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BOOK REVIEWS

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Public Expenditure and Grants-in-Aid for Secondary Education in Tamil Nadu[#]

P. Duraisamy*
Malathy Duraisamy

Abstract

An assessment of the financing of education calls for a study of the resources flowing into the sector from a multiplicity of sources, national or internal, government (centre, state and local), non-governmental bodies, households, community and international or external sources. Such a study, while desirable, is fraught with difficulties due to constraints of exhaustive, consistent and comparable data. This study is restricted to an analysis of government's revenue expenditure and grants-in-aid for education in the State of Tamil Nadu, a state with an impressive track record of progress in education. Such an exercise would provide us an understanding of how the pattern of financing, particularly revenue expenditure and grants-in-aid, have changed over a period of time, to be useful for framing suitable financing policies for education in the state.

Introduction

It is now well recognized that education is a form of investment in human capital that yields several benefits to the individual as well as to the society. The returns to education may take the form of enhanced productivity and earnings as well as non-monetary benefits such as reduction in family size, improvement in health status etc. The benefits of education accrue both in the present as well as in the future. There is a large body of empirical literature from several countries including India that provide evidence on the many market and non-market benefits of education (see Psacharapoulos 1994, Duraisamy 1988, Schultz 1988). Thus, educational investment either by individual or government is considered to be productive and it is for these reasons that education has been accorded high priority everywhere.

[#] **This study has been commissioned by the National Institute of Educational Planning and Administration, New Delhi. The authors wish to thank Professor Jandhyala B.G. Tilak for his encouragement and suggestions. We also acknowledge the assistance of Dr. T P Subramanian and Mr K Radhakrishnan in compiling the data for this study.**
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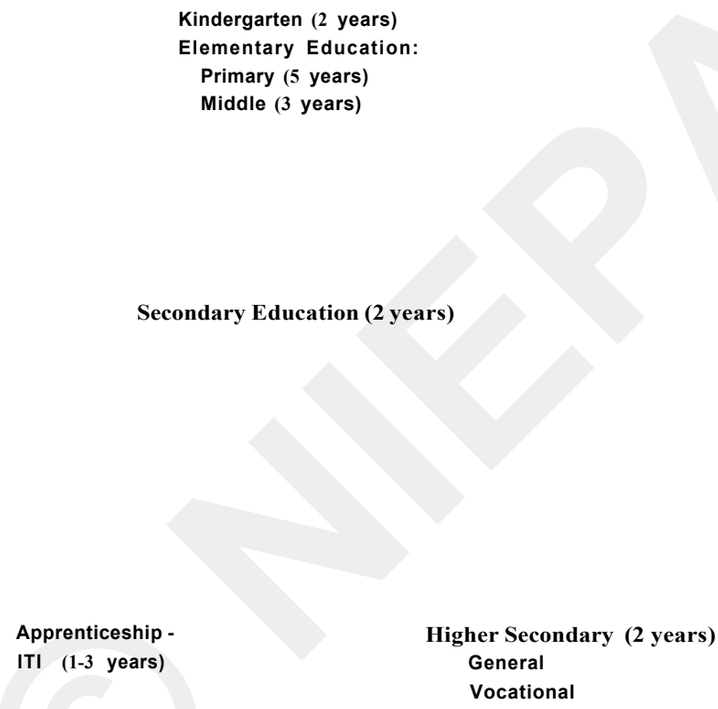
In the past few decades, there has been a tremendous expansion in education in India. The rise in enrolment rates, number of schools, teachers etc. is a testimony to this growth. Government expenditure on education has also increased to cope with the demands of this large educational system. Though education is considered to be the responsibility of government, the educational sector does claim a sizeable share of the public budget. Recently, there has been a growing fear that the economic reforms and the measures for stabilization and structural adjustments undertaken by India would lead to reduction in public spending and change the pattern of educational financing. The emergence and growth of private sector education is also seen as a means to reducing the financial burden on the government by shifting the spending from the government to the households. The present scenario in education is one in which the demand for education is growing at a time when the government is faced with severe budgetary crunch and intense competition for its scare resources from several sectors. There is also a pressure on the system to improve the quality of education provided. In this context, it is appropriate and pertinent to examine some aspects of educational financing. This would tell us how much is being spent on education and would be useful to set priorities and devise suitable financing strategies. For future developments and policies for this sector, there is a need to understand the past and the current trend in educational financing.

Education is in the concurrent list in accordance with the 42nd amendment to the Constitution of India in 1976 with the respective state governments being largely responsible for it. A study of grants-in-aid to education would be more useful when considered from the perspective of a state not only since it is mainly a state's responsibility but also because each state has its own distinctive pattern of school education and the grant-in-aid system can vary considerably across the states. Further, the state's expenditure and budgetary allocations reflect and affirm its commitment and policies towards achieving greater heights in education.

Grant-in-aid refers to a scheme of resource transfer from the government (centre to states and states to local bodies or private agencies) for financing educational development and maintenance of institutions. Grant-in-aid takes several forms such as general or specific grants, proportional or matching or full grant deficit, salary or capitation grants The rules regarding grant-in-aid may be framed to generate contributions from private persons and to decide on the quantum of grants on the basis of a school's student strength (enrolment)/efficiency. The list of items for which grants are given include salaries and allowances of teachers, contingency and establishment expenses, scholarships, PF contributions of staff, fee compensation, and other such expenditures as are required for normal and effective functioning of the school. The grant-in-aid can be increased or decreased by the State by altering the list of approved items against which grants are provided

The educational sector in Tamil Nadu comprises several layers of education - primary, secondary, diploma, and higher education consisting of general and professional education (See Figure 1).

Figure 1: Structure of Secondary Education in Tamil Nadu



There is now near unanimity that the state should provide full and free elementary (lower primary and upper primary classes 1-8) education considering that it is a constitutional obligation and also the social returns to this level of education far outweigh the private returns. There is, however, considerable debate over public financing of the other levels of education. This study focuses on public financing and grants-in-aid to secondary education in Tamil Nadu. This includes secondary and higher secondary stages. The following highlight the significance of secondary education. It is frequently held that the failure to attain universal primary education is partly due to the deficiencies in secondary education. Moreover, according to the Planning Commission, "Secondary schools supply teachers for elementary schools and students for higher institutions. The quality of secondary education is, therefore, decisive in determining standards at other

stages of education. A good system of secondary education, which prepares the way for opening in many different directions, is essential to sound economic development" (Muzzammil, 1989). Secondary education is a terminal point to several students and it also constitutes a critical stage for those aspiring to enter into higher education. Secondary education also provides the teaching inputs to the educational sector as students who complete secondary schooling can undergo teacher's training and become eligible to be elementary school teachers. Further, it is feared that the government's mounting budget deficits and spending cuts imposed by austerity measures would have a disproportionately large effect on upper primary and secondary education (Tilak 1995). For these reasons, a study of the pattern of expenditure and grants-in-aid to secondary education merits attention.

The information on secondary education expenditure in Tamil Nadu is used to obtain estimates of per student public expenditure at this level. The average expenditure (more appropriately unit cost) indicates the costliness of education and differences over a period of time within a state in its educational achievements could be in part due to differences in the way education is provided and due to policies that specifically affect cost of education. The costliness of education particularly at the levels beyond free and compulsory elementary education is indeed an issue of concern for many governments because of the difficulties experienced by them in financing of educational development.

The issues related to financing and cost of education in the country are rather well documented (see Misra 1967; Panchamukhi 1989; Tilak 1987, 1993, 1995). These studies consider the national and state share of budgetary allocations to various levels of education. The Ministry of Human Resource Development, Government of India (GOI) initiated studies on State Finances on Education which were taken up by seven DPEP-I states and the findings are synthesized (see GOI, 1997). The report focuses on trends in state education expenditure with emphasis on elementary education. Duraisamy (2000) and Duraisamy and Duraisamy (2000) address financing of technical education in Tamil Nadu and financing of higher education in India respectively. Most of the studies cited ahead do not emphasise much the grants-in-aid to education, especially secondary education. Moreover, it is important to study educational financing from the perspective of particular states. An examination of state government's budgetary expenditure on education will provide insights into the detailed fund flows and grants-in-aid. Muzzammil (1989) analysed the financing of education in Uttar Pradesh.

In this study, the financing and grants-in-aid for secondary education in Tamil Nadu are analysed. An earlier work by Duraisamy *et.* a/.(1998) examined the quality-quantity trade off in secondary education in Tamil Nadu. Another study by Duraisamy and Subramanian (2000) examined financing, cost and student achievement in secondary education in Chennai using primary data from secondary schools. However, these studies do not consider the grants-in-aid to secondary education.

The specific objectives of this study ?re:

1. To document the structure and growth of secondary education in Tamil Nadu;
2. To analyse the trends and growth in educational expenditure, the intra-sectoral allocation of revenue expenditure on education and to examine the relationship between educational expenditure, State Domestic Product and total revenue expenditure;
3. To examine the changes in plan and non-plan expenditure on secondary education at current and constant prices;
4. To assess the levels and trends in nominal and real revenue expenditures on secondary education focusing on grants-in-aid;
5. To estimate expenditure and grants-in-aid per secondary school student at current ad constant prices; and
6. To investigate how these have changed over the period of time.

The analysis is confined to the period 1980/1 to 2001/2. A landmark year in secondary education scenario in the state is 1978/9 when the state introduced the 10+2 (10 years + a 2 year higher secondary course in schools) pattern in line with the suggestions of the Kothari Education Commission. We consider the period from 1980/1, which coincides with the commencement of the sixth plan period. Further, the real fund flows are estimated using 1980/1 as the base year. The period under review covers the sixth through the ninth plan periods.

The report is organized as follows. The structure of education varies from state to state. Section II presents the structure and growth of secondary education in Tamil Nadu highlighting the distinctive aspects that have a bearing on the funding pattern. Section III gives an overview of the pattern and government policies relating to financing of secondary education in the state highlighting the nature and form of funding to different types of secondary schools in the state. Section IV discusses the trends in educational expenditure and its relationship to SDP, the plan and non-plan components of expenditure, the grant-in-aid to secondary education and the per student expenditure and grants-in-aid. Section V presents the summary and conclusions. The lessons arising out of the prevailing state outlays and allocations to secondary education and the implications for sustainability and future financing policies of the state are also discussed.

Structure and Growth of Secondary Education in Tamil Nadu

At the time of independence, the educational pattern varied markedly across the country and in order to have a uniform system of school education in India the Government of India constituted the Secondary Education Commission (1952-53) headed by Dr. A.L. Lakshmanaswami Mudaliar. The Commission's mandate was to suggest measures to revamp the school education system in India. It suggested 11 years of school education consisting of primary stage (I-V grades), middle level (VI-VIII grades) and secondary level (IX-XI grades) followed by one year of Pre-University Course (PUC) before entry

into undergraduate courses in professional, arts and science subjects. Accordingly, the educational system was changed to 11+1+3 (i.e. 11 years school education followed by one-year PUC and 3 years in undergraduate programmes in arts and science). However, the duration of undergraduate professional courses such as engineering and medicine varied between 5 to 5-1/2 years respectively.

The Government of India appointed the Kothari Commission (1964-66), to offer ways and means to improve the educational system in India, suggested the 10+2+3 pattern, that is, 10 years upto secondary stage followed by 2 years of higher secondary education and 3 years of undergraduate courses in arts and science. Accordingly, the Tamil Nadu Government introduced the new pattern of education from the academic year 1978-79 and this has been followed in the state over the years to date.

The structure of school education at the secondary and higher secondary levels in Tamil Nadu is shown in Figures 2 and 3 respectively. Schools in the state are broadly classified into two grounds, that is, schools under the State Government control and schools under Central Government control. There are three streams or curricula in. secondary education in the state controlled/regulated schools (Figure 2) namely, State Board, Anglo-Indian and Matriculation schools. The schools run by the government, local bodies (Municipal, Corporation and Panchayat) and the schools aided by the government but under private management and some private unaided schools follow the state board curriculum. In these schools, the instruction is in Tamil; and English may be offered as a subject. In some schools, there are separate sections that deliver instruction in English.

The category of schools known as Anglo-Indian schools follows a separate curriculum. The third category namely, matriculation schools were under the University of Madras till 1976 and have since been controlled by the state education directorate. The Anglo-Indian and Matriculation schools provide English medium education and generally attract the elite students. These schools are complete schools in the sense that they provide education from the kindergarten to the secondary/higher secondary levels.

The schools run by the Central Government known as Kendriya Vidyalayas (KV) and some private self-financing schools adopt the CBSE curriculum. These schools also render education from primary to secondary/senior secondary levels (Grades I to 10/12).

At the higher secondary level, the three streams namely the State Board, Anglo-Indian and Matriculation, converge to a single state board system (Figure 2). The CBSE provides an alternative curriculum at the higher secondary level. The state-run and aided schools give instruction mainly in Tamil, while in all other schools instruction is in English.

The development and progress of secondary education is assessed using indicators such as number of secondary and higher secondary institutions and enrolment in them. The data for the purpose have been drawn from the published handbooks and unpublished records of the Directorate of School Education, Department of Education, Government of Tamil Nadu.

Figure 2: Secondary Education in Tamil Nadu By Curricula

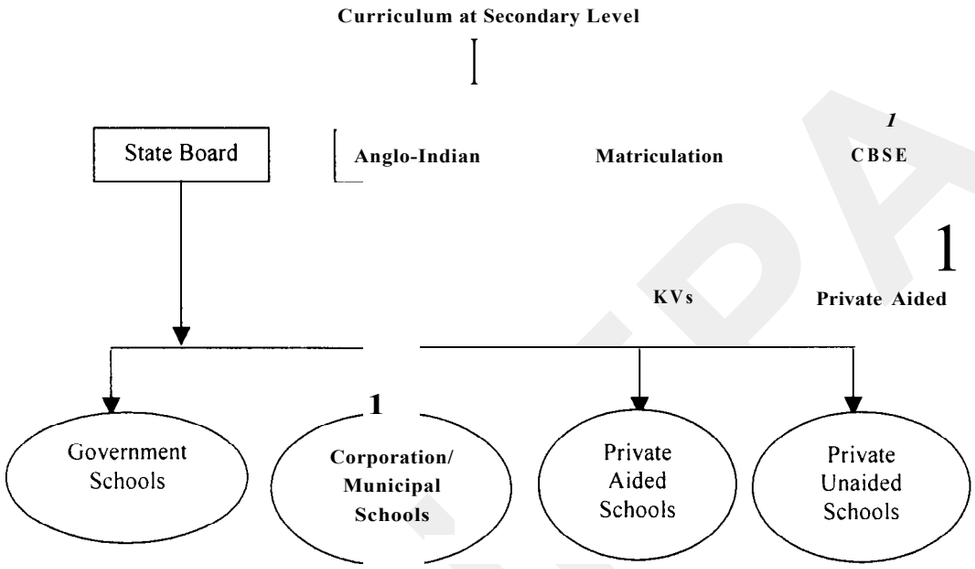
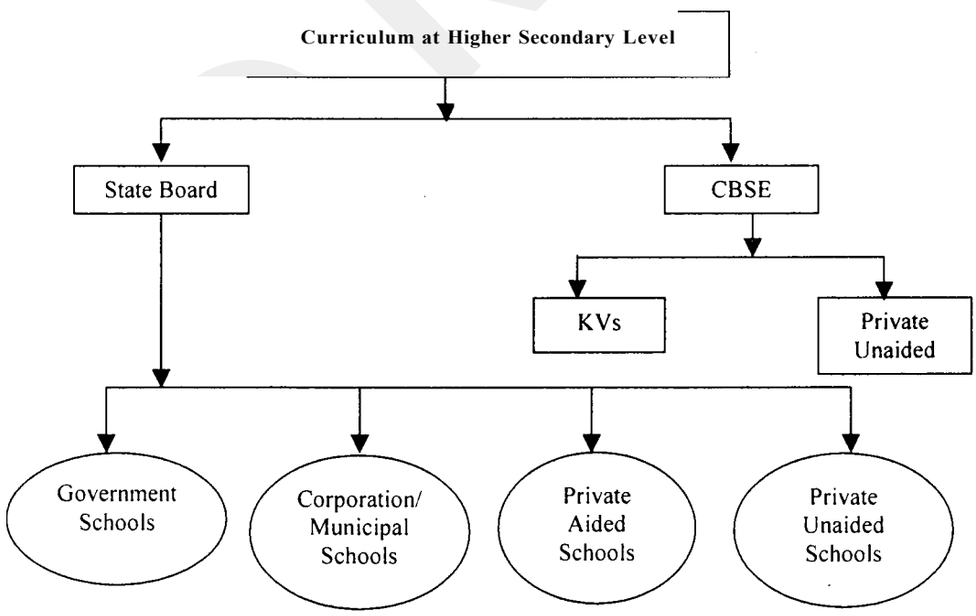


Figure 3: Higher Secondary Education in Tamil Nadu By Curricula



Tables 1 and 2 show the trend and growth of secondary and higher secondary schools in the state from 1980/1 to 2001/2. The interesting finding that emerges from the Tables is that in the beginning a large number of schools were state government and government aided schools and these together still outnumber the unaided and matriculation schools taken together. The number of government schools increased from 1486 in 1980/1 to 1981 in 2001/2, which represents an increase of 33 percentage points. A large part of this increase occurred in the period from 1980/1 to 1989/90 (24%). The share of government schools to all schools in the state declined from about 72 % in 1980/1 to 40% in 2001/2. The number of municipal and corporation schools has gone up by 50% over the period. The number of aided institutions recorded an overall increase of 62% over the period.[1]

There is a phenomenal increase in the demand for English medium high quality education in the state as revealed by rise in the number of matriculation schools by about 20 times during the 1980s and 3 times in the 1990s. The number of matriculation schools increased from 29 in 1980/81 to 606 in 1989/90 and to 1910 in 2001/2. The share of matriculation schools has jumped from a mere 3% in 1980/1 to 39% in the recent years. There are very few Anglo-Indian schools in the state in the current year; and the number of these schools declined from 17 in 1980/1 to 12 in 2001/2. The share of schools under the CBSE system too declined from 3 % to 1 % of all schools in the state in the current year. A more or less similar pattern and trend is observed for the higher secondary schools in the state (Table 2).

Tables 3 and 4 document the trend in enrolment in high and higher secondary schools. The state government schools which account for 40% of all schools in the state absorb about 62 % of enrolment in high schools. The enrolment in corporation and private aided schools shot up by 28% and 75% respectively during the period under review. The dramatic increase in enrolment rate occurred in the unaided state board and matriculation schools. The enrolment in the Anglo-Indian schools marginally declined.

As our study focuses on the financing of government schools in the state and grants-in-aid to secondary schools, growth rates are computed for enrolment in these categories of schools. The growth rates are computed from the parameter estimates of the time trend variable, obtained by regressing enrolment on time (year). The estimated rates indicate that enrolment in government, municipal/corporation and aided high schools recorded a growth rate of 3.8, 2.4 and 2.3 per cent respectively during 1980/1 to 2001/2.

In the case of enrolment in higher secondary schools, the percentage enrolled in government schools increased from 38% of all enrolment in the starting year to 44 % in the terminal year (Table 4) and there has been a 4.7% growth in government school enrolment over the period. During the same period, the enrolment in the municipal/ corporation schools recorded a growth rate of 2.1%. The share of enrolment in the private aided state board higher secondary schools was of the order of 38% in 2001/2 and the growth rate of enrolment in the aided schools was 2.8%. The private unaided schools

[1] **A surprising feature is the marked increase in the number of aided institutions particularly in the recent years. Discussions with the officials at the State Directorate of School Education reveals that the schools enumerated here are not new schools but old ones that have been up-graded as secondary schools.**

TABLE 1

Growth of Secondary Schools in Tamil Nadu By Management and Curriculum, 1980/1-2001/2

Year	*Govt*	*State Board Schools*			*Total*	*Matriculation*	*Anglo Indian*	*Central*	*Total*	*Grand Total*
		Mpl/Corp	*Aided*	*Unaided*						
1980-81	**1486**	*12*	**399**	**1**	**1958**	*29*	**17**	**65**	**111**	**2069**
1981-82	**1547**	**69**	**398**	**7**	**2021**	**50**	**18**	**79**	**147**	**2168**
1982-83	**1590**	**71**	**397**	**13**	**2071**	**78**	**18**	**93**	**189**	**2260**
1983-84	**1621**	**72**	**441**	**7**	**2141**	**93**	**18**	**99**	**210**	**2351**
1984-85	**1686**	**73**	**465**	**5**	**2229**	**144**	**14**	**89**	**247**	**2476**
1985-86	**1723**	**80**	**450**	**5**	**2258**	**212**	**13**	**86**	**311**	**2569**
1986-87	**1765**	**80**	**445**	**2**	**2292**	**289**	**11**	**96**	**396**	**2688**
1987-88	**1762**	**80**	**450**	**2**	**2294**	**406**	**13**	**106**	**525**	**2819**
1988-89	**1795**	**80**	**416**	**2**	**2293**	**515**	**13**	**101**	**629**	**2922**
1989-90	**1839**	**78**	**387**	**23**	**2327**	**606**	**12**	**89**	**707**	**3034**
1990-91	**1864**	**83**	**370**	**44**	**2361**	**684**	**13**	**93**	**790**	**3151**
1991-92	**1872**	**83**	**352**	**66**	**2373**	**684**	**13**	**93**	**790**	**3163**
1992-93	**1883**	**83**	**346**	**84**	**2396**	**709**	**13**	**85**	**807**	**3203**
1993-94	**1889**	**83**	**346**	**94**	**2412**	**759**	**13**	**86**	**858**	**3270**
1994-95	**1902**	**83**	**332**	**121**	**2438**	**806**	**13**	**83**	**902**	**3340**
1995-96	**1915**	**87**	**304**	**139**	**2445**	**885**	**12**	**75**	**972**	**3417**
1996-97	**1932**	**88**	**304**	**140**	**2464**	**1032**	**12**	**66**	**1110**	**3574**
1997-98	**1917**	**94**	**294**	**144**	**2449**	**1245**	**12**	**59**	**1316**	**3765**
1998-99	**1986**	**94**	**626**	**96**	**2802**	**1335**	**12**	**59**	**1406**	**4208**
1999-2000	**2006**	**103**	**626**	**104**	**2839**	**1641**	**12**	**59**	**1712**	**4551**
2000-2001	**2002**	**112**	**610**	**135**	**2859**	**1564**	**12**	**65**	**1641**	**4500**
2001-2002	**1981**	**108**	**646**	**179**	**2914**	**1910**	**12**	**67**	**1989**	**4903**

Source: Directorate of School Education.

TABLE 2

Growth of Higher Secondary Schools in Tamil Nadu, 1980/1-2001/2

Year	*Govt*	*State Board Schools*			*Total*	*Matriculation*	*Anglo Indian*	*Centra/*	*Total*	*Grand Total*
		Mpl/Corp	*Aided*	*Unaided*						
1980-81	**572**	**57**	**542**	**0**	**1171**	**31**	*26*	**57**	**114**	**1285**
1981-82	**653**	**60**	**574**	**0**	**1287**	**36**	**26**	**57**	**119**	**1406**
1982-83	**654**	**60**	**576**	**0**	**1290**	**41**	**26**	**57**	**124**	**1414**
1983-84	**654**	**60**	**576**	**2**	**1292**	**52**	**26**	**57**	**135**	**1427**
1984-85	**686**	**60**	**584**	**1**	**1331**	**59**	**27**	**57**	**143**	**1474**
1985-86	**690**	**62**	**627**	**1**	**1380**	**79**	**28**	**67**	**174**	**1554**
1986-87	**755**	**62**	**651**	**1**	**1469**	**100**	**30**	**79**	**209**	**1678**
1987-88	**765**	**62**	**653**	**1**	**1481**	**121**	**29**	**79**	**229**	**1710**
1988-89	**769**	**62**	**676**	**19**	**1526**	**155**	**29**	**77**	**261**	**1787**
1989-90	**809**	**68**	**677**	**53**	**1607**	**192**	**28**	**87**	**307**	**1914**
1990-91	**848**	**68**	**674**	**70**	**1660**	**276**	**28**	**81**	**385**	**2045**
1991-92	**869**	**68**	**674**	**88**	**1699**	**276**	**28**	**81**	**385**	**2084**
1992-93	**879**	**68**	**674**	**94**	**1715**	**338**	**28**	**84**	**450**	**2165**
1993-94	**891**	**68**	**674**	**98**	**1731**	**373**	**28**	**89**	**490**	**2221**
1994-95	**903**	**68**	**674**	**112**	**1757**	**440**	**28**	**93**	**561**	**2318**
1995-96	**932**	**69**	**674**	**140**	**1815**	**540**	**29**	**106**	**675**	**2490**
1996-97	**1012**	**70**	**674**	**155**	**1911**	**668**	**29**	**126**	**823**	**2734**
1997-98	**1087**	**75**	**674**	**183**	**2019**	**792**	**29**	**135**	**956**	**2975**
1998-99	**1157**	**78**	**869**	**29**	**2133**	**852**	**29**	**B 5**	**1016**	**3149**
1999-2000	**1206**	**80**	**884**	**46**	**2216**	**912**	**29**	**135**	**1076**	**3292**
2000-2001	**1258**	**81**	**909**	**68**	**2316**	**959**	**29**	**135**	**1123**	**3439**
2001-2002	**1374**	**90**	**909**	**74**	**2447**	**997**	**29**	**135**	**1161**	**3608**

Source: Directorate of School Education.

