (See overleaf) 419

BOOK RECEIVED 429

CONTENTS OF VOLUME XXVII (2013) 433

Book Reviews

- Quality Assurance in Higher Education Institutions 419
(K. Hanumantha Rao and P. Srinivas Subbarao (Eds.))
V.P. Garg
- Shadow Education: Private Supplementary Tutoring and its Implications for 421
Policy Makers in Asia
(Mark Bray and Chad Lykins (Eds.))
Ananda Kumar Palaniappan
- Education and Economics Disciplinary Evolution and Policy Discourse 422
(Saumen Chattopadhyay)
M.M. Goel
- Bordering, Re-bordering and New Possibilities in Education and Society 424
(S. Majhanovich, Christine Fox and Fatima Gök)
Sheng-Ju
- PPP Paradox: Promise and Perils of Public-Private Partnership in Education 427
(Pritha Gopalan)
Jandhyala B.G. Tilak

Higher Education Policy Reforms in India — The Tale of Three Bills

K.B. Powar[#]

Abstract

Since early 2010, a slew of bills, seeking to bring about reforms in the Indian higher education system, have been introduced in Parliament. They represent an attempt to bring in higher education policy reforms through legislative actions. The bills have been introduced without taking into consideration the ground realities. Not surprisingly, none of the bills have been passed. Three bills, respectively relating to entry of foreign educational institutions into India, the setting up of a national accreditation regulatory authority, and the establishment of a national commission on higher education and research, are examined. All of them appear to be flawed. Attempts to make changes on the basis of perfunctory discussions at elite level, and according to the perception of administrators, will encounter resistance. To find acceptance, policy reforms must be backed by adequate research and consultations, and must take into consideration financial requirements, manpower availability, social demands and human shortcomings.

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Introduction

In most developed countries, having stable economies and mature higher education systems, policy reforms relating to higher education are undertaken only after extensive studies, including research, at the grass- root level. Changes are made after taking into consideration the socio-economic milieu and the requirements of the country in a fast changing global environment. In India, in the early years after the country gained independence, policy reforms were undertaken only after exhaustive studies. Thus, the report of the Radhakrishnan Commission (Government of India, 1950) led to a reorientation of the erstwhile colonial policy regarding higher education; a decade-and-a-half later, the report of Kothari Commission (Government of India, 1966) formed the basis of the National Education Policy of Education, 1968 (Government of India, 1968); and, subsequently, a country-wide consultation on the document 'Challenge of Education – A Policy Perspective' (Government of India, 1985) resulted in the formulation and adoption of the National Policy on Education, 1986 (Government of India, 1986).

During the last two decades, there has, however, been a shift in practice, if not in precept, with decisions being taken at the administrative level, albeit on the basis of broad recommendations in reports like those of the National Knowledge Commission (National Knowledge Commission, 2006) and the Yashpal Committee (Government of India (2009)). The general impression, however, is that the policy changes are initiated primarily to overcome inadequacies that have become apparent to the different stakeholders. Changes are proposed on the basis of immediate requirements and according to the perception of administrators. The reforms are reactive rather than proactive. The ground realities, including grass roots perceptions, financial requirements, manpower availability, social demands and human shortcomings are not given adequate consideration. Further, there are grounds to believe that political expediency is now an important factor.

A disturbing fact is that presently policy reforms are being sought to be implemented through legislative actions without the backing of adequate research and consultations. The fact that any higher education system needs to be viewed as a whole, and there has to be a holistic approach to reforms, has apparently been lost sight of. The reforms are being sought to be implemented piecemeal through legislative actions that are largely uncoordinated. In a trenchant critique Tilak (2012) goes to the extent of suggesting that *"some of the(se) Bills are ill-conceived and based on questionable presumptions and untenable assumptions"*. The approach seems to be flawed and it is no wonder that successive governments have found it difficult to convert Bills into Acts. The Private Universities (Establishment and Regulations) Bill, 1995 (Government of India, 1995) lay in limbo for over a decade before being ultimately withdrawn in 2007. The Private Professional Educational Institutions (Regulation of Admission and Fixation of Fees) Bill, 2005 (Government of India, 2005) is still pending. In mid-2012, as many as 13 Bills relating to Education were reportedly in various stages of formulation and enactment by Parliament.

The possible reasons for the stalemate in converting Bills into Acts have been enumerated above. Political one-upmanship is, no doubt, one of them. But a more significant reason is that unilateral decisions have been taken by the ministry, in consultation with a small group of experts/advisors, without taking into confidence the stake-holders who were mostly likely to be affected. An attempt is made in this article to review the situation, and point out inherent inadequacies in the policy formulation mechanism, including dependence

on untenable assumptions, through case studies of three recently introduced legislations. These are the Bills relating to entry of Foreign Educational Institutions (Government of India, 2010a), the National Accreditation Regulatory Authority (Government of India, 2010b) and the National Commission on Higher Education and Research (Government of India, 2011).

The Foreign Educational Institutions Bill

In order to regulate the operations of foreign institutions, the Government of India introduced in Parliament the 'The Foreign Educational Institutions (Regulation of Entry and Operation, Maintenance of Quality and Prevention of Commercialisation) Bill, 2007 (Government of India, 2007). The stated objective of the Bill was to provide *"an ideal regulatory framework... in which reputed institutions are able to enter and operate in terms of India's national policy, while at the same time check and control sub-standard or 'fly by night' operators"*.

After hanging fire for three years, the Bill was referred to a Committee of Secretaries, which suggested modifications to certain provisions. A key recommendation of the Committee, to drop a clause exempting select foreign universities from most provisions was, however, rejected by the Cabinet. A revised version, 'The Foreign Educational Institutions (Regulation of Entry and Operation) Bill, 2010 (Government of India, 2010) was introduced in Parliament about two years back. The objective was revised *"to regulate entry and operation of foreign educational institutions imparting or intending to impart higher education (including technical education and medical education) and the award of degrees, diplomas and equivalent qualifications by such institutions"*. Though it is purportedly for regulation of entry of foreign educational institutions, it, in effect, opens up the higher education sector of the country to foreign providers and to foreign investment. Apparently, this version has also encountered difficulties and a third version, incorporating some changes is likely to be introduced.

A primary requirement in the Bill is that all foreign educational institutions desiring to operate in India will first have to get themselves registered as a foreign education provider with the University Grants Commission. The foreign institutions will be required to submit an application duly endorsed by the Embassy/High Commission of the country, where the foreign university/institution is established, certifying that the university/institution has been established or incorporated under a law of the country. It will also have to provide information regarding its accreditation status and regarding its financial and other arrangements.

Further, the foreign institution will have to give an undertaking to maintain, and, on being granted permission, establish a corpus fund of not less than ₹ 50 crore. The provisions of Section 25 of the Companies Act will be applicable and the institutions will not be allowed to repatriate the profits but will have to spend the savings on the development of the institutions. In fact, the foreign provider is expected to utilize up to 75 per cent of the income received for the development of the institution and deposit the remaining 25 per cent in the corpus fund. The foreign institution is expected to maintain the quality of its programmes and ensure that other conditions are the same as those offered by the institution in the country of its origin. The institution will also ensure that it takes into account the cultural

and linguistic sensitivities of the people of India. Apparently, there will also not be any restriction on the fees charged.

A key, but controversial, provision in the Bill is the one that allows the Government to grant an institution, on the basis of its reputation and standing, exemption from any of the provisions of the Act. There is no mention of 'reservation' or 'affirmative action', implying that the foreign providers, both public and private, could possibly be exempt from implementing reservation quotas. Discussions that have taken place at various forums suggest that the 'exemption-from-reservation' may cause heart-burning amongst the Indian institutions in the public sector and result in a demand for 'a level playing field'.

The Bill provides a time-bound schedule, of eight months, for grant of approval to the foreign educational institutions, during which they have to pass through different levels of screening before being registered with the designated regulatory authority, the University Grants Commission, and, subsequently, the proposed National Commission for Higher Education and Research (NCHER).

In drafting the Bill, the government has made some possibly untenable assumptions. These are: (i) Top-ranking universities are willing to come to India in order to internationalize their operations and, for them, profit is not an important consideration; (ii) the foreign institutions will provide high quality education, eliminating, to a considerable extent, the need for Indian students to go abroad and, thus, effectively save foreign exchange to the extent of 3 to 5 billion dollars annually; and (iii) Indian institutions will improve the quality of their programmes because of example and competition.

Foreign providers may find some of the provisions in the Bill (the need to establish a corpus fund of Rs. 50 crore and non-permission to repatriate any part of the surplus revenue) to be too restrictive. Consequently, some of them could opt for the Foreign Direct Investment (FDI) through the automatic route. This allows the foreign provider to invest in education, by transacting money through the Reserve Bank of India, without first seeking the permission from the Foreign Investment Promotion Board. The foreign provider will, however, not be able to assure equivalence for degrees or diplomas awarded by them. There is apparently no restriction in offering training or vocational programmes leading to certificates of proficiency. It is possible that, at a time when there is a demand to de-link jobs from degrees, foreign providers may be successful in earning money by adopting the FDI route.

While free flow of information and knowledge is desirable in the context of liberalization of policies relating to education and economic development, it is equally necessary that the operation of foreign education providers be regulated in order to protect national interests. Of the four modes of trade in services, Consumption Abroad and Presence of Natural Persons do not pose a serious problem to the Indian higher education system. However, there is a need to regulate Commercial Presence and, to some extent, Cross Border Supply, though the impact of the latter is presently not clear. The regulations need to separately take care of the issues that may arise with each mode of supply (See Powar, 2006).

The Foreign Educational Institutions Bill, 2010 seems to focus on commercial presence through the establishment of international/branch campuses though it also mentions academic partnerships. The then Minister for Human Resource Development, Mr. Kapil Sibal, has reportedly said (The Economic Times, 2010) that the Bill is "*a milestone that will enhance choices, increase competition and benchmark quality*". This may well happen

provided the best institutions seek and get entry into India. But, considering the strict restrictions on the repatriation of surplus revenue, there may not be many takers.

Choudaha (2010) has identified three sets of universities interested in coming to India with different objectives. These are (i) *Prestige-enhancing universities* (top-research universities) that are primarily interested in adding to their existing prestige. They are not interested in India as a source of revenue and will not establish campuses, at least for the present. However, they would be keen to establish partnerships, covering student and faculty exchange and research collaboration. (ii) *Prestige-seeking universities* (next-tier research universities) that seek internationalization to build their prestige and, at the same time, get opportunities for revenue-enhancement. These are likely to seek academic partnerships and may be open to establishing campuses, either by themselves or in partnership. (iii) *Revenue-maximizing universities* that seek entry into India primarily to generate resources. These do not have the resources to start their own campuses and look for twinning (articulation) arrangements and possibilities for franchising their offering. The universities of the first category should be welcomed, those of the second category, selectively encouraged, while those of the third category, monitored closely and regulated.

Finally, it has to be ensured that the procedures, when worked out in detail, are not too cumbersome and should give positive signals to the genuine high-quality providers. While encouraging reputed universities capable of providing education of international standards, it is also necessary to regulate the activities of the run-of-the-mill providers, who are operating in India largely for the purpose of making a quick-profit. Franchise operations, *conducted* in collaboration with non-academic partners, need to be legally banned. India needs to devise a regulatory model that encourages cross-border provision of quality education yet prevents exploitation. The model needs to take into account the fact that with a 20 million strong Indian Diaspora, spread over 131 countries of the world, India, per se, can become an important higher education provider.

The National Regulatory Authority Bill

The National Accreditation Regulatory Authority for Higher Educational Institutions Bill, 2010 (Government of India, 2010b) was framed *"to make provisions for assessment of academic quality of higher educational institutions, programmes conducted therein and their infrastructure through mandatory accreditation by independent accreditation agencies, and to establish a statutory authority for the said purpose ..."*.

The Bill makes it mandatory for every higher education institution, and every programme conducted by it, to be accredited by a recognized accreditation agency. In the case of existing institutions, the accreditation must be obtained within three years, and, for new institutions, before admissions are made. Significantly, all accreditation agencies must be non-profit organizations, controlled by the central or state government. There is a provision for the establishment of a National Accreditation Regulatory Authority (NARA) that will register and monitor the accreditation agencies. Institutions have the right to appeal to NARA for modification of the ratings given by an accreditation agency. Accreditation agencies can be penalized for not performing. NARA, with five members, will, thus, be a super-power accrediting authority. *De facto*, it will also have to perform the role of an accreditation agency. Will it have the required expertise?

The intentions behind the Bill are laudatory for it aims at introducing checks and balances that would ensure quality of the education provided. Yet, it makes assumptions that are not justified and the implementation of its provisions would entail almost insurmountable operational difficulties.

The Bill allows only governmental agencies to accredit educational institutions. It may be construed that behind this restriction, is the assumption that only governmental agencies can provide fair assessment while private agencies (even non-profit ones) are liable to be influenced for some consideration. The fact of the matter is that it is the government controlled statutory councils and organizations that are under a cloud, while private agencies have not been given an opportunity to perform. This lack of faith in the private sector may be self-defeating for it may dilute the objective of creating a healthy competitive environment for rating of quality of institutions of educational institutions (Sanyal, 2010). The US, UK and other developed countries allow both public and private organizations to accredit.

Presently, there are two accreditation agencies in the country- the National Assessment and Accreditation Agency (NAAC), which undertakes institutional accreditation, and the National Board of Accreditation, which undertakes programme accreditation for professional institutions. Both were established in 1994 but the numbers of institutions or programmes assessed by them are not impressive. No doubt, a contributory factor has been the fact that both the organizations have not been allowed to expand and their staff-strength has remained practically unchanged. Further, there is a shortage of competent assessors. Academics in active service cannot afford to be frequently out for four or five days at a stretch. And retired persons often find the exercise of assessment to be physically exhausting. For the record, NAAC has accredited, as on 30th November 2011, only 167 of the 625 universities in the country and 4,529 of the over 33,000 colleges (National Assessment and Accreditation Council, 2012). NBA has accredited less than 30 per cent of the programmes on offer (Anandkrishnan, 2011). Besides, with a high growth rate in the number of institutions, there is little chance of the accrediting agencies catching up.

The fact of the matter is that no matter how many agencies are established by the government, the accreditation of all institutions and all programmes is a near impossibility considering the complex nature of the accreditation process, the shortage of assessors and the very rapid increase in the number of higher education institutions. This is apparent from the progress made by NAAC and NBA in the last decade-and-a-half. Pragmatism requires that accreditation remains a voluntary process and competent private players be allowed to participate in the accreditation process, as in other parts of the world, with government, after their credibility is ascertained by NARA.

The National Commission for Higher Education and Research Bill

The proposal for the establishment of a National Commission for Higher Education (NCHER) was first indicated in the Address of the President to Parliament in 2009. A draft of a 'National Commission for Higher Education and Research Bill, 2010', prepared by a Task Force, was circulated in 2010 and then reviewed by the Central Advisory Board on Education (CABE). A revised draft in the form of 'The National Commission for Higher Education and Research Bill, 2011' (Government of India, 2011a) was approved by the cabinet on December 21, 2011 and introduced in the Rajya Sabha on December 28, 2011.

The NCHER Bill is a matter of much concern and a subject of critical discussion. According to the preamble of the Bill, its objective is to provide for the determination, coordination and maintenance of standards in higher education, and, for that purpose, establish a National Commission for Higher Education and Research (NCHER) to promote the autonomy of higher education institutions for free pursuit of knowledge and innovation; and to provide for a comprehensive and holistic growth of higher education and research in a competitive global environment. Fears have, however, been expressed that the Bill, if enacted, will increase regulation, hamper free growth, lead to centralization of authority and, contrary to the spirit of federalism and the federal structure adopted by the country, result in the marginalization of the States.

The idea of an apex body to oversee all sectors of higher education was first envisaged in the National Policy on Higher Education, 1986 (Government of India, 1986a)⁵. It called for the establishment of a national body covering higher education in general, agricultural, medical, technical, legal and other professional fields for greater coordination and consistency of policy, sharing of facilities and developing inter-disciplinary research. In the Programme of Action, 1986 (Government of India, 1986b),²⁰ the government accepted that as the responsibility for development of higher education was shared by a number of agencies, there was a separation of decision-making and funding mechanism. An apex body was necessary to advise government on policy, to coordinate activities, to encourage inter-disciplinarity, to allocate resources, to establish and manage common infrastructure and to coordinate policy concerning external academic relations.

The Ramamurthi Commission (Government of India, 1990), constituted to review NPE-1986, however, recommended that *"it does not seem necessary to create another institution at the national level to function as a super body, as it were"*. It suggested that the objects and functions mentioned in POA-1986 could be achieved by an appropriate coordination mechanism, created through a Resolution of the Government. One such possibility was the setting up of a two-tier mechanism, consisting of an upper-tier Council of Ministers holding concerned portfolios (human resource development, agriculture, health, law, science & technology and also finance) and presided over by the Prime Minister; and a lower-tier Committee of Secretaries and Heads of Institutions. The latter could formulate policies and actions and submit them to the Council of Ministers for approval.

Following a change in government in 1991, the Ramamurthi Committee Report was reviewed by the Janaradhan Reddy Committee (Government of India, 1991) and, based on its suggestions, the POA-1992 was drawn up. The latter noted that a consensus could not be reached amongst the concerned ministries and agencies regarding the structure and functions of the proposed mechanism and that effort would be continued for operationalization of the concept of the apex body.

In the following years, the matter did not receive much attention and the 13 statutory councils, especially those amongst them that had both funding and regulatory powers, became separate and strong regulatory centres, while the influence of the University Grants Commission steadily decreased. The situation was reduced to one of 'many bodies, much regulation little facilitation, under-governance'. And recent events suggest that there is also an element of corruption - moral, administrative and financial.

In the latter half of the last decade, two high-level bodies recommended the establishment of an apex body for the development of higher education. The National Knowledge Commission (NKC) proposed, in 2006 (National Knowledge Commission, 2006),

the establishment of an independent Regulatory Authority for Higher Education (IRAHE), which would be responsible for setting criteria and deciding entry of institutions into the higher education system. Regulatory higher education agencies, like AICTE and NCTE, would have to be abolished and others, like MCI, DCI and BCI reduced to professional associations.

The Yashpal Committee (YC), in its report of 2009 (Government of India (2009), bemoaned the fact that higher education institutions in India are regulated by many statutory agencies that function differently and have no coordination amongst them. The over-regulation stifles innovation and creativity, increases inefficiency and breeds corruption. The Committee recommended the creation of an all-encompassing 'Commission for Higher Education' that would replace the existing regulatory bodies. The professional agencies should be divested of their academic functions, which should be restored to the universities.

The proposed National Commission for Higher Education and Research (NCHER) is supposed to be a response to the recommendations of the NKC and YC. The broader role, visualized for the apex body in NPE-1986, has been discarded by excluding from the ambit of the NCHER agriculture and medicine, and, if reports are to be believed, also law. The Ministry of Health is piloting a Bill for establishing the National Commission for Human Resources for Health (NCHRH) (Government of India, 2011b), which has also been tabled in the Rajya Sabha. It is understood that the Ministry of Law is contemplating a similar body for legal resources. The Agriculture Ministry already has the Indian Council for Agricultural Research. Perhaps, a mechanism, on the lines indicated in NPE-1986, would be required for coordinating the policies of these four apex bodies.

An aspect that has not been fully factored in while formulating the NCHER is that of the size of the organization. The NCHER, when formed, will be a mega-organization that will subsume, within it, the present UGC, AICTE and NCTE, and also the Distance Education Council. Additionally, the NCHER Bill has provision for a Board for Research Provision and Facilitation, Advisory Councils for Vocational Education and for a Higher Education Financial Services Corporation. All of these would require considerable physical infrastructure and human resources. Much of the latter will obviously have to come from the organizations that are being subsumed, as the services of officers and other employees of the subsumed organizations have to be protected. These organizations, unfortunately, have the reputation of being largely inefficient, lackadaisical organizations that have scant respect for those whom they are supposed to serve. Will the former employees of the subsumed organizations forget their old ways and suddenly imbibe a new working culture? And will not the enlarged size of the new organization lead to increased inefficiency and diminished coordination? These questions need to be addressed and answered. Another consideration that should be factored-in is the potential size of the establishment, taking into account the multifarious nature of its responsibilities and the rapid rate of growth of Indian higher education. The possibility of the organization assuming gargantuan proportions cannot be discounted.

The positive aspects of NCHER are that it will:

- Facilitate the process of 'defragmentation' in so far as the liberal disciplines (humanities, social sciences, sciences and commerce) and the professional disciplines (engineering & technology, management, pharmacy) are concerned. The breakdown of inter-disciplinary barriers, or at least their becoming more porous, will promote the growth of a holistic, inter-disciplinary approach.

- De-politicize, to an extent, the higher education system that has, in recent years, been subject to political interference in academic matters, like appointment of vice-chancellors, recruitment of faculty and administrative staff, opening of colleges and other higher education institutions, and even deciding on the content of syllabi.
- Provide institutions the facility of single-window operations and free them from the procedure of moving from one authority to another. It is presumed that, unlike the present statutory councils, the NCHER will function more as a facilitator, rather than as a controller.

A perusal of the draft NCHER Bill suggests that it has some major infirmities, namely those of decentralization of authorities, curtailment of the autonomy of universities and marginalization of the states, in disregard of the principles of federalism.

There is an obvious centralization of authority with the NCHER, which has been given powers over a wide range of matters ranging from establishment (and winding up) of universities, to their governance and funding, monitoring of higher education activities; and to academic matters like specifying norms and standards for different qualifications; developing a national qualification framework; and overseeing quality improvement and accreditation. There are as many as 30 clauses under 'powers and functions', ending with the ubiquitous clause 'discharge such other functions ... as the Central Government ... may prescribe'. It is also having the responsibility of guiding and advising in the establishment of a university; maintaining a national registry of persons eligible and qualified for appointment as Vice Chancellor or Head of Institution; preparing reports on the state of higher education and research in India and in the States and Union Territories; present to the Governor of each State and Union Territory, every five years, a report on the state of higher education in the State, which the Governor will cause to be placed before the State Legislative Assembly; and present every five years, to the President, a report on the vision of higher education and research in the country in the forthcoming decade, for placing before both Houses of Parliament.

While the NCHER Bill ostensibly proposes promoting the autonomy of universities and other higher education institutions but, in actuality, it contains provisions that lead to a curtailment of university autonomy. The NCHER has been given powers over a wide range of activities that traditionally have been a part of the function of universities. Thus, it will specify minimum norms required for grant of degrees and diplomas, develop a national curriculum, specify norms of academic quality, encourage joint and inter-disciplinary programmes and promote research. There will be little for the universities to do apart from following the guidelines and recommendations of NCHER. As sarcastically put, even innovations will be innovated by NCHER.

Many States were unhappy not only by the manner in which the NCHER Bill was formulated but also with some key provisions, the most controversial being the one that required the authorization of the NCHER, before a university, established by a state, could be operationalized and the one that stipulated that only a person, whose name was included in a national registry, could be appointed vice chancellor. It is learnt that these conditions have been relaxed to an extent in the final draft but the intent remains the same.

Another provision that is likely to cause resentment in the States is the one that provides for the preparation by the NCHER of a report on the state of higher education in the State, to be submitted to the Governor, who will cause it to be placed before the State Legislative

Assembly, along with an explanatory memorandum on the action taken, or proposed to be taken, in respect of each recommendation of the NCHER. This has been construed as pressurizing the States to implement the agenda of the NCHER, and, thus, restricting the powers of the State Legislatures. The powers given to the Commission could result in the marginalization of the States in matters relating to higher education.

Our past experiences show that in India, the main obstacle in implementing policy decisions lies in the numbers. As mentioned earlier, the NCHER will be a mega-organization to be administered by the Chairman and three other full-time members. Will they be able to handle the huge volume of work? Looking at the manner in which the UGC and AICTE has functioned, with the final responsibility and decision-making being left to the top official/s, there is every likelihood of the Commission being overburdened with responsibilities and unable to function efficiently.

There is a view that with the tremendous expansion of higher education, and with development of specialized professional programmes, there is a place for specialized regulatory bodies like the AICTE, MCI, DCI, BCI, INC and NCTE. It is true that these are functioning more as regulators rather than facilitators, have become power centres, and reportedly have an element of corruption. The answer does not lie in disbanding them but in instilling in them a sense of accountability, making them function efficiently, eradicating from them the prevalent corruption, and coordinating their policies and activities. Throwing out the baby with the bathwater is not the answer. The National Policy on Education, 1986 visualized a coordinating body for a higher education system that was then about one-fourth the present size. A quarter of a century later, we are in the process of establishing an all-powerful implementation body, of mega-size. Only time will tell if the move will be a success.

To Conclude

Education Policy Reforms can be successfully implemented only if they are acceptable to a majority of stakeholders. The reforms may have an element of idealism but must be based on a clear perception of international trends and the country's future requirements. A proper understanding of the factual position - the ground realities - is a pre-requisite. It is for this reason that in the developed countries, reforms are preceded by research, which is essentially the collection, analysis and interpretation of all information. As mentioned earlier, realities relating to financial requirements, manpower availability, social demands and human shortcomings need to be given adequate consideration (Powar, 2002). Reforms, formulated by persons of undoubtedly superior intellect, but not based on pragmatism, may run into difficulties. This apparently is the case with the slew of policy reforms, sought to be implemented through legislative action, during the past two or three years. The stakeholders have not been taken into confidence and untenable assumptions made. This is clear from the foregoing discussion on three Bills. It is unrealistic to expect foreign institutions to come and infuse quality into Indian higher education if they are not to repatriate any of the surplus money; or make institutional and programme accreditation mandatory for thousands of institutions without the wherewithals; or for a single authority like the proposed NCHER to handle the gigantic multi-dimensional Indian higher education system. The government needs to hold consultations with those involved at the grass-root level. Perfunctory discussions at elite level will not reveal the correct picture or indicate the optimal options.

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From Economic Growth to Literacy

—A Study of a Developing Backward Region of India

Sumanash Dutta*

Abstract

In the paper, the author has briefly discussed the steps taken by the government of India to spread literacy, success so far achieved in that direction and the existing areas of concern; as a prelude to examining the Literacy- Economic growth linkage. The author has argued that people plunged into extreme poverty would have no interest in becoming literate unless literacy brings immediate economic returns for them. For that, what is required first is a threshold level of economic growth, achieved through directly productive activities and people's increased involvement in income growing economic activities. The author has tried to substantiate his arguments by taking the case of a backward developing state, Tripura. Multiple regression analysis is applied, with Block level literacy rate of Tripura as dependent variable and eight explanatory variables, representing the Block level incidence of poverty, social and community status of people, demographic composition of the area and education infrastructure. The results indicate that as intensity of the incidence of poverty increases in a locality, the literacy rate falls. The result supports the view expressed in the paper that a minimum level of economic growth is a pre-requisite for higher literacy. The second variable, found statistically significant in the regression analysis, is 'percentage of households having bathroom within house' which, as expected, exerts a positive impact on literacy rate. The third significant variable is 'percentage of ST population'. The result indicates that this variable has negative impact on literacy rate, implying that tribal dominated places are backward in terms of literacy rate. The variable 'Residence' is found to have a very strong positive and statistically significant impact on literacy rate, indicating strong rural-urban disparity. The fifth and last significant variable is 'number of primary teachers' in a locality. The variable is found to be exerting a positive impact on literacy rate, indicating inter-personal impact of education on the society. The author has suggested that there should be region-specific holistic schemes, with literacy mission and economic packages being integral part of such schemes, for achieving higher levels of literacy in poverty-stricken areas of the country.

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*ksudhār rājye prithibi gadyamay:
purnimā- chhand jena jhalsano ruti//
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“In a hungry world, the earth is unpoetic:
Even the full moon resembles a burnt piece of bread.”¹

Literacy is fundamental to human life. Unfortunately, even today, illiteracy is a malady in most of the developing and less developed countries of the world, including India. While the countries belonging to OECD have achieved more than 95 percent adult and youth literacy, barring very few exceptions (for example, Mexico-90.5 percent adult literacy; HDR-2004,); most of the low income countries are still miles away from catching up with the developed countries of the world in the mission of achieving complete literacy. As per estimates produced by UNESCO Institute for Statistics in July 2002, the adult literacy and youth literacy rates in Bangladesh are only 41.1 percent and 49.7 percent respectively. In Pakistan also, these are abysmally low at 41.5 and 53.9 percent respectively. The gravity of the situation could easily be understood if one looks at the literacy situation of countries like Niger. In this 21st century, the country, with a projected population size of 11.5 millions in 2002, has an estimated adult and youth literacy rates of only 17.1 and 24.5 percent respectively (HDR, 2004). There is no doubt that many generations of human beings in many parts of the world have passed away without having minimum ability to enter the world of knowledge. This is, perhaps, the most unfortunate circumstance in which intelligent human minds are subjected to indignity in the course of human civilization. As a recognition and remedy of this cruel fact, on December 10, 1948, the General Assembly of the United Nations adopted and proclaimed the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, which declared that ‘all human beings are *born free* and *equal in dignity and rights*’ (Article 1) and that ‘everyone has the right to education. Education shall be free, at least in the elementary and fundamental stages. Elementary education shall be compulsory. Technical and professional education shall be generally available and higher education shall be equally accessible to all, on the basis of merit.’ India has ratified the Declaration of Human Rights and the Indian Constitution has, since long, recognized the significance of education for social transformation. The provisions contained in the Constitution of India, relating to education and educational opportunity-the key vehicle for literacy, declare that ‘the State shall endeavour to provide, within a period of 10 years from the commencement of the Constitution, for free and compulsory education for all children until they complete the age of 14 years’ (Article 45) and that ‘the State shall promote, with special care, the educational and economic interests of the weaker sections of the people, and, in particular, of the Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes, and shall protect them from social injustice and all forms of exploitation’ (Article 46). Though India has made substantial progress in the field of literacy, the basic Constitutional provision of universalization of elementary education, which was to have been achieved by 1960, still remains unaccomplished.

¹ The two lines are taken from the poem ‘Priyotomasu’, composed by poet Sukanta Bhattacharjee (1926-1947 AD), a revolutionary poet of Bengal in pre-independent India. The lines are translated from Bengali to English by Joydeep Chakraborty, Asstt. Professor, Department of English, Assam University, Silchar.

Several efforts have been initiated by the government of India for reducing illiteracy in the country which was alarmingly high at the time of independence. In 1947, the literacy rate in India was only 12.2 percent which was perceived at that time by social scientists and planners as a deterrent for achieving economic growth in independent India. The drive for spreading literacy and augmenting education was, therefore, taken up with right earnest immediately after independence. During the first Five Year Plan, the programme of Social Education, inclusive of literacy, was introduced as part of the Community Development Programme (1952). In 1964, the Education Commission (Kothari), which emphasized the importance of spreading literacy as fast as possible, was set up. The Commission observed that 'literacy, if it is to be worthwhile, must be functional'. The Commission also stressed the relationship between education and productivity and the critical role of education in national development. The National Policy on Education in 1968 not only endorsed the recommendations of the Education Commission but also reiterated the significance of universal literacy and developing adult and continuing education as matters of priority. It was decided to undertake Adult Literacy programme under the Total Literacy Mission approach. In 1978, the National Adult Education Programme (NAEP) was inaugurated on 2nd October. The objective of the NAEP was to organize adult education programmes, with literacy as an indispensable component, for approximately 100 million illiterate persons in the age group of 15-35 years, in order to provide them with skills for self-directed learning, leading to a self-reliant and active role in their own development as well as that of their environment. The National Policy of Education was revised in 1986 and a multi-pronged approach of universalization of elementary education and universal adult literacy was adopted for achieving total literacy. In 1988, the National Literacy Mission (NLM) was launched. Total Literacy Campaigns (TLC) emerged as a programme strategy for the NLM. However, despite some identified flaws and failures of the 'campaign approach', even as early as 1994, NLM continued with the same TLC strategy and tried to bolster it with better monitoring and internal evaluation. Special emphasis on the role of education as an important means of development was laid in National Policy of Education, which was further revised in 1992 in the light of identified needs at the time. At present, the Total Literacy Campaign (TLC) is in progress in 95 districts of the country. About 127.45 million persons in the country have been made literate since the launching of the National Literacy Mission in 1988 till 2008-09.

The Ministry of Human Resource Development (MHRD), Govt. of India, has recently set a target of achieving 80 per cent literacy for women by the end of the 11th Five Year Plan and has recast the National Literacy Mission to National Women's Literacy Mission to provide a thrust to it. With its new slogan, Literate India, the Mission will be launched soon in about 365 districts of the country, where the literacy rate is below 50 per cent. The Government is also trying to reduce the gap between the literacy levels of men and women at the all India level, which stands at 21 per cent at present. Through this Mission, the Government is planning to educate 70 million adults, out of which 60 million would be women. The Centre has also decided to set up 6,000 high quality model schools at the block level, at the rate of one school per block, as benchmarks of excellence. The first phase of the scheme to set up 2,500 Model Schools in Educationally Backward Blocks (EBBs), under the State Governments, was launched in November, 2009. Since Independence, equity in education by gender, caste, and socio-economic groups, and reduction in regional disparities in education development have been the major objectives of educational planning in India.

Literacy—Economic Growth Linkage

The Government of India has taken several steps to improve the literacy scenario in the country. While the achievements in this regard are by no means insignificant, a lot still remains to be done. As per UNESCO'S Education for All Global Monitoring Report 2006, the number of illiterates in the population, aged 15 plus, was estimated to be 771 million in the world, out of which 267 million are in India. The issue of literacy is faced with several problems- definitional, operational, organizational and also conceptual. Several studies have pointed out that the growth of literacy in India could not reach the desired level because of prevailing gender, regional and rural-urban disparities in literacy (Visaria, P. et al; 1993, Tilak J.B.G, 2002). Illiteracy is widespread, not only among the older age groups but also among young boys and girls, particularly in the rural areas. For instance, half of all rural females in the 10-14 years 'age group in India (almost two-thirds of Uttar Pradesh) are illiterate. The persistence of *endemic illiteracy* in the younger age groups is the most distressing aspect of the educational situation in contemporary India (Dreze, Jean et al; 1996).

The Literacy-*Economic Growth* linkage is not very clear although majority of the studies in this area identify literacy as a growth promoting factor. Cameron et al (2006) attempted to detect a relationship between country-level economic growth rates and literacy growth rates during the 1990s but found ambivalent pattern of results. The study could not suggest any clear immediate relationship between *literacy and economic growth*. Barro (1991), testing the impact on growth of various human capital measures, using cross-country data for 1960-85, found that both school enrolment rates and adult literacy rates yield a significant positive impact on growth. Dasgupta and Weale (1992), using data on changes in adult literacy during 1960-80 and changes in per capita income growth during 1970- 80 for the 51 poorest countries in 1970, found no significant association. Naudé (2004), using panel data for 1970-90 for 44 African countries and including variables on institutional quality and geographical features, found that literacy was among the variables with a positive effect on GDP per capita growth. Cross-country comparison of findings of studies on relationship between *economic growth and literacy* also makes little sense as literacy is defined in different ways in different countries.

The most important factor contributing to low literacy is perhaps the connecting link between *literacy and economic growth*, which is often found to be indistinct and perplexing. Owens and Shaw (1972) pointed out that 'literacy has suffered by being treated by the advocates of universal literacy as a kind of panacea for whatever they conceive to be the ailments of an under-developed country. However, *marginal people see no reason to be literate*. Literacy does not provide access if people are not organized to participate in development. For this reason, there appears to be little relationship between *literacy and economic growth*'. People afflicted by extreme poverty have virtually no time to spend for acquiring the three Rs. Moreover, literacy, as defined in Census operations in India and as very often diluted in the surveys for expediting enumeration purposes, has no practical implication for the poor. For example, a poor person's ability, to recognize only a few characters of the alphabet or his ability to write/or rather draw his/her name correctly, shall not have any regular application in any of his/her regular economic activities. This is particularly true in the case of a country like India where the vast majority of the population has no formal banking habits and lives at subsistence level. This is evident from the fact that

the number of bank credit accounts in all scheduled commercial banks of India is decreasing over the years and across the states. The all -India average, which was only 55 accounts per 1000 people in 1996, declined gradually and came down to just 51 accounts per 1000 people by the end of 2001 (Mahendra Varman P, 2005). The non-application of a person's minimum ability to read and write with understanding (this is how literacy is defined) is the reason for his/her falling back to illiteracy very quickly. In a practical sense, simple literacy fails to enhance human capability essential for achieving economic growth and development. This is reflected, in one way or another, in the observations of Shah (2006) regarding the current pitiable state of elementary education, in particular, in India. According to him, 'all the disturbing features-phenomenal number of out-of-school children of the age-group 6-14, *mostly from unprivileged class*, high drop-out rates, small number of 'functionally' literate children or large-scale leakages in transition from one level of education to the next higher level, point to the fact that the unhealthy weeding out process gets in-built into the system from the very foundation itself. Majority of those who climb the ladder successfully are obviously from the educationally, socially and economically better-off sections of the society'. If a minimum of the basic economic needs of a poor family is not met, children and adults of the family, who become literate through literacy mission programmes but have no scope and incentive for climbing further the educational ladder successfully, will quickly fall back to illiteracy when they do not derive any immediate economic returns from literacy. The critically important and universally valued dimensions of an individual's well-being, therefore, includes dimensions such as longevity, education and command over resources (Malhotra, R.; 2007), and not literacy.

One interesting side of the debate on *literacy-economic growth* linkage is the empirical fact that most of the economically developed regions of the world or a country having higher economic growth, viz. per capita income, exhibits higher literacy among the people. The developed states like Maharashtra, Punjab, Gujarat have literacy rates of 76.9, 69.7 and 69.1 percent and per capita Net State Domestic Product (at current prices for 2003-04) of Rs. 29204, Rs. 27851 and Rs. 26979 respectively, whereas in the case of less developed states like Bihar, Uttar Pradesh and Arunachal Pradesh; the literacy percentage is 47, 56.3 and 54.3 respectively, with corresponding per capita Net State Domestic Product at Rs 5780, Rs. 10817 and Rs. 13139. In developed regions, people have better economic opportunities and, as a result, the informed collective demand for education is also higher. People have incentives for learning the three Rs. In this context, the observation of Dreze and Sen (1996) is relevant. They stated that 'the opportunities offered by a well functioning market may be difficult to use when a person is handicapped by, say, illiteracy or ill-health. On the other hand, a person, with some education and fine health, may still be unable to use his or her abilities because of the limitations of economic opportunities, related to the absence of markets or overzealous bureaucratic controls, or the lack of access to finance, or some other restraint that limits economic initiatives'. There appears to be a threshold requirement of economic growth for the promotion of literacy. The process of attaining economic growth of a region requires a comparatively longer period of time than improving literacy rate of a region through well directed and concerted efforts. It is, therefore, difficult to infer that higher literacy rates contributes to economic growth everywhere. Rather, the logical conclusion that follows from the above discussion is that the economic growth of a certain minimum level, achieved through directly productive activities, contributes to higher

literacy among the poorest of the poor by stimulating further economic activities and engaging people in it.

The State of Tripura—A Case Study

After more than 60 years of independence, India's literacy rate is still pegged at only 65 percent and, that too, with a very high state and regional, gender, rural-urban disparity, in general, and disparity in religious-ethnic communities, in particular. Probably, a more holistic approach is required for the overall economic upliftment of people, with literacy mission being an integral part of that approach. *Identification of socio-economically backward regions*, state-wise, is required for launching directly productive activities, first for marginalized people which may be followed by literacy promotion drives.

The case of Tripura is studied here with the objective of identifying low literacy regions of the state vis-a-vis people's positional status in regard to community, residence, their economic status and the available educational infrastructure in the habitation of the people.

Tripura offers a unique case for study for several reasons. It is a tiny state in the north-east part of India, surrounded by Bangladesh on all sides barring the east. The state has only four Districts. The capital of the state, Agartala in the West District of Tripura, has only recently been connected by rail link with Assam but the vast southern part of West District and the entire South District of the state is still not connected by rail links. Throughout the 20th century, Tripura, in terms of its population, has been one of the fastest growing areas in the sub-continent. The Tribals, who formed the majority of the state population till 1941, have been gradually relegated to minority. The radical shift in the status of tribal population from majority to minority occurred due to heavy influx of non-tribals from the then East Pakistan (now Bangladesh) immediately after the partition in 1947 and thereafter as well. As per 2001 census report, Tribals constitute only 31.1 percent of the total population (near about 32 lakhs) of the state. The economy of the state is predominantly agrarian in character. The state is afflicted with severe poverty. According to planning commission estimates, the percentage of population below poverty line was 34.4 percent in 1999-2001 (*Statistical Hand Book*, Assam, 2006). However, in 1973-74, the percentage of population below poverty was an astounding 51 percent (*Tenth Five Year Plan*, Vol. I, Planning Commission). The state of Tripura was a princely state before its merger as a Union Territory, with the Indian Union in October 1948. In 1972, Tripura was declared as a full-fledged state of India. After that, the state has mostly remained under leftist rule. At the time of merger with the Indian Union, the education structure of the state was at a nascent stage. However, since 1953, considerable expansion has taken place on almost every front of education in Tripura. The growth was phenomenal at the lower level of education. Over the period from 1949-50 to 1998-99, students' enrolment in primary, upper primary and secondary stages increased from 14,969 to 473,161; 3345 to 151,007; and from 1332 to 68373 respectively. The number of schools of all categories increased from only 460 in 1949-50 to 3080 in 1998-99 (Dutta, 2001). The total enrolment of students in the schools from Primary to Higher Secondary level now stands at 721728. (7th All India School Education Survey, 2002).