TABLE 3

Enrolment in High Schools By School Management in Tamil Nadu, 1980/1-2001/2

Year	*State Board*					*Matriculation*	*Anglo-India*	*CBSE*	*Grand Total*
	Govt.	*Mpl /Corp.*	*Private Aided*	*Private Unaided*	*Total*				
1980-81	**473379**	**36436**	**193897**	**407**	**704119**	**12831**	**11615**	**30337**	**758902**
1981-82	**484375**	**38363**	**199520**	**830**	**723088**	**23040**	**11124**	**37317**	**794569**
1982-83	**522971**	**39099**	**197092**	**3321**	**762483**	**24357**	**12293**	**38875**	**838008**
1983-84	**602738**	**42303**	**250522**	**963**	**896526**	**39772**	**12712**	**49649**	**998659**
1984-85	**655829**	**41904**	**253763**	**1121**	**952617**	**65858**	**10819**	**50460**	**1079754**
1985-86	**682802**	**45192**	**280440**	**1506**	**1009940**	**75105**	**11324**	**40967**	**1137336**
1986-87	**746704**	**46354**	**278866**	**1651**	**1073575**	**76141**	**9966**	**38491**	**1198173**
1987-88	**767666**	**52772**	**318993**	**1794**	**1141225**	**90799**	**9548**	**49908**	**1291480**
1988-89	**811250**	**54472**	**361839**	**1841**	**1229402**	**104944**	**10611**	**48580**	**1393537**
1989-90	**854833**	**54109**	**387953**	**11143**	**1308038**	**127913**	**10892**	**48331**	**1495174**
1990-91	**911348**	**62701**	**351715**	**16248**	**1342012**	**168920**	**11048**	**53242**	**1575222**
1991-92	**973280**	**64844**	**326122**	**43193**	**1407439**	**179240**	**11907**	**49981**	**1648567**
1992-93	**1040346**	**68492**	**320942**	**52697**	**1482477**	**196001**	**12948**	**46061**	**1737487**
1993-94	**991113**	**72654**	**350297**	**57168**	**1471232**	**257796**	**13464**	**45664**	**1788156**
1994-95	**1074851**	**77106**	**345784**	**78964**	**1576705**	**271205**	**14033**	**46163**	**1908106**
1995-96	**1113752**	**78993**	**331828**	**89367**	**1613940**	**337050**	**13309**	**48138**	**2012437**
1996-97	**1141026**	**80972**	**340934**	**91555**	**1654487**	**351841**	**13374**	**48136**	**2067838**
1997-98	**1128451**	**80097**	**337279**	**90559**	**1636386**	**226108**	**13910**	**49015**	**1925419**
1998-99	**879479**	**64204**	**314213**	**234441**	**1492337**	**478527**	**11189**	**49804**	**2031857**
1999-2000	**923868**	**42813**	**319797**	**71063**	**1357541**	**436869**	**10235**	**51020**	**1855665**
2000-2001	**963629**	**49583**	**336548**	**30632**	**1380392**	**455849**	**10271**	**39975**	**1886487**
2001-2002	**978461**	**46605**	**339244**	**32059**	**1396369**	**149894**	**10414**	**30759**	**1587436**

Source: Directorate of Secondary Education.

TABLE 4

Enrolment in Higher Secondary Schools By School Management in Tamil Nadn, 1980/1-2001/2

Year	*State Board*					*Matriculation*	*Anglo-Indian*	*CBSE*	*Grand Total*
	Govt.	*Mpl/Corp.*	*Private Aided*	*Private Unaided*	*Total*				
1980-81	**553833**	**86067**	**698435**	**399**	**1338734**	**27542**	**25768**	**65273**	**1457317**
1981-82	**625368**	**89543**	**729139**	**601**	**1444651**	**31219**	**26300**	**65517**	**1567687**
1982-83	**652820**	**90465**	**731097**	**1135**	**1475517**	**36739**	**28264**	**65670**	**1606190**
1983-84	**659048**	**91602**	**745229**	**997**	**1496876**	**50356**	**30218**	**66070**	**1643520**
1984-85	**709855**	**94772**	**764675**	**1204**	**1570506**	**68517**	**32430**	**73614**	**1745067**
1985-86	**745924**	**114442**	**793057**	**795**	**1654218**	**53506**	**34994**	**76941**	**1819659**
1986-87	**815603**	**121774**	**833933**	**1115**	**1772425**	**90807**	**36450**	**86100**	**1995782**
1987-88	**857081**	**124437**	**870732**	**739**	**1852989**	**104871**	**36766**	**92278**	**2086884**
1988-89	**953043**	**134207**	**896667**	**11005**	**1994922**	**107153**	**36960**	**87897**	**2226932**
1989-90	**986630**	**152856**	**914376**	**27121**	**2080983**	**117254**	**37097**	**92915**	**2328249**
1990-91	**1013211**	**167642**	**932389**	**36870**	**2150112**	**131886**	**37519**	**94796**	**2414313**
1991-92	**1069193**	**170013**	**956608**	**48200**	**2244014**	**145411**	**38634**	**88231**	**2516290**
1992-93	**1144217**	**171422**	**967155**	**60531**	**2343325**	**169619**	**43429**	**91128**	**2647501**
1993-94	**1106472**	**185283**	**1000736**	**66155**	**2358646**	**137686**	**43539**	**96678**	**2636549**
1994-95	**1191341**	**193536**	**1028350**	**82780**	**2496007**	**247277**	**43849**	**97768**	**2884901**
1995-96	**1233872**	**193932**	**1037863**	**101575**	**2567242**	**330685**	**44212**	**110164**	**3052303**
1996-97	**1276876**	**200686**	**1074010**	**105113**	**2656685**	**345836**	**46040**	**115192**	**3163753**
1997-98	**1324146**	**208259**	**1114704**	**109083**	**2756192**	**397936**	**46970**	**118712**	**3319810**
1998-99	**1272105**	**83035**	**1197539**	**91965**	**2644644**	**528778**	**46719**	**143356**	**3363500**
1999-2000	**1416047**	**130522**	**1110242**	**24658**	**2681469**	**423308**	**45005**	**171847**	**3321629**
2000-2001	**1422532**	**88264**	**1212171**	**40311**	**2763278**	**466477**	**42432**	**106480**	**3378667**
2001-2002	**1509743**	**119407**	**1298688**	**45186**	**2973024**	**330562**	**43562**	**101846**	**3448994**

Source: Directorate of Secondary Education.

accounted for about 11% of all enrolments. Overall, in the high and higher secondary schools put together the growth rate of enrolment recorded 4.2, 2.3 and 2.9 per cent respectively in the government, municipal/corporation and aided schools.

The above discussion points to the remarkable progress in secondary education in Tamil Nadu as reflected in the growth of schools and enrolments therein. This has implications for the state government financing and grant-in-aid to schools.

Government Policies and Pattern of Financing of Secondary Education in Tamil Nadu

The structure and pattern of budgetary resource allocation to secondary education is discussed below. We have relied almost exclusively on macro data obtained from government budget documents. The budget expenditures on education come from the Detailed Demand for Grant (Demand No. 17) of the Tamil Nadu state budget. These data refer to expenditures and not costs and only revenue expenditures have been considered. A close scrutiny of the data shows that the budgetary classification of expenditures has been changing over the years. In the recent years, the state budget for education includes expenditure on general education, technical education and others such as sports and youth services, art and culture, welfare of SC/ST and Backward classes, social security and welfare, public works etc. Expenditure on technical education formed part of the general education till 1986/7 but became a distinct category thereafter. The expenditure on general education includes elementary, secondary, university and higher education, adult education, language development and a general category. The secondary education budget consists of spending on secondary and higher secondary schools.[2]

The expenditure and grant-in-aid for secondary/higher secondary education show that in respect of state government schools, all the expenditure such as salaries and benefits (pensions, provident fund) of teaching and non-teaching staff, maintenance, provision of buildings and infrastructure are entirely borne by the government. The teachers are recruited for these schools by the government through the Teacher Recruitment Board (TRB). These schools do not levy tuition fee. However, the schools are permitted to collect amenity fees from the students to meet some recurring expenditures on stationery, consumables, etc. They also collect contributions to Parent Teacher Association which are used for hiring temporary teachers and improving infrastructure facilities in the schools. Recently, the government has permitted the schools to receive donations in cash/kind from the general public. "School Improvement Conferences" are held once in a year to mobilize local funds for public schools. The government also encourages the local community to be "School Patron" by donating Rs. 1000 or more. The donations thus raised provide for hiring substitute teachers for replacing long term absence of a permanent teacher and also for improving infrastructure facilities.

- Although the budget documents refer to secondary education, the expenditure is on the secondary and higher secondary schools, which are likely to include middle level schooling (classes VI-VIII). In one of the districts, namely Kanyakumari, most of the high schools and higher secondary schools are complete schools with classes from I-X or I-XII.

The other category of secondary schools run by local bodies like municipality and corporations used to receive 'residuary' grant from the state government. Due to the financial difficulties faced by the local bodies, the State government has also taken over the responsibility of meeting the expenditure towards salaries of the teachers in these schools since 1990/1. The local bodies provide financial assistance for maintenance, besides being solely responsible for construction of buildings and other infrastructure development.

In order to encourage participation of the private sector in education, the government since independence facilitated the entry of the private schools by allocating resources in the form of grant-in-aid. This group of schools is known as private aided schools. The rules and regulations regarding grants vary between minority and non-minority private schools. The type of grant given includes salary grant to defray the salaries of teaching and non-teaching staff maintenance grant and matching building grant. The salary grant depends upon student enrolment and the number of teaching positions is determined by the teacher-pupil ratio of 1:40.[3] The schools were also given salary grant to meet a minimum number (four) of non-teaching positions such as junior assistant, record clerk, office assistant and a watchman. These schools also received maintenance grant, which was 15% of the salary grant before mid-seventies and is currently reduced to about 5 %. Earlier, 50% matching building grant was also given to these schools. The grant-in-aid is provided for schools that are upgraded or were established prior to 1990/1. The rules relating to teacher recruitment in the minority and non-minority schools are different. The minority institutions can recruit any candidate for the teaching posts whereas the non-minority institutions have to go through the employment exchanges and also strictly adhere to reservation policies of the state government. The teaching posts are transferable between the private aided schools as and when there is a drop in the student enrolment. The private aided schools are not permitted to charge tuition fees.

Another category of schools that receives grant-in-aid from the government is the Anglo-Indian schools. These schools charge tuition fees from non-Anglo-Jndian students and give tuition fee concession to Anglo-Indian students. They are given deficit grant by the state government to meet the gap between their expenditure and revenue. However, this grant is a very meagre amount.[4]

Revenue Expenditure and Grants-in-Aid to Secondary Education

Before we take up the analysis on the revenue expenditure to secondary education, a brief discussion on the budget allocations to the education sector and within the education sector is present.

[3] **For the new high schools, one teacher each for social science, science and mathematics and a Tamil Pandit are granted. For subsequent teaching positions the ratio of 1:40 is applied.**

[4] **As the grants-in-aid to Anglo-Indian schools are meagre, these are not taken for this study.**

A. ***Expenditure on Education, Total Revenue Expenditure and Gross State Domestic Product***

The state government's response to the growing demand for education is first examined by considering growth in the general educational expenditure (which includes secondary education) and its share in total revenue expenditure of the state and the gross State Domestic Product (SDP). Table 5 provides the details. It also reports the growth rate and average percentage share of revenue expenditure and to SDP. The budgetary allocation to general education has gone up from Rs. 219 crores in 1980/1 to Rs. 4686 crores in 2001/2, which is about 21 times increase in a little over two decades. It would be important to examine the decadal trends. While expenditure for the whole period shows a 16% growth rate, there is decline in general education expenditure growth from 17.6% in the decade 1980/90 to 14.1% during 1991/2002. The share of expenditure on general education to total revenue expenditure remained more or less stable with a mean value of 19.3% during the period. The percentage shares for the 80's and the 90's show a small decline from 19.7% (1980/90) to 18.9 % (1991/2002).

It is important to see how the expenditure on education is related to SDP. The share of educational expenditure in SDP is usually taken to be an indicator of the State's priority to education. The average percentage share of educational expenditure to SDP remained constant at about 3.5 % of SDP. During this period, the SDP registered a growth rate of 16% and this matches with-the growth rate of expenditure on general education.

It would be interesting to estimate the effect of the state's total revenue expenditure and gross SDP on the expenditure on general education. According to Wagner's Law, public expenditure is functionally related to economic growth captured by SDP. Table 6 contains the estimates of the regression of the logarithm of general education expenditure on the logarithm of total revenue expenditure (Model I) and Logarithm of SDP (Model II). The coefficients of total revenue expenditure and SDP have a positive and statistically significant effect (at 1% level) on expenditure on education. They measure the total expenditure and income (SDP) elasticity and are very close to but less than one and may be interpreted as relatively inelastic, implying that expenditure on education is not very responsive to changes in the total revenue expenditure and the SDP.

It is important to examine the resource allocation to secondary education from an intra-sectoral perspective that is allocation to different levels of education.

TABLE 5

Expenditure on General Education and its Share in Total Revenue Expenditure and Gross State Domestic Product, Tamil Nadu, 1980-2002

Year	*Education Expenditure (Rs. in Crores)*	*% to Total Revenue Expenditure*	*% to SDP*
1980-81	**219**	**19.05**	**3.04**
1981-82	**247**	**18.14**	**2.84**
1982-83	**312**	**19.77**	**3.53**
1983-84	**358**	**18.76**	**3.51**
1984-85	**420**	**18.98**	**3.49**
1985-86	**530**	**21.63**	**3.87**
1986-87	**575**	**20.72**	**3.76**
1987-88	**651**	**19.29**	**3.58**
1988-89	**742**	**19.72**	**3.63**
1989-90	**1003**	**21.20**	**4.19**
1990-91	**1219**	**21.60**	**4.41**
1991-92	**1387**	**15.99**	**4.26**
1992-93	**1482**	**17.35**	**3.91**
1993-94	**1647**	**18.81**	**3.19**
1994-95	**1800**	**18.68**	**2.93.**
1995-96	**2049**	**18.78**	**2.9 f**
1996-97	**2387**	**18.27**	**2.98**
1997-98	**2732**	**18.28**	**2.94**
1998-99	**3656**	**20.66**	**3.42**
1999-00	**4120**	**19.88**	**3.50**
2000-01	**4372**	**19.59**	**3.32**
2001-02 R	**4686**	**19.11**	**NA**
	Growth Rate (%)	**Average**	**Average**
1980-90	**17.6**	**19.73**	**3.50**
1991-2002	**14.1**	**18.92**	**3.40**
1980-2002	**16.0**	**19.28**	**3.50**

Source: Budget Documents (Various years), Government of Tamil Nadu
Note: NA - Not available.

TABLE 6

Regression Estimates of the Relationship between Expenditure on Education, Total Revenue Expenditure and Gross State Domestic Product, Tamil Nadu, 1980-2002

Dependant Variable: Log(Expenditure on General Education)		
Explanatory Variables	*Model 1*	*Model 2*
Constant	**-10.685**	**-12.015**
Log(Revenue Expenditure)	**0.990***	**-**
	(60.94)	
Log(SDP)	**-**	**0.971***
		(31.24)
Adj. R-square	**0.994**	**0.980**
F-ratio	**3717**	**975**
Durbin-Watson Statistics	**1.555**	**0.512**
N	**22**	**22**

Note: V values in parentheses.
*** Significant at 1 % level.**

B. *Intra-Sectoral Resource Allocation to Education*

Table 7 lays out the share of different levels of education to total expenditure on general education. A striking observation that emerges is that the proportion of expenditure incurred on various levels of education remained almost constant over the years. The Table clearly establishes that primary education has been accorded the highest priority. This sector claimed around 49.5% of the budget on general education during the period under consideration. The decadal trends show a small reduction in the share of expenditure on primary education from 50.2% in the 1980s to about 49% during **1991**/2002. The decline by 4.8 percentage points in the years 1989/90 to 2001/2 could be due to fall in fertility rates in the state and consequent decline in the population of primary age group of children.

On an average secondary education has been receiving over a third of the revenue expenditure on general education. The percentage share of expenditure on secondary education increased from 27.9% in 1980/1 to 37.7% in the terminal year of the study, which constitutes an increase of 10% over the period. The average percentage share amounts to 34.6% for the whole period. Interestingly the share of secondary education increased from 30.9% in the 1980s to 37.6% since 1991. The share of expenditure on higher education increased by about 11% during the period. The average share of 'others' category is 5% during 1980/2002 but the disaggregated time trend shows a decline in the mean percentage share from 7.8% in the 1980s to 2.9% in the last decade.

Thus, the intra-sectoral analysis of educational budget of the state reveals that while there has been a decline in the percentage share of expenditure on primary, higher and other levels of education in the last decade compared to the 1980s, the share of secondary education witnessed an increase of 8% during 1991/2002 over the previous decade (1980/90).

TABLE 7

Distribution of Revenue Expenditure by Educational Level in Tamil Nadu, 1980/1-2001/2

Year	*Primary*	*Secondary*	*Higher*	*Others*	*Total*
1980-81	**50.49**	**27.92**	**10.63**	**10.96**	**100.00**
1981-82	**47.63**	**30.76**	**10.58**	**11.03**	**100.00**
1982-83	**50.67**	**28.56**	**10.97**	**9.81**	**100.00**
1983-84	**49.86**	**28.30**	**10.29**	**11.55**	**100.00**
1984-85	**51.02**	**28.59**	**10.53**	**9.86**	**100.00**
1985-86	**52.62**	**27.40**	**9.91**	**10.06**	**100.00**
1986-87	**51.46**	**28.12**	**10.20**	**10.22**	**100.00**
1987-88	**51.59**	**37.00**	**9.85**	**1.57**	**100.00**
1988-89	**50.37**	**37.34**	**10.39**	**1.90**	**100.00**
1989-90	**46.42**	**35.31**	**16.93**	**1.35**	**100.00**
1990-91	**51.20**	**36.74**	**10.76**	**1.31**	**100.00**
1991-92	**52.99**	**35.39**	**9.49**	**2.12**	**100.00**
1992-93	**49.37**	**37.36**	**10.17**	**3.09**	**100.00**
1993-94	**49.10**	**37.24**	**10.41**	**3.24**	**100.00**
1994-95	**49.28**	**37.78**	**10.26**	**2.68**	**100.00**
1995-96	**48.66**	**38.27**	**10.01**	**3.06**	**100.00**
1996-97	**48.54**	**38.03**	**9.76**	**3.67**	**100.00**
1997-98	**49.45**	**38.08**	**10.16**	**2.31**	**100.00**
1998-99	**50.08**	**38.89**	**7.68**	**3.35**	**100.00**
1999-00	**47.75**	**38.58**	**11.63**	**2.05**	**100.00**
2000-01	**45.68**	**37.19**	**13.02**	**4.11**	**100.00**
2001-02R	**45.30**	**37.70**	**13.00**	**4.00**	**100.00**
	Average				
1980-90	**50.21**	**30.93**	**11.03**	**7.83**	**100.00**
1991-02	**48.95**	**37.60**	**10.53**	**2.92**	**100.00**
1980-02	**49.52**	**34.57**	**10.76**	**5.15**	**100.00**

Note: 1. Others include Adult Education, Language Development and General Category.
Source: Computed, using the data compiled from State educational budget data for various years.

C. *Plan and Non-Plan Expenditures on Secondary Education*

The financial support extended to secondary education can be examined in terms of changes in plan and non-plan components of expenditure. The plan and non-plan break-up of expenditure reveals the scope for setting new directions of development

Table 8 provides the plan and non-plan and total revenue expenditures on secondary education in Tamil Nadu at current prices. The total revenue expenditure on secondary education presents an impressive increase from Rs.61.4 crores to Rs. 1609.7 crores during the sixth through the ninth Plan periods representing an increase of over 26 times the initial level. The compounded growth rate is 17.8% for the period. This rising trend is

also clear from the accompanying graph (Figure 4) depicting the trend in revenue expenditure (plan and non-plan). The decadal trend points to an important finding that the growth rate of expenditure declined from 20.6% in the 1980s to 14.2% in the 1990s.

TABLE 8

Plan and Non-Plan Revenue Expenditure on Secondary Education at Current Prices in Tamil Nadu, 1980/1-2001/2

Year	*Plan*		*Non-Plan*		*Total Amount (Rs. in Crores)*
	Amount (Rs. in Crores)	*% to Total*	*Amount (Rs. in Crores)*	*% to Total*	
1980-81	**1.14**	**1.9**	**60.22**	**98.1**	**61.37**
1981-82	**2.00**	**2.6**	**73.95**	**97.4**	**75.96**
1982-83	**3.83**	**4.3**	**85.50**	**95.7**	**89.33**
1983-84	**5.16**	**5.1**	**96.24**	**94.9**	**101.40**
1984-85	**7.16**	**6.0**	**112.75**	**94.0**	**119.91**
1985-86	**1.09**	**.8**	**135.76**	**99.2**	**136.85**
1986-87	**1.64**	**1.2**	**137.39**	**98.8**	**139.03**
1987-88	**11.02**	**4.6**	**229.83**	**95.4**	**240.85**
1988-89	**15.72**	**5.7**	**261.32**	**94.3**	**277.04**
1989-90	**30.89**	**8.8**	**321.87**	**91.2**	**352.76**
1990-91	**8.80**	**2.0**	**438.94**	**98.0**	**447.74**
1991-92	**8.69**	**1.8**	**482.38**	**98.2**	**491.07**
1992-93	**19.30**	**3.8**	**494.39**	**96.2**	**513.69**
1993-94	**15.36**	**2.6**	**582.70**	**97.4**	**598.06**
1994-95	**17.86**	**2.6**	**662.02**	**97.4**	**679.88**
1995-96	**29.45**	**3.9**	**723.98**	**96.1**	**753.42**
1996-97	**39.28**	**4.3**	**868.45**	**95.7**	**907.73**
1997-98	**40.97**	**3.9**	**999.51**	**96.1**	**1040.48**
1998-99	**58.36**	**4.1**	**1363.74**	**95.9**	**1422.09**
1999-00	**71.23**	**4.5**	**1518.11**	**95.5**	**1589.34**
2000-01	**79.82**	**5.1**	**1474.42**	**94.9**	**1554.24**
2001-02R	**101.49**	**6.3**	**1508.17**	**93.7**	**1609.66**
	Growth Rate (%)	**Average**	**Growth Rate(%)**	**Average**	**Growth Rate (%)**
1980-90	**30.6**	**4.1**	**20.1**	**95.9**	**20.6**
1991-02	**25.7**	**3.7**	**13.9**	**96.3**	**14.2**
1980-02	**21.2**	**3.9**	**17.8**	**96.1**	**17.8**

Source: Budgetary Resources for Education (1995) and Detailed Demand for Grants, Education, (various years) Budget Publications, Government of Tamil Nadu.

The plan expenditure component increased from Rs. 1.15 crores in 1980/1 to Rs 101.**5** crores in 2001/2, implying a growth rate of 21.2% over the period. Considering the growth rates for the two decades separately, there is a 4.9% decrease in the growth of plan expenditure in the eighth and ninth plans compared to the sixth and seventh plans. The share of plan expenditure to total remained at around 4% since 1981 till the recent

year. The non-plan expenditure which makes up for about 96% of total expenditure, recorded an overall growth rate of 17.8%, from Rs.60.2 crores in 1980s to Rs. 1508.2 crores in 1991-2002. However, the growth rate has gone down in the recent plans (13.9%) over the earlier (sixth and seventh) plan periods (20.1%).

The large share of non-plan expenditure indicates that much of the expenditure is incurred on salaries and maintenance and any constructive plans for improving secondary education is yet to receive support.

Figure 4: Plan and Non-Plan Revenue Expenditure on Secondary Educaiton

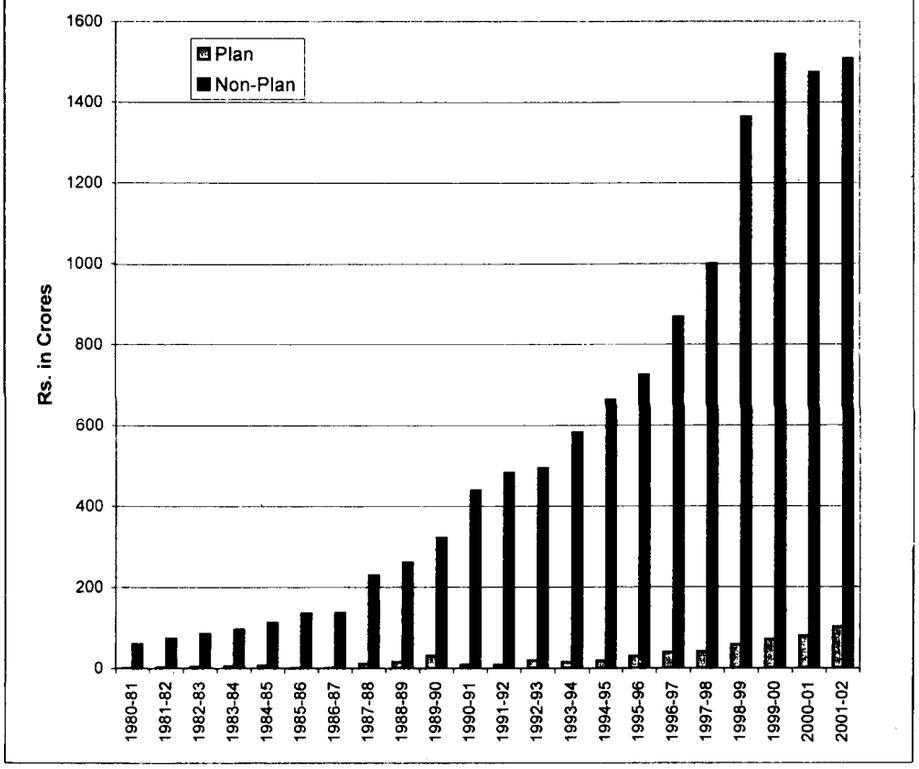


TABLE 9

Plan and Non-Plan Revenue Expenditure on Secondary Education at Constant (1980/1) Prices in Tamil Nadu, 1980/1-2001/2

Year	*Plan Expenditure*		*Non-Plan Expenditure*		*Total (Rs. in Crores)*
	Amount (Rs. in Crores)	*% to Total*	*Amount (Rs. in Crores)*	*% to Total*	
1980-81	**1.15**	**1.9**	**60.22**	**98.1**	**61.37**
1981-82	**1.82**	**2.6**	**67.07**	**97.4**	**68.89**
1982-83	**3.22**	**4.3**	**71.83**	**95.7**	**75.05**
1983-84	**4.01**	**5.1**	**74.66**	**94.9**	**78.67**
1984-85	**5.17**	**6.0**	**81.34**	**94.0**	**86.50**
1985-86	**.73**	**.8**	**90.92**	**99.2**	**91.64**
1986-87	**1.03**	**1.2**	**86.27**	**98.8**	**87.30**
1987-88	**6.37**	**4.6**	**132.76**	**95.4**	**139.13**
1988-89	**8.40**	**5.7**	**139.63**	**94.3**	**148.03**
1989-90	**15.23**	**8.8**	**158.67**	**91.2**	**173.90**
1990-91	**3.91**	**2.0**	**194.99**	**98.0**	**198.89**
1991-92	**3.36**	**1.8**	**186.74**	**98.2**	**190.10**
1992-93	**6.89**	**3.8**	**176.54**	**96.2**	**183.43**
1993-94	**4.70**	**2.6**	**178.35**	**97.4**	**183.05**
1994-95	**5.04**	**2.6**	**186.61**	**97.4**	**191.65**
1995-96	**7.62**	**3.9**	**187.32**	**96.1**	**194.94**
1996-97	**9.38**	**4.3**	**207.31**	**95.7**	**216.68**
1997-98	**9.77**	**3.9**	**238.46**	**96.1**	**248.23**
1998-99	**12.90**	**4.1**	**301.42**	**95.9**	**314.32**
1999-00	**15.20**	**4.5**	**324.06**	**95.5**	**339.26**
2000-01	**16.40**	**5.1**	**302.99**	**94.9**	**319.39**
2001-02R	**20.04**	**6.3**	**297.80**	**93.7**	**317.84**
	Growth Rate (%)	**Average**	**Growth Rate (%)**	**Average**	**Growth Rate (%)**
1980-90	**20.9**	**4.1**	**11.2**	**95.9**	**11.6**
1991-02	**17.0**	**3.7**	**6.0**	**96.3**	**6.4**
1980-02	**11.5**	**3.9**	**8.4**	**96.1**	**8.5**

Source: Computed using data given in Table 7.

The above analysis of the trends in public expenditure is carried out in terms of current prices and any increase in spending could merely arise from price increase rather than an increase in real quantum of resources. In order to provide true picture it is necessary to adjust the nominal resource flows for inflation. Using 1980/1 as the base

year, the GDP deflator has been computed and the expenditures in current prices are deflated to arrive at expenditures at constant prices or real expenditures[5]. The resulting plan, non-plan and total revenue expenditures as given in Table 9 show that total expenditure in constant prices increased from Rs. 61.4 crores in 1980/1 to Rs.317.8 crores in 2001/2 denoting an increase of just five times over the initial expenditure level compared to a 26 times increase in current prices (Table 7). The growth rate of total expenditure in real terms is only 8.5% about 9% lower than that in current prices. The decadal trends show that the growth rate of expenditures is higher in the earlier decade than in the current decade. A similar impact of inflation on the growth of expenditure is seen in the plan and non-plan components as well.

The effect of total revenue expenditure and SDP on the expenditure on secondary education is analysed, using regression method. The results given in Table 10 indicate that the total revenue expenditure elasticity and income (SDP) elasticity are marginally greater than one (moderately elastic). This implies that secondary education expenditure is responsive to changes in SDP and the state's revenue expenditure and it increases nearly proportionately with changes in the two explanatory variables.

TABLE 10

Regression Estimates of the Relationship between Expenditure on Secondary Education, Total Revenue Expenditure and Gross State Domestic Product, Tamil Nadu, 1980-2002

Dependant Variable: Log (Expenditure on General Education)

Explanatory Variables	*Model 1*	*Model 2*
Constant	**-9.141**	**-10.828**
Log (Revenue Expenditure)	**1.100***	**-**
	(43.64)	
Log (SDP)	**-**	**1.090***
		(27.729)
Adj. R-square	**0.989**	**0.975**
F-ratio	**1904**	**769**
Durbin-Watson Statistics	**1.349**	**0.540**
N	**22**	**22**

Note: V values in parentheses.
*** Significant at 1 % level.**

[5] **The available statistics on SDP at constant prices for the recent years are based on 1993/4 as the base year. These figures have been adjusted for base change and 1980/1 has been used as the base period for all the years to render uniformity and comparability of the series.**

D. *Revenue Expenditure on Government Schools and Grants-in-Aid to Local Bodies and Private Aided Schools*

The revenue expenditure on Government secondary schools and grants-in-aid to schools run by the local bodies and private organizations as given in Tables 11 and 12 in current and constant prices respectively and also Figures 5 and 6 reveal that government schools receive cent percent financial support from the state budget though in the recent years they are permitted to raise some amount through PTAs, amenity fees from students and other endowments. Over the study period, the amount of expenditure on government schools increased from Rs. 32 crores to Rs.846 crores, about 26 times compared to an increase of **5** times in constant prices. The implied compound growth rates at current and constant prices are 18% and 9% respectively for the whole period. The growth rates at current (constant) prices in the disaggregated time periods show that the expenditure in current prices grew at 17% (8.5%) in the sixth and seventh plans and 14.6% (6.7%) in the eighth and ninth plans. Government schools absorb a major chunk (50.3%) of total expenditure and its share has gone up from 48.8% (1980s) to 51.6% (1991/2002) in nominal and real terms.

The state provides financial support through grant-in-aid to the local government schools (municipal/corporation) and private schools that come under aided category. For the entire period, the grant-in-aid to local government schools registered a growth rate of 23.4% (an increase by about 42 times from Rs.1.8 crores to Rs.74.7 crores). A close scrutiny of grant-in-aid flow to the local government schools reveals that a big quantum jump in grants has taken place since 1990/1, the year from which the state government took over the responsibility for all salaries in these schools. Before that, these schools received only residuary grant to cover the excess of expenditure over revenue. There is no difference in the decadal trends in the growth rate of grant-in-aid. The share of grant-in-aid to local body schools is about 3% for the complete period with an (4.4%) increase in the recent period compared to (2.1%) in the earlier period.

Another category of schools that are provided grants from the state revenue budget is the private aided schools. These schools received about Rs. 605 crores in the year 2001/2 compared to Rs. 21 crores in the starting year (1980/1), which amounts to a 29-fold increase. The compound growth rate works out to 18.5% for the whole period and 21% and 15% respectively for 1980/90 and 1991/2002. The grant to private aided schools constitutes 34% of the total expenditure for the full period, and the share is marginally (2.2%) higher in the latter period. The corresponding expenditures and grants-in-aid and their growth rates in 1980/1 prices show evidence of more modest increases. Thus, throughout the period, expenditure on government, local body and private aided schools recorded growth rate of 8.6%, 13.5% and 9.1% respectively, which are nearly one-half to three-fifths of those in current prices as given in Table 11.

TABLE 11

Revenue Expenditure on Government, Municipal/Corporation and Private Aided Schools at Current Price in Tamil Nadu, 1980/1-2001/2

Year	*Revenue Expenditure on Government*		*Grants-in-Aid to Municipal and Corporation Schools*		*Grants-in-Aid to Private Aided Schools*	
	Amount (Rs. in Crores)	*%to Total*	*Amount (Rs. in Crores)*	*%to Total*	*Amount (Rs. in Crores)*	*%to Total*
1980-81	31.965	52.2	1.843	3.0	21.229	34.6
1981-82	38.979	51.4	1.821	2.4	25.020	33.0
1982-83	45.382	51.0	2.018	2.3	28.749	32.3
1983-84	52.369	51.6	1.926	1.9	32.772	32.3
r984-85	62.344	52.0	2.608	2.2	38.133	31.8
1985-86	75.437	52.0	3.377	2.3	46.590	32.1
1986-87	77.852	48.1	3.141	1.9	49.299	30.5
1987-88	119.457	49.6	4.080	1.7	82.842	34.4
1988-89	138.235	49.9	3.387	1.2	94.496	34.1
1989-90	108.271	30.6	6.207	1.8	116.897	33.0
1990-91	239.816	53.6	19.626	4.4	144.982	32.4
1991-92	246.297	50.2	23.815	4.8	170.352	34.7
1992-93	278.198	50.2	27.306	4.9	184.705	33.4
1993-94	309.168	50.4	27.746	4.5	210.275	34.3
1994-95	339.045	49.9	30.724	4.5	235.077	34.6
1995-96	388.539	49.5	36.031	4.6	269.942	34.4
1996-97	445.908	49.1	38.081	4.2	312.556	34.4
1997-98	541.414	52.0	41.648	4.0	367.530	35.3
1998-99	752.872	52.9	58.109	4.1	510.877	35.9
1999-00	853.451	53.7	66.285	4.2	579.600	36.5
2000-01	854.295	55.0	69.575	4.5	574.856	37.0
2001-02R	846.065	52.6	74.707	4.6	605.331	37.6
	Growth Rate (%)	**Average**	**Growth Rate (%)**	**Average**	**Growth Rate (%)**	**Average**
1980-90	17.1	48.8	13.2	2.1	20.9	32.8
1990-02	14.6	51.6	13.1	4.4	15.3	35.0
1980-02	18.1	50.3	13.1	3.4	18.5	34.0

Source: **Detailed Demand For Grants, Education (various years), Budget Publications, Government of Tamil Nadu.**

TABLE 12

Revenue Expenditure on Government, Municipal/Corporation and Private Aided Schools at Constant (1980/1) Price in Tamil Nadu, 1980/1-2001/2

Year	*Revenue Expenditure on Government*		*Grants-in-A id to Municipal and Corporation Schools*		*Grants-in-A id to Private A ided Schools*	
	Amount (Rs. in Crores)	*%to Total*	*Amount (Rs. in Crores)*	*%to Total*	*Amount (Rs. in Crores)*	*%to Total*
1980-81	**31.965**	**52.16**	**1.843**	**3.01**	**21.229**	**34.64**
1981-82	**35.352**	**51.37**	**1.652**	**2.40**	**22.692**	**32.97**
1982-83	**38.128**	**51.00**	**1.696**	**2.27**	**24.153**	**32.30**
1983-84	**40.629**	**51.64**	**1.494**	**1.90**	**25.425**	**32.32**
1984-85	**44.974**	**51.98**	**1.881**	**2.17**	**27.509**	**31.79**
1985-86	**50.517**	**51.95**	**2.262**	**2.33**	**31.199**	**32.08**
1986-87	**48.882**	**48.14**	**1.972**	**1.94**	**30.954**	**30.48**
1987-88	**69.005**	**49.60**	**2.357**	**1.69**	**47.854**	**34.40**
1988-89	**73.863**	**49.90**	**1.810**	**1.22**	**50.492**	**34.11**
1989-90	**53.373**	**30.58**	**3.060**	**1.75**	**57.625**	**33.01**
1990-91	**106.530**	**53.56**	**8.718**	**4.38**	**64.403**	**32.38**
1991-92	**95.344**	**50.16**	**9.219**	**4.85**	**65.945**	**34.69**
1992-93	**99.341**	**50.24**	**9.751**	**4.93**	**65.956**	**33.36**
1993-94	**94.626**	**50.40**	**8.492**	**4.52**	**64.359**	**34.28**
1994-95	**95.573**	**49.87**	**8.661**	**4.52**	**66.265**	**34.58**
1995-96	**100.530**	**49.54**	**9.323**	**4.59**	**69.845**	**34.42**
1996-97	**106.442**	**49.12**	**9.090**	**4.20**	**74.610**	**34.43**
1997-98	**129.169**	**52.04**	**9.936**	**4.00**	**87.684**	**35.32**
1998-99	**166.405**	**52.94**	**12.844**	**4.09**	**112.917**	**35.92**
1999-00	**182.180**	**53.70**	**14.149**	**4.17**	**123.723**	**36.47**
2000-01	**175.553**	**54.97**	**14.297**	**4.48**	**118.130**	**36.99**
2001-02R	**167.060**	**52.56**	**14.751**	**4.64**	**119.526**	**37.61**
	Growth Rate (%)	**Average**	**Growth Rate(%)**	**Average**	**Growth Rate (%)**	**Averaj**
1980-90	**8.5**	**48.83**	**4.9**	**2.07**	**12.0**	**32.81**
1991-02	**6.7**	**51.59**	**5.3**	**4.45**	**7.3**	**35.04**
1980-02	**8.6**	**50.34**	**13.5**	**3.37**	**9.1**	**34.03**

Source: Computed using the data given in Table 9.

Figure 5: Expenditure and Grant-in-aid At Current Price

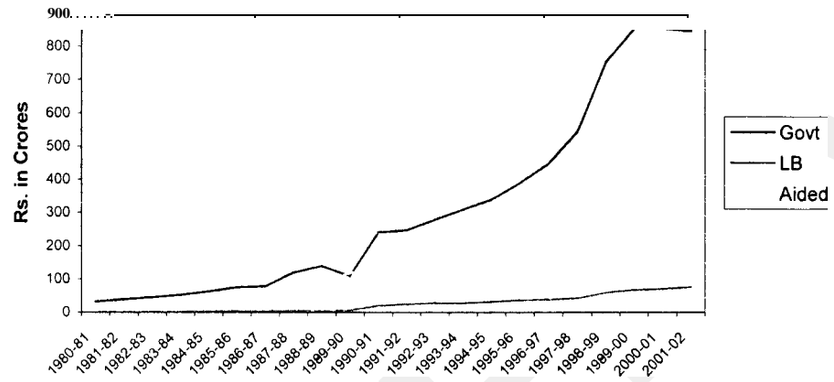
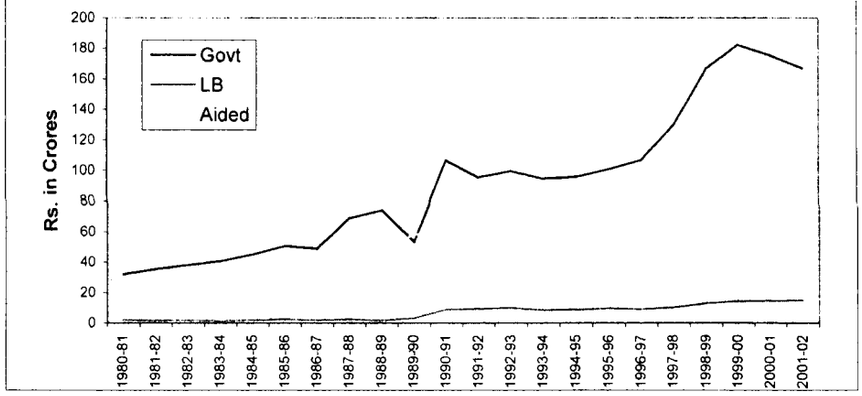


Figure 6: Expenditure and Grant-in-aid at Constant Price



E. *Per-Student Expenditure and Grant-in-Aid*

The growth of expenditure and grants-in-aid shown above appear striking but the aggregate picture masks the underlying reality in the face of dramatic increases in enrolments. It makes more sense to estimate the expenditure and grant-in-aid per student year. The trend and growth in per student expenditure in current and constant prices are presented in Tables 13 and 14 (also Figures **7** and 8).

TABLE 13

Expenditure and Grants-in-Aid Per Student in Current Prices for Secondary and Higher Secondary Education in Tamil Nadu, 1980/1-2001/2

Year	*Govt. Schools*	*Local Bodies*	*Private Aided Schools*
1980-81	**311.19**	**150.48**	**237.90**
1981-82	**351.24**	**142.38**	**269.42**
1982-83	**385.97**	**155.79**	**309.73**
1983-84	**415.04**	**143.80**	**329.12**
1984-85	**456.50**	**190.81**	**374.43**
1985-86	**528.00**	**211.56**	**434.00**
1986-87	**498.31**	**186.84**	**443.01**
1987-88	**735.23**	**230.25**	**696.31**
1988-89	**783.51**	**179.51**	**750.86**
1989-90	**587.96**	**299.90**	**897.60**
1990-91	**1246.08**	**852.04**	**1129.05**
1991-92	**1205.88**	**1014.00**	**1328.04**
1992-93	**1273.47**	**1138.16**	**1433.93**
1993-94	**1473.92**	**1075.69**	**1556.40**
1994-95	**1496.10**	**1135.23**	**1710.73**
1995-96	**1655.03**	**1320.18**	**1970.82**
1996-97	**1844.19**	**1352.04**	**2208.96**
1997-98	**2207.51**	**1444.34**	**2531.22**
1998-99	**3499.15**	**3946.57**	**3379.37**
1999-00	**3647.36**	**3824.11**	**4053.04**
2000-01	**3580.21**	**5047.23**	**3711.82**
2001-02R	**3400.30**	**4500.07**	**3695.70**
		Growth Rates (%)	
1980-90	**9.7**	**6.7**	**15.8**
1991-02	**12.5**	**18.5**	**12.9**
1980-02	**13.2**	**20.6**	**15.3**

Source: Computed using data given Tables 3,4 and 9.
Note: Figures are in Rupees per student year.

The expenditure per-student in the government schools increased sharply at current prices from Rs. 311 in 1980/1 to Rs. 3400 in the terminal year, signifying an almost 11 times hike over the years. Even steeper increases have occurred in the per-student grant-in-aid to local body schools (an increase of 30 times from Rs. 150 to Rs. 4500 over the period). The grant-in-aid to private aided schools registered more moderate increase from Rs. 238 to Rs 3696 per student, pointing to a 15 times escalation in the period. The average expenditure and grant per pupil were Rs. 1436, Rs. 1297 and Rs. 1521 for government, municipal/corporation and private aided schools respectively. Looking closely at changes in per-student expenditure over the two decades, it is observed that the expenditure and grant-in-aid are of much higher magnitude in the second phase (eighth and ninth plans). The computed growth rates in per-student year government expenditure are 13.2%, 20.6% and 15.3% respectively from 1980/2002 for the three categories of

schools. Whereas the growth of expenditure on government and local body school students is higher in the recent period, the converse is true for the private aided schools. The possible explanation is that the state assumed a greater role and financial responsibility towards local body schools in the 1990s to tide over their revenue deficits whereas they are more stringent in approving aid for private schools. Much of the spectacular rise in per-student expenditure and grant-in-aid disappears when adjusted for rising prices (Table 12). The average expenditures/grants-in-aid at constant prices for the twenty-two years are respectively Rs. 459, Rs. 352 and Rs. 469 for the three types of schools considered here, about a third or lower than the amount expressed in current prices. The compounded growth rates of real expenditures are 4.2%, 11% and 6.2 % for the three types of schools for the whole period.

TABLE 14

Expenditure and Grants-in-Aid Per Student for Secondary and Higher Secondary Education at Constant Price (1980/8)) in Tamil Nadu, 1980/1-2001/2

Year	*Per-Student Expenditure (Rs.) in*		
	Government Schools	*Local Bodies Schools*	*Private Aided Schools*
1980-81	**311.19**	**150.48**	**237.90**
1981-82	**318.56**	**129.13**	**244.35**
1982-83	**324.27**	**130.89**	**260.22**
1983-84	**322.00**	**111.56**	**255.34**
1984-85	**329.31**	**137.65**	**270.11**
1985-86	**353.58**	**141.67**	**290.63**
1986-87	**312.89**	**117.32**	**278.17**
1987-88	**424.71**	**133.00**	**402.23**
1988-89	**418.65**	**95.92**	**401.20**
1989-90	**289.84**	**147.84**	**442.48**
1990-91	**553.53**	**378.49**	**501.54**
1991-92	**466.81**	**392.53**	**514.10**
1992-93	**454.74**	**406.42**	**512.04**
1993-94	**451.12**	**329.23**	**476.37**
1994-95	**421.73**	**320.01**	**482.23**
1995-96	**428.22**	**341.58**	**509.93**
1996-97	**440.22**	**322.74**	**527.30**
1997-98	**526.66**	**344.59**	**603.89**
1998-99	**773.41**	**872.30**	**746.93**
1999-00	**778.58**	**816.31**	**865.17**
2000-01	**735.71**	**1037.18**	**762.76**
200I-02R	**671.41**	**888.56**	**729.74**
		Growth Rates (%)	
1980-90	**1.6**	**NG**	**7.3**
1991-02	**4.8**	**10.3**	**5.1**
1980-02	**4.2**	**11.0**	**6,2**

Source: Computed using data given in Tables 3, 4 and 10.

Note: Figures are in Rupees per student year; NG - Negative growth rate.

Figure 7: Per-Student Expenditure At Current Price

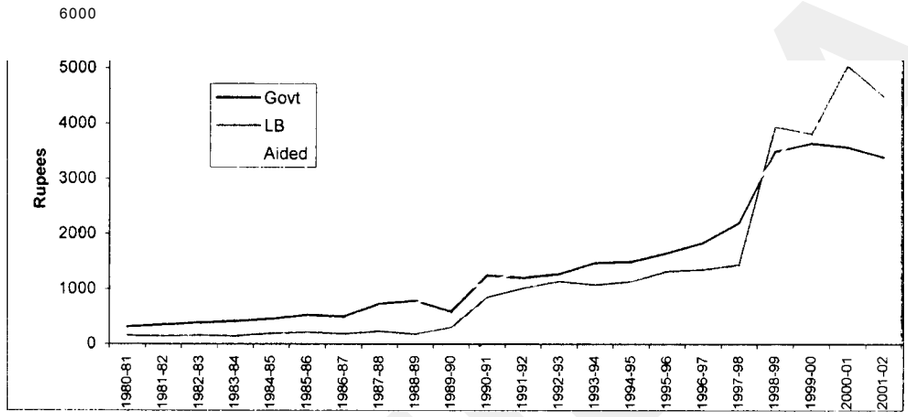
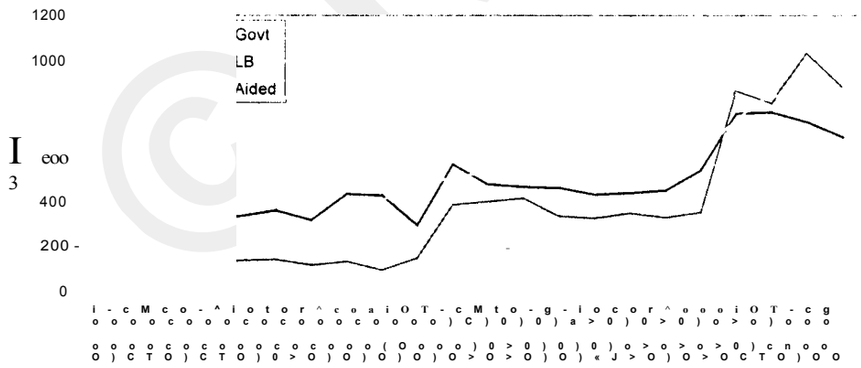


Figure 8: Per-Student Expenditure At Constant Price



Conclusion

The state of Tamil Nadu has been a forerunner in education in several respects and has made impressive progress in education. However, in the light of the growing budgetary problems faced by the state, as is also the case with other states in the country, there is need to examine educational financing particularly the governmental contributions to

schools in the form of grants-in-aid. This study examined the financing of secondary education in Tamil Nadu (1980-2002) focusing on public expenditure on the government schools and grants-in-aid to the local body and private aided schools. The important conclusions that can be drawn from the analysis are:

> The secondary and higher secondary education in the state witnessed a tremendous expansion judged in terms of growth of institutions and their enrolments. The number of government, local body and aided schools increased remarkably. Interestingly, the share of government schools to all schools in the state declined. Over the two decades, enrolment in the high and higher secondary schools put together has grown at the rate of 4.2%, 2.3% and 2.9% respectively in these schools.