The growth of educational infrastructure in the state was accompanied by a phenomenal rise in the literacy rate. From only 15.61 percent in 1951, the literacy rate increased to 30.98 percent of total population in 1971. As per 2001 census report, the literacy rate in the state

is 73.66 percent, excluding 0-6 age group population. Despite these achievements in the field of education, the growth of literacy among the tribals and females of the state presents a dismal picture. From only a 2.3 percent tribal literacy rate in 1931, the state staggered to reach the double figure of exactly 10 percent tribal literacy in 1961. As per 1991 Census report, the percentage of literates among the ST population aged seven years and above was 40.3, which is far below the state figure of 60.44 per cent of that time (Dutta, 2001). The gender as well as the rural-urban disparity in literacy rate is also alarmingly high in Tripura. As in 2001, while male literacy rate is 81.47 percent, the female literacy rate is only 65.41 percent and against the urban literacy rate of 89.2 percent, the state witnesses a meagre literacy rate of 69.7 percent in the rural areas housing nearly 83 percent of the state population. The decadal literacy rate and the growth of overall literacy in the state is shown in Table-1.

The literacy rate is shown in Table 1 by considering both the entire population and by excluding 0-6 years population from consideration. The literacy rate in the total population of the state increased steadily and almost linearly over the decades. When the 0-6 age group population is excluded for estimating the literacy rate, the same shoots up to 61.72 per cent in 1981. However, if last decade's growth rate of literacy is maintained, the state should attain cent percent literacy among 7+ population by 2016. Be that as it may, the question remains as to why a small state like Tripura needs a period of six to seven decades post-independence to attain cent percent literacy.

TABLE 1
Literacy Rate & Growth of overall Literacy

| <i>Year</i> | <i>Male</i> | <i>Female</i> | <i>Overall</i> | <i>Growth Rate of Overall literacy</i> |
|-------------|-------------|---------------|----------------|--|
| 1951 | 24.63 | 5.58 | 15.61 | - |
| 1961 | 35.31 | 12.36 | 24.34 | 55.93 |
| 1971 | 40.20 | 21.19 | 30.98 | 27.28 |
| 1981 | 51.70 | 32 | 42.12 | 35.96 |
| | (61.49) | (38.01) | (50.10) | (61.72) |
| 1991 | 57.97 | 40.63 | 49.55 | 17.64 |
| | (70.58) | (49.65) | (60.44) | (20.64) |
| 2001 | 70.07 | 55.97 | 63.21 | 27.57 |
| | (81.47) | (65.41) | (73.66) | (21.87) |

Literacy rate excluding 0-6 age group population and its growth rate is shown in parenthesis. Other figures are obtained out of total population.

Probably the issue should not be viewed separately and independent of the other important major issues like poverty. As already indicated, Tripura is poverty stricken. According to the report of 10th Five Year Plan (2002-07) Vol-I, Planning Commission, GOI, 34.44 percent of the population of the state lived below poverty line in the year 1999-2000. In rural Tripura, the corresponding percentage was 40.04. While urban poverty declined by leaps and bounds from 36.92 percent below poverty in 1973-74 to only 7.47 percent in 1999-2000; the corresponding figures for rural Tripura were 52.67 and 40.04 percent respectively. The literacy rate in urban Tripura has also reached a satisfactory level of 93.2

percent male literacy, 85 percent female literacy and 89.2 percent combined as per Census Report, 2001. The growth of per capita NSDP and the percentage of population below poverty line (rural urban combined) for different time periods are shown in Table-2 and Table-3.

Diagram-1 presents the literacy growth rate, Per Capita NSDP growth rate and absolute poverty i.e. percentage of population below poverty line, in one platform. It appears from the diagram that the growth rate of literacy and absolute poverty maintained symmetry in an inverse way. The local maxima of absolute poverty almost corresponds with the local minima of literacy growth rates. This is true even in the case where literacy growth rate is estimated by excluding 0-6 age group population. The per capita NSDP growth rate picked up early in late 1980s in comparison to literacy growth rate, which was lowest in 1991 but managed a U- turn thereafter in the decade of the 90s.

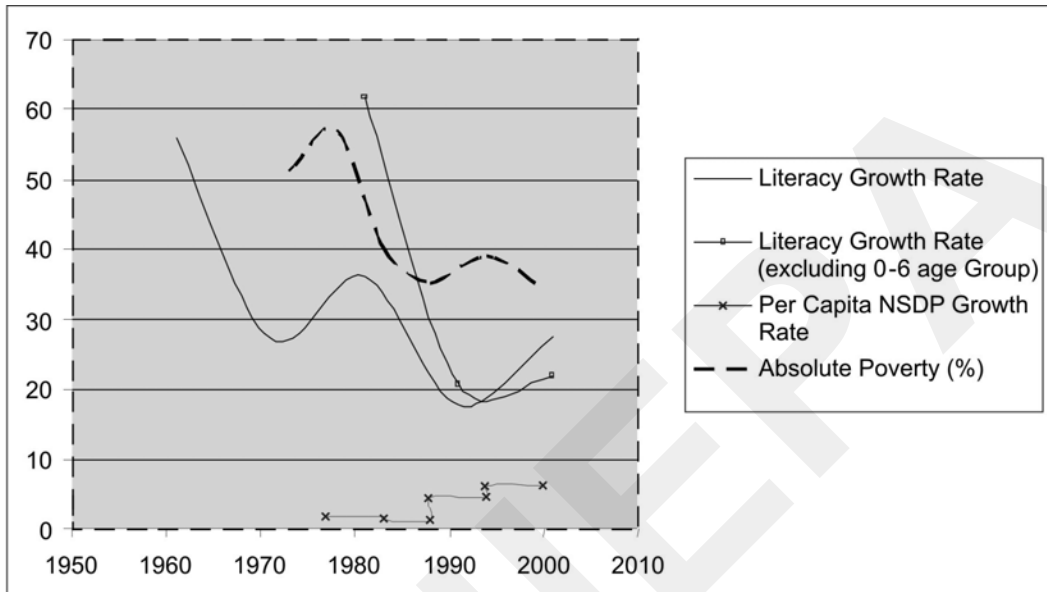
TABLE 2
Growth of Per Capita NSDP in Tripura
(in Percentage)

| <i>Period</i> | <i>Growth of PCNSDP</i> |
|----------------------|-------------------------|
| 1977-78 to 1983 | 1.89 |
| 1983 to 1987-88 | 1.23 |
| 1987-88 to 1993-94 | 4.51 |
| 1993-94 to 1999-2000 | 6.35 |

TABLE 3
Percentage of Population in Absolute Poverty
(Rural Urban Combined)

| <i>Year</i> | <i>Absolute Poverty</i> |
|-------------|-------------------------|
| 1973-74 | 51 |
| 1978 | 56.88 |
| 1983 | 40.03 |
| 1987-88 | 35.23 |
| 1993-94 | 39.01 |
| 1999-2000 | 34.44 |

DIAGRAM 1
Literacy, Per Capita NSDP Growth Rate & Absolute Poverty



However, no definite inference can be drawn from the foregoing diagrammatic analysis of the trend of literacy and poverty in the state mainly because the data set, which provided the basis of such type of analysis in the present case, is neither continuous nor exhaustive in nature. It, however, indicates a circumstantial relationship between *poverty and growth of literacy*, which is not without basis. The point of argument is that for people living in abject poverty and for whom literacy, only connotes identifying a few characters of the alphabet that has no practical application in their lives or livelihood, literacy missions hold no attraction. This is another reason, apart from the socio-cultural constraints, for the prevailing extremely low literacy rate among the women and tribals of the state. In this context, what is urgently required is the identification of *socio-economic settings* of people which are obstructive in nature to spread of literacy.

The Empirical Study

An empirical framework of study is designed here with the objective of throwing light on the impact of socio-economic settings of people and education infrastructure on literacy. For that purpose, the necessary data set is generated from Census Report-2001 and also from other sources, like 7th All India School Education Survey, Housing Census-2001, prepared by the Office of the Registrar General, GOI. As state or District-level data on literacy and other socio-economic variables are not conducive for this type of study, the data on literacy rate and other variables at the Development Block level, for both rural and urban areas of the state and the towns of Tripura, are collected from the Census Office, Agartala and the sources mentioned above. The Block level study is also important because the recent initiatives

taken by the Government laid special emphasis on setting up of Model Schools in Educationally Backward Blocks (EBBs), with one school in each identified Block. The data set for the study represents the entire state, the units of study being the Development Blocks and the Towns of the state. At the first stage, 12 variables were identified to represent *socio-economic and education infrastructure settings* of the people living in the Development Blocks and towns of Tripura. The variables are percentage of households having grass, thatch, bamboo, wood, mud etc. as predominant material for roof; percentage of households having bathroom within premises; percentage of households having electricity, percentage of households having drinking water within premises; percentage of ST population; residence (rural, urban); percentage of SC population; sex ratio; number of primary schools; number of primary teachers (full time); number of all types of schools-primary to higher secondary; and enrolment in all schools. The design was to construct a multiple Regression Model with these variables and Literacy Percentage as dependent variable. However, all the aforesaid variables could not be retained in the final model because of the presence of severe multi-collinearity. To avoid this, variables, namely percentage of households having electricity, sex ratio, number of primary schools and number of all schools, are excluded from consideration. Moreover, data pertaining to one variable, namely percentage of households having grass, thatch, bamboo, wood, mud etc. as predominant material of roof, is also transformed to a dummy one to avoid the problem of severe multi-collinearity. This variable is retained in the model considering its importance in representing the incidence of poverty at Block/Town level in a backward state like Tripura. The final form of the selected variables is presented below.

(a) *Dependent Variable:*

1. Literacy Percentage (Male-Female combined)

(b) *Explanatory Variables:*

1. Percentage of Households having Grass, Thatch, Bamboo, Wood, Mud etc. as predominant material for Roof (Dummy Variable: 1 if percentage is more than or equal to 60 percent; 0 otherwise.)-X1: The variable represents severity of the incidence of poverty and is taken in the study as proxy for indicating intensity of poverty as Development Block level poverty-related secondary data are not available. The areas where more than or equal to 60 percent of the Households have used inferior materials like Grass, Thatch, Bamboo, Wood, Mud etc to construct the roof of the households are assumed to be the poorest of the poor areas (Blocks/ Towns) of the state. The variable is denoted as X1.
2. Percentage of Households having Bathroom within House-X2: This variable is selected as representative of the social status of the household. Generally, people belonging to higher social strata in a conservative society like Tripura, have bathroom facility within the house.
3. Percentage of Households having Drinking Water facilities within premises- X3 : This facility is not only time-saving for the members of the household, it also ensures supply of safe drinking water for the household. The variable represents economic affordability, health awareness, and higher opportunity cost of time for the members of the households.

4. Percentage of ST population-X4: The Tribals live in clusters. Percentage of ST population in a Development Block/Town indicate whether the Block/Town is predominantly tribal or non-tribal in character.
5. Residence (Dummy, 1 if Urban; 0 otherwise)-X5: The variable is selected considering the phenomenon of rural-urban disparity in literacy.
6. Percentage of SC population-X6: Like STs, this variable is selected to examine whether Blocks/Towns having larger proportion of people belonging to weaker sections of the population are disadvantaged with regard to literacy or not.

Variables like percentage of ST, SC population and place of Residence are important for these type of studies. Existing literature also suggests that when different sources of disadvantage are combined (e.g. the handicap of being female is added to that of belonging to a scheduled caste and living in a backward region), the literacy rates for the most disadvantaged groups come down to miniscule figures (Dreze and Sen, 1996).

7. Number of Primary Teachers-X7: The variable is mainly included in the study to capture the influences of primary level teachers in spreading literacy. However, it also represents the education infrastructure available in a particular locality.
8. Enrolment in all Schools-X8: Like teachers, this is another supply side variable, which represent the size of pupils in the formal educational structure of the locality. Larger size of this segment may have considerable impact on spreading the message of the merits of education and, hence, literacy.

The Mean and Standard Deviation of the selected variables are shown in Table-4 along with the sample size (N). While the average literacy rate out of all the Development Blocks (rural and urban) and the Towns of the state is 74.97 percent, the overall disparity in literacy rate, as reflected in the SD value, is, however, low at 13.65.

TABLE 4
Descriptive Statistics

| | <i>Mean</i> | <i>Std. Deviation</i> | <i>N</i> |
|----------------|-------------|-----------------------|----------|
| Y | 74.97 | 13.65 | 65 |
| X ₁ | .23 | .42 | 65 |
| X ₂ | 12.86 | 15.03 | 65 |
| X ₃ | 23.14 | 20.88 | 65 |
| X ₄ | 29.81 | 33.35 | 65 |
| X ₅ | .42 | .50 | 65 |
| X ₆ | 16.87 | 9.68 | 65 |
| X ₇ | 132.92 | 126.23 | 65 |
| X ₈ | 11103.51 | 9314.81 | 65 |

The Mean value of the variable X₁, which is a dummy one, indicates that 23 percent households have used inferior materials for the construction of the roof of their houses, implying severe economic hardship of the people. This is substantiated by the fact that another variable, viz. Percentage of Households having none of the specified assets, where specified assets are (Radio, Transistor), Television, Telephone, Bicycle, (Scooter, Moped, Motorcycle), (Car, jeep, Van), is found to be almost perfectly collinear with variable X₁. The observed disparity is also higher with SD value 0.42. The Mean of the variable X₂ shows that only 12.86 percent of the households have bathroom facility within the house. This is another indication of economic insolvency of people and their social position. Comparatively higher percentage of Households (but only 23.14 percent) have drinking water facility within premises (X₃). The Mean value of the variable, 'Percentage of ST households' closely represents percentage of tribal population of the state. However, Development Block and Town -wise value of this variable shall indicate the degree of predominance of tribals in a locality. The same is the case with variable X₆ (percent of SC population). The Mean value of variable X₅ represents rural-urban division of study units and the Mean values of variables X₇, X₈ show average number of primary teachers and enrolment at school- level respectively.

The regression results are shown in Table-5, Table-6 and Table-7.

TABLE 5
Model Summary (A)

| <i>Model</i> | <i>R</i> | <i>R Square</i> | <i>Adjusted R Square</i> | <i>Std. Error of the Estimate</i> |
|--------------|----------|-----------------|--------------------------|-----------------------------------|
| 1 | .893 | .798 | .769 | 6.56418 |

TABLE 6
Model Summary (B)

| <i>Model</i> | | <i>Coefficients</i> | | <i>t</i> | <i>Sig.</i> | <i>Collinearity Statistics</i> | |
|--------------|----------------|---------------------|-------------------|----------|-------------|--------------------------------|------------|
| | | <i>B</i> | <i>Std. Error</i> | | | <i>Tolerance</i> | <i>VIF</i> |
| 1 | Con | 71.85 | 4.969 | 14.458 | .00 | | |
| | X ₁ | -6.92 | 2.465 | -2.808 | .01 | .615 | 1.627 |
| | X ₂ | .283 | .114 | 2.487 | .02 | .231 | 4.334 |
| | X ₃ | -.024 | .072 | -.340 | .74 | .302 | 3.315 |
| | X ₄ | -.166 | .057 | -2.938 | .01 | .190 | 5.275 |
| | X ₅ | 8.879 | 4.631 | 1.917 | .06 | .127 | 7.857 |
| | X ₆ | .058 | .148 | .391 | .70 | .328 | 3.047 |
| | X ₇ | .036 | .016 | 2.296 | .03 | .172 | 5.806 |
| | X ₈ | .000 | .000 | -1.272 | .21 | .192 | 5.217 |

Dependent Variable: Y

TABLE 7
Collinearity Diagnostics

| <i>Model</i> | <i>Dimension</i> | <i>Eigen value</i> | <i>Condition Index</i> |
|--------------|------------------|--------------------|------------------------|
| 1 | 1 | 5.209 | 1.000 |
| | 2 | 2.152 | 1.556 |
| | 3 | .808 | 2.539 |
| | 4 | .330 | 3.972 |
| | 5 | .280 | 4.315 |
| | 6 | .104 | 7.080 |
| | 7 | .061 | 9.230 |
| | 8 | .038 | 11.711 |
| | 9 | .018 | 16.786 |

The problem of the existence of severe multi-collinearity is removed by either transforming variables or by dropping variables from the model which exhibited severe multi-collinearity. The collinearity statistics (Table-6) and collinearity diagnostics (Table-7) are given for the accepted model of the present study. As a rule of thumb, if the VIF of a variable exceeds 10, that variable is said to be highly collinear and if the Condition Index exceeds 30, there is severe multi-collinearity (Gujarati, 1995) and in social sciences research, a VIF value as high as 10 is considered to be acceptable (Gaur and Gaur, 2006). The estimated results satisfy these conditions and, as such, are acceptable for further analysis.

The estimated regression results (in Table-6) show that five variables have turned up statistically significant upto 10 percent level of significance. Among them, the variable 'Percentage of Households having Grass, Thatch, Bamboo, Wood, Mud etc. as predominant material of Roof (X_1)' is found to be exerting a negative impact on "Literacy Rate", the dependent variable, and it turned up statistically significant at 1 percent level of significance. The result implies that as intensity of the incidence of poverty increases in a locality, the literacy rate falls. The result supports the view, expressed in the preceding paragraph, that a minimum level of economic growth is a prerequisite for higher literacy. The second significant variable is 'Percentage of Households having Bathroom within House- X_2 ' which, as expected, exerts a positive impact on literacy rate and it is statistically significant at 2 percent level. The third significant variable, at 1 percent level, is X_4 i.e Percentage of ST population. The result indicates that this variable has negative impact on literacy rate. This means that tribal dominated places are backward in terms of literacy rate. The variable 'Residence (X_5)' has very strong positive and statistically significant impact (at 10 percent level) on literacy rate. The way the variable is quantified implies that literacy rate in urban areas is far ahead of that in rural areas of the state. This supports the observed phenomenon of high rural-urban disparity in literacy in the state. The fifth and last significant variable is X_7 , which represents number of primary teachers in a locality. The variable is found to be statistically significant at three percent level and is exerting a positive impact on literacy rates. This points to the interpersonal effects of education on literacy. Surprisingly, the variable representing "Enrolment in all Schools- X_8 " is found to be statistically insignificant and exerting almost no impact on literacy rates. This probably speaks about the existence of large number of 'out of school' children in the Block/Town level of the state. The explanatory

variables explain near about 77 percent variation in the values of the dependent variable, the literacy rates (Table 5).

Conclusion


This paper, although simple in format and design, probably echoes a serious concern about one of the devastating impacts of poverty on society. The question pertinent is whether the present form of literacy, which is devoid of important ingredients like numeracy, skill and language; is administrable in poverty-ravaged regions where people are leading almost hand-to-mouth existence. Further, as persistent illiteracy leads to social exclusion, the question arises as to whether winning back of the excluded section of population is possible through literacy drive, without attempting to improve their bread-earning capabilities first. The case of Tripura is examined not only as the state is isolated geographically, but mainly because of the fact that 40 percent of its rural population lives below the poverty line. The facts that literacy rate is abnormally low among tribals and they are the major marginalized section of the population of the state, with further marginalized women folk, call for deeper scrutiny to understand the mechanism through which the inertia of the state of illiteracy among them, can be broken. The present study points to the fact that tribal dominant demographic set ups of the state experience low literacy, intensity of poverty reduces literacy rates and it is low in rural areas as well. The study also attempts to go down to the grassroot level by selecting the smallest possible administrative units of study, the Development Blocks and the Towns of the state.

According to the new initiatives taken by the government, there will be some structural changes in the National Literacy Mission by adopting new schemes with the help of panchayat raj institutions. There will also be substantial changes in the definition of literacy. All these are welcome changes, but unfortunately these are focused on literacy only. Time has come to incorporate numeracy and skill into the ambit of literacy, in consonance with the nation's goal to become an economic superpower in the near future, for which more productive manpower is essential. Keeping this broader objective in mind, there should be special holistic schemes for regions where economic growth is very low. Economic packages and literacy mission should invariably be the important components of such region-specific holistic schemes.