> The budgetary allocation to general education has gone up by 21 times in a little over two decades. Even though the expenditure for the whole period shows a 16% growth rate, the decadal trends indicate that the growth declined from 17.6% in the first decade to 14.1% in the second decade. The share of expenditure on general education to total revenue expenditure and SDP are 19.3% and 3.5% respectively during the period. The SDP growth and educational expenditure growth remained about the same (16%). The general education expenditure is inelastic with respect to total revenue expenditure and income (SDP) of the state.

> The inter-sectoral allocation of educational expenditure indicates that the share of secondary education in the general education expenditure is 35% and there is an increase in the share in the period 1991 to 2002 (38%); to be noted in the face of a small decline in primary education expenditure in the current decade.

> The analysis shows that expenditure on secondary education increased by 21 % in current prices. However, this impressive increase is due largely to inflation and when adjusted for price increase, the growth rate is of the order of 8.5%. The average plan expenditure constitutes about 4% while the non-plan expenditure makes up for about 96% of the total expenditure. The large share of non-plan expenditure indicates that much of the expenditure is incurred on salaries and maintenance and any constructive plan for improving secondary education is yet to receive support. The expenditure and income (SDP) elasticity values are marginally greater than one, implying that expenditure on secondary education is moderate and income elastic. There is some evidence of Wagner's law that-public expenditure on secondary education increases with economic growth.

> The revenue expenditure on government schools in constant prices shows a growth rate of 8.6% for the entire period and it constitutes about 50% of total secondary education expenditure. The grants-in-aid to local body and private aided schools registered larger growth rates of 13.5% and 9.1% respectively. Whereas the share of grant to local body schools is only about 3%, the

government's allocation, to the private aided schools it is about 34% of the secondary education budget.

> The per-student expenditure and grant-in-aid at constant prices are Rs. 671, Rs 889 and Rs. 730 respectively in 2001/2 for students in government, municipal/corporation and private aided schools. This indicates larger per-capita spending in the last two categories of schools. The compound growth rates of per-student expenditure are 4.2%, 11% and 6.2% respectively in respect of these schools.

In sum, the study points to an ever-growing secondary education sector which interestingly claims over a third of the state's revenue expenditure on general education. Further, the secondary education sector's share of state revenue resources is higher in the 1990s and beginning of the year 2000 than in the 1980s. There has been a decline in both the plan and non-plan outlays in the recent phase. Grants-in-aid have increased more than the growth of expenditure on government schools. The private aided schools claim a large share of state spending next to government schools in the form of grant-in-aid. The per-student expenditure is Rs.217 and Rs.58 more in the local body and private aided schools over the government schools. Apparently, the government is able to realize a better value for its money spent on the government-run schools. The data and analysis presented here do not explain why the per-student public expenditure in the aid receiving schools is higher. These differences notwithstanding, the per student year expenditure appears low and viewed against the criticism of declining quality of education in these schools, there is a need to increase per-student spending. School education certainly deserves priority over other levels and the educational spending is still way below the recommended level of 6% of national/sate income. These arguments provide a defence for injecting more funds into the system.

The question remains whether the state can sustain the growing demands of education on the state budget. The schools should strive to utilize existing resources more efficiently to achieve cost reduction, on the one hand, whereas, on the other, there is an urgent need to revisit the criteria that serve as the basis for providing grants such as student strength, early application for grants etc. A performance-based criterion might be thought of where the decision to provide grants and the quantum of grants to existing grant receiving institutions would depend on their performance such as student achievement etc. There is also a need to tap other sources of educational finance such as educational cess, community support, endowments etc.

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Decentralisation Reforms and Public Schools A Human Development Perspective

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Abstract

Departing somewhat from the standard approaches to decentralisation and adopting an explicitly human development perspective, the paper tries to make and defend the following claims. Decentralisation reforms in education are aimed not to remove public institutions from involvement in educational matters but to improve public performance. The 'vision' that currently enervates our school system is that 'education is not for their (read subaltern) children'. This narrow conception of schooling needs to be re-defined. It is here that the contemporary effort tojoster participatory democracy presents before us some genuine possibilities for school transformation, by galvanising a larger process of social and political transformation. The local democratic institutions and the participatory spaces they open up will likely impose on the policy agenda a generous conception of public schooling that makes a democratic claim of basic education being the right of every child.

1. Introduction

Recently, the notion of decentralisation has gained quite a standing among development theorists as well as practitioners.[1] The promises and perils which decentralisation entails have been the subject of several debates and discussions. The literature on this is quite vast now and fast proliferating. However, although many show awareness of the issues relating to decentralised governance, it is not yet a well-understood phenomenon; the term lumps together too many different ideas under an excessively broad label. There is clearly room here for conceptual refinement as well as further empirical investigation.

Interestingly, support for decentralisation has come from diverse quarters - from statists, protagonists of the rnarket, and communitarians, and for varied reasons - of

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[1] In India the prominent decentralisation reforms include the recent strengthening of Panchayati Raj Institutions (PRIs) and Urban Local Bodies (ULBs) under the aegis of the 73rd and 74th Constitutional Amendment Acts. These Acts require all the State governments to introduce certain legislative measures tuned to the revitalisation of local representative institutions. The measures in question include mandatory elections at regular intervals, reservation of seats for women and members of scheduled castes and tribes and some devolution of State government responsibilities to local authorities (Dreze and Sen, 1999).

market failure, government failure or of the bankruptcy of both. More specifically, the current enthusiasm for decentralised development has moved in two distinct and rather opposite directions: on the one hand, the decentralising arrangements are proposed by some as a route to roll back of government functions and to generally reducing the role of the 'over-developed' yet 'inefficient' state ('government failure') and transferring fiscal responsibilities to sub-national/State levels and at times back to the community or even households via user fees and so on (Klugman,1997).[2] On the other hand, those who acknowledge both the tendency of the market to under-supply collective goods at the local level ('market failure') as well as the shortcomings of a centralised governance structure suggest decentralisation as a way of improving public performance, of better public service delivery; they delineate the *information* and *incentive* advantages which local level organisations enjoy over central suppliers.

In essence, both approaches, however, make an *economic case* for decentralisation, that is to say, an argument for improved cost-efficiency as an offshoot of decentralised development. Given the current climate of 'cost-consciousness', preoccupations with efficiency effects of decentralisation are understandable. By any reckoning, fiscal adjustments and allocative efficiency are worthy causes for our concern. However, there is more at issue than these; there is more to decentralisation than mere internal organisation of government, deconcentration of administrative power from central to local agencies and community financing or user fees. These are the aspects which seem to receive most attention in academic and policy discussions to the relative neglect of what we argue later to be the basic spirit of decentralisation, namely people's participation in the decision-making and implementational processes. Simply put, decentralisation is to be viewed, first and foremost, as one of the routes to expanding people's opportunities - an instrument of governance activated and energised by the actions and choices of people themselves. Thus, it appears that the analysis of decentralisation is as much about people's participatory freedom as about administrative and fiscal efficiency.

Surely, decentralisation does not automatically enhance people's participation; the mode, intensity and quality of participation will vary depending on people's political organisation, mobilisation etc. The interest here lies in the impact of local participation in decision-making on the nature of decisions made and more generally in the linkage between people's freedom of decisions and actions, on the one hand, and human development, on the other. The analysis of decentralisation may, therefore, set out with the premise that participatory human development is the goal for which decentralised governance is a potent tool. Where a departure might be due in the current decentralisation discourse is to insist on such a starting point. 'Democratic

[2] "Decentralization has been advocated by the IMF, for example, as a route to 'smaller government', motivated largely by the desire to reduce central government expenditures; as a corollary, the transfer of functions has taken place without the transfer of commensurate revenue sources or increased central grants" (Klugman 1997, p.2).

decentralisation for human development' as a definitional radar will likely take us along right directions.

Specifically, the following questions lie at the heart of the present enquiry: do the recently introduced decentralisation reforms in education (under the aegis of the PRIs) provide answers to the ills of public education and hold the key to school improvement? What exactly do decentralisation reforms in education mean - greater parental/ community control over schooling decisions or greater school-site autonomy vis-a-vis higher levels of education bureaucracy or both? What effect will these changes have on school functioning in terms of teaching-learning activities, classroom practices and student performance? Above all, will governance reforms, when viewed as a complex social and political process, lead to an agreement among most citizens about the broad purpose of public schooling? In many parts of our country poor performance of government schools and their unresponsiveness to the educational needs of socially disadvantaged children reflect the general denial of a norm that education is the essential part of every child's upbringing. Can the constitutionally initiated decentralisation reforms address this 'first-order' problem of our school system and correlatively generate a broad and democratic conception of educational purpose - a social aspiration that leads to extending public support for quality education for every citizen?

2. Educational Decentralisation: Institutions, Finances, Functions and Outcomes

In establishing whether and to what extent an education system is decentralised, there exists no simple or single criteria, but rather a combination of institutional, fiscal and political indicators.[3] Educational decentralisation may mean widely divergent things in countries with distinctly different organisational arrangements. In many countries, decentralisation measures are implemented through executive orders, as opposed to legal or constitutional mandates, which leave ample scope for easy abrogation of powers delegated to local bodies or their transfer back to the.hands of the central agencies. In some other cases, decentralisation refers to constitutional transfer of authority from the central and State to local governments.

In India, the recently enacted 73rd Amendment Act provides for control and governance of elementary education (up to high school level, in fact) by elected panchayat bodies; it devolves education responsibilities - hitherto the domain of education bureaucracy - onto the democratically elected panchayat members. However,

[3] **Weiler (1993) sheds light on the political dynamics of the debate over decentralisation in education governance by placing it within the theoretical context of the state's exercise of power. The key conceptual categories in Weiler's analysis are control, conflict and legitimacy. His principal thesis is that the state, in exercising its power, has a dual interest: maintaining control, on the one hand, and enhancing its legitimacy, on the other. Conditions of conflict, endemic in pluralistic societies, highlight the fundamental contradictions between these two interests. Without going into the details of the subject, one wonders whether the controversy around the recent centrally-sponsored drive for curriculum revision under the aegis of the NCERT reflects a similar contradiction.**

the legislation leaves much to the wishes of the State governments and since the willingness of the State-level leadership to share power with the local leadership is highly uneven across the country, wide inter-State variations prevail in reform initiatives in the education sector. Another important consideration is with respect to the size of sub-central units. In a situation where provincial governments are themselves very large, the State government itself assumes the role of 'central' party in the relation between local and supra-local units and the municipal/rural counterparts the 'local' party. In other words, the notions of the 'central' and the 'local' are verv country-specific.[4]

Also, decentralising programmes in the education sector are never an all-or-nothing phenomenon. Some functions, such as decisions on the nature of classroom teaching by their nature, need to be left to the persons performing those functions. On the other hand, it is generally agreed that some uniformity of school structure, teacher training, syllabuses in schools, and mode of evaluation is necessary in order to ensure some equivalence of academic degrees and mobility among institutions as well as across different parts of a country. In some countries, it is the national government that reserves the authority to require equivalence; in others, it is the prerogative of provincial governments. The latter is true of the practice prevalent in the States of India too. However, decentralising the function of curriculum development and textbook preparation in the country involves several complex issues. As Rampal (2002, p. 161) thoughtfully observes:

"How far 'down' can we take the process of decentralization? Does it mean further polarization, in terms of having separate curricula for the urban and the rural, the tribal and the non-tribal? How can we ensure 'equivalence', and what does equivalence really imply? What will happen to examinations, and would school boards need to be reconstituted? All these may be valid questions to discuss. . . . A convenient unit would ultimately be the district, and ideally materials and textbooks must be developed by each DIET, in conformity with a skeletal 'core curriculum', and in close collaboration with a resource group of school teachers and other academics.

At present DIETs are academically inadequate, but a hands-on programme to upgrade their capacities and train their personnel can be taken up gradually. Such

[4] **In the United States, for example, States are responsible for education, but most States further devolve most decision-making to special education districts. There are about 25 schools under each school district (Winkler, 1993). The local special districts are often coterminous with local government boundaries. Here decentralising programmes in education, therefore, usually entail transferring powers and functions away from district level actors (e.g., the school district board) to the individual schools themselves, to school level actors. By international standard, the US school system is already quite decentralised, with school districts functioning with considerable freedom from State and federal governments. In many States, curriculum decisions are made at the district level. Interestingly, district level curriculum decision-making is thought to be highly centralised, even though it is highly participatory, because school principals and teachers are the prime decision makers (Hannaway, 1993). Thus, decentralisation has different connotations in different country settings, especially in countries like India where at times even State-level operations assume continental proportions.**

capacity building and facilitation of decentralization should be the major task of state- or national-level institutions. This should imply radically restructuring the NCERT, the SCERTs, the Textbook Corporations, the State Institutes of Education, etc., not only academically, but functionally, managerially and financially as well. The new role of national bodies such as the NCERT would be to provide forums for experience sharing and facilitate exposure to the experiences of various voluntary groups and state projects, through a close analysis of the materials developed.

It has often been pointed that, in keeping with the spirit of academic decentralization, the NCERT must desist from producing textbooks of its own. At present the NCERT brings out textbooks for the network of *Kendriya Vidyalayas* (italics supplied), which exist all over the country. By doing so it only legitimizes the notion that for the dominant class of students studying in these national schools, 'culture free' textbooks are desirable, whereas it is for the ordinary child that 'relevant' books are prescribed. If text materials in conformity with local language, culture, and environment are indeed pedagogically important, then the NCERT must pursue this philosophy in its work too."

As an example of participatory curriculum setting, Rampal (op cit, p. 165) looks at the *Nali Kali* programme, "..being run in over 4000 government schools, as part of the DPEP in Karnataka. Primary teachers are the protagonists, and have been instrumental in working out the entire scheme of transacting the curriculum, with the help of block officials and some resource persons.

One significant issue emerging from the Nali Kali programme (first initiated in the H.D. Kote block of Mysore district)... is that upscaling this effort cannot imply simple replication in other geographical areas."

Coming back to the diversities of decentralisation, in one prominent version, governance reform in education is taken to be a move to accord more autonomy to school-based decision making (King and Ozler, 2000); another model entails greater autonomy for local civil servants vis-a-vis central bureaucrats, and yet another focuses on the need to increase the role of the local community in schooling matters.[5] Thus, to capture the diverse dimensions of decentralisation, it would be helpful to fix our analytical gaze on the following issues and questions:

i) decentralisation as organisational reform;
ii) decentralisation as bringing schools closer to people; and
iii) in what terms are the alleged benefits of education reforms to be reckoned?

Transition from centralized to decentralised governance would mean changes in the organisational size and complexity of schools. Apart from teachers directly responsible for teaching, there are a host of people - principals, supervisors, directors, clerks and so

[5] The District Primary Education Programme (DPEP), operational in selected districts of India, has created a district based administrative structure which is somewhat different from the mainstream organisational structure; it accords relative flexibility to the local institutions.

on - who are concerned with keeping the whole system going. Would decentralisation mean additional layers of governance (with its own bureaucratic apparatus) or making the organisational structure simpler with more directly accountable institutions in place?

Again, we need to examine how reforms facilitate active local/parental participation in the governance of public education. By local community, do we mean the parents, patrons and participants in a given school, a geographically defined neighbourhood or a broader civic body? Does the community enjoy real control over core elements of school administration such as budgeting, staffing, curriculum and so on? There is a growing view that in the name of involving lay people in what seem to be administrative and professional matters, decentralised governance of public education may lead to a school administration that is corrupt and chaotic, uneven in quality and student performance. For reasons of standardization, economies of scale, coordination etc., the argument continues, we need to blend different forms of governance - centralised and decentralised. The challenge is to figure out - what kind of school decisions are best managed at what levels of government?

One way to assess the success or otherwise of decentralisation is to talk about accountability. Accountability may mean internal bureaucratic accountability. More pertinently, however, accountability has to be assessed with reference to what lies at the heart of the school system, namely teaching-learning activities. For example, do teachers regularly come to school, do they actively teach when present, what are the results of their instruction as measured by student performance on standardized tests? This brings us back to the first-order problem mentioned before - the broad question of the purpose of public education. We need to ask - what value the society attaches to the education of all children, whether it considers education to be the right of every child and correspondingly whether it nurtures a vision of decent future for all its citizens? Under a decentralised regime, do we work to improve the public school system, or abandon it in favour of privatisation (Carnoy, 1993)? Is the main impact of decentralisation felt by the rich, with little, if any, educational opportunities 'trickling down' to the lower income groups? The answer has important implications for school reform policies. If decentralisation typically leaves the poor behind, what does it do to the vision of public schooling? In what follows, let us examine some of these issues in turn.

2.1. *Organisational Arrangement in the Education Sector Under the PR Regime*

Since educational decentralisation-can take a variety of forms, it is necessary to describe in some detail the arrangements that are evolving in our country under the new setting and the range of institutional actors involved therein. It bears noting, however, that in a federal system like ours, reforms take place within a multi-level planning framework and that each cycle of reform (decentralising or recentralising) leaves behind its own institutional vestiges. Consequently, parallel structures proliferate. Also, with the expansion of the school system in the last one decade, the education bureaucracy has

also grown in size; sub-central administrative units have sprung up at several levels - starting from the State government to the village school.

The implementation of decentralisation measure itself has brought in its wake new organisational arrangements at all levels of educational management. For example, school management committees, parent-teacher associations, school cluster committees, village education committees and various other bodies are being created at the district, block and village levels - mostly as State-promoted efforts from above to institutionalise 'grass-root' processes of management. All these generate new organisational exigencies in terms of interfusing multiple layers of governance and bringing together diverse institutional actors, namely, PRIs, line departments, school level actors, user groups, communities and so on.

Also, as things stand now in several, if not all, States, there is no clear demarcation of functions between the three tiers of panchayats, generating a confusing situation and threatening accountability. The Central Advisory Board of Education (CABE) set up a Committee on Decentralised Management in 1993 to formulate guidelines on decentralisation reforms in education in the context of the 73rd Amendment Act.[6] It offered detailed plans of entrusting educational functions to local institutions (Table 1). The Committee proposed creation of Standing Committees on education at different levels of the PR structure - gram panchayat, panchayat samiti and zilla panchayat levels, assigning comprehensive powers, functions and responsibility to these bodies (ISS, 1996).[7] However, generally these committees either have not been provided for in the State Acts or are mostly not there in practice (excepting the VEC); also most States have not delineated functions and powers of these committees. Simply put, the scope and the nature of their activities remain completely undefined. What needs to be done in the education sector at each level of the three-tier PR system has not been specified under the State law. Several States have simply' repeated the education-related subjects and functions at different levels.

In respect of financial and personnel matters, the State governments have to take a series of specific steps including framing of rules, byelaws, guidelines etc. Because, in most cases hardly any provisions have been made so far in the State Acts for transfer of the real powers related to personnel and financial matters to LBs. "Such powers are either denied or left undefined, leading to a potentially contentious dual control at best or to complete dependence on the State government at worst (Gupta, p.76).

[6] **As far as the letter of the law goes, overall supervision of all education programmes in the district up to secondary' level is brought under the purview of PRIs.**

[7] **The Committee realized that the standard practice used to monitor school functioning, namely, the school inspection system of the State education department, had remained highly ineffective as a supervisory mechanism in most States; hence, its recommendation for constituting Village Education Committees (VECs) at the gram panchayat level, to take up the task of monitoring day-to-day functions of schools.**

TABLE 1

Proposed Decentralisation Reforms in Education: C A B E Committee

Level	*Functions*	*Powers*	*Funds*	*Administrative Support*
Zilla Parishad Standing Committee on Education	**Overall Supervision of all Education Programmes in the District upto Secondary level**	**Establishment and Maintenance of Schools upto Secondary level including recruitment and transfer of staff, Payment of Salaries; Disbursement of grants; Preparation and sanction of education Budget; Mobilisation of Resources**	**Mainly through Government Grants**	**Service of Staff of Education Department at the District level**
Panchayat Samiti Standing Committee on Education	**Supervision of A E, NFE, ECCE, Primary and Upper Primary Schools**	**Recruitment of Staff for AE, NFE and ECCE; Preparation of Budget and Sanctioning of Plan Expenditure from PS Education Budget**	**Grant from ZP, State and Central Grants; Funds through Taxation**	**Service of the Staff of Education Dept. at the Block Level**
Village Education Committee	**Promotion of Enrolment Drive; Supervision of Schools; Mobilization of Resources**	**Visit to education Institutions and check attendance and other registers; undertake construction**	**ZP, PS and State funds; local mobilization**	**Support from HeadTeacher and other School Teachers**

Source: Institute of Social Sciences, *Commission Reports,* **1996**

The current decentralisation reforms in the education sector, their gingerly pace notwithstanding, signify the presence of and interaction between a host of institutional actors at the district, block and village levels, ranging from elected representatives to education bureaucracy to teachers to parents as well as district, block and cluster level functionaries created under the DPEP (Chart 1). On paper, the District Education Officer (DEO) is supposed to deal with all issues pertaining to school education within the district. In practice, however, DEOs are often found busy preparing proposals regarding the opening of new schools, upgrading existing schools, provision of additional staff, rationalization of existing staff etc. But major decisions in these respects are taken at the State level and the responsibility of the district-level authorities is mainly confined to

Chart 1: School Education: The Range of Institutional Actors at District and Sub-District Levels

Panchayat Bodies	**Education Administration**	**DPEP Project Manag** In selected districts
District Panchayat Standing Committee On Education	District Education Officer	District Project Coordinator
Block Panchayat Standing Committee On Education	Block Education Officer	Block Resource Centre
	Assistant Education Officer	Cluster Coordinator
Village Panchayat		
Village Education Committee*		Village Education Committee/ Mother-Teacher Council

•Strictly speaking, the Village Education Committee is not a part of the **PR** system and is constituted under a government order; nevertheless, it is assigned an important role.

Source: Adapted from Govinda (1994)

preparing proposals and/or implementing decisions taken at the higher levels (Govinda, 1997; Sheel, 1997). DEOs seldom find time to visit schools and give academic leadership to teachers. There are several inspecting officers such as AEOs, under each DEO; they, too, do not have adequate time to pay one visit to all the schools allotted to one particular inspecting officer every year.

Similar observations hold, even more appropriately, for functionaries working below the district level such as the Block Education Officers (BEOs). They play largely an advisory role. As a more recent drive toward administrative decentralisation, establishing one institute, in each district, known as the District Institute of Education and Training (DIET) in order to meet professional training needs at the district level seemed to be a healthy move. But the functioning of DIETs has been hampered severely, mostly because they are poorly staffed (mostly through deputation and temporary staff) in many districts (Rampal, 2002).

Apart from hierarchy within the education bureaucracy itself, what compounds the task of organisational decentralisation even more is the lack of clear demarcation between the jurisdiction and powers of the education administration and PRI institutions vis-a-vis schooling matters. As per the Constitutional Amendment Act, powers of decision-making in the school sector are vested with the elected representatives of panchayat bodies. In the conformity legislations enacted at the State level, however, their powers have been left undefined in majority of States, creating the possibility of parallel lines of control ensuing from PRIs and education bureaucracy respectively. Very often, the dual control creates an element of tension.

For example, the DPEP, as a centrally sponsored scheme of the Government of India in some selected districts of the country, has put in place a new framework for management of primary education at the district level. This programme functions with considerable autonomy and has the objective of involving the community in an active manner. The relative flexibility of the programme, some scholars hold, has produced satisfactory results. However, since the DPEP (it is also a time-bound project) operates under an independent set of rules that are quite distinct from those of the regular administrative set-up in the non-DPEP districts, this programme not only creates parallel structures, but also more critically, accentuates the much-mentioned problem of integrating democratic control (of elected leaders) with bureaucratic supervision (by the administrative staff) at the district level.

Clearly, decentralisation through the PR system is distinct from delegation of administrative powers from higher to lower levels of bureaucracy. But the two strands of reform must blend together under the overall leadership of elected bodies in order for genuine transformation of schools and schooling to take place. Just as no rigid dichotomies are perceived in the relationship between democracy and bureaucracy at the Central and State-levels, at the local level of governance too, there is a clear possibility for collaboration and partnership between PR members and reform-minded fractions within the bureaucracy.

2.2. *Inter-Governmental Assignment of Educational Responsibilities*

To what extent are the education-related functions decentralized under the current reforms regime and how are they assigned to a host of institutional actors across various levels of government? While addressing these issues, we must recall that the degree of centralisation/decentralisation of decision-making may differ widely by specific function or component, even within a given inter-governmental'system of education. For example, curriculum decisions may be relatively more centralised, at the same time school construction may be almost entirely decentralised. As indicated before, the idea is to find out what kinds of functions are best handed at what level of government, keeping in mind considerations such as efficiency, economies of scale, equity goals of education etc.

TABLE 2

Assignment of Educational Responsibilities Among Various Levels of Government: School Education in Tamil Nadu

Responsibilities	*State Level*	*District Level*	*Sub-district level*
Creation of New Teaching Posts	X		
Establishing New Schools	X		
Certifying Teachers	X		
Training Teachers	X	X	X
Setting Curriculum	X		
Selecting Text Books	X		
Setting Equivalencies	X		
Designing and Administering Incentive Schemes	Designing	Administering	
School Timing: Schedules. Days, Hours ofOperation	X		
Determining Class Size	X		
Hiring and Firing Teachers	X	X	
Hiring and Firing Administrative Personnel	X		
Transfer of Teachers	X	X	
Transfer of Administrative Personnel	X		
Teacher Remuneration: Fixation and Disbursement	Fixation		Disbursement at the school level
Setting. Administering and Financing School Budget	Financing	Administering	X
School Construction and Maintenance	X	X	

Source: Adapted from Govinda (1999), King and Ozler (2000) and Klugman (1997).

As an illustrative example, Table **2** summarises the details of functional allocation that currently prevails in the school education sector in Tamil Nadu. It is apparent that not only is curriculum preparation done by State-level boards, decisions regarding virtually all school related activities - pedagogic, administrative as well as financial - are centralised at the State level. Strictly speaking, teacher recruitment is a State level activity, but teachers are recruited to a district cadre and are transferable within the district. In this respect too, therefore, sub-State level actors exercise only limited power. School construction and maintenance is one among a handful of functions that is vested with the sub-district level authorities. In States like Tamil Nadu, the elected LBs as well as the local administration (especially at the sub-district level) are still treated mainly as the implementing agencies for plans and decisions taken at higher levels. However, there exist considerable inter-State variations in this respect.

2.3. *PRIs and Teacher Management*

We now move on to what lies at the heart of the school education system, namely teaching. Can institutions of local governance provide an incentive-compatible system that encourages teachers' professionalism, performance and accountability? For parents, the ideal is to have teachers who actively engage themselves in teaching activities and provide high-quality education to their children. For that purpose, it is important to decide at which level of governance, the management and supervision of teachers should rest. This involves, for example, the setting of teaching standards, the establishment of teachers' training, recruitment, pay, promotion etc. Attempts are under way to decentralise many of these managerial responsibilities of the education sector and some have indeed produced encouraging results.

However, some areas of concern still endure and need to be resolved. For example, local bodies in more disadvantaged areas may find it hard to attract qualified teachers (this will certainly have implications for inter-regional disparity). Again, setting salaries at the local level may have detrimental effects on teacher quality; similarly, employment of cheap teachers on a part-time basis (a likely fallout of localised needs and capacities) may cause 'creeping casualisation' in the teaching service.

Also at issue is the unstated assumption of dual allegiance of teachers to PRIs as well as to the education department. If teachers are deputed/transferred from the department to LBs, whom will they report to? - PRIs or the education department. Particularly contentious is the issue of delegating to PRIs the authority for promotion and transfer of teachers and disciplinary actions against them. In general, teachers do not like to be brought under the control of LBs; they are not in favour of shifting power in this regard

from distant central authorities to local agencies (Govinda, 1997). The situation gets even more complicated because of increased politicisation of teachers' unions.[8]

Apart from these managerial issues, there remains the endemic problem of teacher absenteeism and shirking in rural India. As the PROBE survey of schools in some selected States of North India reveals, at the time of the investigators' visit, one-third of the headmasters were absent, one-third of the schools had a single teacher present, and about half of the schools had no teaching activity going on (Dreze and Kingdon, 1999). Talking about this persistent problem Dreze and Sen (1999, p.389) perceptively observe, "...it is difficult to see how [this problem] can be successfully tackled without involving the proximate agency of village communities. Shirking cannot be easily detected by distant outsiders, and the system of centralized school inspection has proved quite ineffective in much of rural India. It is much easier for the concerned parents and other local residents to monitor the behaviour of school teachers." It is in this context that the PRIs can play an important role in providing an institutional mechanism to ensure the accountability of village teachers to the local community.[9]

But how exactly is the specific knowledge of the local community and PRIs vis-a-vis school functioning and teacher activities to be translated into remedial action? This is a 'challenging problem of local governance'. Put more elaborately, in order to improve teacher attendance and accountability via local monitoring, it would be counter-productive to adopt a thoroughly anti-teacher stance. After all, there exists no foolproof method of monitoring teachers, because teacher effort belongs to a class of 'complex contracts' that are unavoidably incomplete; it is ultimately a product of teachers' initiatives, motivation and professionalism. As Kirkman (2001, **p**.3) rightly points out, "we do need to recognize...that we shall not enhance the quality of education in our schools..., if we always think the worst of our teachers." Therefore, local vigilance and monitoring could work to weaken the endemic dereliction of duties on the part of teachers by involving them in schooling matters and making greater professional demand on them, and certainly not by alienating them from their work.

There is indeed a skeptical view about the current enthusiasm for reforms in the education sector which warns us against the possibility of de-institutionalising and de-professionalising the system, in the name of localising educational decisions (Sharma, 2000; Kumar, Priyam and Saxena, 2001). There is a tendency, it is argued, to undervalue the critical role of a good teacher and her professional skills in a decentralised school

[8] **There appears to be a conflict of interest between politicians (let alone between administrators and elected leaders) at two levels of government, that is to say, between State-level politicians and PRI leaders. Because, for the State-level politicians, teachers' unions provide a source of manpower which can be used for promoting politicians' own interests (For an interesting discussion of this point, see Kingdon and Muzammail, 2001).**

[9] **This of course implies a related challenge of how to integrate the respective roles, in education management, of PRIs, local communities and school level actors in a manner which facilitates the expansion of educational opportunities. We discuss this point later.**

system, in the process of reposing our confidence in community control. An effective reformist project, therefore, will have to ensure the collective engagement of all the critical groups - teachers, PRI leaders, parents and the larger community - in a common endeavour to transform the school system. As Hannaway (1993) astutely observes in her discussion of American public schools, the bad work of teachers in public schools is often not criticised or corrected; teachers' efforts often are not well directed not because they are over-regulated but because 'they are ignored'. Hence, shifting from a regulated centralised model of schools to a more decentralised set up would produce desired results only when our attention is turned to this major lacuna of the existing school system, namely, the alienation of teachers from their work and the absence of professional challenges before them. Just as local pressure and vigilance is critical for making it socially compelling for teachers to pay attention to their central functions, namely, coming to school regularly and engaging in active teaching when present, structural reforms that give teachers a sense of importance of their role in school transformation, and facilitate their professional exchanges around common teaching-learning objectives are quite certain to result in more effective schools than what the existing hierarchical structures do.

In a masterly analysis of two successfully decentralised school districts in the U.S., Hannaway (ibid) draws our attention to one of the key elements that has accompanied decentralisation in these two experiments, namely, the considerable extent to which the new arrangements have generated interactions among teachers and other school-level actors around technical and professional issues. This aspect, she convincingly argues, is central to the effectiveness of these projects. In her revealing words (p. 154), "In both districts, teachers are stimulated, prodded and supported [at times by national and State-level education reform groups] to reflect with each other about their work and to act together on ways to make it better. . . .Technical interactions., 'control' the behaviour of school level actors through peer pressure and peer monitoring of quality. In both districts, professional interactions make teachers more aware of the professional views of other teachers. The public nature of much of teachers' professional lives in these two districts undoubtedly affects the behaviour and the seriousness of purpose with which teachers attend to their work. For this reason it might be argued that high levels of technical interaction among teachers reduce the agency problems that are commonly assumed to accompany decentralization [that is to say, any divergence of interests between the school district and individual teachers]."[10]

Simply put, decentralisation reforms in education, to be effective, should at once facilitate 'sdcial control' of school level actors by parents, local residents and local communities as well as promote 'mutual control' of teachers through greater professional exchanges and interactions among them.

[10] **The original proposal for establishing the District Institute of Educational Training (DIET) in each district of India was also inspired by similar expectations. Comments along these lines were made by A. Rampal in a national seminar on primary schooling held recently in New Delhi.**

2.4. *PRIs, Education Professionals and the Public: A Possible Synergy of Action*

Education decentralisation through PRIs is something more than just school-site autonomy and management;" in addition to school level actors (teachers and principals), it involves a host of other bodies created at the district and block levels such as VECs, school cluster committees, PTAs, academic and expert groups and departments. Achieving synergy in aims and actions of such a motley group of institutions and actors - starting from elected bodies to user groups, school specific actors, village-level agencies to supra-local educational functionaries and so on - is a major challenge of local governance. The areas of their respective jurisdiction are often not clear, creating an overlap of functions and infusing an element of tension into their interactions and power equations, especially in situations where different political parties are in power at different layers of governance.

One central issue which underlies these complexities relates to the respective roles in education governance of professionals, on the one hand, and parents and local patrons on the other. Pro-community reformers want a more direct link between schools and the 'people'. This itself is a good thing. However, an increasing enthusiasm for 'local' support and control in schooling matters often comes at the expense of a parallel doubt about any useful role for education professionals. As Tendler (1997) observes, in the decentralisation discourse, professionals are usually portrayed as obstructing reforms and greater local power is portrayed as a way of getting *around* professionals (p.14). In this view, public schools are to be treated as grass-root affairs, and, therefore, new governance structures must be designed that "hold schools accountable to their clients, rather than to their bureaucratic and technocratic superiors. Put simply, the over-bureaucratised institution (along with its professionals) is the problem and the community is the solution.

When schools are decentralised, parents and patrons can call the shots. Elmore (1993, p.90) summarises this argument in the North American context thus, "If the community and the parents of school age children had more voice in the schooling enterprise, then there would be more parental satisfaction with the schools and more commitment to the educational process. The result would be improved education attainment. The democratization of the governance process and the representation of parental and community interests would lead to improved schooling."

Focussing on the rural setting in India, Sen (2001) comments about a much lower involvement of parents from 'lowly' background in parent teacher meetings, and their severe under-representation in the VECs. "Those who most need that their 'voices' be heard lack that power fairly comprehensively" (p4), "One way of adding to the incentive system in schooling", Sen continues, "would be to give more legal power to the parents-

" The major frameworks for studying educational decentralisation that have evolved in the U.S. focus on school site management (King and Ozler, 2000).

teachers committee, even perhaps making the renewal of school appropriations conditional on their approval. Since the parents-teachers committees are more specific to particular schools, in contrast with Village Education Committees (which have a specialized domain), the case for a fresh beginning by substantially broadening the parents-teachers committees in the operation of specific schools may be more plausible. For effectiveness, there would also be a need to establish firm guidelines on the representation of parents from different class backgrounds, and also some insistence on approvals being made in actual meetings rather than fictitious ones" (p.5).

Therefore, several qualifications are in order before we can gather a rounded view of the nature of partnership between the people and the professionals. First, it is naive to presume a strictly benign role for the community in school governance, without paying heed to the nature of community groups, the degree of cohesion among them, and, more generally, the oppressive class system of the Indian society. Second, no one can dispute the fact that professionals in the public sector have made governance difficult on various occasions, been reluctant to grant legitimacy to community inputs over and above their technocratic qualifications and have often imparted, rather arrogantly, a sense of powerlessness to users of public services. Yet one would have to also realise that technical knowledge and skill and institutional mechanisms around it are required for tasks such as formulation of curriculum, appointment of teachers, conducting examinations, training teachers etc.

Hence, it is entirely consistent with the view that education reforms should accommodate and be sensitive to local public interests to acknowledge that we need to draw upon the expertise and discretion of professional educators, especially those with a reformist bent. Parents and professionals need not be arch adversaries; it is indeed counter-productive to push for a false dichotomy between them. Stated differently, there is no 'one' best way to govern schools. It seems either of the following two statements - 'people know the best' or 'experts know the best' - is myopic and extreme. Uttered too rigidly, both the views can be easily caricatured and turned into an absurd claim that either is redundant and dispensable.[12] The real imperative is to combine parental and community concerns with educational expertise for effective school reforms. The challenge of local governance is to translate local participation and pressure into governance inputs, without necessarily de-professionalising school organisation and activities. The idea is not to displace professionalism but to activate public interest and involvement. There indeed remain instances of interaction (and overlap of concerns) of parents and local residents with reform-minded experts (such as the KSSP in Kerala) as well as with public education professionals with a reformist bent, leading to promising vistas in educational governance (Tharkan, 2000).

[12] **Somewhat relatedly, even for voluntary organisations, a code of conduct is necessary. In this connection, see Bunker Roy. "NGOs too need a Code". The Indian Express, 29 December (8-9), 1993.**

2.5. *Distributive Outcomes of Decentralisation Reforms in Education*

What effects structural changes (school restructuring) have on school functioning in terms of teaching-learning activities, classroom practices and student performance? As Weiler (1993, p.72) pointedly asks, "..under decentralized conditions do teachers teach what they are supposed to teach, students learn what they are supposed to learn and are the schools clean and the accounts properly kept?"

Our ultimate interest lies in the impact of decentralisation on the expansion of educational opportunities to *all* children. To put it simply, our distributional concerns prompt us to raise two basic questions. The first relates to the good old politico-economic question of who benefits. Is the main impact of decentralisation felt by the rich, with little opportunities 'trickling down' to the lower income groups? Alternatively, can decentralisation bring about substantial benefits to the poor? Second, in what terms are these alleged benefits to be reckoned?

Obviously, there is no easy way to measure educational outcomes following from decentralisation. This acknowledged, in somewhat more concrete terms, we may consider the relevant outcomes as those which: (a) increase access and utilisation on the part of poorer sections of the society (the equity effect); (b) improve student achievement (school effectiveness criteria); (c) reduce the unit cost of production and provision of educational services (the efficiency effect); and (d) put the educational needs of disadvantaged children at the centre stage of the political agenda (the broad political effect). Narrowing the focus even further, one may look into the impact of decentralisation of fiscal responsibilities and examine whether the revenue and expenditure decisions of local governments are more oriented towards education (and other human development goals) as compared to what would have resulted under a centralised system.

To be certain, evaluation is not a strictly technical and neutral activity; rather it is driven by our socio-political considerations. Expectedly, opinions diverge widely about the relative importance of the diverse fall-outs of decentralisation reforms. To quote Weiler (1993, pp.73.74) again, "Those whose children grow up in more privileged and stimulus-rich circumstances will judge an education system more by how well it cultivates outstanding talent and ability (excellence), while the parents of less privileged children will attach greater importance to the system's ability to foster more equitable learning opportunities for a larger number of people...[especially] larger groups of less privileged children."

Disagreements also persist on whether performance on standardised tests is the only legitimate measure of educational outcomes. Based upon an illuminating review of 'the school effectiveness research', Bashir (1995, pp.10-11) cautions us, ".. achievement tests were developed by educationists to monitor academic performance or diagnose educational problems. In the hands of economists and macro-policy makers in education, they have come to be interpreted as 'output' measures and are being used. . . . .to influence resource allocation decisions. If questions of validity and bias were important

when the uses were purely educational, they are even more so when momentous decisions are being taken which may affect the life-chances of millions of young people."

To the extent the choice and interpretations of outcomes are determined by our social and political priorities (for example, a selective focus on either of the two competing goals of equity and achievement), an evaluation of governance reforms is bound to be limited. These inherent difficulties notwithstanding, we put forth a framework of evaluation, adapted from Klugman (1997), which is consistent with our ultimate interest in distributive outcomes, that is to say, outcomes that are positive in terms of human development concerns.

Ideally, we need to compare the above-mentioned diverse outcomes under two regimes, i.e., before or after decentralisation or alternatively between similar programmes run by central and local authorities. However, data limitations will hardly permit such strict comparability (op.cit). Also, it is notoriously difficult to disentangle the effect of decentralisation *per se* from other exogenous factors which would also influence educational outcomes. There is also the factor of time lag with which 'outcomes' are shaped by reforms.

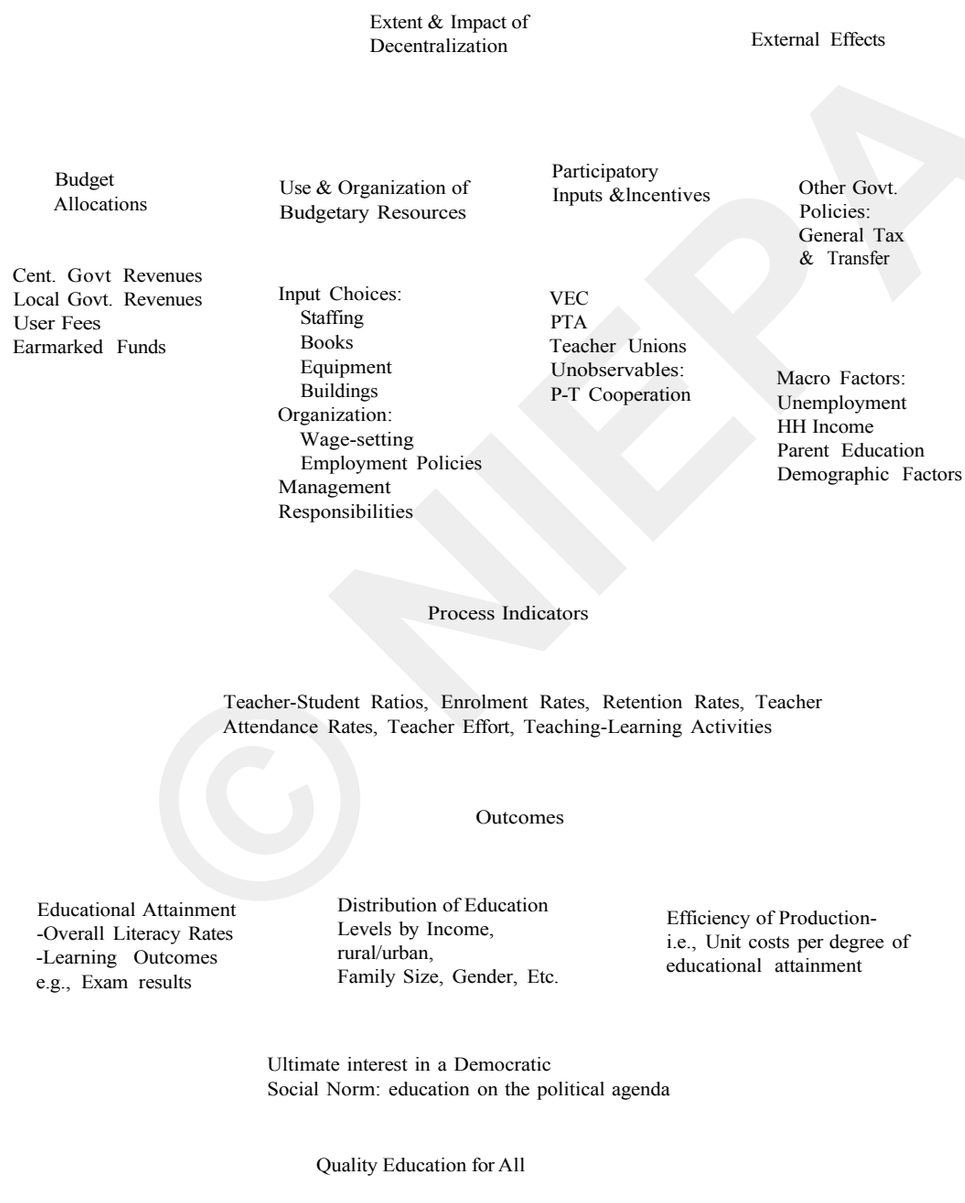
Thus, while clear and unambiguous indicators of the impact of decentralisation will be hard to achieve, it is important to identify some relevant factors and 'possible causal links' that need to be traced in order to measure the effect of decentralisation on educational progress (Chart 2). The impact of reforms in the education sector may be seen to flow from three major sets of variables, namely, (a) budgetary allocations to LBs and fiscal arrangements; (b) organisation and utilisation of budgetary resources; and (c) participatory inputs and incentives.[13] The first variable mainly affects the volume of resources available under decentralised conditions; the second provides the route through which funds will be actually utilised and technical effectiveness might be gained.[14] The third variable aims to capture the dimension of participation of parents, teachers, PRI members and local residents in schooling matters and its effects on both fiscal decisions as well as other aspects of school functioning.[15] The respective roles that various participatory institutions such as VECs, PTAs and teacher unions play in village school affairs strongly influence outcomes. Also, sometimes the unobservable or 'intangible inputs' like teacher motivation, parent-teacher co-operation etc. are more than tangible

[11] There are of course wider exogenous macro-economic variables which are also likely to affect educational outcomes independently of decentralisation reforms, as also some household-related factors such as the rate of unemployment, parental education, income etc. These factors somehow need to be controlled for. in measuring the impact of decentralisation.

[14] Note, however, that there may well be central control on local decisions; as Klugman (1997) points out. wages, for example, may be centrally fixed.

[15] Indeed, what actually happens inside the school, what teaching-learning activity goes on inside the classroom, how much interaction takes place between parents and teachers - in short, the activities that lie at the heart of the school system - depend not only on budgetary allocations and their use but equally crucially on the so-called participatory inputs and incentives.

Chart 2: Distributive Impact of Educational Decentralisation



Source: Adapted from Klugman (1977)

resources which make a big difference to achievement performance of students (Dreze and Kingdon, **1999).**

All the three sets of variables are thought to affect outcomes through various process indicators such as school enrolment, attendance and retention rates of students, teacher attendance, involvement etc. It is not surprising that researchers have focused a great deal on these intermediate variables. But we need to progress beyond them and pay attention to outcome variables as well. Incorporating criteria of both equity and efficiency, we may consider both overall education attainment as well as its distribution, disaggregated by the level of income, rural/urban residence, gender, family size, social groups etc. Finally, the efficiency of provision and production of knowledge may be measured through an analysis of the unit cost of production in a decentralised setting as compared to the same in a more centralised set up.

In brief, subsuming all of the above outcome measures, there remains a larger political question (and correspondingly, the possibility of a wider political development): whether and how institutions of local democracy help shape the broad purpose of public education; whether PRI politics induces local participation and creates pressure in favour of expansion of educational opportunities and thereby works to combat the chronic neglect of basic education in rural India; and finally, whether the local political agenda is infused with an element of radicalism which in turn generates a democratic claim of basic education as a right of every child. In operational terms, we may investigate whether under a decentralised regime such concerns exercise a strong influence on the making of local public policy.

In this paper, we have not dealt with one important aspect of decentralisation in education, namely, fiscal decentralisation (i.e., reassignment of revenue-raising and expenditure responsibilities form the central and regional to local governments). We only make a very brief mention of the following points. In our country, regional governments are primarily responsible for financing elementary and secondary education, although strictly speaking there exists a mixed system, including central government financing/revenue-sharing programmes/categorical grants etc. To shift part of the burden of support for elementary and secondary education to local governments and even to local communities is viewed by many as reasonable. However, as Klugman (1997, p.6) responsibly qualifies this view, "While some view local authority to raise revenue as a necessary element of devolution..., it is not a sufficient condition for effective decentralization...central financial transfers play a critical role in determining the impact of decentralization...[on school participation]." Also, arguments for fiscal self-sufficiency have to be weighed against parallel concerns for regional disparities in fiscal capacity, tax base etc. and their effect on quality and quantity of education.

2.6. ***PRIs, the Local Elite and Public Schools***

A note of caution is apposite here. Locally elected bodies may be run in the interests of the dominant classes in land and wealth; they may indeed fail to throw up any new

political leadership and instead work to strengthen the grip of the extant rural elite. They may fail to unleash a process of radical politics in favour of quality schooling for all (Narain, 1972). Given the entrenched and highly unequal nature of power in large parts of the country, the *capture* of PRIs by the local elite is sadly plausible. As several empirical studies have noted, effective representation in local bodies is mostly by landed people and the economically ascendant class having better education, and not by groups such as agricultural labourers or illiterate people. This stands as reminder that there is no guarantee of linear progression to democracy as we proceed progressively downwards from the centre to the State to sub-State levels.

Similar points have been made by several scholars. While it is often assumed that decentralisation will enhance representative democracy, Binswanger notes that "[g]iving greater voice to lower-level political institutions...[also] run[s] the risk of entrenching further local, often highly unequal, power structures and worsening income inequalities." (as quoted in Tendler,1997). In a similar vein, James Madison in *Federalist Papers* underlined the significance of the federal system which allows, through checks and balances in the allocation of power, citizens who feel that they have been poorly treated at one level of government to have redress at other levels, (op.cit.).