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| Journal of Rural Development | | |
|---|-------------------------------|--------------|
| Editor and Chairman: Dr. M V Rao, Director General | | |
| Vol. 32 | July – September, 2013 | No. 3 |
| ARTICLES: | | |
| 1. Contribution of Common Property Resources for Sustainable Rural Livelihood s in Odisha: Prospects and Constraints - <i>Raghunath Sahoo and Mamata Swain</i> | | 245 |
| 2. Access, Use and Repayment of Micro-credit in Kerala – An Analysis - <i>Santhosh Kumar S.</i> | | 263 |
| 3. Determinants of Market Supply of Vegetables: A Case of Akaki Kality Sub-City, Ethiopia - <i>Almaz Giziew</i> | | 281 |
| 4. Building Capacities of Rural Women Artisans: Case Studies of Women Empowerment from Thar Desert of Western Rajasthan - <i>Jaya Kritika Ojha and Binod Mishra</i> | | 291 |
| 5. An Analysis of Knowledge Level of Farmers on Utilisation of ICT Tools for Farm Communication - <i>K. P. Raghuprasad,, Devaraja S. C and Gopala Y. M</i> | | 301 |
| 6. Resource Use Efficiency and Constraints in Farming in the Tank Commands: The Case of North Eastern Karnataka - <i>Saikumar C. Bharamappanavara, Mundinamani S.M. , Naik B.K. and Kiresur V. R.</i> | | 311 |
| 7. A Study of Micro-enterprises in Hajo Development Block, Kamrup (Assam) - <i>Biswajit Das and Kandarpa Kr. Barman</i> | | 321 |
| 8. SHGs and Micro-finance : A Tale of Two Poor Women in Rural Tamil Nadu - <i>Lakshmi Kumar and Jyoti Prasad Mukhopadhyay</i> | | 333 |
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Quality of Elementary Education in Urban Slums of Varanasi City

Jai Singh[#]

Abstract

India is a democratic, socialistic republic country, committed to provide quality elementary education to all children, including deprived children in the age group of 6 to 14 years in society. The slum children belong to most deprived and downtrodden sections of the population in the urban areas. As such, the country has a special responsibility for their education and welfare. In order to provide quality elementary education to slum children, adequate school resources, qualified teachers, conducive physical-natural environment and quality in classroom instruction should be ensured in elementary schools in urban slum areas. Further, learning outcomes of students should be satisfactory. This research paper examines and analyses the status of school resources, teachers' qualifications and their professional experience, physical-natural environment of classrooms, and quality of classroom instruction in elementary schools in the urban slums of Varanasi city. The paper also assesses the learning outcomes of students of these elementary schools. Descriptive survey method was used in the study. The study was conducted in randomly selected sample of 62 elementary schools (29 governments and 33 private) in urban slum areas of Varanasi city. The subjects of the study were 62 headmasters/principals, 62 teachers of class-V students, and 620 students of class-V of these sampled elementary schools. Data was analyzed using percentage method and grouped bar-diagram. School resources in elementary schools of Varanasi slum areas were found inadequate. Teachers' qualification and their professional experience were found not satisfactory. Quality of classroom instruction and physical-natural environment of classrooms were found poor in government as well as private elementary schools. Furthermore, learning outcomes of students of elementary schools in slum areas was found not satisfactory. Learning outcomes in government elementary schools in slum areas was found significantly less than that of private elementary schools.

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Education is the key to national prosperity and welfare. It furnishes the individual with basic knowledge and technical skills essential for work, productivity and economic survival. Education enhances personal growth, economic advancement and social effectiveness, which are vital for success in a competitive society. The ultimate goal of education is to produce competent pupils in the society. The elementary education years lay the foundation for total development of the child-physical, intellectual, social and emotional. Kofi Annan, Secretary-General of the United Nations, emphasized the need of universalizing basic education of a satisfactory quality in children of world in the following words:

“Every child should have the best possible start in life; every child should receive a good quality basic education; and every child should have the opportunity to develop his or her full potential and contribute to society in meaningful ways” (UNICEF, 2001).

Article 28 of the United Nation (UN) Convention stated that “state parties recognize the right of the child to education with a view to achieving this right progressively, they shall in particular (a) make primary education compulsory and available to all”. The world conference on “Education for All” in Jomtien, Thailand (5-9 March 1990) adopted the vision that all children, young people and adults have the fundamental human right to basic education to develop their talents, improve their lives and transform their vision. The declaration insisted that universalisation of access to basic education had to mean universalisation of access to learning. The focus of basic education must, therefore, be on actual learning acquisition and outcomes rather than exclusively on enrolment, continued participation in organized programs and completion of certification requirements. The world Dakar framework for action- Education for all: Meeting our collective commitments - 2000 reaffirmed the world declaration commitment to improve access to quality. The signatories also dedicated themselves to improving all aspect of the quality of education and ensuring excellence of all so that recognized and measurable learning outcomes are achieved by all, especially in literacy, numeracy and essential life skills (World Education Forum [WEF], 2000).

The Government of India is also committed to provide free and compulsory elementary education to all children. The Right to Education Act (RTE Act, 2009) declared free and compulsory education, from age 6 to 14 years, as a fundamental right of children. The development planners in India also made basic education as an integral part of the national development perspective plan for achieving the objectives of growth with equity and social justice. The country, since its independence, is committed to the fulfillment of educational goals by providing universal access and a satisfactory quality of basic education. The government of India is also committed to the development of weaker section of society. In its Directive Principles of State Policy, the Constitution of India (Article 46) states: “The State shall promote educational and economic interests of the weaker section of Indian society, especially the Scheduled Tribe and Scheduled Castes”. To fulfill the commitment, the Government of India has launched various programmes and schemes concerning quality education, targeted at the deprived children community.

The Government of India launched Operation Blackboard (OB) scheme in 1987-88. The major objective of the scheme was to provide minimum essential facilities to all primary

schools in the country. In order to operationalize the Revised Policy Formulations, following sub-schemes were included in OB:

- Continuation of ongoing OB to cover all the remaining primary schools, especially those in SC/ST areas;
- Expanding the scope of OB to provide three teachers and three rooms to primary schools, wherever enrolment warrants ; and
- Expanding OB to upper primary schools to provide (a) at least one room for each class/section (b) a Headmaster-cum-office room, (c) separate toilet facilities for girls and boys, (d) essential teaching learning equipment, including a library, (e) at least one teacher for each class/section and (f) a contingency grant for replacement of items, consummables and minor repairs, etc.

In 1987, Shiksha Karmi Project (SKP) and Lok Jumbish Project (LJP) were started for universalisation of elementary education (UEE) in Rajasthan, together with a qualitative improvement in remote and socially backward villages, with a primary focus on gender. The projects were launched to remove the major obstacles in achieving UEE, namely teacher absenteeism, high drop-out rate, working children, uninteresting teaching methods, lack of contextual learning material, low motivation and competence of teachers, a centralised and inflexible approach etc., with special emphasis on community participation.

The National Policy on Education (NPE), 1986, which was modified in 1992 as a 'Program of Action (POA)', referred to the new thrust in elementary education emphasizing the two aspects of elementary education (i) universal enrolment and universal retention of children up to 14 year of age and (ii) a substantial improvement in the quality of education.

In 1994, the Government of India launched District Primary Education Programme (DPEP), with the assistance of the World Bank, European Commission, Department of International Development of the United Kingdom, and The Netherlands and the United Nations International Children's Emergency Fund. The objective of the program was to revitalize the primary education system of the country, with the sole aim of universalisation of quality primary education by taking district as a unit of planning. DPEP provided infrastructural facilities and special intervention for the education of girls, SC/ST and disabled children, implemented through State-Level registered societies. The programme components included:

- Construction of classrooms and new schools
- Opening of non-formal/alternative schooling centres
- Appointment of new teachers
- Setting up of early childhood education(ECE)centres
- Strengthening of SCERTS and DIETS
- Setting up block resource centres/cluster resource centres
- Teacher training interventions
- Development of teaching-learning materials
- Research and
- A thrust on education of girls, SC/ST, etc

In DPEP program, emphasis was laid on development of teaching aids and teaching-learning materials at the block levels. Provisions of teacher training by teleconferencing were made. An important feature of this programme was special intervention for promotion

of education of disadvantaged groups of children, SC/ST girls and the physically challenged learners. The new initiative, incorporated in DPEP, was providing integrated education to disabled children and distance education for teacher training.

For providing nutritional support to primary education, the Government of India launched Mid-Day-Meal scheme in 1995. The aim of this scheme is to give an impetus to UEE. The key objectives of the programme are protecting children from classroom hunger, increasing school enrolment and attendance, improved socialization among children belonging to all castes, addressing malnutrition, and social empowerment, through provision of employment to women.

Non-Formal Education (NFE) program was revised in 2000 and renamed as Education Guarantee Scheme (EGS) and Alternative and Innovative Education (AIE). EGS schools were opened in habitations where there were no schools within a radius of one kilometre. These schemes support diversified strategies for out-of-school children, including bridge course, back-to-school camps, seasonal hostels, summer camps, mobile teachers and remedial coaching.

The Government of India launched a comprehensive, integrated and flagship programme, Sarva Shiksha Abhiyan (SSA), in 2001 to achieve universal elementary education in a time-bound manner. The programme was aimed at providing useful and relevant elementary education to all children in the 6 to 14 age group by 2010. It was an initiative to universalise and improve quality of education through decentralisation and context-specific planning and a process-based and time-bound implementation strategy. The programme lays emphasis on bridging all gender and social category gaps at the elementary school level with a time-bound objective. SSA is a programme with its own targets, norms and processes apart from being an umbrella programme covering other programs, like district primary education program (DPEP), Lok Jumbish, Operation Black Board etc..

The Government of India launched National Programme on Education of Girls at Elementary Level (NPEGEL) in 2003 for providing education to under privileged/disadvantaged girls from class I to VIII. The programme was initiated in 2656 educationally backward blocks as a separate and distinct gender component plan of SSA. NPEGEL includes education of out- of- school girls, overage girls, working girls, girls from marginalized social groups, girls with low attendance and low levels of achievement. The objectives of NPEGEL are:

- To develop and promote facilities to provide access and facilitate retention of girls besides ensuring greater participation of women and girls in the field of education;
- To improve the quality of education through various interventions; and
- To stress upon the relevance and quality of girls' education for their empowerment.

In 2004, the Government of India launched Kasturba Gandhi Balika Vidyalaya (KGBV) scheme to ensure access and quality of education for disadvantaged girls, belonging predominantly to the SC, ST, OBC and minorities in difficult areas (MHRD, 2004). KGBV was initiated as a separate scheme, in harmony with the Sarva Shiksha Abhiyan (SSA), National Programme for Education of Girls at Elementary Level (NPEGEL) and Mahila Samakhya (MS), but it has been merged in 2007 with the SSA programme as a separate component of that programme. These *vidyalayas* are elementary schools with boarding facility. To establish KGBV, the block should be educationally backward, with rural female literacy

below national average and gender gap in literacy more than the national average. Among these blocks, the schools were set up in areas with:

- Concentration of tribal population, with low female literacy and/or a large number of out-of-school girls;
- Concentration of SC, OBC and minority populations, with low female literacy and/or large number of girls out-of-school;
- Areas with low female literacy; and
- Areas with a large number of small scattered habitations, that do not qualify for a school.

A constitutional milestone in the history of free and compulsory elementary education in India was recently achieved through the 86th Constitutional Amendment Act. This amendment act, popularly known as Right to Education Act (RTE Act, 2009), declared free and compulsory education from the age 6 to 14 years as a fundamental right of children. This amendment included article 21-A in Part-III (Fundamental Right) of the constitution. Article 21- A states:

“The State shall provide free and compulsory education to all children of the age of six to fourteen years in such a manner as the State may, by law, determine”
(The Constitution of India).

Right to Education Act-2009 came into effect on April 01, 2010 throughout the country, except the state of Jammu and Kashmir. The features of Right of Children to Free and Compulsory Education Act-2009 are:

- Every child of the age 6-14 years shall have a right to free and compulsory education in a neighbourhood school till completion of elementary education;
- The appropriate government and local authority shall establish, within such area or limits of neighbourhood, a school, where it is not so established, within a period of three years;
- The Central and State Governments shall have concurrent responsibility for providing funds for carrying out the provisions of this Act;
- It shall be the duty of every parent or guardian to admit or cause to be admitted his or her child or ward for elementary education in the neighbourhood school.

In Five Year Plans, the Government of India has released funds for education sector. Plan expenditure depicts significant increase in Plan outlay from Rs. 151 crores in First Five Year Plan to Rs. 24,908.38 crores in Ninth Plan and to Rs. 43,825 crores in Tenth Plan. The expenditure on education, as a percentage of GDP, also increased from 0.64 percent (1951-52) to 3.98 percent in 2002-03. In the Tenth Five Year Plan, an amount of Rs. 30,000 crore (including the State Government share) has been provided for the Department of Elementary Education and Literacy. The expenditure on elementary education, as a percent of total expenditure in education, was 58 percent in First Five Year Plan, 35 percent in Second Five Year Plan and minimum 24 percent in Plan Holiday (1966-1969) and 37 percent in Seventh Plan. In the Tenth Plan, it was 65.6 percent of total expenditure on education. This indicates that in the middle period of Five Year Plans, priority was not given to the elementary education sector (GOI, Five Year Plan Documents, 1951-2002).

The government programmes and policies regarding elementary education have had considerable impact on children’s access to education. The country’s literacy rate had

reached 74 percent in 2011 as compared to 18.33 percent in 1951 (census of India). The rate of literacy among scheduled caste (SCs) increased from 10.3 percent in 1961 to 54.7 percent in 2001. In the case of scheduled tribes (STs), the growth was relatively slow from 8.5 percent in 1961 to 47.1 percent in 2001. The enrolment ratio of children, at the primary school level, has increased from 81.6 percent in 2000-2001 to 94 percent of non-SCs and STs. Among the SC and ST children, rate of enrolment has increased from 21.2 percent to 26.5 percent and from 11 percent to 15.2 percent respectively. It is significant that the growth rate among general population (excluding SC and ST) is 12.4 percent whereas that of the SCs is 5.3 percent and the STs is 4.2 percent. The enrolment rate at upper primary level has also considerably increased over a period of time but the rate of growth in the upper primary level is lower than at the primary level. The drop-out rate in the last decade has considerably declined. At the same time, the rate from class I to V is fluctuating. In 2005-2006, the drop-out rate was 25.67 percent. It declined to 24.33 percent in 2008-09 and increased to 28.86 percent in 2009-10 at the primary level. The rate of drop-out has increased in the last five years, particularly among girls. However, the rate of SCs and STs has declined but not of SCs/STs. The overall picture of education in India implies that educational opportunities and attainment for the urban deprived are much lower than for the affluent section of the population. The National Sample Survey of India showed that all notified slums have a primary school within a distance of one kilometre, while only 68% of non-notified slums had a primary school at the same distance in 2002 (Government of India, 2003). Further, in slum areas all the children are not in the schools (Jha & Jhingran, 2005; Rathor, 2003). A number of studies, conducted by V.V. Giri National Labour Institute, reported that considerable number of deprived children were working in hazardous industries like brass industry (Sekar, 2007), brick industry (Ghosh, 1993), diamond industries (Desai & Raj, 2001) etc.. Children were put to work in these industries mostly because they were out of school. Some other studies also confirmed the existence of child labour in different industries like carpet industry (Agarwal & Tewari, 1999) bangle and lock industries in different cities in India. A considerable number of children, of school-going age, are working in these hazardous industries at very low wages. Certain Non-Government Organizations (NGOs) provide basic education for urban disadvantaged children, including children in slums, child labourers etc., in various innovative ways (Chakrabarty, 2002; Nambissan, 2003). Besides this, high drop-out rate exist among primary school children in slums.

A good deal of research has been conducted on inequality in school resources available to children, effectiveness of various schools' components and on relationship between school's resources and pupil performance. The findings of these researches supported non-availability of adequate school resources in low socio-economic status dwellers and other deprived sections of society (Coleman, 1966; Katzman, 1968). Also, various studies established significant relationship between school resources and pupil performance (Benson, 1965; Kartzman, 1968). Alan Krueger, with co-authors, has identified positive effects of school resources on pupil test scores in several studies (Card & Krueger, 1992; Krueger, 1999; Krueger & Lindahl, 2002). Bonesronning (2003) showed that school resources have significant effects on pupil test scores. Teachers play a major role in all round developments of students. Through the act of education, teachers expect to transmit a broad body of knowledge to learners. Physical-natural environment of classroom and quality in classroom instruction also affects learning outcomes of students. One of the most essential

physical characteristics of the classroom is lighting (Phillips, 1997). The visual environment affects a learner's ability to perceive visual stimuli and affects his/her mental attitude, and, thus, performance. Dunn (1985) insisted that the lighting of a school should be considered an active element of the total educational environment. He found that good lighting contributes significantly to the aesthetics and psychological character of the learning space. Good lighting has an effect on pupil performance (Luckiesh & Moss 1940; Horton's, 1972). Furthermore, learning outcomes of students belonging to disadvantaged groups, dwelling in slum areas (including poor children, girls, children from Scheduled Caste (SC), Scheduled Tribe (ST), and Other Backward Class (OBC) groups, have been found comparatively low. Chandrashekharaiyah (1969), Chopra, 1964, Dave (1963), Shah and Sharma (1984) have shown that academic achievement of children, belonging to deprived categories, was considerably different from that of children belonging to privileged categories.

Varanasi is a major religious, cultural and educational center of India. The total population of Varanasi's urban agglomeration is 1.2 million; whereas the city population is about 1.09 million. The decennial growth rate of the city (1991-2001) is 17.6 percent. Its sex ratio is 891 females per 1000 males and literacy rate is 77.1 percent. Varanasi has 227 slums spread all over the city, both on government and private lands. The total population in the slums is approximately 457,613, which is about 38 percent of the total population. The slums are spread all over the city. The enslaved and exploited children in Varanasi slums are involved in silk and carpet industries. There are more than 200,000 children under the age of 14 in these industries in Varanasi. These children are working under poor working conditions, including insufficient ventilation and lighting, that is injurious to their health. Despite significant efforts made by government, non-government and private sectors, quality elementary education is still not within access of deprived children in Varanasi slums areas. Many times, it is reported that the children in Varanasi slums are not attaining the minimum level of learning. The students cannot properly read or write even after they have completed their elementary education. In such cases, the education cannot be functional. Most of the students in urban slums of Varanasi city are first generation learners. Their households have little or no previous educational experience and, more likely, were excluded from schooling. Many first generation learners live in environments that do not encourage them to learn and continue their education. Due to malnutrition and lack of healthcare facilities, in Varanasi slums, many children are not attending school. Many schools, operating in slum areas, have inadequate infrastructure, facilities and resources. Many teachers in slum elementary schools are untrained or under-trained while some of the curriculum is irrelevant. Many children learn little and are at risk of being silently excluded from the schooling process. The situation of quality assurance has become more complex with growing number of private and small schools. The schools in slum areas have fewer teachers than grades. The teachers are handling multi-grade students at a time, but many of them have no training in multi-grade pedagogy and the curriculum is constructed for mono-grade schools, where there should be at least one teacher per grade. Rajnikant, the UP convener of the Campaign against Child Labour (CACL) and director of Human Welfare Association (HWA), reported a shortage of primary and upper primary schools in the city. According to the norms, there should be one government-run primary school for a population of 300, at a distance of every one kilometer, and an upper primary school for a population of 800, every two kilometres. But, there are only 1,032 primary schools and 352 upper primary schools in the district. Besides, there are also 495 other recognised primary

and 260 upper primary schools. In Varanasi city, elementary education of satisfactory quality is still not within access of slum dwellers. Without ensuring elementary education of a satisfactory quality within access of these deprived children, the national as well as the international commitments cannot be fulfilled.

Stakeholders are very much concerned about the quality of elementary education. At the time of data collection, the investigator found that the stakeholders want good teaching-learning environment and good infrastructure to be available to their children in schools. The serious problem, regarding quality in classroom instruction that the stakeholders mentioned, was of teachers not teaching in classrooms and the adoption of multi-grade teaching method most of the time on account of scarcity of teachers in the schools. The cause of higher rate of drop-out in slum areas, that the stakeholders mentioned, is that on the pretext of maintaining discipline, students in slum areas are punished and asked to do sanitary works in the schools. Most of the time, students are silently excluded from the schools. The stakeholders want regular presence of teachers in schools, proper instruction in classrooms and sufficient learning outcomes of their children. Furthermore, difference in the ability of school-going children with those children who do not go to schools should be perceptible. They also want involvement of their children in practical activities and completion of their home work in schools itself due to little educational experience and high rate of illiteracy in slum communities.

Despite a large number of studies on education in India, education related to children in urban slum areas has not been adequately researched and attention in education research has not been paid to the high level of disparities within the urban sector. Furthermore, a few studies have been conducted in India on quality assurance for urban deprived children with regard to school resources, teachers' qualification and professional experience, physical-natural environment in the classroom, and quality instruction in elementary education. Another issue was lack of studies on assessment of learning outcomes in elementary schools of urban slums. Therefore, the present study has been conducted.

Objectives of the Study

The present study was conducted to achieve the following objectives:

1. To develop tools for identifying the status of school resources, and assess teacher's qualification and their professional experience, physical-natural environment of classroom and quality of classroom instruction in elementary schools.
2. To identify the status of school resources available to children in elementary schools in urban slums of Varanasi city.
3. To assess teacher's qualification and professional experience in elementary schools in urban slum areas of Varanasi city.
4. To assess physical-natural environment of classrooms in elementary schools in urban slum areas.
5. To assess the quality of classroom instruction in elementary schools in urban slums of Varanasi city.
6. To assess the learning outcomes of children of elementary schools in urban slums of Varanasi city.

Operational Definition of the Terms Used

Elementary Schools

Elementary school refers to the schools from standard Ist to standard VIIIth, (NCERT, 1975; Education Commission, 1964-66).

Urban Slums

The term slum has been defined as places where buildings:

- are unfit, in any respect, for human habitation;
- are, by reason of dilapidation, overcrowding, faulty arrangement and design (of such buildings), narrowness or faulty arrangement of streets, lack of ventilation, light, sanitation facilities or, any combination of these factors, detrimental to safety, health and morals. (Slum Areas Improvement and Clearance Act, 1956)

Urban slums in Varanasi city have been operationally defined as 227 areas in Varanasi city, identified by District Urban Development Agency (DUDA) as urban slums in the city (Base Line Survey Report on Varanasi City, 2011).

Quality of Elementary Education

As per NCERT documents 2004, the major parameters of quality are:

- Basic infrastructure and other facilities;
- Management and community support;
- School and classroom environment;
- Curriculum and teaching learning material;
- Teacher and teacher preparation;
- Classroom practices and processes;
- Opportunity time (teaching learning time); and
- Learners' assessment monitoring and supervision.

In the present study, the contributors to the quality of elementary education considered are school resources, teacher's qualification and professional experience, physical-natural environment of classroom, quality of classroom instruction and learning outcomes.

Methodology

Sample of the Study

Multi-stage stratified random sampling technique was used for selection of sample of the study. The sample consisted of 62 elementary schools (29 government and 33 private), 62 headmasters/principals (29 government schools' headmasters and 33 private schools' principals), 62 teachers from class V, 62 classes of standard V and 620 students of class V (10 students of class V from each school).

Tools Used in the Study

The following tools were used to collect the data:

- (i) School questionnaire developed by the investigator
- (ii) Teacher questionnaire developed by the investigator
- (iii) Classroom observation form developed by the investigator
- (iv) Competency-based Mathematics and Language (Hindi) test, developed by the Department of Educational Measurement and Evaluation, NCERT (2006).

In order to ensure the trustworthiness of the tool, pilot study has been conducted and content validity was examined. The reliability co-efficient of questionnaires-school questionnaire, teacher questionnaire, examined through test-retest method, were found to be .73 and .64 respectively. The inter-observer reliability of classroom observation form was established by employing Cohen's Kappa co-efficient, which was found to be .69.

Data Analysis

Percentage and grouped-bar-diagrams were used for analyzing the data.

Results and Discussion

School Resources in Elementary Schools in Urban Slums of Varanasi City

As can be seen from Table 1, 80 percent of government schools, 89.47 percent of private schools and 84.74 percent of total sampled schools in urban slums of Varanasi city had their own buildings. It can also be seen that 46.7 percent of government schools, 52.63 percent of private schools, and 49.67 percent of total schools needed repairing of school building. Sufficient numbers of class rooms were found only in 30, 60.53 and 45.27 percent of government, private and total sampled schools respectively. Forty percent of government, 78.95 percent of private and 59.48 percent of total elementary schools had headmaster/principal office in urban slums of Varanasi city. The separate rooms for teachers were available in only 10 percent of government, 36.84 percent of private and 23.42 percent of total sampled schools respectively. The percentages of government, private and total elementary schools, having office in schools were found to be 36.7, 84.21, and 60.46 percent respectively. Veranda/hall were found in 53.3 percent, 55.26 percent, and 54.28 percent of government, private and total sampled schools respectively, while 40 percent of government, 36.84 percent of private and 38.42 percent of total elementary schools in slum of Varanasi city have playground for children.

Table 1 further reveals the fact that in slum elementary schools, safe drinking water facility was found in 63.3 percent of government, 84.21 percent of private and 73.76 percent of total sampled schools respectively. Similarly, 66.7 percent of government, 71.05 percent of private and 68.88 percent of total sampled schools have toilet facility for children while 70 percent of government, 76.32 percent of private and 73.16 percent of the sampled schools have boundary wall. Electricity facility was available in 56.7, 84.21 and 70.46 percent in government, private and total sampled schools respectively.

TABLE 1
School Resources in Elementary Schools in Urban Slums of Varanasi City

| <i>Sl. No.</i> | <i>School Resources</i> | <i>Government School (Percentage)</i> | <i>Private School (Percentage)</i> | <i>Total Schools (Percentage)</i> |
|----------------|--------------------------------------|---------------------------------------|------------------------------------|-----------------------------------|
| 1 | School's own building | 80 | 89.47 | 84.74 |
| 2 | Need for repair of building | 46.7 | 52.63 | 49.67 |
| 3 | Sufficient rooms in school | 30 | 60.53 | 45.27 |
| 4 | Principal office | 40 | 78.95 | 59.48 |
| 5 | Separate room for teachers | 10 | 36.84 | 23.42 |
| 6 | Office in school | 36.7 | 84.21 | 60.46 |
| 7 | Veranda/hall | 53.3 | 55.26 | 54.28 |
| 8 | Play ground in school | 40 | 36.84 | 38.42 |
| 9 | Safe drinking water facility | 63.3 | 84.21 | 73.76 |
| 10 | Toilet for students | 66.7 | 71.05 | 68.88 |
| 11 | Boundary wall | 70 | 76.32 | 73.16 |
| 12 | Electric facility in school | 56.7 | 84.21 | 70.46 |
| 13 | Pre-primary education | 23.3 | 78.95 | 51.13 |
| 14 | Laboratory in school | 10 | 13.16 | 11.58 |
| 15 | Library in school | 0 | 28.95 | 14.48 |
| 16 | Health facility in school | 0 | 23.68 | 11.84 |
| 17 | Sufficient table/chairs for teachers | 86.6 | 81.58 | 84.09 |
| 18 | Desk/bench for students | 20.5 | 78.9 | 49.7 |
| 19 | Mat/Tat-Patti | 73.3 | 18.4 | 45.85 |
| 20 | Computer in school | 0 | 34.21 | 17.11 |

Table 1 also reveals that pre-primary education facility was available in 23.3, 78.95 and 51.13 percent of government private and total sampled schools respectively. Laboratory in elementary schools was available in 10, 13.16 and 11.58 percent of government, private and total schools respectively. Library facility was available in 0, 28.95 and 14.48 percent of government, private and total schools respectively. Health facility was available only in 0, 23.68, and 11.84 percent of government, private and total sampled schools respectively.

Table 1 further shows that sufficient table/chairs were available in 86.6, 81.58 and 84.09 percent of government, private and total sampled schools respectively. Desk-benches for seating students in classroom were available only in 20.5, 78.9, and 49.7 percent of government, private and total schools respectively. Mat/Tat-Patties were available in 73.3, 18.4 and 45.85 percent of government, private and total schools respectively. Only 34.21 percent of private schools in urban slums of Varanasi city were found providing computer facility, which was not available in any government elementary schools.

TABLE 2
Teachers' Qualification and their Professional Experience in Urban Slums

| <i>Sl. No.</i> | <i>Teachers Qualification and their Professional Experience</i> | <i>Frequency of Government School Teachers (In Percentage)</i> | <i>Frequency of Private School Teachers (In Percentage)</i> | <i>Total Sampled Teachers' frequency (In Percentage)</i> |
|----------------|---|--|---|--|
| 1 | Ph.D./M Phil/ NET | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| 2 | Post Graduate | 43.3 | 23.68 | 33.49 |
| 3 | Graduate | 26.7 | 55.26 | 40.98 |
| 4 | Below Graduate | 30 | 21.05 | 25.53 |
| 5 | Trained Teachers | 43.3 | 39.47 | 41.39 |
| 6 | Attended any short term training course | 33.3 | 10.53 | 21.92 |
| 7 | Attended workshop/seminar on educational issues | 20 | 13.16 | 16.58 |
| 8 | Educational magazines studied regularly | 16.7 | 15.79 | 16.25 |
| 9 | Prepare lesson plan regularly | 40 | 28.95 | 34.48 |
| 10 | Prepare lesson before teaching | 63.3 | 65.79 | 64.55 |
| 11 | Use teaching aids regularly | 29.3 | 36.21 | 32.76 |

As can be seen from Table 2, there was not a single teacher, either from government or private elementary schools, with Ph.D./M.Phil/NET qualification, while 43.3, 26.68 and 33.49 percent of government, private and total teachers respectively were having post-graduate degree. Similarly, graduate degree was held by 26.7, 55.26 and 40.98 percent of government, private and total teachers respectively, while 30 percent of government, 21.05 percent of private and 25.53 percent of total teachers were found below graduate. The frequencies of trained teachers were found to be 43.3, 39.47 and 41.39 percent of government, private and total teachers respectively.

Table 2 also shows that short-term courses were attended by 33.3, 10.53 and 21.92 percent of government, private and total teachers respectively. Likewise, 20, 13.16 and 16.58 percent of government, private and total teachers have attended workshop/seminar on educational issues.

Table 2 further shows that educational magazines were being regularly studied only by 16.7, 15.79 and 16.25 percent of government, private and total teachers respectively. Lesson plans were being regularly prepared by 40, 28.95 and 34.48 percent of government, private and total teachers respectively. Teaching aids were being used only by 29.3, 36.21 and 32.76 percent of government, private and total sampled teachers in urban slums of Varanasi city.

Physical-Natural Environment of Classrooms in Elementary Schools

As can be seen from Table 3, natural environment in classroom is available only in 40, 60.52 and 50.26 percent of government, private and total sampled schools respectively, while the problem of sound pollution was found in 36.67, 23.68 and 30.18 percent of these respective categories. Similarly, sufficient natural light in classrooms was found in 76.67, 81.58 and 79.13 percent of government, private and total sampled elementary schools in the

urban slums of Varanasi city. Classrooms in 70 percent of government, 89.47 percent of private and 79.74 percent of total schools in urban slum area of Varanasi city were found appropriately ventilated. Appropriate space for group activities was found only in 43.33, 13.16 and 28.25 percent of the classrooms in government, private and total sampled schools respectively. Likewise, 86.67, 89.11 and 87.89 percent of classrooms of government, private and total samples schools respectively were found neat and clean.

TABLE 3
Physical-Natural Environment of Classrooms

| Sl. No. | Physical-Natural Environment of Classroom | Government School (In Percentage) | Private School (In Percentage) | Total School (In Percentage) |
|---------|---|-----------------------------------|--------------------------------|------------------------------|
| 1 | Natural environment of classroom | 40 | 60.52 | 50.26 |
| 2 | Sound pollution in classroom | 36.67 | 23.68 | 30.18 |
| 3 | Sufficient natural light in classroom | 76.67 | 81.58 | 79.13 |
| 4 | Appropriate Ventilation in classroom | 70 | 89.47 | 79.74 |
| 5 | Appropriate space for group activities in classroom | 43.33 | 13.16 | 28.25 |
| 6 | Neat & clean classroom | 86.67 | 89.11 | 87.89 |
| 7 | Display/bulletin board/flannel board in classroom | 10 | 13.16 | 11.58 |
| 8 | Chart/picture/maps in classroom | 33.33 | 15.53 | 24.43 |
| 9 | Play material/toys in classroom | 0 | 10.53 | 5.27 |
| 10 | Display of creative works by students in classroom | 0 | 7.89 | 3.95 |

Table 3 further indicates that display/bulletin board/flannel board were available in the classrooms of only 10, 13.16 and 11.58 percent of observed government, private and total sampled schools. Charts/pictures/maps were available in the classrooms of only 33.33, 15.53 and 24.43 percent of government, private and total sampled schools respectively. Play materials/toys were made available only in 10.53 percent classrooms of private schools. Further, only 7.89 percent classrooms of private schools were decorated with creative works/sceneries made by students.

Classroom instruction in elementary schools in urban slums of Varanasi city

As can be seen from Table 4, mono-grade teaching is being conducted only in 23.33, 89.47 and 56.4 percent of government, private and total sampled elementary schools respectively. Text-books were available to 83.33 percent, 100 percent, and 91.67 percent of students in government, private and total elementary schools respectively. Supplementary teaching-learning materials were available only in 13.16 percent of classrooms of private schools, with play/activity method being used only in 10 percent of government, 10.53 percent of private and 10.27 percent of total elementary schools respectively.

TABLE 4
Quality of Classroom Instruction

| <i>Sl. No. Quality of Classroom Instruction</i> | <i>Government School (In Percentage)</i> | <i>Private School (In Percentage)</i> | <i>Total School (In Percentage)</i> |
|---|--|---|---|
| 1 Mono-grade teaching by school teacher | 23.33 | 89.47 | 56.4 |
| 2 Text book available to students | 83.33 | 100 | 91.67 |
| 3 Supplementary teaching-learning materials | 0 | 13.16 | 6.58 |
| 4 Play/activity method used in teaching | 10 | 10.53 | 10.27 |
| 5 Question asked by teacher during instruction | 23.33 | 42.11 | 32.72 |
| 6 Question asked by students during instruction | 20 | 28.95 | 24.48 |
| 7 Students' participation in teaching-learning process | 36.67 | 44.74 | 40.71 |
| 8 Use of blackboard by teacher | 50 | 60.53 | 55.27 |
| 9 Use of teaching –learning material by teacher | 10 | 13.16 | 11.58 |
| 10 Stimulus variation for ensure attention of students | 30 | 18.42 | 24.21 |
| 11 Use of illustration/examples | 36.67 | 60.53 | 48.6 |
| 12 Diagnosis and remedies of student's problems | 36.67 | 55.26 | 45.97 |
| 13 Assessment/evaluation of students during instruction | 76.67 | 81.58 | 79.13 |
| 14 Home work given to students | 63.33 | 86.84 | 75.09 |
| 15 Discipline maintained during instruction | 76.67 | 86.84 | 81.76 |

Table 4 further indicates that the percentage of teachers asking questions to students during classroom instruction, were found respectively to be 23.33, 42.11, and 32.72 percent in government, private, and total elementary schools. On the other hand, in 20 percent of government, 28.95 percent of private and 24.48 percent of total sampled schools, students were found asking questions to teachers during classroom instruction. Students were found participating in teaching-learning process in the classrooms of 36.67 percent government, 44.74 percent private and 40.71 percent of total sampled elementary schools.

Furthermore, teachers were found using blackboard during instruction in 50 percent of government 60.53 percent of private and 55.27 percent of total schools respectively. Teaching-learning materials were being used by teachers only in 10 percent of government, 13.16 percent of private and 11.58 percent of total schools respectively. To ensure attention of the students, stimulus variation skill was appropriately being used by teachers only in 30 percent of government, 18.42 percent of private and 24.21 percent of total elementary

schools. Illustration/examples were given to clarify the concepts in 36.67 percent of government, 60.53 percent of private and 48.6 percent of total observed classrooms in sampled elementary schools. In 36.67 percent of government, 55.26 percent of private and 45.97 percent of total observed classrooms in elementary schools of Varanasi slum areas, diagnosis and remedial techniques were being used by teachers. During classroom instruction, 76.67 percent of government, 81.58 percent of private and 79.13 percent of total schools' teachers were found assessing and evaluating students' progress. Teachers were found assigning homework to students in 63.33 percent of government, 86.84 percent of private and 75.09 percent of total observed classrooms respectively. Discipline was found maintained in 76.67, 86.84 and 81.76 percent of observed classrooms in government, private and all sampled elementary schools respectively.

TABLE 5
Percentage of Elementary Schools' Children's Frequencies in
Different Grades of Learning Outcomes in Mathematics

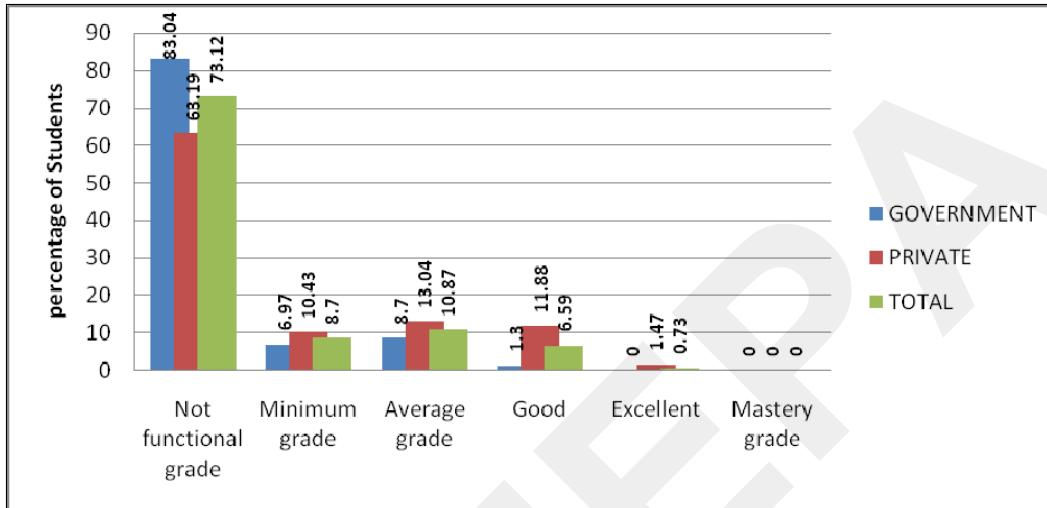
| <i>Learning outcomes range (out of 100)</i> | <i>Description of grade as prescribed by the NCERT *</i> | <i>Percentage of students' frequency (in sampled government school)</i> | <i>Percentage of students' frequency (in sampled private school)</i> | <i>Percentage of students' frequency (in all sampled schools)</i> |
|---|--|---|--|---|
| 0-34 | Not functional grade | 83.04 | 63.19 | 73.12 |
| 35-39 | Minimum grade | 6.97 | 10.43 | 8.7 |
| 40-49 | Average grade | 8.70 | 13.04 | 10.87 |
| 50-59 | Good | 1.30 | 11.88 | 6.59 |
| 60-79 | Excellent | 0 | 1.47 | 0.73 |
| 80-100 | Mastery grade | 0 | 0 | 0 |

* Minimum levels of learning at primary stage, NCERT.

Learning Outcomes of Students in Urban Slums of Varanasi City

Table 5 reveals that not a single student was found in mastery grade in mathematics either from government or private schools. Similarly, only 1.47 percent of students from private schools were found having excellent grade while 1.30, 11.88 and 6.59 percent of students from government, private and total schools respectively were found having good grade. The percentages of students in average grade from government, private and total schools were found to be 8.70, 13.04, 10.87 respectively whereas in the minimum grade, the respective percentages were found to be 6.97, 10.43 and 8.7 for the three categories. The maximum number of students were found in the not functional grade with the frequencies in this grade found to be 83.04, 63.19 and 73.12 per cent from the government, private and total schools respectively. This shows that most of the students have still not achieved minimum standard, without which the desired functional goal of education cannot be achieved. Furthermore, the students' frequencies in higher grades are also not satisfactory. Mastery learning still remains out of access of deprived children in the slum area of Varanasi city.

FIGURE 1
Percentage of Students in different grades of Learning Outcomes in Mathematics



Bar diagram given in figure-1 also depicts the percentage of students' frequencies in different grades of learning outcomes in Mathematics.