Indeed, PRI politics can be thought to be a microcosm of supra-local politics; "..there are as many opportunities for local government as for central government to engage in rent-seeking and other undesirable behavior." (Tendler, p.7) "The [current] enthusiasm for decentralization", she continues, "...assumes that giving more power and responsibility to local government goes along with all other good things, including greater representation for the poor and servicing of their needs." (p.l 1) But *in reality, all good things do not move together.* However, the possibility that elite domination can impede participatory democracy need not make us overly anxious about the limits of decentralisation, because all the three tiers of government are prone to similar problems (Majumdar, 2000).. And it cannot be established *a priori* that the vulnerability of local governments to 'capture' by local elites is bound to be higher as compared with their supra-local counterparts.[16] It is, therefore, premature to pronounce that one level of government is 'fitter for democracy' than the other. The central and State governments, Tendler (1997. p.7) rightly points out, themselves are rife "..with the clientelism...that [they] fear in local government." Thus, a justified concern for elite domination of local

[16] While assessing the relative capture of local and central governments, Bardhan and Mukherjee (1999), however, claim that comparatively speaking LBs suffer from greater vulnerability to capture by local elites, due to greater cohesion and overlap of interests among local elite groups, lesser degree of electoral competition in local politics etc. However, a process of social churning has started taking place in different parts of rural India and consequently cracks have started developing among the local elite too; their interests do not neatly converge any more, nor does their dominance, in terms of land ownership and other economic wherewithal, remain intact. The exercise of power by the dominant class/caste is being challenged in different corners of the country by sub-altern classes and stands somewhat weakened. The scholarly works brought together in two edited Volumes by Frankel and Rao (1989, 1990) focus on this phenomenon of'the decline of dominance'. I am grateful to A. Vaidyanathan for very helpful discussions on this point.

institutions need not detract us from stressing that there is an analogue at the higher levels also. On a more positive note, we recall what Rabindranath Tagore said, in the context of India's demand for independence from the colonial rule, "It is the opportunity for self-determination which gives training for self-determination." (as quoted in Dutt and Robinson, 2000).Thus, as the PR initiatives create the potential for accommodating wider local interests, ordinary citizens will eventually be able 'to articulate their own interests and develop their own leadership'.

3. Concluding Remarks

The exercise undertaken here has only scratched the surface of the implications of educational decentralisation. While there is nothing dramatically new about the observations made here, the paper attempts to develop a perspective to improved local government in general and improvement in public schools, in particular, that differs somewhat from the current thinking about decentralisation. It suggests an explicit human development approach to thinking about decentralisation reforms, by placing at the heart of the enquiry, the nature and extent of democratic involvement of the poor in the reform process.

Without attempting to summarise the arguments made above, we are now in a position to draw the important points together.

First, decentralisation initiatives are to be seen as a programme within a multi-layered political system which functions at local, provincial and national levels, and not as a closed narrowly parochial stand-alone governance regime, as some advocates of decentralisation seem to claim.

Second, the participation of the historically subordinate social classes/castes in the newly reformed structure of governance is a key parameter, over and above the legal reforms. That is to say, the broad social and political process, taking place both inside and outside of the constitutional framework, is quite central to the question of improvement of local democracy. The Constitutional Amendment is to be seen as only a necessary condition to bring into existence vibrant local governments. While discussing the promises that the recent legislative reforms hold, Dreze and Sen (1999, p.392) insightfully comment, "...if they [legal reforms] go hand in hand with an expansion of public initiatives and social movements..., a stronger political organisation of disadvantaged groups and a more vigorous challenge to social inequalities, they would represent a real opportunity to transform local politics in rural India."

Third, deriving from the second, the purpose of democratic decentralisation is to improve the complementarity between the state and society and not to advocate a zero-sum opposition between the two; neither is it 'to remove the state from involvement in development' (Webster 1995, p.32). While discussing the livelihood concerns of marginalised people in selected Third World cities, Evans (2000) makes a similar point about the need to highlight, in discussions of local governments, the possibility of complementary contributions from different organisations and groups inside and outside

of the state. In his revealing words (p.21), '"state-society synergy' is not just an abstract concept. It is shorthand for the myriad concrete relationships of mutual support that connect communities, NGOs and social movements with individuals and organizations inside the state who put a priority on livelihood and sustainability." However, he also admits, "...innumerable opportunities for building ties, making connections and exploiting potential synergies are being overlooked...Technocrats underestimate the extent to which they need communities; community leaders dismiss those working in the state as bureaucrats and NGOs dismiss ordinary citizens and technocrats as pedestrian and shortsighted" (p.23). Evaluating the urban poverty alleviation programmes in an Indian city, de Wit (1997, p. 35) underlines in a similar vein the importance of co-operation and interaction among multiple actors, "Ultimately policy implementation takes place at the local grass-root level, in local arena where local agencies, bureaucrats, local elites, politicians, land owners, speculators, contractors, NGOs and social workers operate." It is the challenge of local governance to harness such joint initiatives and activities for human development purposes.

Finally, in the specific sector of education, the task seems to be to align decentralisation reforms with the broad purpose of public schooling, which embodies a strong commitment to social justice and a generous vision of a decent future for all citizens.[17] In other words, the purpose of educational decentralisation is not to remove public institutions from involvement in educational matters but to improve public performance. And democratic decentralisation is one important means by which this can be hopefully achieved.

The 'vision' that currently enervates .our school system is that 'education is not for *their* (read subaltern) children'. This narrow conception of schooling rears a callous attitude towards the current ills of the public school system (upon which children from the disadvantaged background mostly depend) which develops into a readiness to even allow the entire system to collapse. To energise the public school system, we need a generous vision of 'the common school', we need to redefine the purpose of public schooling. And it is here that the contemporary effort to promote participatory democracy under the aegis of PRIs presents before us some reformatory possibilities.

Reforming public schools through the channel of decentralisation will require at least two things: (a) re-examination of the harsh criticism of public schools currently in vogue; and (b) involvement of the public in schooling matters. Often a strong case is made for dismantling public schools. It is as if the present system is 'structurally incapable' of correcting its deficiencies, leaving us with the unique option of private schools. However, there does not exist a private solution for every public deficiency. Hence, even without any prejudices against private initiatives, our aim should be to improve and not to abandon the public school system. Also, to extend the 'public' character of public

[17] For an illuminating discussion of a generous conception of educational purpose (i.e., public schools - public in support and control - should be open to all children), see Barber (1997), Tyack (1993), Carnoy (1993) and Kumar (1998).

schools, decentralisation reforms may act as a means of putting education in the hands of the people - the people as parents and community members who have a direct interest in specific schools as well as the people meaning the broader community of citizens with general interest in the entire school system.

Simply put, we envision a possibility of the 'transformation of the school system' under decentralised conditions. Of course, in this paper we have covered only a few of the many subjects that need to be addressed for a meaningful discussion on school transformation. For example, we have to deal with the nuts and bolts of the school system under a decentralised regime and examine the effects, under the changed organisational arrangements, of school inputs, pedagogic practices and teacher attributes on student achievement and contrast these with the agenda pursued by central educational agencies and the corresponding outcomes. Our analysis is certainly limited in these respects.

However, we have touched upon one important issue. We have tried to argue that the analysis of school transformation will hold limited utility unless we consider it as a part of a more general project of social and political transformation, likely to be galvanised through the process of decentralisation. Simply put, if decentralization fosters democracy, it may have, what Sen (1999) calls, a 'constructive' role in the very conceptualization of what is to count as a democratic social norm of education. Hopefully, local democratic institutions and the participatory spaces they open up will influence partisan competition and electoral battles in particular and the public discourse in general in such a way that a progressive education agenda is imposed on state policy both at the local as well as supra-local levels.

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Universalisation of Secondary Education Can it be achieved in the Near Future?

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Abstract

Ever since the Constitution was adopted in 1950, the focus of educational programmes has remained on elementary education. The constitutional commitment being free and compulsory education to all children up to the age fourteen, all efforts aimed at achieving the goal of universal elementary education. However, despite significant progress in every sphere of elementary education, the goal to achieve universal elementary enrolment is still a far distant dream. Within elementary education, primary education remained in the focus all through. The coverage of District Primary Education Programme (DPEP) also remained limited to the primary level only. Of late, upper primary education now has started getting attention of the planners and policy makers. The DPEP is being extended to the upper primary level initially in the phase one 52 districts. Sporadic attempts have been made in the past to consider both primary and upper primary education as one component. The Bihar Education Project and the World Bank Uttar Pradesh Basic Education Project considered the entire elementary education as one unit. The new initiative, namely the Sarva Shiksha Abhiyan (SSA) also envisages the entire- elementary education as one component. The Government recently constituted a task force on secondary education. Otherwise, secondary education had never been in the focus as all the activities remained concentrated on elementary education. There is now at least some mention of Universalisation of Secondary Education also.

Introduction

Like other levels of school education, a significant progress has also been made in various spheres of secondary education. More than 84 per cent habitations in 1993-94 had a secondary school/section within a distance of 8 km as compared to 70 per cent within 5 km. The number of unserved habitations declined from 21 per cent in 1986-87 to 15 per cent in 1993-94. During 1950-51 to 1999-2000, the number of secondary and higher secondary schools increased from 7 thousand to 117 thousand. The increase (over 16 times) is much more rapid than the corresponding increase in primary (3 times) and upper primary (14 times) schools. In the latest decade (1990 to 99), more than 37 thousand

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secondary and higher secondary schools were opened. The ratio of upper primary to secondary schools also improved from 1.83 in 1950-51 to 1.69 in 1999-2000.

The number of secondary and higher secondary teachers increased from 127 thousand in 1950-51 to 1,720 thousand in 1999-2000. Despite increase in the number of teachers, pupil-teacher ratio increased from 21:1 in 1950-51 to 32:1 in 1999-2000 indicating significant increase in enrolment at this level. From a low 1.5 million in 1950¬ 51, it has now increased by more than 19 times to 28.2 million in 1999-2000. The girls' enrolment during the same period increased from 13 per cent to about 38 per cent. Enrolment in secondary and higher secondary level increased by almost double the rate than the increase in primary enrolment. The Gross Enrolment Ratio, though low, improved from 19.3 per cent in 1990-91 to 30.0 per cent in 1993-94 and further to 41.2 per cent in 1998-99. Almost 50 per cent children of age group 14-17 years were attending schools in 1995-96. Retention rate (I to IX) also improved but it is still low at 27 per cent. Transition rate from upper primary to secondary level is as high as 83 per cent.

Like enrolment and teachers, facilities in secondary schools over a period of time also improved impressively. The majority of secondary schools have now got school buildings (69 per cent). The average number of instructional rooms in a secondary school is as high as 8. More schools have got drinking water (41 per cent), urinal (77 per cent) and lavatory (57 per cent) facilities. More than 63 per cent schools have got furniture for teachers and almost the same percentage science laboratories. Plan allocation on secondary education increased from Rs. 20 crore during the First Plan to more than Rs. 2,600 crore in the Ninth Plan. However, expenditure on secondary education always remained below one per cent of the GDP.

Like secondary level, impressive progress has also been made both at the primary and upper primary levels of education. But despite all these significant achievements, the goal of universal elementary education (UEE) still remains out of sight without which the goal of universal secondary education also cannot be achieved.

Study Alternatives

An attempt has been made in this article to project enrolment in secondary classes. By using five alternatives, enrolment in Grade IX and total secondary enrolment (Grades IX-X) has been projected up to the year 2015. The existing set of enrolment projections (Mehta, 1998; Varghese and Mehta, 1999) have been extensively used in projecting secondary enrolment. Attempt has also been made to analyze implications of UEE on secondary education in terms of enrolment. Needless to mention that secondary education cannot be expanded unless upper primary education system sends adequate number of elementary graduates to the secondary level. Once the students complete elementary education, they are expected to transit to secondary level. An attempt has also been made here to see how students transact between secondary classes. For this purpose, transition rate from upper primary to secondary level and between secondary grades have been computed and analyzed. Trends in enrolment from primary to secondary level are also

analyzed for which a long time series is constructed. The following five alternatives have been used to project enrolment in secondary classes:

- Alternative I: in Proportion of Grade VIII to total upper primary enrolment;
- Alternative II: UEE, if achieved by 2010;
- Alternative III: Based on past growth rates;
- Alternative IV: Grade IX enrolment in relation to enrolment in Grade I; and
- Alternative V: Universal Secondary Enrolment, if achieved, by 2015.

Data Used

Though the focus here is on secondary level, wherever necessary, information pertaining to lower levels, such as upper primary and primary levels have also been presented and analyzed. However, analysis is confined only to the all-India level. The analysis presented and projections made are based on the publications of the NCERT and MHRD. *Education in India* and *Selected Educational Statistics* of the MHRD have been extensively utilized. In addition, population projections provided by the *Standing Committee of Experts on Population Projections* have also been used in carrying out enrolment projections. Since the Standing Committee estimates are based on the population data up to the 1991 Census, the same needs revision. However, a cursory look at the projected and actual population for 2001 suggests that the same may not change significantly because the deviation noticed between the two estimates is not significant.

Age-Specific Child Population

The total population of India of 846 million in 1991 increased at an annual rate of 1.95 per cent to 1,027 million in 2001 (against projected 1,012 million). A perusal of Table 1 reveals that irrespective of the age group, population is likely to increase during the period 1991-2001. However, the same trend may not continue during the following decade i.e. 2001-2011 as the population in age groups 6-11,11-14 and 14-16 years would start declining. However, population of age group 16-18 years is expected to increase marginally. The decline in population (6-11 years) indicates comparatively a lower clientele in 2011 than it was in 1991. However, this may not minimize the unfinished task of universal enrolment, as upper primary enrolment depends on primary graduates and not on population of age group 11-14 years. This is also true for secondary enrolment, which depends on upper primary graduates and not on population of age group 14-16 years.

During 1991-2001, child population (age group 6-11 years) might have increased at the rate of 0.13 per cent per annum (2001 Census figures are not yet available). The lower rate is due to decline in birth rate during the same period. During 2001 to 2011, population of age group 6-11 years is expected to decline at an annual rate of 0.80 per cent, all that supports a decline in the clientele population. It is not only that population of age group 6-11 years (during 2001-2011) would decline but its share to total

population is also expected to decline by more than 4.50 percentage points. Individually, age groups 6-11 and 11-14 years had 116.71 and 53.01 million population in 1991, which is 13.79 and 6.26 per cent of the total population now is likely to decline to 9.25 and 5.30 percent in 2011.

TABLE 1
Age-specific Child Population: 1991-2016

(Figures in Million)

Age-group	*1991*	*2001*	*2011*	*2016*
6-11				
Boys	**60.31**	**60.42**	**56.04**	**59.47**
Girls	**56.40**	**57.84**	**53.09**	**56.33**
Total	**116.71**	**118.26**	**109.13**	**115.80**
11-14				
Boys	**27.88**	**38.50**	**32.10**	**34.08**
Girls	**25.13**	**35.97**	**30.42**	**32.32**
Total	**53.01**	**74.47**	**62.52**	**66.40**
14-16				
Boys	**19.52**	**24.74**	**22.27**	**21.87**
Girls	**16.68**	**22.53**	**21.34**	**20.68**
Total	**36.20**	**47.27**	**43.61**	**42.51**
16-18				
Boys	**14.71**	**23.50**	**23.20**	**21.26**
Girls	**12.99**	**20.95**	**22.40**	**20.12**
Total	**27.70**	**44.45**	**45.60**	**41.38**
Total Population	**846**	**1012**	**1179**	**1264**

Source: Expert Committee on Population Projections as reported in the Selected Educational Statistics: 1999-2000, MHRD, Government of India, New Delhi, 2001.

In 1991, there were about 1,670 million children of age group 6-14 years compared to 36.20 and 27.70 million respectively of the age groups 14-16 and 16-18 years. It is estimated that there would be about 193 and 172 million children of age group 6-14 years respectively in the years 2001 and 2011. Age groups 14-16 and 16-18 years had 63.90 million children in 1991, which might have increased to 91.77 million in 2001 are likely to decline to 89.21 million in 2011. Individually, age groups 14-16 and 16-18 years would have an estimated population of 47.27 and 44.45 million in 2001 and 43.61 and 45.60 million in 2011. The percentage share of 14-16 and 16-18 years to total population, which was 4.28 and 3.27 per cent in 1991, projected to increase to 4.67 and 4.39 per cent in 2001 would decline to 3.70 and 3.86 per cent the following decade. This indicates a growth of 2.70 and 4.84 per cent per annum during 1991-2001 respectively in the age groups of 14-16 and 16-18 years. The projected single age '6' population is presented in Table 2.

TABLE 2
Projected Population, Age '6': 1991-2016

(Figures in Million)

Year	*Boys*	*Girls*	*Total*
1991	**11.99**	**11.36**	**23.36**
2001	**12.13**	**11.76**	**23.89**
2011	**11.25**	**10.80**	**22.05**
2016	**11.94**	**11.46**	**23.39**

Note: Projected on the basis of share of age '6' to total population (6-11 years) in 1991 and projected 6-11 population in different years.

Growth in Enrolment

Enrolment during 1950-51 to 1999-2000 at different levels of school education is presented in Table **3.** A perusal of the Table reveals that irrespective of the level of education, enrolment has shown consistent and significant increase throughout this period. This is also true for girls' enrolment, which has increased at much faster rate than increase in boys' enrolment. Enrolment at the primary level increased from 19.2 million in 1950-51 to 97.4 million in 1990-91 and further to 113.6 million in 1999-2000. This shows that the same is increased by more than six times in a period of about fifty years. The girls' enrolment during the same period increased from 5.4 million in 1950-51 to 49.5 million in 1999-2000. In percentage terms, share of girls' enrolment increased from 28.13 percent in 1950-51 to 41.48 per cent in 1991 and further to 43.58 per cent in 1999¬ 2000. The share of girls' enrolment at upper primary and high/higher secondary level increased from 16.13 to 40.38 per cent and 13.33 to 38.99 per cent during the same period. In the latest decade (1991 to 2000), enrolment at the primary level increased at the rate of \ .72 per cent compared to 2.40 and 4.43 per cent increase in upper primary and high and higher secondary enrolment.

Compared to primary and upper primary levels, enrolment at the secondary and higher secondary level initially had a low enrolment base. In 1950-51, total enrolment in secondary and higher secondary classes was only 1.5 million, of which girls constituted 13.33 per cent or 0.2 million in absolute terms. During 1991-2000, the same increased at the rate of 4.43 per cent per annum, which is more than double the increase in upper primary enrolment. During 1950-51 to 1999-2000, girls and overall secondary and higher secondary enrolment increased by more than 55 and 19 times This shows average growth of 8.52 and 6.17 per cent per annum which is higher than the corresponding growth in enrolment at other levels of school education.

TABLE 3

Growth in Enrolment: 1950-51 to 1999-2000

(Figures in Million)

Year	*Primary*			*Upper Primary*			*High/Hr. Secondary*		
	Girls	*Total*	*% Girls*	*Girls*	*Total*	*% Girls*	*Girls*	*Total*	*% Girls*
1951	**5.4**	**19.2**	**28.13**	**0.5**	**3.1**	**16.13**	**0.2**	**1.5**	**13.33**
1961	**l'i .4**	**35.0**	**32.57**	**1.6**	**6.7**	**23.88**	**0.7**	**3.4**	**20.59**
1971	**21.3**	**57.0**	**37.37**	**3.9**	**13.3**	**29.32**	**1.9**	**7.6**	**25.00**
1981	**28.5**	**73.8**	**38.62**	**6.8**	**20.7**	**32.85**	**3.4**	**11.0**	**30.91**
1991	**40.4**	**97.4**	**41.48**	**12.5**	**34.0**	**36.76**	**6.3**	**19.1**	**32.98**
1998	**48.2**	**110.9**	**43.46**	**16.3**	**40.3**	**40.45**	**10.5**	**27.8**	**37.77**
1999	**49.5**	**113.6**	**43.58**	**17.0**	**42.1**	**40.38**	**11.0**	**28.2**	**38.99**
Rate of Growth									
1951-1999	**4.63**	**3.72**	**-**	**7.46**	**5.57**	**-**	**8.52**	**6.17**	**-**
1991-2000	**2.29**	**1.72**	**-**	**3.48**	**2.40**	**-**	**6.39**	**4.43**	**-**

Source: Selected Educational Statistics: 1999-2000, MHRD, 2001. Growth rates calculated by **the author.**

TABLE 4

Gross Enrolment Ratio: 1950-51 to 1999-2000

Year	*Primary (Grades I-V, 6-11 Years)*			*Upper Primary (Grades VI-V 111, 11-14 Years)*			*High/Hr. Secondary (Grades IX-XII, 14-17 Years)*
	Boys	*Girls*	*Total*	*Boys*	*Girls*	*Total*	*Total*
1950-51	**60.6**	**24.8**	**42.6**	**20.6**	**4.6**	**12.7**	NA
1960-61	**82.6**	**41.4**	**62.4**	**33.2**	**11.3**	**22.5**	**10.6**
1970-71	**95.5**	**60.5**	**78.6**	**46.5**	**20.8**	**33.4**	**19.0**
1980-81	**95.8**	**64.1**	**80.5**	**54.3**	**28.6**	**41.9**	**17.3**
1990-91	**114.0**	**85.5**	**100.4**	**76.6**	**47.0**	**62.1**	**19.3**
1998-99*	**100.9**	**82.9**	**92.1**	**65.3**	**49.1**	**57.6**	**30.8****
1999-2000	**104.1**	**85.2**	**94.9**	**67.2**	**49.7**	**58.8**	**30.0*****

•Provisional thereafter, ** 1992-93, * 1993-94**

Source: Selected Educational Statistics: 1999-2000, MHRD, 2001; & Education in India: 1992-93 & 1993¬ 94, MHRD, New Delhi.

A perusal of Table 4 reveals that Gross Enrolment Ratio between the period 1950-51 to 1999-2000 improved significantly but the same is not adequate to attain the status of universal enrolment. As against GER of 100.4 and 62.1 per cent in 1990 at the primary and upper primary level, the corresponding ratio in 1999-2000 was 94.90 and 58.80 per cent. Compared to primary and upper primary levels, GER at high and higher secondary

level is quite low. In 1990-91, it was only 19.3 per cent but improved to 30.0 per cent in 1993-94. For the latest year, the same is estimated to be around 41 per cent. The NSSO data indicates a Gross Attendance Ratio of 51 and 32 per cent respectively in the classes 1X-X and XI-XII. Within these classes, a significant differential is noticed between boys/girls and rural/urban areas. The Net Attendance Ratio was low at 26 and 15 per cent respectively in the classes IX-X and XI-XII. This suggests that the majority of children of age groups 14-17 and 18-24 years in 1995-96 were not attending schools. The Age-specific Attendance Ratio was only 50 per cent; suggesting that 50 per cent of the population of age group 14-17 years were not attending schools and those attending may not necessarily be in the secondary classes.

Re-defining Universalisation

The analysis presented above reveals that at all levels of school education, a significant progress in enrolment is achieved but a large number of children still remain out of school, their estimated number in 1999-2000 being about 67 million/6-14 years, (Mehta, 2002). Unless these children are brought under the education system, the goal of universal elementary education cannot be achieved.

It may, however, be noted that without attaining the status of universal primary enrolment, the goal of universal elementary education too cannot be achieved. Primary enrolment depends on 6-11 year population but the same is not true in case of the upper primary enrolment. Upper primary enrolment is not only a function of 11-14 year population but it is also a function of primary graduates. Only primary graduates can be admitted in upper primary classes. It is quite possible that many children of 11-14 years age group are out of the system; there may also be drop-out children; and a few of them may still be in primary classes. Without bringing these children to schools, the goal of universal elementary education cannot be realized. The upper primary level of education cannot be expanded in isolation of the primary level. This is also true for secondary level, which cannot be expanded independent of upper primary level. All children of age group 14-16 years cannot be enrolled in Classes IX-X unless the goal of universal elementary education is achieved. Many children of this age group may still be in primary or upper primary classes or may even be out of school.

Thus, availability of graduates' (primary and upper primary) along with transition from primary to upper primary and upper primary to secondary level would decide the future expansion of upper primary and secondary levels of education. Further expansion of primary education and high transition from primary to upper primary level will generate more intensive demand for upper primary education to expand. Once the goal of universal elementary enrolment is realised, secondary level may then expect to receive a quantum jump in enrolment. This may happen in year 2010, if the goal of newly launched *Sarva Shiksha Abhiyan* is realised by that year.

Transition Rates

The inter-stage transition rates i.e. transition from Grade V, the terminal grade of primary to Grade VI, the initial grade of upper primary education and transition from terminal grade of upper primary level i.e. Grade VIII to Grade IX, the initial grade of secondary level are presented in Table 5. A close scrutiny of the Table reveals that transition rate from primary to upper primary level has been reasonably high to start with and improved consistently. In 1998-99, transition rate from primary to upper primary level was 93.37 per cent with boy/girl differential of only 5 per cent. Similarly, transition from upper primary to secondary level also remained high throughout the period from 1970-71 to 1998-99. In the latest year 1998-99, it is as high as 82.95 per cent with negligible boy/girl differential. The relatively high transition from primary to upper primary level and low gender difference suggest that unless the efficiency of primary education system is improved, the goal of universal elementary education cannot be realized. The efficiency of primary education system has direct bearing on upper primary and secondary education system to expand. An inefficient primary education system will continue to send fewer primary graduates to the upper primary level.