TABLE 6
Percentage of Elementary Schools' Children's Frequencies in Different Grades of Learning Outcomes in Language (Hindi)

| Achievement score range (out of 100) | Description of grade, as prescribed by NCERT * | Percentage of students (in sampled government school) | Percentage of students (in sampled private school) | Percentage of students (in all sampled schools) |
|--------------------------------------|--|---|--|---|
| 0-34 | Not functional grade | 61.30 | 24.06 | 42.69 |
| 35-39 | Minimum grade | 9.57 | 11.88 | 10.73 |
| 40-49 | Average grade | 11.74 | 23.74 | 17.74 |
| 50-59 | Good | 6.97 | 18.84 | 12.91 |
| 60-79 | Excellent | 10.43 | 19.42 | 14.93 |
| 80-100 | Mastery grade | 0 | 2.03 | 1.02 |

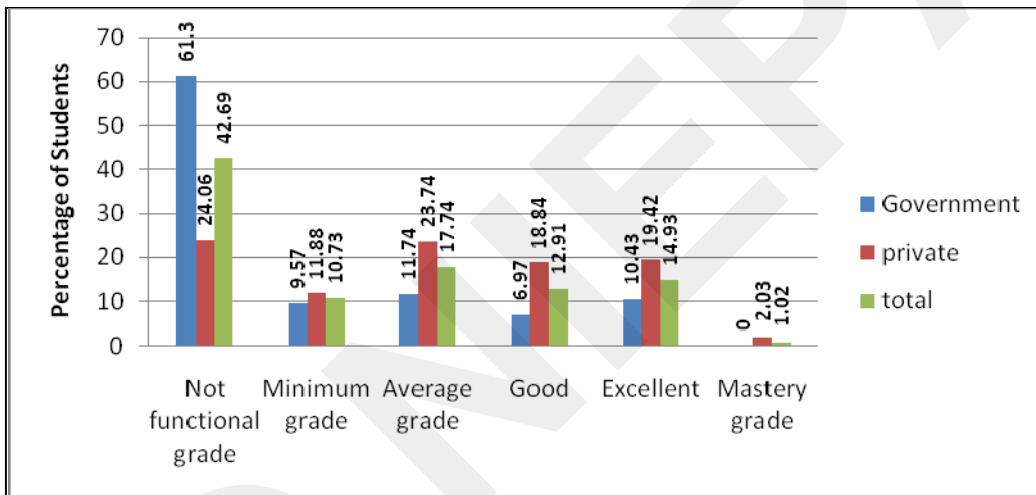
* Minimum levels of learning at primary stage, NCERT

Table 6 reveals that only 2.03 percent of students were found from private schools in the mastery grade of learning outcomes in Hindi. The frequencies of students in excellent grade were found to be 10.43, 19.42, and 14.93 percent from government, private schools and total schools respectively, while in good grade, the corresponding percentages were found to be 6.97, 18.84 and 12.91 percent of students. Similarly, in average grade 11.74, 23.74 and 17.74 percentage of students were found from government, private and total schools respectively

while the corresponding frequencies in minimum grade for government, private and total schools were found to be 9.57, 11.88 and 10.73 percent respectively. Maximum number of students were found in not functional grade, with the percentage of frequencies in this grade from government, private and total schools being 61.30, 24.06 and 42.69 percent respectively, which shows that most of the students have still not achieved minimum standard, without which the desired functional goal of education cannot be realised. Furthermore, the students' frequencies in higher grades are also not satisfactory. In mastery grade, only a few students were found from private schools, indicating thereby that mastery learning is still not within the access of deprived children in slum areas of Varanasi city.

FIGURE 2

Percentage of Students in different grades of Learning Outcomes in Language (Hindi)



Bar diagram given in figure-2 also depicts the percentage of students' frequencies in different grades of learning outcomes in language Hindi.

Difference in the Learning Outcomes of Government Elementary Schools' Students with that of Private Elementary Schools' students in Urban Slums of Varanasi City

TABLE 7

t- Value for Difference in Learning outcomes of government and private elementary schools' students in Mathematics

| Elementary schools | Mean of learning outcomes in mathematics | SD | Number of students | t-Value | Sig (2-tailed) |
|--------------------|--|-------|--------------------|---------|----------------|
| Government school | 25 | 12.54 | 290 | 8.281 | <.01 |
| Private school | 33 | 11.36 | 330 | | |

Table 7 reveals that obtained t-value for difference in students' learning outcomes in mathematics, for government and private schools, was found to be significant at .01 level of confidence.

TABLE 8
t- Value for Difference in Learning outcomes of government and Private Elementary Schools' Students in Language (Hindi)

| <i>Elementary schools</i> | <i>Mean of learning outcomes in language (Hindi)</i> | <i>SD</i> | <i>Number of students</i> | <i>t-Value</i> | <i>Sig (2-tailed)</i> |
|---------------------------|--|-----------|---------------------------|----------------|-----------------------|
| <i>Government school</i> | 32 | 11.04 | 290 | 16.780 | <.01 |
| <i>Private school</i> | 46 | 9.54 | 330 | | |

Table 8 reveals that obtained t-value for difference in students' learning outcomes in language (Hindi), for government and private schools, was found to be significant at .01 level of confidence.

It means that the group of students of government and private schools differ significantly with respect to the learning outcomes of students in both the subjects i.e. in mathematics and language (Hindi). The mean learning outcomes of students of private schools was found to be higher than that of government schools.

Discussion

A number of studies have shown that school resources affect students' academic achievements (Card and Krueger, 1992; Krueger, 1999 and Krueger & Lindahl, 2002). From the study, it was concluded that most of the elementary schools in the slum area of Varanasi city did not have adequate school resources. Condition was found similar in both the government and private schools, with only their percentages differing. Basic facilities like schools' own building, sufficient rooms for conducting teaching-learning process, health facility, safe drinking water, toilets for students and playground are still not universally available in slum areas. Teaching-learning materials, laboratory and library facility are also not in access of most of the elementary schools' children in slum areas. It seems that these factors adversely affect learning outcomes of children at the elementary stage of education in urban slum areas of Varanasi city.

Teachers play a major role in the formation of students' personal identities by stimulating their development into active members of society (Willemse, Lunenberg & Korthagen, 2005). In some research studies, it was found that teacher qualifications, like experience, education and in-service training, had little effect on students' achievement (Hanushek, 1986; Harris & Sass, 2006; Rivkin et al., 2005); while, in other studies, the effect of teacher's qualification on students' achievement was found positive (Aaronson et al., 2007; Clotfelter et al., 2007). Further, the impact of teacher's efficiency variables, such as teachers' reading and writing skills and their professional knowledge (Rowan et al., 1997; Strauss & Sawyer, 1986), teacher's verbal aptitude (Ehrenberg & Brewer, 1994), and pedagogical knowledge were found significantly affecting the students' achievement scores. The present study shows that slum children are deprived of qualified and professionally

experienced teachers. A considerable number of teachers are not trained and also their professional experience is not satisfactory. Most of the teachers do not attend in-service training courses and participate in seminar/workshop organised on burning educational issues in the field. It seems that less qualification and low professional experience of teachers obstruct learning outcomes of elementary schools' students in urban slum areas of Varanasi city.

Physical-natural environment of classrooms influence the pupil performance (Luckiesh & Moss 1940; Horton's, 1972; Phillips, 1997). In slum elementary schools, physical-natural environment of classroom is not conducive in teaching-learning process. Problems of appropriate ventilation, sound pollution, and insufficient natural light in classrooms seems to be adversely affecting learning outcomes of children. The elementary schools' children in slum areas of Varanasi city are deprived of a conducive physical-natural environment.

The teacher directly influences learners by his or her teaching strategies and behaviour. In this context, it has been a long held assumption that effective teaching instruction inside classroom, exerts considerable positive effect on the learners' outcomes. A number of studies have shown strong positive association between classroom instruction and students' academic achievement (Central Advisory Council on Education, 1969; Heyneman & Loxley, 1983; and Robinson & Sink, 2002). The present study shows that effective instruction process is not in the access of elementary schools' children in slum areas of Varanasi city. It seems that this may also be one of the considerably important factors responsible for low learning outcomes of elementary schools' children in slum areas.

The concern to improve the learning outcomes at the elementary stage of education has been the highest priority agenda in almost all countries throughout the world. In earlier studies, it has been revealed that the schools, concentrated with minority or disadvantaged students, are negatively associated with achievement and these schools account for a substantial amount of variability in achievement (Bryk & Raudenbush, 1988). In particular, schools with higher proportions of minority and disadvantaged students, have lower average achievement than other schools. Other school composition variables, such as school SES, are also significantly associated with student achievement (Lee & Bryk, 1989). Higher SES schools have typically higher average achievement than lower SES schools. Major research studies and achievement surveys in India found the academic performance of primary schools' students, belonging to deprived community, to be disappointingly low. In the present study, learning outcomes of students was found not satisfactory in elementary schools of Varanasi's slum areas. Most of the students were found in not functional grade. They could not attain even minimum level of learning in both the subjects while to make education functional, all students should attain at least minimum level of learning. Comparatively, learning outcomes of private school students was found significantly better than that of government school students in both the subjects. It obstructs achieving the goal of providing universal elementary education of satisfactory quality to all the children in country. The finding of the study, that slum children had low learning outcomes, are in consonance with the findings of earlier studies conducted by Chandrashekharaiyah (1969), Chopra, 1964, Dave (1963), Shah, and Sharma (1984). These studies have already shown that academic achievement of children belonging to deprived categories, dwelling in slum areas, was considerably differ with the academic achievement of children belonging to privileged categories.

Conclusively, the present study reveals the fact that adequate school resources, qualified teachers, conducive physical-natural environment and effective classroom instruction should be ensured in elementary schools in order to ensure quality education within access of all children in the society. As mentioned earlier, the Government of India has initiated a number of programmes and schemes, with the objective of ensuring quality education within access of deprived children, but still the target could not be achieved. It seems that governmental policies and programs have not been effectively implemented in urban slum areas.

Educational Implications of the Study

The present study will enrich the existing stock of knowledge in the field of elementary education, especially in enhancing learning outcomes of deprived children. Further, the study will serve the purpose of academicians, professionals, researchers, administrators, economists and planners concerned with elementary education. Consequently, it would also provide opportunity to the researchers to disseminate their knowledge and experience worldwide. As far as the applicability and usefulness of the study is concerned, the following are the thrust areas where the study may be helpful:

- The study may be beneficial for making policy decisions and formulating special programmes for achieving goal of universalisation of elementary education, with satisfactory learning outcomes.
- The study may be beneficial for teachers, headmasters and parents in order to enhance learning outcomes of deprived children in the society.
- The study will help policy and plan makers in the field of elementary education to understand problems of low learning outcomes in slum areas and formulate policies to ensure adequate school resources, qualified teachers, conducive physical-natural environment in classrooms, and quality instruction within access of students of slum areas in their schools.
- There is considerable difference in learning outcomes of elementary education in slum areas. The study draws the attention and calls for intensifying school improvement programmes specifically in deprived areas.
- Government schools perform lower than the private managed schools. Hence the improvement programs should be designed keeping in view the specific needs of government schools.

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Implications of Economic Globalisation for Higher Education Curriculum Restructuring

—Exploring the Trends in the States, Kerala and Tamil Nadu of India

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Summary of the Research

It is seen that globalisation, particularly economic globalisation (EG), has severely influenced Higher Education (HEd), and curriculum restructuring in HEd is one of the important implications of EG on HEd (EG is one of the key factors). The research and literature gap in this area has triggered our research interest to study the implications of EG on HEd curriculum restructuring. We, particularly, explored the trends (as a result of EG) in HEd and HEd curriculum restructuring in India (as EG has profound implications for countries in the process of economic transition). The general research questions were developed to give direction to the central research focus 'Implications of EG on HEd curriculum restructuring'. The research was inspired by the following questions: What are the implications of EG for institutional restructuring in HEd? What are the implications of EG for curriculum restructuring in HEd? These research questions then were reformulated in relation to the cases studied. The concrete research questions were then developed to study the developments in the two states. They were formulated as follows. Do the states of Kerala and Tamil Nadu in India differ from each other with regard to institutional and curriculum restructuring in HEd? And do the six institutions of HEd, under study, differ from each other with regard to institutional and curriculum restructuring in HEd?

The theoretical framework helped us to understand that economic globalisation also has various implications for higher education curriculum. There is an increased concern for the employability aspect of graduates and the insistence on necessary skills for the profession to the detriment of traditional academic content. This utilitarian goal became manifest in higher education curriculum planning and revision (as influenced by economic globalisation). Disciplines are expected to prove their worth by their contribution to the economy. As a result, vocational, applied and career potential courses are claimed to be attractive for the future careers of students, while traditional courses in humanities, arts, basic, and social sciences tend to become less popular. Furthermore, we observed that economic globalisation does bring new demands to the labour market. And higher education is required to respond to the new demands created at the labour market. Under the influence of economic globalisation, learning to do has become dominant over learning to be, learning to know and learning to live together in the modern higher education curriculum restructuring. The literature review helped us to understand the problem from a theoretical perspective on a global scale.

Following the literature review, as a first step of the case study we took stock of all types of courses taught in India. The stock-taking of all types of courses (under-graduate and post-graduate), taught in Indian higher educational institutions, helped us to understand the growing changes taking place in higher education curriculum in India. There were only 1386 types of courses (bachelors & masters) taught during 1985 at the tertiary level in India, while during 2010 (within 25 years), the number of the types of courses taught is 3729 at the tertiary level (these courses, however, exclude the non-formal courses taught at both formal and non-formal institutions). It is interesting to notice that more new courses were created in technical, business and science areas (particularly in applied science). In spite of relatively low enrolment figures, there are still considerable new courses in arts and humanities. However, most of the new courses in arts and humanities are nowadays increasingly and explicitly linked to job opportunities (e.g. Tourism is linked to history while journalism is linked to literature and mass media studies). Basic sciences has lost its

attraction, while applied sciences has increased its popularity (e.g. Botany as Bio-technology, Chemistry as Bio-chemistry).

We, therefore, decided to deepen our understanding of the problem by looking at our cases, whereby we defined 'India as the macro case', 'the two states, Kerala and Tamil Nadu, as the meso cases' and 'the six selected Higher Educational Institutes from the two states as the micro cases' (such as Madras University, Satyabama University, Loyola College from Tamil Nadu, Kerala University, Mohandas College of Engineering and Technology and All Saints College from Kerala). This was done to understand the ways different actors (with different backgrounds and capacities viz. two public, two government aided not-for-profit private and two self-financing for profit institutions) deal with the implications of EG on HEd and HEd curriculum restructuring.

Through this research, we understand that the decline of public funding to HEd (as a result of EG) has paved the way for the development of self-financed HEdIs and self-financed courses at public and at state-supported private HEdIs in India. As a result, the cost of HEd has increased and the vulnerable sections (economically poor, rural, *dalit*, tribal and girl students) are further marginalized for access to HEd. The utilitarian goal became stronger in HEd curriculum planning and revision (as influenced by EG). Disciplines are expected to prove their worth by their contribution to the economy. As a result, vocational, applied and career-potential courses are (apparently) attractive while traditional courses in humanities, arts, basic, and social sciences are unattractive. Kerala, as a socialist state, has resisted the influence of EG and neither benefiting nor losing very much from EG, while Tamil Nadu, as a liberal state, engaged with the principles of EG and experienced the merits and demerits of EG. The six micro cases (public/not-for-profit-private/for-profit private HEdIs) deal with the implications of EG for HEd curriculum differently. The cross-data and cross-case comparisons present the confirming and contrasting phenomena among the different data and the cases.

The cross-case comparison helped us to understand the ways the two states and the six selected higher education institutions were dealing differently with the implications of economic globalisation on higher education curriculum restructuring. The cross-case comparison at the meso level revealed substantial differences in the way both states deal with higher education and higher education curriculum restructuring. Although both states practice mixed policies (socialist and liberal), Kerala has a fairly socialist orientation while Tamil Nadu has a more liberal approach. The two main political parties in Kerala from time to time cause ideological shifts, while the two main political parties in Tamil Nadu are ideological twins that often compete in making a better mixed ideology. There has been relatively strong resistance against globalisation and economic globalisation in Kerala while Tamil Nadu generally shows a positive attitude towards these worldwide trends. Tamil Nadu engaged actively in globalization and economic globalisation processes and experiences the benefits and the risks, while Kerala has resisted and slightly experiences the benefit and the risks of globalisation and economic globalisation.

The decline of public funding for higher education in India has paved the way for the establishment of self-financing colleges and self-financing courses at public and at state-supported private higher education institutions. Tamil Nadu was early to respond to the demands in higher education by actively engaging private players, thus allowing reasonable returns, while Kerala has been late and slow in engaging private players and has not widely expanded higher education despite the huge demand for it in the state. Consequently, self-

financing colleges and courses mushroomed, leading to increase in cost of higher education in Tamil Nadu, and further marginalising the vulnerable sections from access to higher education. This development was rather slow and less severe in Kerala. However, the slow expansion of higher education in Kerala forced a mass exodus of students in search of higher education, particularly for technical education to neighbouring states, especially Tamil Nadu.

Tamil Nadu expanded technical institutions and courses. Tamil Nadu has the highest intake capacity for technical education in the country. However, there has not been much progress in other disciplines. Kerala has accorded balanced treatment to knowledge diversity while laying some reasonable emphasis on technical education. Emphasis on job-oriented courses, applied knowledge and skills training have been of common interest to both the states. Self-financing colleges at both the states offer mostly attractive courses. Public and state-supported higher education institutions in Tamil Nadu offer more self-financing courses than their counterparts in Kerala. Student attraction to courses apparently offering considerable career potential was found to combine with limited interest in non-career linked courses. This was the case in both states. Referring to the basic principle in the Indian constitution that 'education is state affair', the central government in India hardly confronts the states on issues of education. This gives states the advantage of not being accountable to the centre. It is important for the centre to develop a mechanism to monitor, evaluate and mandate the accountability of the states. Further, the centre must regulate the states in educational matters so as to address and control the regional imbalance.

Through the cross-case comparison of micro cases, we found that the public, not-for-profit private and for-profit private higher education institutions in Tamil Nadu differ in the way they deal with the implications of economic globalisation on higher education curriculum restructuring. It happens also in a similar way in Kerala though with some element of resistance in all three types of higher education institutions. The public higher education institutions from both the states are slow and circumspect in responding to the process of economic globalisation. Yet, Madras University is rather proactive compared to Kerala University, particularly through the creation of more self-financing courses and market-oriented courses. The not-for-profit private higher education institutions from both states are continuing the spirit of charity and their option to support poor students. In line with this approach, Loyola in Tamil Nadu is relatively radical in redistributing resources from the haves to the have-nots. The for-profit private higher education institutions from the two states explicitly engage in commercial activities. However, the ones from Kerala have been regulated relatively better than the ones in Tamil Nadu. In spite of our reluctance to resort to unfounded generalisations, we could observe that educational systems and institutions are increasingly governed by similar pressures, procedures and organizational patterns. The macro case 'India', the two meso cases 'Kerala and Tamil Nadu' and the six meso cases 'the higher education institutions' have shown the many contradictions that exist with regard to economic globalisation, particularly in the commercialisation and vocationalisation of higher education.

By engaging in this research, we learnt about the dynamics of economic globalisation for higher education and, particularly, for higher education curriculum restructuring. We noticed that the utilitarian goal became stronger in higher education curriculum planning and revision. Disciplines are expected to prove their worth by their contribution to the economy. As a result, disciplines and courses, that have economic value, are considered attractive. This development has endangered the diversity of knowledge. Diversity and

diverse forms of knowledge are considered essential for comparative education. While paying attention to the risks and the opportunities of these developments, we hope to have made some contribution to the field of comparative education.

By way of conclusion, we have some further observations based on the central concerns of this research. It is necessary to engage in ongoing reflections and debates as to the type of higher education we need. It is important to explore initiatives that prevent us from being blinded by mere economic discourses on educational and higher educational developments. It is necessary to find ways to reinforce that education remains a matter of public democratic concern. It is, therefore, essential to generate appropriate strategies to regulate the responsibilities of all actors involved and also have an inclusive approach in higher education. Further, it is also necessary to find ways to develop regional balances with regard to (higher) education provision. It would be important to explore practices of higher education curriculum planning that restore the balance between utilitarian and academic ambitions. It would, as such, be important also to explore cases where higher education curriculum planning is no longer linked to mere utilitarian ambitions. It would, in this context, be essential to develop approaches to protect and foster diverse forms of knowledge and safeguard systems that develop capacity-building in a wide variety of disciplines.

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CONTENTS

* **V. K. Srinivasan** : Failing Economy and Falling Rupee - A Report, ***Ogujiuba Kanayo, Stiegler Nancy and Enwere Dike**: A Review of Recurrent Themes of the Asian Miracle: Any Lessons for Sub-Saharan Africa?, ***G. Ramakrishna and Ravinder Rena**: Inflows of Capital, Exchange Rates and Balance of Payments: The Post-liberalisation Experience of India, * **Rossazana Ab-Rahim, Farhana Ismail, and Nur-Zaimah Ubaidillah**: Market Structure and Competition in Asian Banking., * **Sreelata Biswas and Byasdeb Dasgupta**: Foreign Direct Investment and Economic Growth in India during the Post Reform Period, ***K. Mahendra Babu, D. Satyanarayana Murthy and K. Ramesh**: Globalization and Rising Economic Inequalities: Evidence from BRIC, * **K.Prabhakar**: Growth and Instability of India's Trade Composition by Commodity Groups : Post De-regulation Period, * **Pramod P. Lonarkar**: Kandla Special Economic Zone: An Analysis of Sector and Unit-Level Performance, * **Gautam Murthy**: Reforms and Globalization in India -A Critique, ***N. Kubendran** : Liberalised Foreign Investment Flows and External Sector Sustainability in India, ***Kumar Yogesh and Vimala Chaysavang**: Growth Oriented FDI is Non-Bane to Employment Generation: A Case of Developing Lao PDR, ***Prasenjit Bujar Baruah**: Self Help Groups and Asset Creation: A Study of 14 SHGs in Nalbari District, Assam.

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Pre-Service Teachers' Creative Thinking about Teaching

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Introduction

The world is changing rapidly and most of the changes in the society are the product of creativity. Only a creative person can change the world. As Trowbridge put it: "The creative person can contribute something to society, which even the intelligent person cannot" (See, Bhaskara Rao, 2003). A better world lies in the cultivation of creative powers. Thus, creativity is an asset for a human being as it leads to intellectual, cultural and industrial development of the society or nation.

It appears strange that only within the past four or five decades has creativity become a central concern for educational research. Gupta (See Gupta and Kaul, 2007) referred 76 studies of creativity at various stages and analyzed that most of researches had been done in the area of personality factors in relation to creativity while other important areas remain to be investigated. Bhogayata (2006) comments that if creativity has no place in teaching and evaluation, then the researches on creativity, in relation to variables like academic achievements, are a waste of time and money. Many educationists criticized the rigidity and conformity of our education system.

Most of the researchers measured creative thinking of students of different levels through general creativity tests, scientific creativity tests and linguistic creativity tests, though creativity has a wide scope. Creative expression is not restricted by any limits or boundaries. It is not restricted to scientific inventions or works of art. It covers all fields and activities of human life like teaching and other professions. The quality of education depends on quality of teachers. Any system of education does not grow higher than the level of its teacher. As such, pre-service teachers' creative thinking about teaching should be properly identified and nurtured. The present study can lead to developing the atmosphere for nurturing the creative teaching of prospective teachers. Researchers also felt that some innovative pre-service teachers think of their unique lesson plans. The Creative pre-service teacher differs in teaching with reference to others. But no research can be found in this area. As such, in the present study, the researcher decided to study *"Pre-service teachers' Creative Thinking about Teaching"*.

Objectives of the Study

1. To construct 'A Verbal Test of Creative Thinking about Teaching'.
2. To validate the test constructed by the researcher.
3. To explore Pre-service teachers' creative thinking about teaching.
4. To find out the gender effect on Pre-service teachers' creative thinking about teaching.
5. To find out the effect of the faculty of Pre-service teachers' on their creative thinking about teaching.
6. To find out the effect of the Social category of Pre-service teachers' on their creative thinking about teaching.

Hypothesis of the Study

1. There would not be significant difference between average scores on 'The Verbal Test of Creative Thinking about Teaching' (TCTT) of the male and female Pre-service teachers.

2. There would not be significant differences among the average creative thinking scores of the Pre-service teachers of Maths/science, language and other faculties.
3. There would not be significant differences among the average creative thinking scores of the Pre-service teachers of different Social Categories.

Operational Definitions of the Term

Fluency. Fluency is the ability to produce large numbers of ideas. In operational term, Fluency is the total number of non-repeated and relevant responses to the item of the Verbal test of Creative thinking about teaching (TCTT).

Flexibility. Flexibility is the ability to shift from one category to another. In the present study, the flexibility score is in terms of total categories of given responses to the item of the TCTT. Each category is assigned one score.

Originality. Originality is the ability to produce remote, unusual or new ideas or solutions. In operational terms, originality is defined in terms of the statistical infrequency of a given response in a given population to the item of TCTT.

Creative Thinking about Teaching. In the present study, Creative thinking about teaching is the mean of the standard score of fluency, flexibility and originality measured by open ended verbal test of creative thinking about teaching.

Pre-service teachers. Pre-service teachers are student teachers, who are trained by secondary teacher training institution.

Other subject. Other subject means the subject other than maths/science and language.

Research Design

Sample. As per requirement of the problem and keeping the objective of the study in mind, stratified random sampling technique was employed to collect the data in the present study. The pre-service teachers of all seven colleges from the University of Gujarat were included in the sample for final testing. The 512 pre-service teachers included in the sample comprised 310 males and 202 females from various faculties. While 97 pre-service teachers were from math/science faculty, 309 were from the language faculty and 106 were from other faculty, whereas according to social category, 193 pre-service teachers were from General, 166 from OBC, 77 from SC and 76 were from ST categories.

Tool. The investigator constructed 'A Verbal Test of Creative Thinking about Teaching' to measure the creative thinking of the pre-service teachers in the present study.

To construct the tool, the investigator obtained the opinions and suggestions from 40 creative teachers of different subjects. He also got the characteristics of the creative teachers.

The investigator also studied other creativity tests developed by earlier researcher. Besides, he downloaded some information from the internet and also had discussions with the guide and subject experts in the related areas. Thereafter, he tried out the pre-pilot and the pilot testing of the 'Verbal Test of Creative Thinking about Teaching', before preparing the final form of the test. The validity and reliability of the final test were established.

Data Collection

'The Verbal Test of Creative Thinking about Teaching' (TCTT), developed by the Researcher, was conducted on the pre-service teachers of B.Ed. colleges included in the sample. The data was collected from every college included in the sample in a unified way. The printed instruction form was also used. The stop-watch or the stop watch of mobile phone was used to stick to the time limits. Ninety minutes were required for conducting the test.

Data Analysis

After collecting the data from 512 pre-service teachers, the responses were classified and analyzed in three dimensions of creativity, namely fluency, flexibility and originality. The raw scores were converted into the standard T-score and the T-score of the fluency, flexibility and originality were achieved. Aggregate T-score of fluency, flexibility and originality was calculated as pre-service teachers' Creative Thinking about Teaching. For Validation of the test (TCTT), the item analysis, the reliability and the validity of the test were calculated through NRTVB computer programme constructed by Rathod (2000). Correlation of the data, t-ratio and F-ratio was calculated by another famous computer programme SPSS.

Conclusions

1. 'The Verbal Test of Creative Thinking about Teaching', developed by the investigator, proved a reliable and valid tool.
2. The Frequency distribution of pre-service teachers' creative thinking scores was very near to the normal curve. The minimum score was 376 and the maximum score was 665, while the mean of pre-service teachers' creative thinking score was 500.
3. About 15 % pre-service teachers were at the low level, with 70 % pre-service teachers at the middle (average) level and the remaining 15% pre-service teachers were found at the higher level in creative thinking about teaching. Thus, most of the pre-service teachers had average level of creative thinking about teaching.
4. There was no significant difference between male and female pre-service teachers' creative thinking about teaching.
5. Faculty-wise pre-service teachers differed significantly in their creative thinking about teaching. Pre-service teachers of maths/science faculty were found more creative than pre-service teachers of language and other faculty whereas, there was no significant difference between the creative thinking of pre-service teachers of language and other faculty.
6. There was no significant difference among the creative thinking about teaching of pre-service teachers of various social categories.

Implications

1. The Pre-service and In-service teachers should be made aware of creativity about teaching.
2. They should be given the theoretical and practical knowledge of creativity about teaching.
3. The ways to maintain and increase the creativity of higher creative teachers should be found out. For teachers with low creative thinking, special training programmes should be held to nurture and foster their maximum creative thinking.
5. A conducive educational environment should be created to bring out Pre-service and In-service teachers' maximum creativity about teaching.



Book Reviews

RAO, K. Hanumantha and P. Srinivas SUBBARAO (Ed.) (2011): *Quality Assurance in Higher Education Institutions*, Paramount Publishing House, Hyderabad, First Edition, Price: ₹ 350; pp, vi+176.

The book under review has 13 chapters contributed by university and college faculty, mainly from Andhra Pradesh state. These papers have been contributed by them in a conference organized by Maharajah's Post-Graduate College, Vizianagaram, Andhra Pradesh on the occasion of its Silver Jubilee. The NAAC co-sponsored the conference. Main themes running across the chapters include: Quality Assurance and Accountability in Higher Education; Higher Education in India: Issues and Challenges; Impact of WTO/GATS on Indian Higher Education; Challenges of Globalization; Public and Private Partnership in Higher Education; Learner Support Services in Higher Education etc. Since 1990s, the expansion of private partnership in higher education has raised issues of quality assurance in higher education. As a safety net, the government wants to expand higher education system in terms of quality by allowing the entry of foreign universities into the country through the framework of the General Agreement on Trade in Services (GATS) and formal commitment of higher education to the World Trade Organization (WTO). However, there is a need to activate, in explicit terms, a long-term policy perspective on higher education.

It is rightly stated in one of the papers: "The outward and inward student mobility has also mobilized the teaching manpower nationally as well as internationally" (p, 7). However, the partnerships are with second tier foreign universities having a tie-up with Indian universities for exchange programmes of study. This exchange programme is through MOU between two institutions. When India is aspiring to be a "Knowledge Society" in this century, it is all the more necessary to ensure the professional development of the Faculty in universities and institutions of higher education. The progress on quality check of institutions in higher education is moving slowly in spite of establishment of three Accreditation Agencies at the national level. (1) The National Assessment and Accreditation Council (NAAC), set up by the University Grants Commission in 1994; (2) The National Board of Accreditation (NBA), established by the All India Council of Technical Education in 1994; (3) The Accreditation Board (AB), established by the Indian Council of Agricultural Research (ICAR) in 1996. Some authors have analyzed the growth of higher education as a "transition phase" while some perceive it in a "doldrums phase". But, it is generally considered that access to higher education for more people helps them be above the poverty line. It provides a step further for enhancing the social and occupational status. In totality, it is higher education that might form a very important 'human capability and human freedom', that helps in attaining other human freedoms (those who endorse Amartya Sen, 1999, p, 3). Recent initiatives towards legislative measures, adopted by the government, seem to help in smoothening the process of final formal commitment of higher education to the World Trade Organization and the GATS.

University Grants Commission (UGC), in 10th five-year Plan (2002-2007), made

- Internationalization of higher education as a thrust area and projected a vision intended for promoting Indian higher education abroad as a response to the phenomenon of globalization. Quality issues in higher education stem from three basic dimensions (i) inclusion of international dimension as a key component in the general quality review systems operational at the institutional or systemic levels; (ii) the quality of specific internationalization policies; procedures and programmes (covering international students, work study abroad, student/faculty exchanges research, language instruction and technical assistance). (iii) Internationalization of quality assurance procedures themselves. These procedures are generally policy-based, since quality assurance procedures benefit from international inputs and approach. It is argued that internationalization/globalization of higher education is an opportunity in market-based economy, which is competitive in nature and not a 'threat.' Therefore, it is argued that to convert the threat into opportunity, it is essential to concentrate on:
 - Urbanization of rural areas i.e, provide all those facilities to the rural masses;
 - Nationalization prior to globalization;
 - Equalization of access and opportunities;
 - Decentralization process to the stakeholders;
 - Up gradation of quality of existing institutions to international standards;
 - Enhancement of Public investment in higher education;
 - Accountability of higher education so as to ensure optimal, sustainable good quality education; and
 - Need for public and private partnership in education. For that the legal framework in higher education institutions needs to be put in place.

Further, in one paper, it has been argued that conventional learning or teaching is based on knowledge/skills transfer, but this does not address individual growth and potential particularly well (p. 108). Therefore, it is necessary to make the learning process learner-centered supplemented through research-based learning; observational, experiential learning; communication technologies used in E-learning and institutional support should be provided to the learner to achieve the desired outcomes, essential for learner-centered learning. Another author quotes, in his paper, the famous words of Alvin Toffler "The illiterates of 21st century will not be those who cannot read and write, but those who cannot learn, unlearn and relearn" (p. 127). It is again argued that quality assurance requires a mind-set and changed culture in attitude and working method of people. If teacher education is to have an impact in the transformation of this society, its quality has to be enhanced, assured and maintained constantly. The findings of one field study in management education suggests that if every college follows standard ratio of students-faculty, and faculty try to impart practical aspects to the students, and allow students to interact freely, will enhance quality of management education (p. 149) . In another paper "Role of Learner Support Service in Enhancement of Distance Learning", the author recommends "Every institution should concentrate on learner complaints; continuous training of the staff; introduction of new techniques and development of communication channel." This would lead to enhancement of learning in distance mode of education.

In conclusion, it may be stated that the book provides the current scenario of higher education in India vis-a-vis the international competition level and challenges in the context of globalization and market economy that covers the education system in its ambit. It provides an update on different aspects of higher education through a SWOT analysis.

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BRAY, Mark and Chad LYKINS (2012): **Shadow Education: Private Supplementary Tutoring and its Implications for Policy Makers in Asia**, Renouf Publishing Company Limited, ISBN: 978-92-9092-658-0, Pages: 100.

In 'Shadow Education: Private Supplementary Tutoring and Its Implications for Policy Makers in Asia', the authors Mark Bray and Chad Lykins have provided an interesting and comprehensive report of private tuition, covering many relevant and pertinent themes of interest in a very easy-to-read format. The authors make an important point about the purpose of this book which, among others, is to ensure social equality and also to highlight the inefficiency of the education system. The data show that the private tutoring phenomenon is widespread throughout Asia. The topics in this book are well organized, beginning with the current situation of private education in Asia and its positive and negative effects, factors driving its demand and, most importantly, implications for policy-makers.

This book covers the literature in an organized format. Factors such as income, location, gender, subject and ethnicity that drive this industry are well elucidated. The case studies in boxes are definitely a plus for this book. Another plus point is that it gives some pointers to policy-makers, based on experiences in other countries such as Korea.

The section on Implication for policy-makers is especially useful. However, there are sections where the authors may need to provide some helpful suggestions as well, based on their expertise. For example, they mentioned that "In many countries the shadow education system is already too large to be ignored; and, in others, it is small but growing. Perhaps, indeed, the latter situations are ones for which policy attention is particularly urgent, because the authorities have opportunities to steer the shadow education system before it assumes too many undesirable features and encourages vested interests, which, later, become obstacles to reform." Some practical suggestions on how this can be achieved will be useful.

There is a touch of envy on page 25 when the authors make statements such as "Private tutors are one of the beneficiaries of this anxiety, turning the ambitions of tiger parents into a steady stream of revenue" and on page 56: "Unsurprisingly, the tutoring industry, which thrives on parent and student anxiety, responded by offering courses in liberal studies that proved very popular (Chan 2011, Yeung 2011)". These sentences could be toned down somewhat and reworded to show more objectivity and impartiality in the writing.

On p. 34 the authors mention that in the education system in Malaysia, there is "Year 7". The authors were probably referring to Form 1.

Overall, this is a comprehensive book on all aspects of private tuition and I strongly recommend it to all parties involved in education in all countries. There is plenty we can learn from the experiences of other countries.

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CHATTOPADHYAY, Saumen (2012): Education and Economics Disciplinary Evolution and Policy Discourse, Oxford University Press, New Delhi, ISBN No. 13:978-0-19-808225-5, Pages: 334, Price: ₹ 750/-

Education is necessary for every one of us but sadly it is not sufficient to live life smoothly with honesty of purpose. To make it sufficient in terms of education policy and practices, we need to understand, analyze, interpret and adopt its economics in terms of the issues such as privatization, choice of institution, equality of opportunities.

The learned author has established his credentials in economics of education and opened the debate on the recent market-oriented reforms in education. To provide education to the people at a price or free, the financing of education at all levels has implications for access, quality and expansion of the delivery mechanism. The rationale and logic for the revival of economics of education, with substantial modifications from mere human capital approach, deserve the attention of the stakeholders.

To realize the objective of inclusive growth in India, we certainly need to strengthen education at various levels. The emerging global knowledge economy of today calls for understanding issues such as growth with equality, tackling unemployment, inadequacy of skill formation and redefining the role of three-tier government in India that falls in the domain of economics of education.

The writer may be right in observing that the economics of education as a sub-discipline of economics does not feature prominently as an optional course offered in economics departments of universities the world over. It is worth mentioning that Kurukshetra University, Kurukshetra had been offering 'Economics of Human Resource Development', including economics of education, as an optional paper in M.A. Economics, but had to close down because of the poor response of the stakeholders. In the education departments of various universities, including that of Kurukshetra, economics of education is in the process of staking a larger claim, as mentioned by the writer, due to the influence of neo-liberalism on education reforms.

The writer has reviewed education in economic theory, the human capital approach, along with its critique, which is necessary but not sufficient. The role of higher education had very well been conceptualized by the learned writer in the new growth theory. The quality of education has a definite role in the linkage between education and growth.

To study the educational institution as any manufacturing factory, the writer has given a critical overview of input-output approach in chapter 4 as creates confusions in achieving efficiency in resource use, admitted the writer himself.

To understand the process of education, the perspectives of the theory of screening, capability approach, social choice approach and the Marxian perspectives are necessary to view the human capital theory critically in chapter 5.

The classification, not merely commodification, of education as public good is the subject matter of chapter 6 which is essential for policy making in India. In my considered view, secondary level education, which is necessary for choosing a vocation, is a public good and should be provided free of cost to one and all by the central government.

The specific features of the market for education, particularly higher education, with its failures in efficiency and government interventions, have been very well explained in chapter 7.

The market-oriented reforms, in terms of the education policy measures, including funding, public private partnership (PPP) being implemented in India, with neo-liberal flavour, falls in the domain of chapter 8. To achieve efficiency and deliver quality education, we certainly need good governance which, to me, implies SMART (Simple, Moral, Action oriented, Responsive and Transparent) administration for every institution at all levels in India.

In chapter 9, the writer has examined the pros and cons of the recent education policy initiatives in India, including entry of foreign providers, which needs continuous debate and discussion. We need to replace unhealthy competition with cooperation and coordination in production of knowledge as imperative and sufficient for the inclusive growth of Indian economy.

To study and analyze the emerging issues in education, there is a logic and rationale for economics of education that is evident in the book.

We need to stop producing half- baked products as semi-educated and unemployable manpower in our educational institutions. This is essential to stop youth from falling prey to destructive and anti- social activities, including terrorism and crimes of various kinds.

Let the youth be provided employable skills with the trust in the dictum 'work works'. We need to bring hope, optimism, passion and enthusiasm (HOPE) by motivation, through identification of the potential for achieving success with hard work and patience.

Even at the risk of being misunderstood by the fraternity of economists, I wish to say that the economics of education at the micro level has, instead of increasing the value of education, in effect undermined its real value. There is a strong case for strengthening the educational value of education, which is more than making a person capable of earning his/her livelihood (conversion from *unpad* to *Ann pad*). However, to appreciate the complexities of Indian education, entangled with social, cultural, political and economic issues, the book is useful for all the stakeholders, including teachers, students and policy formulators and bureaucratic implementers.

In totality, the book is an in-depth analysis that provides an opportunity to understand economics of education and suggest policy implications to be understood, analyzed and implemented by the authorities concerned at all times for bringing efficiency, sufficiency and equity in education in India.

MAJHANOVICH, S., Christine FOX, and Fatima GÖK (Eds.) (2012): ***Bordering, Re-bordering and New Possibilities in Education and Society***, Springer Dordrecht, Heidelberg, London and New York, ISBN: 978-94-007-4410-3 [Reprinted from *International Review of Education*, Volume 57, Numbers 3-4, August 2011-2012], (Hardbound), Pages 250, Price: € 106.95.

The volume, reprinted from a special issue of *International Review of Education* (2011), is based on a selection of papers presented at the XIV World Congress of Comparative Education Societies (WCCES) in Istanbul, Turkey (June 13-18, 2010). The authors included in this volume are from different continents and cultural areas, representing a remarkable spirit of 'bordering'. As the editors have mentioned, bordering is not only in relation to geographic aspects; it can also refer to 'spatial, metaphorical, linguistic, political or philosophical' aspects. The dominant themes of the papers delivered at the Congress are identity, space and diversity in education. In fact, if we look at the different types of bordering/re-bordering, they are mainly related to gender, race, class, nationality, ethnicity, disability, sexuality and religion. Moreover, these forces tend to be intertwined and influence each other.