TABLE 5

Transition Rates: 1970-71 to 1998-99

Year	*Grade V/VI*			*Grade VIII/IX*		
	Boys	*Girls*	*Total*	*Boys*	*Girls*	*Total*
1970-71	**86.80**	**74.08**	**82.56**	**-**	**-**	**-**
1980-81	**92.11**	**81.77**	**88.35**	**88.58**	**83.16**	**86.89**
1981-82	**93.77**	**86.41**	**91.10**	**88.67**	**81.67**	**86.47**
1982-83	**95.11**	**87.18**	**92.22**	**85.95**	**79.72**	**83.92**
1983-84	**92.89**	**86.71**	**90.62**	**86.14**	**81.56**	**84.64**
1984-85	**91.90**	**86.84**	**90.02**	**88.24**	**83.55**	**86.69**
1985-86	**90.79**	**82.01**	**87.45**	**83.93**	**79.02**	**82.28**
1986-87	**93.61**	**85.49**	**90.50**	**87.63**	**81.47**	**85.55**
1987-88	**91.59**	**83.56**	**88.50**	**84.13**	**79.75**	**82.63**
1988-89	**94.48**	**84.15**	**90.45**	**85.67**	**82.67**	**84.65**
1989-90	**98.32**	**91.30**	**95.56**	**89.37**	**84.64**	**87.72**
1990-91	**95.20**	**93.22**	**94.42**	**84.93**	**79.56**	**83.01**
1991-92	**87.00**	**83.00**	**85.00**	**79.30**	**70.49**	**76.05**
1997-98*	**89.00**	**91.00**	**86.00**	**86.34**	**82.64**	**84.89**
1998-99	**95.59**	**90.33**	**93.37**	**83.15**	**82.66**	**82.95**

***: Provisional thereafter**

Source: Varghese & Mehta (1999); 1997-98 onwards computed by the author.

The transition between secondary and higher secondary grades (Table 6) reveals that majority of children transit from Grade IX to Grade X but the same is not true in case of promotion from Grade X to XI and Grade XI to XII. It has also been noticed that more

girls transit from Grade IX to X and also from Grade X to XI. The promotion rate from Grade IX to X in 1998-99 was as high as 86.68 percent (Boys 85.13 and Girls 89.19 per cent). However, only 44.29 per cent children transited from Grade X to XI; thus contributing a lot to wastage in the system. On the other hand, majority of children transited from Grade XI to XII (95.52 per cent). Here again, more girls transited from Grade XI to XII than their counterpart boys. The low transition from Grade X to XI has serious implications for universalisation of senior secondary education.

TABLE 6

Grade-to-Grade Transition Rates between Secondary and Higher Secondary Grades

Year	*Sex*	*IXtoX*	*XtoXI*	*XI to XII*
1990-91	**Boys**	**87.13**	**-**	**-**
	Girls	**89.56**	**-**	**-**
	Total	**87.95**	**-**	**-**
1991-92	**Boys**	**84.32**	**-**	**-**
	Girls	**81.74**	**-**	**-**
	Total	**83.44**	**-**	**-**
1997-98	**Boys**	**87.39**	**43.28**	**94.10**
	Girls	**90.66**	**44.22**	**93.79**
	Total	**88.62**	**43.63**	**93.98**
1998-99	**Boys**	**85.13**	**43.19**	**93.82**
	Girls	**89.19**	**46.06**	**98.30**
	Total	**86.68**	**44.29**	**95.52**

Source: Calculated by the author on the **MHRD** data.

Enrolment Projections

The techniques of enrolment projections can broadly be divided into two groups, namely mathematical and analytical techniques. Mathematical methods assume that past trend in enrolment would continue in the future. On the other hand, analytical techniques (based on 'student cohort' analysis) takes into account the demographic pressures on education. In the absence of the latest grade-specific enrolment, it is not possible to undertake analytical methods. Recently, Mehta (1998) projected enrolment both at the primary and upper primary levels of education by using trend and cohort analysis. In addition, Varghese and Mehta (1999) also projected enrolment in upper primary classes by using a set of alternatives.

TABLE 7
Projected Enrolment: Primary Classes I-V

(Figures in Million)

Year	*Alternative Scenarios*							
	I		*II*		*III*		*IV*	
	Boys	*Girls*	*Boys*	*Girls*	*Boys*	*Girls*	*Boys*	*Girls*
2000-01	**63.21**	**49.28**	**62.34**	**51.67**	**60.28**	**49.73**	**51.58**	**47.18**
2005-06	**62.27**	**50.92**	**60.43**	**51.98**	**53.67**	**48.33**	**53.47**	**48.32**
2007-08	**61.87**	**51.63**	**59.96**	**52.10**	**54.48**	**48.82**	**54.15**	**48.81**
2008-09	**61.69**	**52.01**	**59.84**	**52.16**	**54.49**	**48.90**	**54.18**	**48.90**

Source: EFA in India: Enrolment Projections by Arun C. Mehta. NIEPA and Vikas, 1998, New Delhi.
Note: The projections should be examined in the light of period of the data used.

(a) *Primary and Upper Primary Level*

By using Grade Transition method, Mehta (1998) used four alternative scenarios to project enrolment in primary classes. The projected figures are presented in Table 7. Varghese and Mehta (1999) projected upper primary enrolment on the basis of projected primary enrolment and percentage of upper primary to total primary enrolment. In the second alternative, trend analysis was carried out to project upper primary enrolment. In the third alternative, enrolment was projected on the basis of growth rates. As an alternative to the first three, in the last alternative, upper primary enrolment was projected on the basis of percentage share of Grade V enrolment to the total primary enrolment. The projections based upon the third and the fourth alternatives were noticed to be close, both in 2002-03 and 2008-09 (Table 7). The projected enrolment in upper primary classes is presented in Table 8.

TABLE 8
Projected Enrolment: Upper Primary Classes, VI-VIII
(Different Alternatives)

(Figures in Million)

Alternatives	*2002-03*		*2008-09*	
	Enrolment	*Enrolment Rate*	*Enrolment*	*Enrolment Rate*
1	**45.25**	**63.41**	**52.18**	**81.76**
II	**54.96**	**77.02**	**68.4**	**107.18**
III	**50.23**	**70.39**	**60.16**	**94.27**
IV	**50.02**	**70.1**	**63.04**	**98.78**
Age-specific Population 11-14 Years	**71.36**		**63.82**	

Source: Varghese & Mehta (1999), Universalisation of Upper Primary: Education in India: An Analysis of Present Status and Future Requirements, NIEPA, New Delhi.

(b) ***Secondary Level***

Since the grade-specific enrolment at the upper primary level is not projected, it is not an easy task to project enrolment in secondary classes. Nor the Grade Transition Method can be applied because of the data that is not available. Second, the method is best applicable to project enrolment in primary classes only. Lastly, because of the changes in the definition of universalisation, the same is not appropriate to apply both at the upper primary and secondary levels of education. Therefore, various alternatives are tried to project enrolment in secondary classes details.

Alternative I: In Proportion of Grade VIII to Total Upper Primary Enrolment

In the first alternative, percentage of Grade VIII enrolment to total upper primary enrolment (Classes VI-VIII) in 1998-99 (provisional) is applied to projected enrolment at the upper primary level to obtain enrolment in Grade VIII. At present, the share of Grade VIII enrolment is 29.87 per cent. The transition rate from upper primary to secondary level (84.89 per cent, Table 5) is then applied to projected Grade VIII enrolment to obtain total enrolment in Grade IX, which is multiplied by two to obtain total enrolment in secondary classes (all the Grade IX children may not necessarily transit to Grade X, at present the rate is about 87 per cent but in case of universalisation, it will further improve and will fast approach hundred per cent). This was applied to all the four scenarios developed by Varghese and Mehta (Table 8) to obtain enrolment in secondary classes (Classes IX & X). The projected figures are presented in Table 9.

TABLE 9

Projected Enrolment: Secondary Classes*

(Different Alternatives)

(Figures in Million)

Scenarios	*Grade IX*		*Grades IX-X*	
	2004-05	*2010-11*	*2004-05*	*2010-11*
I	**11.47**	**13.23**	**22.94**	**26.46**
II	**13.94**	**17.34**	**27.88**	**34.68**
III	**12.81**	**15.25**	**25.62**	**30.50**
IV	**12.68**	**15.98**	**25.36**	**31.96**

Based on percentage of Grade VIII to total upper primary enrolment (29.87 per cent) and transition from upper primary to secondary level (84.89 per cent) by assuming that all children of age group 6-11 years will be enrolled in 2001/2007 as per projected upper primary enrolment presented in Table 8.

The projected figures presented in Table 9 reveal that enrolment in Grade IX in 2005 is expected between 11.47 million under Scenario I to 13.94 million under Scenario II. Varghese and Mehta (1999) retained Scenario IV for projecting financial requirements of universalizing upper primary education. According to this scenario, enrolment in Grade IX is likely to be 12.68 million in 2005. It may, however, be noted that at present (1998-

99) enrolment in Grade X is only 9.90 million (Boys 6.12 and Girls 3.78 million). Thus, if UPE is achieved by 2001 and children transit to upper primary level and then to Grade IX (the first grade of secondary level), the system is expected to receive a quantum jump in enrolment in the year 2005. But since the universalisation has not yet been achieved (in 2001), this alternative is not retained for further analysis.

Alternatively, if the UPE is achieved by 2007, enrolment in secondary classes can also be projected accordingly. In 2007, it is projected that there would be around 57.75 million boys and 54.94 million girls of age group 6-11 years. At present, transition rate from upper primary to secondary level is 84.89 per cent and promotion rate from Grade IX to X is 88.62 per cent. These rates are expected to further improve in case of universalisation in 2007. Therefore, by assuming that all children in Grade IX will transit to Grade X and transition rate from upper primary to secondary level improves to 90 per cent, enrolment in Grades IX-X is projected. The projected enrolment in 2011 comes out to be 33.90 million (GER, 77.73 per cent); the corresponding enrolment in Grade IX would be 16.95 million. At present, the total enrolment in secondary classes is 18.45 million. UPE, in 2007, thus would result into about two-fold increase in secondary enrolment in 2011 from its present level. In case no improvement takes place in the existing rates, enrolment in secondary classes is alternatively projected to be 31.96 million, as against 15.98 million in Grade IX in year 2011 (Table 9).

Alternative II: U E E, if Achieved, by 2010

The SSA envisages achieving the goal of UEE by 2010 (MHRD, 2000). Therefore, under the Alternative II, enrolment is projected 'by assuming that the goal of universal elementary enrolment will be achieved by 2010. The projected population suggests that there would be around 63.62 million children of age group 11-14 years in 2010 (Table 10). The existing share of Grade VIII to total upper primary enrolment (29.87 per cent) may further improve if drop-out rates between upper primary classes decline. However, it may be noted that the existing drop-out rates are very low compared to drop-out rates between primary classes. It may also be noted that, repetition rates in upper primary classes is a bit higher than the drop-out rates. Therefore, no assumption is made on future share of Grade VIII enrolment. It is assumed that it will remain constant at its present value. In addition, universalisation of elementary education will further improve transition from upper primary to secondary level (say about 90 per cent).

Thus, if the goal of universal upper primary education is achieved by year 2010 and 90 per cent children transit to the secondary level, it is estimated that enrolment in Grade IX in the year 2012 would be around 17.10 million (Table 10). In case no improvement takes place in transition rate, the same would be around 16.13 million. In case both the transition rate as well as the share of Grade VIII enrolment improves, Grade IX enrolment is projected to be 20.04 million. Alternatively, if transition rate remains constant but share of Grade IX improves to 35 per cent, projected Grade IX enrolment comes out to be 18.90 million. Altogether, enrolment at the secondary level under different assumptions is projected between 32.26 to 40.08 million in 2012. Thus,

universalisation in 2010 will result into a quantum jump in secondary enrolment from its present level if both the transition as well as share of Grade VIII to total upper primary enrolment improves slightly.

TABLE 10
Alternative II: Goal of UEE, if Achieved, by 2010

(In Million)

Assumptions	*Projected Enrolment*	
	Grade IX, 2010	*Grades IX-X, 2012*
(A) **Improved Transition Rate from Upper Primary to Secondary Level (90 per cent)**	**17.10 (A & C)**	**34.20 (A & C)**
(B) Constant Transition Rate (84.89 per cent)	**16.13 (B & C)**	**32.26 (B & C)**
(C) Constant Share of Grade VIII to Total Upper Primary Enrolment (29.87 per cent)	**18.90 (B& D)**	**37.80 (B & D)**
(D) Improved Share of Grade VIII to Total Upper Primary Enrolment (35 per cent)	**20.04 (A & D)**	**40.08 (A & D)**
Projected 11-14 Year Population in the year 2010=63.62 Million		

Alternative III: Based on Past Growth Rates

In addition to the above alternatives, using the recent growth rates, enrolment at the secondary level is projected. For this purpose, both the MHRD and the NCERT set of enrolment data have been used. Needless to mention that projections based on growth rates are crude in nature as neither the age-specific population nor the elementary graduates are considered in projections. Second, once the goal of universal elementary education is achieved, the growth rates will further improve to a significant effect up to a certain period after which they will settle down. However, they give reasonably enough indication about future size of enrolment.

(a) ***Based on the MHRD Data***

By using the growth rates between the periods 1988-89 to 1998-99, enrolment in secondary classes is projected. During 1988-89 to 1998-99, enrolment in secondary classes increased at the rate of 3.31, 5.54 and 4.10 per cent per annum respectively in case of boys, girls and overall enrolment (Table 11). By assuming that the growth rates will remain constant, it is projected that enrolment in secondary classes would be around 23.49, 28.72 and 35.11 million respectively in the years 2005, 2010 and 2015. This gives a GER of 51, 65 and 82 per cent in the years 2005, 2010 and 2015. Table 11 further reveals a significant boy/girl differential in the projected GER in 2005 and 2010. In 2015, the differential is estimated to be around 7 percentage points.

TABLE 11

Projected Enrolment (Grades IX-X): Based on MHRD Data

(Figures in Million)

Year	*Boys*	*Girls*	*Total*
1988-89	**8.23**	**4.12**	**12.34**
1998-99	**11.34**	**7.05**	**18.45**
			(41.17)
Rate of Growth (%)	**3.31**	**5.54**	**4.10**
2004-05	**13.86**	**9.75**	**23.49**
	(58.43)	**(44.22)**	**(51.32)**
2009-10	**16.31**	**12.76**	**28.72**
	(72.49)	**(59.46)**	**(65.33)**
2014-15	**19.20**	**16.71**	**35.11**
	(87.51)	**(80.85)**	**(82.13)**

Note: Projected GER is presented in the parentheses.

In the present exercise, enrolment in Grade IX is also projected by assuming that the past growth rates in enrolment will continue. During 1988-89 to 1998-99, enrolment in Grade IX increased at the rate of 2.72, 5.01 and 3.54 per cent per annum in case of boys, girls and total enrolment. If the growth rates continue, it is projected that enrolment in Grade IX would be around 12.20, 14.51 and 17.27 million respectively in the years 2005, 2010 and 2015 (Table 12).

TABLE 12

Projected Enrolment (Grade IX): Based on MHRD Data

(Figures in Million)

Year	*Boys*	*Girls*	*Total*
1988-89	**4.68**	**2.31**	**6.99**
1998-99	**6.12**	**3.77**	**4.33**
Rate of Growth (%)	**2.72**	**5.01**	**3.54**
2004-05	**7.19**	**5.06**	**12.20**
2009-10	**8.23**	**6.46**	**14.51**
2014-15	**9.41**	**8.26**	**17.27**

(b) ***Based on the NCERT Data***

It may be noticed that the above projections are made by using the official set of enrolment data. In the past, a significant deviation in enrolment is noticed between the MHRD and the NCERT set of data (Mehta, 1996). It may also be noticed that the official estimates of enrolment irrespective of survey (2nd to 6th) have been found overestimated

compared to the all-India survey estimates. Because of these reasons, an alternative is also tried to project enrolment in secondary classes by using the data between the Fifth (1986-87) and Sixth (1993-94) surveys.

TABLE 13
Projected Enrolment (Grades IX-X): Based on NCERT Data

(Figures in Million)

Year	*Boys*	*Girls*	*Total*
1986-87	**7.87**	**3.65**	**11.52**
1993-94	**9.67**	**5.55**	**15.22**
Rate of Growth (%)	**2.99**	**6.17**	**4.06**
2004-05	**13.37**	**10.72**	**23.58**
	(56.37)	**(48.62)**	**(51.52)**
2009-10	**15.49**	**14.47**	**28.77**
	(69.56)	**(67.43)**	**(65.44)**
2014-15	**17.43**	**18.38**	**33.74**
	(79.44)	**(88.33)**	**(78.92)**

Note: Projected GER is presented in the parentheses.

During 1986-87 to 1993-94, enrolment in secondary classes increased at an annual rate of 4.06 per cent. The corresponding increase in case of boys and girls enrolment was 2.99 and 6.17 per cent (Table 13). It may be noticed that despite the different sets and periods of data, the overall secondary enrolment increased almost at the same rate of 4 per cent per annum. Also, in both the sets of statistics, girls' enrolment increased at a much faster rate than the increase in boys' enrolment. This is because of the lower girls-enrolment in the base year. The projected enrolment presented in the Table 13 reveals that enrolment in secondary classes would be about 23.58, 28.77 and 33.74 million in 2005, 2010 and 2015. This gives a GER of 51.52, 65.49 and 78.92 per cent respectively in the years 2005, 2010 and 2015.

TABLE 14
Projected Enrolment (Grade IX): Based on NCERT Data

(Figures in Million)

Year	*Boys*	*Girls*	*Total*
1986-87	**4.35**	**2.06**	**6.41**
1993-94	**5.33**	**3.10**	**8.43**
Rate of Growth (%)	**2.95**	**6.01**	**3.99**
2004-05	**7.33**	**5.89**	**12.97**
2009-10	**8.48**	**7.89**	**15.77**
2014-15	**9.52**	**9.97**	**18.44**

By using the same set of data, enrolment in Grade IX is also projected for years 2005, 2010 and 2015. During 1986-87 to 1993-94, Grade IX enrolment increased at the rate of 3.99 per cent per annum. Again, girls' enrolment in Grade IX increased at a much faster rate (6.01 per cent) than the increase in boys' enrolment (2.95 per cent). The projected enrolment (Table 14) reveals that total enrolment in Grade IX in 2005 would be around 12.97 million against the present 9.90 million. This is likely to increase further to 15.77 million in 2010 and to 18.44 million in the year 2015.

A glance at Tables 11 to 14 reveals that not much deviation is noticed between the projected secondary enrolment based on the Official and NCERT set of data. As against the projected enrolment of 23.49 million in 2005 based on the MHRD set of data, the corresponding estimate based on the NCERT data comes out to be 23.58 million. Similarly, enrolment in 2010 is projected to be 28.72 million (MHRD) and 28.77 million (NCERT). However, a gap of about 1.37 million is noticed between the two estimates in year 2015. Quite a similar trend is also noticed in case of the projected Grade IX enrolment. As against, 12.20 million enrolment based on the MHRD data, the corresponding enrolment in 2005 based on the NCERT data is 12.97 million. The projected Grade IX enrolment in 2010 comes out to be 14.51 and 15.77 million respectively in case of MHRD and NCERT data sets. It may be noticed that the projected enrolment in Grade IX under present alternative is close to earlier estimates presented above.

Alternative IV: Enrolment in Grade IX in Relation to Enrolment in Grade I

In the next alternative, enrolment in secondary classes is projected on the basis of Grade IX enrolment as a proportion of Grade I enrolment. For this purpose, first the ratio of Grade IX to Grade I enrolment eight years back is calculated separately for boys and girls. This requires grade-wise enrolment over a period of time, which is available from the *Education in India (Volume I).* But separate enrolment in this publication is not available for Grades XI and XII. However, the same is also available from one of the other publications of the MHRD, namely, the *Selected Educational Statistics.* The transition rates as well as the ratio of Grade IX to Grade I is presented in Tables 5, 6 and 15.

Table 15 reveals that only 37 per cent children who had taken admission in Grade I in 1990-91 managed to reach Grade IX in 1998-99. The corresponding percentages for boys and girls in the same year were 39 and 33; thus, showing a boy/girl differential of 6 percentage points. The trend in retention at the secondary level further reveals that it has improved from a low 27 per cent in 1989-90 to 33 per cent in 1992-93 and to 41 per cent in 1997-98 but declined to 37 per cent the following year. The boy/girl differential in retention during the same period also declined from 8 percentage points in 1989-90 to 6 percentage points in 1998-99. It may also be noted that only 27 children could reach Grade X in 1992-93 out of 100 in Grade I in year 1983-84. This indicates that over 18 million children dropped out from the system in the process out of 25.55 million enrolled in Grade I in 1983-84, thus contributing a lot of wastage in the system.

In case, the goal of universal primary enrolment (as envisaged in SSA) is achieved by 2007, all children of age '6' would have to enrolled by 2002-03 and retained thereafter in the system. It is assumed that the existing ratio of Grade IX to Grade I (37 per cent) will remain constant. The projected population shows that there would be about 11.95 million boys and 11.57 million girls of age '6* in year 2002-03. Accordingly, it is projected that there would be around 4.42 million (Boys) and 4.28 million (Girls) in Grade IX in year 2011.

TABLE 15

Ratio of Grade IX to Grade I Enrolment Eight Years Back

Year	*Ratio of Grade IX to I Enrolment*			
	Boys	*Girls*	*Total*	*Boy/Girl Differential (%)*
1989-90	**30**	*22*	**27**	**8**
1990-91	**35**	**26**	**31**	**8**
1991 -92	**36**	**28**	**32**	**8**
1992-93*	**37**	**28**	**33 (27.06)**	**10**
1997-98**	**45**	**36**	**41**	**9**
1998-99	**39**	**33**	**37**	**6**

* In the parentheses ratio of Grade X to I is presented.

** Provisional thereafter.

The projected enrolment in Grade IX (8.70 million) is found much lower than the actual enrolment in Grade IX in the year 1998-99 (9.90 million). This may be because of the large number of over-age and under-age children in Grade I. In 1998-99, the percentage of over-age and under-age children in Grade I was around 30.80 (Boys 42.98 and Girls 16.67 per cent). Thus, the projected population of age *6' in year 2002-03 is inflated by the corresponding percentage of over-age and under-age children and enrolment in Grade IX is estimated. However, the percentage of overage and underage children is expected to decline as we approach UPE. Needless to mention that a slight change in age '6* population will dramatically change the projected enrolment at the secondary level. The revised enrolment in 2011 thus comes out to be 6.32 million (Boys), 4.99 million (Girls) and 11.37 million (Total). The projected Grade IX enrolment is then multiplied by two to obtain enrolment in Grades IX-X. There would be around 22.74 million enrolment in secondary classes in year 2012.

The projected enrolment under the present alternative is found lower than the earlier projections. This may be because of the ratio of Grade IX to I itself. Earlier projections were independent of this ratio. Second, it has been assumed that the existing ratio (37 per cent) will remain constant throughout the projection period, which may not remain true in years that follow. Third, the projections under the present alternative are independent of transition from upper primary to secondary level. No method is expected to produce

reliable estimates of secondary enrolment unless elementary graduates and transition rates are considered in projections. The same under the present alternative is not possible to use. However, assuming that the percentage of Grade IX to Grade I enrolment will improve each year by five percentage points to 42, 47 and 52 per cent respectively in the years 2012, 2013 and 2014, enrolment is projected. The projected enrolment in secondary classes thus comes out to be 25.84, 28.92 and 32.00 million respectively in the years 2012, 2013 and 2014, which are close to the earlier projections. However, keeping in view the existing status of retention, it may not be an easy task to improve the share of Class IX to Class I by 5 percentage points each year.

Scenario V: Universal Secondary Enrolment, if Achieved, by 2015

If the goal of universal secondary enrolment (Grades IX-X) is achieved by 2015, enrolment in Grade IX can also be projected accordingly. But one has to first define the meaning of universalizing secondary education. Universalizing secondary education means that (i) all children of age group 14-16 years are enrolled in secondary classes (NER, 100 per cent); (ii) they remain in the system (retention rate, 100 per cent); and (iii) transit to the first grade of the next education cycle. However, initially it may not be possible to achieve hundred per cent net enrolment and retention in the secondary classes. This is more so specific keeping in view the present status of elementary education in the country. Even, in developing countries that have achieved the goal of universal enrolment, it is not hundred per cent. Then, what should be the goal in the Indian context? Maybe, it is 85, 90 or 95 per cent. Achieving universalisation of secondary education in 2015, thus means that 85/90 per cent children who take admission in Grade I in 2007 will reach Grade IX in 2015. It is projected that there would be about 22.76 million children of age '6' in year 2007. All these children would require enrolling and 80 per cent of them would need to retain till Grade IX (18.21 million). Under these assumptions, enrolment in secondary classes is projected to be 36.42 million in year 2015. The under-age and over-age children in Grade I (30.80 per cent), if considered, will give an enrolment of 47.63 million. This can be repeated to obtain enrolment in any given year by which the goal of universal secondary education is achieved.