The issue of bordering and re-bordering can be applied to the analysis unit of comparative studies. There is a myth that adoption of the nation-state is the comparative basis for methodology or theoretical frameworks. It is meaningful to break such a fixation. In this special issue, several authors demonstrate why new ideological or political and economic forces may trigger the shifts or changes in traditional methodology. First, globalization has been a strong factor in driving homogenized reforms across countries. As Susan Roberson indicated in her chapter, its effect is even reinforced by the prevalence of neo-liberalism, a market-based ideology emphasizing universal values, cultures and practices applied to other non-Anglo-Saxon societies. The wide spreading of neo-liberalism, on the one hand, exercises its influence across the national 'border'. On the other hand, the implementation of this new policy orientation in the US, the UK, Latin America and even major Asian countries also provides new structures for conducting research through regional or global perspectives rather than at the national level. With an effect similar that of neo-liberalism, the Global Monitoring Report (GMR) was released by UNESCO in order to assess the progress of education quality delivered in developing countries. Professor Crain Soudien, former President of WCCES, asserted that such international benchmarking has effectively converted the idea of quality into proceduralised indicators with measurable progress in a limited range of learning areas. Though with strong criticism towards GMR, Soudien cannot deny that the GMR provides a borderless baseline for common understanding of quality education, which is furthermore to be compared globally. Therefore, if one examines the bordering of traditional research methodology, these new developments lead to greater diversified use of theoretical orientations.

Reviewing the papers of the volume, other interesting and unusual theoretical or methodological approaches can be found. For example, post-modern thought has had enormous impact on current societies, probably including the shift to a modality of partnership in educational development cooperation. In Mark Mason's article, post-modernism is described as the rejection of universal knowledge and emphasis on local context and structural equality among different actors. These main traits seem to coincide

with the new discourse on 'partnership' in international development, which stresses shared ownership, information and mutual responsibility between donor and recipient countries. In further bordering the boundary of methodology, Grace Feuerverger employs an auto-ethnographic approach to deal with the trauma of the immigrant and refugee experiences in Toronto. Having had a vulnerable past, the author crosses the gap to reach the immigrant with the experiences of war, trauma and violence. Acting as the function of bordering and re-bordering, this methodology focuses on the writer's subjective experience and reflection so as to connect it with others' encounters. By doing this, the researcher and the researched are integrated, and the meanings of issues investigated among them transcend with common understanding. In this sense, auto-ethnography will be very useful in comparatively analyzing the social and political interpretation of issues at the individual and group levels. With a similar role and function, the critical pedagogy used by Zeynep Mine Derince seeks to help students enhance their English proficiency through the interchangeable use of English and their native language. Derince believes that critical teaching and learning would provide students with a back-and-forth condition to reflectively examine the values, attitudes, and positions involved. It is clear that critical pedagogy elicits different perspectives among students who see the same things. This paper, therefore, argues that learning English, through the use of native language, offers better effectiveness.

After reviewing bordering and re-bordering at the theoretical and methodological levels, we turn our attention to other issues. The chapter by Brian Denman & Kholoud Hilal mainly addresses student mobility across the national border. As the chapter title highlights, some cultural and religious barriers prevent Saudi Arabian students from studying abroad. Given the growing force of globalization or internationalization, national and religious barriers have been gradually softened in recent years. The Saudi Arabian government began to open its overseas education destinations to the US, the UK, and Asian countries and not just to Muslim societies such as Egypt or Iran. This obvious advancement will overcome the traditional fixed mentality so as to help wipe out these obstacles. Particularly, some of Muslim societies have strong hatred attitude towards western countries. It is not easy to achieve this bordering within a short period of time. On the contrary, China has been very keen on integrating foreign institutions and mechanisms into local higher education sectors for the past century. Defeated by the western countries in the Qing Dynasty (清朝), Chinese scholars and politicians clearly recognized the strengths of Western societies. Based on these cognitive assumptions, Rui Yang reviews and explores the long process of incorporating these new Western or American institutional practices into Chinese systems. With the strong mentality of bordering the gap between the East and West, however, the author condemns the lack of criticism of Chinese universities towards the American model and for not having a true understanding of the cultural contexts and positioning itself and others appropriately.

In addition to cultural issues, language can provide another formidable barrier to accessing the rest of the world. As Zeynep Mine Derince's article demonstrated, we worry about the hegemony of English dominance while promoting universal communication instruments. In the light of his concern, it is imperative that people should be able to use their native language while learning English. Bearing this in mind, we have seen another unique dilemma in Burundi, Africa, where four different languages are taught in primary schools. According to Hermenegilde Rwantabagu, due to the colonial legacy and local needs, French and Kirundi compete as curricular teaching languages. After being integrated into the

East African Community in 2007, Burundi added English and Kiswahili instruction to the curriculum. The addition of the extra language courses obviously reflects the need of crossing the national boundary for citizens or enhancing their connectedness to the wider African community in the future. However, this complicated language policy within the schooling system may pose a serious challenge to young learners, leading to less effective learning outcomes.

In addition to the language issue, women's access to education/higher education or employment is a main concern. Considering the Muslim societies, Megahe & Lack and Rezai-Rashti & Moghadam all consistently point out that women in Egypt, Tunisia and Iran to some extent suffer from the gender-educational inequality. This common phenomenon indicates the view of cultural segregation that women do not need to receive education. This sexual un-bordering seems to be deeply rooted in Islamic tradition. In spite of conservative forces against greater participation of females in education, some national reform policies or international conventions and initiatives have been launched in these societies to re-border the connection of women's human right to education. As a matter of fact, given the traditional ideology and practices, Islamic women also face limited opportunities in the job market as compared to their male counterparts. These differences should be bordered or overcome in the long term.

When it comes to the spread of comparative education, the gap is obvious. In Latin America, comparative education has received scarce attention and has witnessed restricted courses being provided at the local universities for the past 20 years. However, the creation of national education systems and the organization of academic conferences have revived the field in this region. Moreover, the needs of educational planning and management also inspire transnational and regional studies to deepen their connection with comparative education. Fortunately, comparative education, as an academic subject or research field, is bordering or re-bordering into more geographic parts of this planet and will make further inroads under the support of the WCCES.

This volume is conceptually and practically composed of many excellent papers, providing readers with a better understanding of bordering and re-bordering in the comparative education field. It rightly reminds us that more bordering and re-bordering have taken place during the past decades at diverse levels, such as those related to methodology/theory, gender, language or students. However, it is important to realize that over-integration into larger communities, without clear boundaries such as the language policy in Burundi, also poses serious challenges to policy governance, student experiences and learning outcomes. Rui Yang's article about China also presents a good example of how blindly copying policies would not facilitate a well-rounded understanding of its cultures and values. Therefore, it would be very desirable to see more studies shed light on the consequences of bordering or re-bordering and their impact on education and society. As a whole, this special issue provides abundant analysis conceptually and practically. As such, it is recommended for anyone with serious interest in wider comparative and international education as well as any post-graduate student of comparative study in the field of education.

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GOPALAN, Pritha (2013): **PPP Paradox: Promise and Perils of Public-Private Partnership in Education**, New Delhi: Sage Publications, ISBN: 978-81-321-1128-3, (Hardbound), pp. 152, Price: ₹ 495/-

Public-private partnership has been the buzzword today in almost all activities, from infrastructure to social sectors like education and health. Though the practice of PPP is not altogether a new phenomenon, it has become popular in the neo-liberal era, assuming high magnitude, on the one hand, and entering into sectors that have had been hitherto reserved for public monopoly. Even those countries which prohibited any role of private sector for long, have turned receptive to the idea of PPP. PPP is being projected by many nowadays as a necessary strategy, as a strategy that will prove very handy when public budgetary resources are becoming scarce and as a strategy that will improve efficiency in the delivery mechanism. In addition, it is claimed that PPP will improve access and even equity. Its weaknesses are either overlooked or argued to be non-existent by its proponents.

Based on a survey of literature on American public schools, and a case study on Michigan state in USA and ethnographic study of Chennai Corporation schools, Pritha Gopalan, in the book under review, attempts at 'resolving the paradox' – the paradox that she identifies as follows: public education, which is an essential service, to remain public, "needs partners outside the government to keep it up-to-date, efficient, transparent and engaging."

In a slim and an extremely readable book, the author starts with describing the paradox quoting a few major studies on the problem (in Chapter 1), and notes the plus and negative points associated with PPP in Chapter 2, based on a review of a select few projects/ programmes such as Balasakhi, a remedial programme introduced in government schools with the help of the Pratham Foundation, Activity Based Learning experiments in Tamil Nadu, introduced in collaboration with the Rishi Valley Education Centre, Rural Ecology and Auricular Livelihoods project in Thailand, Pure to Rico Math and Science Partnership project, and charter school in USA. Chapters 3 and 4 are devoted respectively to Middle Start projects in American Public schools and Montessori in Chennai Corporation schools. The book concludes with a chapter 'Resolving the Paradox'.

Though there are several studies on this and related issues in the USA and other countries, there are very few serious studies in India. The present study, which is not exclusively focused on India, is, in this sense, a welcome addition to the literature. The research study was sponsored by ICICI Foundation.

While the *PPP Paradox* is an important study and a valuable addition to the meager literature on the subject, it is not an adequately thorough study on PPP in Indian education for arriving at the conclusion reached. Though Gopalan refers to several problems associated with various models of PPP and some of the generally claimed benefits of PPP, she finally argues in favour of PPP, as it essentially improves learning levels of the children in the schools. Gopalan also refers to how PPP has enabled change in curriculum and instruction in schools. Other problems, many of which are well noted by the author, are generally ignored by the author in the final analysis. After all, improvement in levels of learning by the children – that too narrowly defined achievement confining to cognitive scores, is not a major issue contested by the critics of the PPP. This is also an advantage claimed by many supporters of private schools. Social, economic and political issues are, indeed, more important. Also the

evidence the author has is on collaboration with a charitable trust – Sri Ramacharan Charitable Trust, and Montessori classrooms. This refers to the private participation of a different and traditional type in education, that is different from the forms of PPP that are being talked about nowadays. While there is no clarity on the scope, nature and definition of PPP, and, in generic terms, PPP can include several forms, ranging from parental involvement, community participation, and private-aided schools to voucher schools and partnership with profit-seeking commercial units, current interest in and support to and criticism of PPP revolves around the latter forms. By concentrating on Montessori schools and the involvement of a charitable trust, the author has sidelined the main issues altogether. In fact, when the author argues in favour of the PPP, she actually means PSP – public social partnership. ‘Social’ in PSP refers not to typical private sector, but to social cooperatives, community organisations, initiated in some of the Scandinavian countries.

There are several experiments with PPP in education in many countries, such as contract/concession schools in Latin America, vouchers in Chile and USA, private non-profit schools in The Netherlands, PACES in Colombia, private school subsidies in Cote d’Ivoire, Milwaukee Parental Choice Programme in USA, Punjab Education Foundation programs in Pakistan, alternative education in New Zealand, education services contracting in the Philippines, independent schools in Qatar, transformed schools in China, private finance initiative in UK, Proyecto Prestacion de Servicios in Mexico, New Schools Private Finance Project in Australia, Offenbach & Cologne Schools Projects in Germany, and several other types of experiments in UK, Canada, New Zealand, Philippines, Australia, Oman, Ghana, Sri Lanka, China, South Africa, Uganda, etc.. A critical review of some major experiments would have been more valuable.

On the whole, *PPP Paradox* is a very useful book, but one finds its scope too narrow and the reader would get disappointed, if one expects a good thorough critique of modern forms of PPP, which are a matter of serious debates and controversies.

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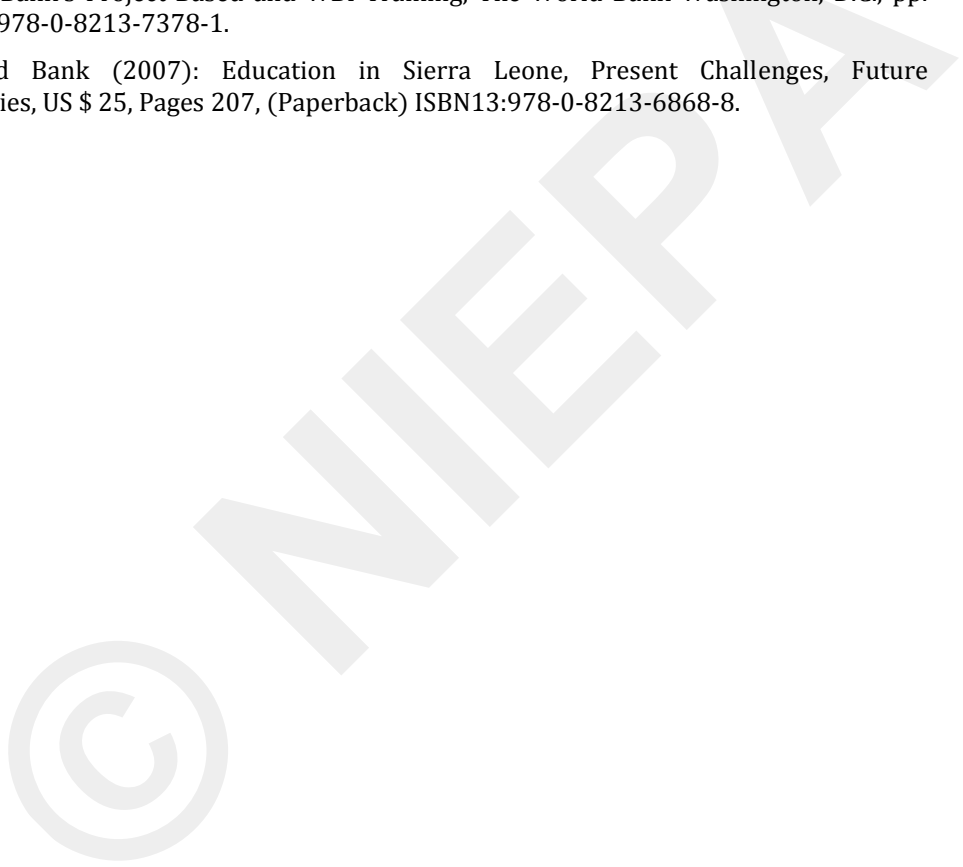
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Contents of Volume XXVII (2013)

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Contents of Volume XXVII (2013)
Vol. XXVII No. 1 (January 2013)

ARTICLES

Education for a Changing World 05
Prabhat Patnaik

Bridging the Teacher Gap with ODL Teacher Education Resource Centres 15
– A Model for India
P. Vijayalakshmi Pandit

Human Development of Major States in India during the period 1993-94 to 33
2004-05
A. Vamsi Krushna

An Economic Conceptualisation of Education: Disciplinary Evolution and Policy 51
Discourse
Saumen Chattopadhyay

RESEARCH NOTES/COMMUNICATIONS

Quality Education Model: Modeling School System for Achieving Equitable 71
Quality in India
N. Mythili

Regional Imbalance in Teacher Education in India: An Analysis of Eastern Region 101
including North Eastern States
Niradhar Dey

BOOK REVIEWS

Education in Sierra Leone: Present Challenges, Future Opportunities 117
(The World Bank)
B.K. Panda

Rethinking School Health: A Key Component of Education for All 119
(Donald Bundy)
Jayanta Parida

Integrated Learning 122
(Ken Gnanakan)
Avinash Kumar Singh

Globalization and Higher Education in India 125
(N. Panikkar and M. Bhaskaran Nair eds.)
K.R. Shah

| | |
|---|-----|
| Improving Quality in Education: Dynamic Approaches to School Improvement (B. P.M. Creemers and L. Kyriakides) <i>V. Sucharita</i> | 128 |
| Public Private Partnerships in Education: New Actors and Modes of Governance in a Globalizing World (Robertson, Susan L.; Karen Mundy, Antoni Verger, Francine Menashy) <i>Jandhyala B G Tilak</i> | 130 |

Vol. XXVII No. 2 (April 2013)

ARTICLES

| | |
|---|-----|
| Higher Education in and for a Changing World <i>Karuna Chanana</i> | 141 |
| A Study of Effectiveness of Computer Assisted Instruction, Programme Instruction and Interactive Instruction on Students' Performance <i>Anjali Sharma and Ranjana Sharma</i> | 157 |
| University Ranking and Tertiary Education System Benchmarking — Divergent Methodologies, Convergent Results? <i>Benoit Millot</i> | 169 |
| Conceptual Evolution of Adult Education in India and Correspondence with Global Trends <i>A. Mathew</i> | 179 |

RESEARCH ABSTRACT

| | |
|---|-----|
| A Study on Effectiveness of Computer Aided Learning Programme under Sarva Shiksha Abhiyan at Elementary Stage in Odisha <i>Jyoti Ranjan Sahoo</i> | 203 |
|---|-----|

BOOK REVIEWS

| | |
|---|-----|
| Intelligent otherwise: Identifying, Understanding and Tackling Learning Disabilities in Children (Meenakshi Dave) <i>P.C. Bansal</i> | 209 |
| Quality in Higher Education: Issues and Processes (P.K. Sahoo, D. Yadav and B.C. Das (eds.)) <i>V.P. Garg</i> | 210 |

| | |
|---|-----|
| Equalizing Access: Affirmative Action in Higher Education in India, United States and South Africa (Joya Hassan and Martha C. Nussbaum (eds.)) <i>Kumar Suresh</i> | 212 |
| Nurturing Creativity in the Classroom (Ronald A. Beghetto and James C. Kaufman (eds.)) <i>Mona Sedwal</i> | 217 |
| Europeanizing Education: Governing a New Policy Space (Martin Lawn and Sotiria Grek) <i>Joshua Kalapati</i> | 219 |
| University Rankings: Theoretical Basis, Methodology and Impacts on Global Higher Education (Jung Cheol Shin, Robert K. Toutkoushian and Ulrich Teichler (eds.)) <i>Jandhyala B.G. Tilak</i> | 221 |

Vol. XXVII No. 3 (July 2013)

ARTICLES

| | |
|--|-----|
| A Century of Basic Education in Gujarat: Shifting Paradigm and Crisis Management <i>Vidyut Joshi</i> | 233 |
| Education for Rural Transformation (ERT) in India: Dialectics between Theory and Ideology – The National and the Global <i>H.S. Bhola</i> | 257 |
| A Framework for Analyzing Demand and Supply of Faculty and the Quality of Higher Education <i>Chiranjib Sen</i> | 281 |

THESIS ABSTRACT

| | |
|--|-----|
| An Economic Analysis of demand for Higher Education: A Study of Engineering Education in Delhi <i>Pradeep Kumar Choudhury</i> | 311 |
|--|-----|

RESEARCH NOTES/COMMUNICATIONS

| | |
|---|-----|
| Examination Stress amongst Secondary School Students in Context of Certain Demographic Variables and Study Habits – A Research Study <i>Veer Pal Singh and Avtar Singh</i> | 321 |
|---|-----|

BOOK REVIEWS

- Human Resource Management in Education: Contexts, Themes and Impact 337
(Justine Mercer, Bernard Barker and Richard Bird)
Neeti Agrawal
- The Impact of Globalization on Education 339
(I.M. Sinagatullin)
Bhanu Pratap Pritam
- The Elementary Education in India: Exploring Institutional Structure, Process and Dynamics 342
(Rashmi Sharma and Vimala Ramachandran (Eds.))
Sudhanshu Shekhar Patra
- Teacher Education in Sub-Saharan Africa: Closer Perspectives 344
(Rosarii Griffin (ed.))
V.P. Garg
- Higher Education in a Global Society 347
(D. Bruce Johnstone, Madeleine B. d'Ambrosio and Paul J. Yakoboski (Eds.))
Jandhyala B.G. Tilak

Vol. XXVII No. 4 (October 2013)**ARTICLES**

- Higher Education Policy Reforms in India: The Tale of Three Bills 357
K.B. Powar
- From Economic Growth to Literacy: A Study of a Developing Backward Region of India 369
Sumanash Dutta
- Quality of Elementary Education in Urban Slums of Varanasi City 385
Jai Singh

RESEARCH ABSTRACT : Ph.D. THESIS

- Implications of Economic Globalisation for Higher Education Curriculum Restructuring: Exploring the Trends in the States, Kerala and Tamil Nadu of India 407
Solomon Arulraj David
- Pre-service Teachers' Creative Thinking about Teaching 413
Niraj M. Rajyaguru

BOOK REVIEWS

- Quality Assurance in Higher Education Institutions 419
(K. Hanumantha Rao and P. Srinivas Subbarao (Ed.))
V.P. Garg
- Shadow Education: Private Supplementary Tutoring and its Implications for 421
Policy Makers in Asia
(Mark Bray and Chad Lykins (Eds.))
Ananda Kumar Palaniappan
- Education and Economics Disciplinary Evolution and Policy Discourse 422
(Saumen Chattopadhyay)
M.M. Goel
- Bordering, Re-bordering and New Possibilities in Education and Society 424
(S. Majhanovich, Christine Fox and Fatima Gök)
Sheng-Ju Chan
- PPP Paradox: Promise and Perils of Public-Private Partnership in Education 427
(Pritha Gopalan)
Jandhyala B.G. Tilak



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