The available data suggests that the goal of UPE has not yet been achieved in 2001. If this is so, then the goal of universal secondary enrolment also cannot be achieved at least by the year 2009. Even if the goal of UEE is achieved by 2010, the goal of universal secondary enrolment can only be achieved in 2012. This implies that all upper primary graduates will transit to the first grade of secondary level. They will also remain in the system and complete Grade X. The existing pass percentages across the country, however, do not suggest that it can be achieved by 2012.

The summary of projections is presented in Table 16.

TABLE 16

Summary of Projections Under Different Alternatives (in Million)

Alternatives	*Year*	*Projected Population 14-16 Yrs.*	*Grade IX*	*Grades IX-X*	*Projected Enrolment Ratio*
Alternative 1: In Proportion of Grade VIII to Total Upper Primary Enrolment					
Constant share of Grade VIII to total upper primary enrolment (29.87 per cent) & improved transition from upper primary to secondary level (90%) and UPE by 2007. Upper Primary Enrolment = 63.04 million, 2007	2011	43.61	16.95	33.90	77.73
Constant share and constant transition rate (84.89%) & UPE by 2007	2011	43.61	15.98	31.96	73.29
Both the share of Grade VIII and transition rate remain constant & UPE by 2001, Upper Primary Enrolment = 50.02 million, 2001	2005	45.76	12.68	25.36	55.42
Alternative II: UEE by 2010 (Population, 11-14 Years = 63.62 million)					
With improved transition rate (90%) and constant share (29.87%)	2012	43.75	17.10	34.20	78.17
With constant transition rate (84.89 %) and constant share	2012	43.75	.16.13	32.26	73.74
Constant transition and improved share (35%)	2012	43.75	18.90	37.80	86.40
Improved transition and improved share	2012	43.75	20.04	40.08	91.60
Alternative III: Rate of Growth Method					
MHRD Data: 1988-89 to 1998-99	2005	45.76	12.20	23.49	51.33
(G.R, 4.10% Grades IX-X & 3.54%, Grade IX)	2010	43.97	14.51	28.72	65.32
	20.15	42.24	17.27	35.11	82.12
NCERT: 1986-87 to 1993-94	2005	45.76	12.97	23.58	51.53
(G.R, 4.06% Grades IX-X & 3.99%, Grade IX)	2010	43.97	15.77	28.77	65.43
	2015	42.24	18.44	33.74	79.88
Alternative IV: Grade IX in Relation to Grade I Enrolment 8 years back (Projected Population Age '6', 2003 = 23.52 million), Over-age/ under-age = 30.80 per cent					
Constant ratio of Grade IX to Grade I 37 %	2011	43.61	11.38	22.76	52.19
Improved ratio of Grade IX to Grade I 42%	2012	43.75	12.92	25.84	59.06
47%	2013	42.93	14.46	28.92	67.37
52%	2014	42.24	16.00	32.00	75.76
Alternative V: Universalisation of Secondary Education, if Achieved, by 2015					
Enrolment Ratio, 80%	2015	42.24	18.21	36.42	86.22
Same as above but adjusted for under-age/over-age children @30.80 percent)	2015	42.24	23.81	47.63	112.46
Present Enrolment	1999	-	9.90	18.45	-

Concluding Remarks

SSA envisages that the goal of UPE will be achieved by 2007 and that of UEE in 2010. Keeping this in view, a number of alternatives have been tried and enrolment in secondary classes was projected. In addition, a few other alternatives were also tried. In the first alternative, secondary enrolment was projected on the basis of proportion of Grade VIII to total upper primary enrolment by assuming that UPE will be achieved in 2007. The enrolment in 2011 thus comes out to be 31.96 million (GER, 73 per cent). A slightly improved transition rate will give a GER of 78 per cent. Under Alternative II, it is assumed that UEE would be achieved by 2010 and the existing transition rate from upper primary to secondary level and share of Grade VIII to total upper primary enrolment will remain constant. Under this alternative, projected GER in 2012 comes out to be 74 per cent (32.26 million). If the transition rate improves to 90 per cent, the system will have even higher GER of about 78 percent (34.20 million). However, keeping in view the present status of educational development, out-of-school children and drop-out rates do not suggest that UPE and UEE will be achieved by 2007 and 2010 respectively. Therefore, by using the most recent growth rates, enrolment in secondary classes is projected under the Alternative III. However, the present growth rates may not continue in years that follow but they give reasonably good indication about the future size of secondary enrolment. Under this alternative, enrolment in 2010 is projected to be 29 million (GER, 65 per cent) and 35 million (GER, 82 per cent) in 2015. The other most appropriate method that was attempted is Grade IX enrolment in relation to Grade I enrolment eight years back. According to this, it is projected that secondary classes would have at least 22.76 million enrolment in 2007. The ratio (Grade IX to I, 37 per cent), if improved each year by five percentage points to 52 per cent in 2014 would give an enrolment of 32 million (GER, 76 per cent) provided that the existing level of Grade I enrolment is maintained in 2002. In case Universal Secondary Education (GER, 80 per cent) is achieved by 2015, enrolment is also projected accordingly (Alternative IV). A GER of 80 per cent (36.43 million) in 2015 from now may not be an easy task to achieve, especially keeping in view its present level i.e. 41 per cent.

The projections attempted should be viewed in the light of assumptions made and period of data used in making projections. The share of Grade VIII to total upper primary enrolment and also transition from upper primary to secondary level is based upon the provisional data, which may change as and when final set of data is available. Projections beyond 15 years from now is not likely to remain valid, especially keeping in view the year for which the latest enrolment data is available and also the quality of data which is often questioned by data users. Needless to mention that once the latest set of population and enrolment estimates are available, one has to re-look into the projections.

The projections clearly reveal beyond doubt that the goal of universal secondary enrolment is not likely to be realized at least by the year 2015. The projected enrolment indicates that enrolment in secondary classes in 2007 would be around 23 million. The system would have about 32 million enrolment in 2012 and 35 million in 2015. All this indicates a quantum jump in enrolment from its present level (18.45 million) in years that

follow. If realized, it would have serious implications on schooling facilities that would be required in future. Eventually, it will decide the future expansion and investment priorities in the education sector. At present, secondary schools have an average enrolment of 230. At this rate, the 35 million enrolment would require an additional 88 thousand schools/sections in 2015. An average of 5 teachers per school would require an additional 440 thousand secondary teachers in 2015. At the present per pupil cost of Rs. 2200, 35 million enrolment in secondary classes would require an investment of Rs. 7,700 crore in 2015. Though the above calculations are preliminary in nature, they do give enough indication about the size of investment that would be required in future.

It is also a misconception that universalisation of secondary education in India means a GER ranging between 65 and 75 per cent. However, the projections attempted here clearly show that GER of 80 per cent is feasible. It may not be difficult to achieve even if the existing transition rate and share of Grade VIII to total upper primary enrolment is maintained. The existing transition rates from primary to upper primary and upper primary to secondary levels are high. Drop-out rate between the upper primary grades is low and promotion rate from Grade IX to X is high. Universalisation of elementary education will further improve transition rate; in that case a GER of more than 80 per cent is not ruled out. The analysis presented further shows that upper primary education system is more efficient than primary education system. The goal of universal secondary education cannot be achieved unless the efficiency of primary education system is improved, without which even the goal of UEE cannot be achieved. Once the goal of USE is achieved, only then one can think of universalisation of senior secondary education (USSE), which is nowhere in sight. It is also observed that pass percentage from Grade X to XI is very low, which does not suggest that goal of USSE is possible in the next 20-25 years. Within the senior secondary grades, however, the transition rate between Grade XI to XII is quite high. The major areas of concern are: (i) inefficient status of primary education system; (ii) large number of unserved habitations and very low pass percentage from Grade X to XI; (iii) comparatively low participation of girls across educational levels; and (iv) very low attendance rates especially in secondary classes. Without significant improvement, the goal to achieve universal secondary education cannot be dreamt of.

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Reflections on the Multiplicity of Functional Goals for Chinese Universities and the Challenges for University Management

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Abstract

Universities in China have been changing substantially in recent decades; the recent drastic expansions, in particular, makes Chinese universities swell. Instruction is changing as students grow in numbers and vary in composition, and as new instructional content and delivery modes are created. Research has developed especially rapidly, both in scale and breadth, and public services have been extended. As a result, the functional goals are becoming multiple, but the managerial goals may be lagging behind due to the inadequacy of the traditional teaching-oriented managerial pattern. This paper details the changes in Chinese higher education, and proposes some managerial principles for balancing the multiplicity of university goals, suggesting that 'more strategic ways must be found to cope with the new conflicts, including re-definition of missions and management patterns.

Introduction

With the knowledge-based economy on the horizon, higher education is going from the periphery to the very centre of today's society. With the fiercer competition of a dynamic global economy, higher education has become more important than ever before in almost every country. Consequently, the tasks that universities and colleges shoulder are heavier, and almost every university or college looks like an empire of teaching, academics, culture and economic enterprise. How a university can adapt to the changing era through the improvement of management is a key issue.

In China, social and economic development is very energetic and speedy, requiring universities to play an important role. Moreover, the central government is reforming the administrative structures and governing mechanisms, and has decided that the specialized departments of State Council should concentrate on the macro-regulation and supervision. The originally affiliated universities and colleges are to be decentralized to the provincial governments, perhaps a few that will be transferred to the administration of the Ministry

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of Education. Of course, in the coming several years, most of these universities are looking for the new 'brothers' who are capable of and volunteer for merger or affiliation, and look for chances or wealth from markets through increasing enrolment, commercializing research results, and the provision of various knowledge services. Chinese universities and the corresponding management are and will be part of a revolutionary transformation. It is anticipated that in a few years' time, there will be many 'multiversities' with many campuses. In all, the Chinese universities are becoming bigger and bigger after the radical merger and conspicuous enrolment expansion in 1990s, and will have unprecedented tasks and responsibilities. Above all, the traditional management of institutions of higher education has to keep pace with the upheavals, and consequently must be reformed.

In this paper, 'functional goal' means the goal emerging from the function: the mission that is the reason for existence of universities and colleges. 'Managerial goal' is the goal set and accomplished by management. Each organization has differently clear defined missions, or functional goals, and distinct goals of management. Here, goals, objectives and, sometimes, missions are used interchangeably. University, college and institution of higher education or higher educational institution are also used interchangeably.

Inter-Multiplicity of Functional Goals and Inter-Obscurity of Managerial Goals

The purpose of the university and college has changed, evolved and expanded since the institution was first conceived in medieval Europe. Throughout the history of higher education, however, the notion of discovery, of advancing knowledge, of passing to students not only knowledge but a love of learning pursuit has been implicit. In early times, these activities were simply described as teaching and research. In 1862, the US government implemented the Land-Grant College Act, and then *the Wisconsin Idea,* marking the beginning of a new function of the university. Thereafter the modern university has had three functions: teaching, research and public services. A university is, up to now, a multipurpose institution. It exists to teach, to do research, to generate and disseminate knowledge. It is more diverse than other forms of organization. Now, in China all the three functions are growing so prominently that conflicts among them are obvious, and the traditional administration is no longer up to the new challenges.

Firstly, there is expansion in student numbers. Perhaps because of the importance of higher education for both social development and individual mobility, most countries are heading forward from elite to mass higher education. The participation rate in the United States in 1930 was only 3.2%, in 1954 it was 16.2% (US Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census, 1989), and by 1993 upto 79.7% (Liu Hong, 1997). In China, students of regular universities and colleges in 1952 were 191,000, in 1985 their number rose to 1,703,000 (State Statistical Bureau, PRC, 1996), and in 1998 they were up to 3,408,700 **(The** Ministry of Education, PRC, 1999) (1,022 Institutions). After the great stride in 1999 when the central government required higher education to provide a new economical stimulus for national economy growth, enrolment has increased by 22 per cent in one year to

4,168,700 (China Education Daily, 1999). On average, each institution had only 950 students in 1952 (Liu, Yifan, 1991) (201 Higher Education Institutions), in 1998 their number rose to 3,335 (The Ministry of Education, PRC, 1999), and in 1999 to about 4,079 **(The** Ministry of Education, PRC, 1999), but in 2001 it became some 6,000 on an average. Meanwhile, large-scale institutions with students numbering over 5,000 have increased from 50 in 1985 to 191 in 1998 (Zhu, Guoren 1999). A great many of colleges hold over 10 thousands of students on campus presently. The statistics are not fully available. However, many of these 191 institutions would have had enrolments over 10,000, and there would be more than 10 institutions with over 20,000 students. As a result, each institution is facing adaptation to this sudden growth in students and teaching tasks. The traditional teaching management must be updated.

Secondly, there is expansion in the research effort. From Table 1, it is clear that, from 1991 to 1995, the R&D funds had ascended from' 159 billion Yuan to 477 billion Yuan, recording a 67% increase. While research programmes increased from 78,638 to 90,842, or a 1.2 fold increase. The research scale enlargement brings about the manpower-input increase from 130,002 in 1991 to 152,564 persons in 1995, a 15% increase. In 1995, there were 400,742 full-time teachers in institutions of higher education (State Statistical Bureau, PRC, 1996). The percentage of manpower inputs for research to the full-time teachers is around 38. It is very clear that research has even growing quickly in these years.

TABLE 1

Statistics of Research and Development in Chinese Universities

	R&D Funds (Thousand Yuan)		*Programs (in item)*		*Manpower inputs (in person)*		*Technical transfer contracts (in item)*	
	T	*K*	*T*	*K*	*T*	*K*	*T*	*K*
1991	**1,592,911**	**1,122,379**	**78,638**	**38,028**	**130,002**	**69,166**	**4,999**	**2,884**
1992	**2,488,066**	**1,804,546**	**85,658**	**43,046**	**136,749**	**72,504**	**4,030**	**2,087**
1993	**3,212,009**	**2,340,838**	**89,449**	**44,652**	**146,680**	**76,968**	**5,097**	**2,566**
1994	**3,993,964**	**2,851,309**	**88,780**	**43,523**	**147,295**	**74,878**	**4,414**	**2,103**
1995	**4,774,059**	**3,304,089**	**90,842**	**43,387**	**152,564**	**78,311**	**4,447**	**2,333**

Source: Department of Science and Technology, State Education Commission, PRC. *Science & Technology Statistics of Higher Educational Institutions 1996.* **China Statistical Publishing House (Beijing) 1996**

Note: T - for all higher educational institutions (Total)
K - for key higher educational institutions (Key)

Thirdly, there has been expansion in public services. Because of the needs of society and community, universities are required to extend their services. In 1980, when China was opening its door to the outside and implementing reform policy, there were 48,332 students of refresher courses, short-term courses (Department of Planning & Construction, State Education Commission, PRC, 1986). However, this figure had risen to 73,606 in 1990 (Department of Planning & Construction, State Education Commission, PRC, 1991), and by 1997 there were 112,848 students in these two kinds of courses. There were other

1 17,942 students of classes for certificate-oriented trainees opened in 1991 (Department of Planning and Construction, State Education Commission, PRC, 1991), and then 230,790 irregular students or trainees in total. This is about 79%, or about **5** times increase. Many universities are organizing various off-campus classes for workers, officials etc. Technical training and consultation are vigorous. Professors are the "best selling persons" for a growing economy. They are busy with various public services. All these services are given considerations from institutions.

Can every university bear these three tasks for a given input? Can every university follow almost the same development model? The fact is that over the past 20 years, universities and colleges in China have developed in a very similar way, and imitate each other. Regardless of the disadvantages, resources and possibilities, each university from the national level key university to the provincial or even local level ordinary college has had to grasp every chance to emulate other universities in research and postgraduate development. Take 1994 as an example. In 781 institutions surveyed, among 595,813 persons for teaching and research, there were 139,115 full-time persons involved in research and development (R&D) (Department of Science &Technology, State Education Commission, PRC, 1995)' that is to say, the ratio of the full-time personnel for R&D to the total personnel was about 23 per cent on average. Amidst these 781 institutions, there were 86 key institutions and 417 general institutions. They had respectively 172,290 and 377,305 persons for teaching and research related work, meanwhile the full-time personnel for R&D numbered 61,478 and 73,517 (Department of Science &Technology, State Education Commission, PRC, 1995) The ratio of full-time personnel for R&D to the total personnel was about 35 per cent and 20 per cent respectively. Even for the thirty most celebrated, universities directly under the governance of State Education Commission in 1994, this ratio was just a little higher, at around 44 per cent. Over all, the differences in research function among universities and colleges in China are very minimal. It seems that every institution wishes to perform research properly. However, in 1994, the total R&D fund was 3,993,964 thousand Yuan, 85 key institutions and 417 general institutions had respectively 2,851,309 and 1,090,498 thousand Yuan (Department of Science &Technology, State Education Commission, PRC, 1995). The key institutions took a lion's share, about 71%, and only 27% went to the general ones. This is a very large gap in the funds these two classes of institutions actually received. Compared with the narrow gap of personnel input, the funding differences between key and general institutions are explicit.

The consequence of functional multiplicity, and the pursuit of research activity is to increase the interference among or between teaching, research and public service, and to worsen the competition for scarce resources. It is apparent that the inter-multiplicity of functional goals will result in the obscurity of managerial goals if no measures were taken. What is the managerial priority? How can one goal be accomplished without the expense of other(s)? Given limited resources, it is clear that a balance between teaching and research inputs must be struck by management. However, most institutions in China are

so far transitionally teaching-oriented managerial models; they are not accustomed to multipurpose development strategy.

Therefore, Chinese universities and colleges are now at the stage of transformation from, generally speaking, the single purpose model to the multipurpose ones, from teaching-oriented to teaching, research and public service intensive management. On the way of transformation, the management needs improving and enhancing so as to alleviate the obscurity of managerial goals.

Intra-Multiplicity of Functional Goals and Intra-Obscurity of Managerial Goals

In the past two decades, every function of higher education, teaching, research and public services has changed considerably. These variations have produced 'intra-obscurity' for the management of universities and colleges.

Intra-Multiplicity and Intra-Obscurity of Teaching

From the start of higher education in medieval Europe, instruction was a dominant function. The management of higher institutions was always focusing on teaching. These days, however, have seen rapid expansions in the patterns of student enrolment and in the curriculum and teaching methods.

First, there are changes in enrolment patterns. With the idea of life-long learning popularized worldwide, adults have flocked to universities and colleges for further studies, career upgradation, vocational training and professional re-employment study. As a consequence, almost every institution of higher education begins to enroll ever-increasing number of adult students- (generally, over 25 year old). The US had 27.9% adult students in 1970, and in 1990s up to more than 40%. Great Britain had 38% in the academic year 1991-1992 (P. Davies, 1995). In China, too, adults are now frequenting campuses. While there is no available statistics specifically on adult students in Chinese institutions, it can be inferred from the data on enrolment in postgraduate schools or departments, correspondence divisions, evening schools and short-cycle courses for cadres attached to regular institutions of higher education (see Table 2). In 1980, the total adult students were 268,473, and traditional college-going cohort enrolment was 1,143,712. The ratio of adult students to the combined enrolment was about 19 per cent. However, in 1997 the percentage doubled to about 38 per cent. For postgraduate education alone, in 1980, its percentage was about 1.3, but in 1997 reached 3.2%, a little under 3 times growth. In 1999, China declared that new postgraduates would grow by about 30% in 2000. Recently the great increase in on-work postgraduates and other forms of adult education like short-cycle courses, reemployment training, long-distance education have moved the ratio of adult students to traditional cohorts much higher than that of 1997.

Adult students have some, or often a great deal of work and life experience; in addition, different learning aims. They have well-developed values, opinions and thought process for dealing with issues at work or university. To learn a different way of thinking,

these students must be given the opportunity to examine their current ways of thinking; assess its value, costs and benefits; explore the new ways; and determine its relevance or potential in their lives or work. In professional education, the aim is to help them interpret their experiences and learn new and hopefully better ways to approach these situations in life and work. They must unlearn some past practices, or possibly relearn approaches discarded earlier in life (Ronald R. Sims and Serbrenia J. Sims, 1991). Of course, the traditional teaching for traditional students of college-going cohort will not be totally suitable for the adults, especially for postgraduates whose tasks are mainly performing research which may require costly experimental equipment and abundant books and journals, and above all erudite professors. Given the iixed resources, managerial executives have to make 'trade-offs' among different student groups because diverse segments demand an entirely different form of educational programmes and instructional methods.

TABLE 2

Changes of Enrolment Pattern of Chinese Universities (in person)

	Combined	*Traditional*	*Adult Student Enrolment*			
			Total	*Percentage*	*Non-traditional*[a]	*Postgraduate*
1980	1,412,185	1,143,712	268,473	19.0	250,745	17,728
1985	2,271,584	1,703,115	568,469	25.0	492,976[b]	75,493
1990	2,945,714	2,062,695	883,019	30.0	798,861	84,158
1995	4,609,204	2.906,429	1,702,775	36.9	1,568,327	134,448
1996	4,872,749	3,021,079	1,851,670	38.0	1,701,813	149,857
1997	5,073,754	3,174,362	1,899,392	37.4	1,736,183	163,209

Source: [1] Department of Planning & Construction. State Education Commission, PRC. *Educational Statistics Yearbook of China* **(1997, 1996, 1995. 1990), People's Education Press (Beijing). 1997, 1996, 1995, 1991, 1st Ed.**

[2] Department of Planning, State Education Commission, PRC. *Achievements of Education in China (1980-1985),* **People's Education Press(Beijing), 1986, I[st] ed.**

Note: a. Non-traditional enrolment includes students of correspondence divisions and evening schools attached to regular higher educational institutions, of refresher courses, short-term courses, classes for certificate-oriented trainees, post-collegiate continuing education, and of short-cycle courses for cadres.

b. Only enrolment of correspondence divisions and evening schools. Other data are not available.

Further, there has been an accelerated development of curriculum and instructional means. Because of the explosion of knowledge and ever-faster speed of technological development, curricular reform has become the theme of today's education changes. Facing the 21st century, the Ministry of Education of China is occupied with the establishment of new teaching content and curricular systems for various majors. The new scientific achievements and technical findings are continually added to the textbooks. At the same time, textbooks are quickly becoming obsolete, teaching materials have to be re-edited or renewed. New disciplines and new requirements are mushrooming.

Consequently, courses and majors on campuses must be integrated and re-integrated through combination, reconstruction and merger.

Since the great efficiency and convenience of computer-aided technology and networks, new instructional means are being introduced and applied. On-line education, BBS, TV networks, CAI, etc. are widely used. As Bruce Johnstone commented, "The technology has been largely an additional expense" (D.Bruce Johnstone, 1999). All above changes need more input of manpower and money. So, for management, it is imperative to make timely decisions about the allocation of sparse educational resources, and about the choice of reform priorities and directions.

Intra-Multiplicity and Intra-Obscurity of Research

Research is one of the most important functions for modern universities. In China, although a few universities did a little research in the late 1950s and early 1960s, research genuinely began as the function just from 1978, when the National Science Conference declared that universities, key ones ad hoc, should be gradually developed into two centres, the science centres and the teaching centres. From then on, research in universities was growing very fast and briskly, especially in recent years, when the central government considered universities and colleges to be lively forces for the implementation of the strategy of revitalizing the nation through science and education. Research has developed so rapidly that the teaching and the research qualities are now a cause for concern.

To begin with, there have been expansions in the disciplinary span. After the reorganization of institutions and departments in the 1950s in China, all higher education institutions had become disciplinary narrow by 1980s. However, the 'opening and reform' policy resulted in almost every university establishing many new disciplines, new departments and institutes. For instance, Huazhong University of Science and Technology (HUST), one of the top ten in China, had only 4 departments and 8 majors when it was established in 1953 as a purely technical college. However, after the assiduous reformation in 1970s and 1980s led by former president, Professor Zhu Jiusi, there were 27 departments and 56 majors and 40 institutes in 1990s (HUST History Editorial, 1993). The growth of knowledge areas on campus widens the spans of research; while on the one hand, comprehensive disciplines for a better academic ecology, on the other, they increase the managerial difficulty. The multiplicity requires a clearly defined managerial orientation.

In addition, there have been changes in research structure. Basic research is an important aspect of university research. This is the case in most developed countries. In the early 1980s, the ratio of funds for basic research to the total research funds of universities was 60% in the US, 57% in Japan, and more than 90% in France and Britain (Dang, Wenchang, 1988). During the eighth five-year-plan period (1990-1995), Chinese universities had about 62.8% basic research programmes of the total national research plans (Department of Science &Technology, State Education Commission, PRC, 1995). With emphasis on the commercialization of technological results and combination of research

with industry and market, more and more universities have been starting to enlarge the applied and development research programmes. Hence, most of research projects are application-oriented and mainly from enterprises — these are called horizontal research programmes. In 1994, the total research and development funds of all 781 institutions of higher education was around 4000 million Yuan, and that from enterprises was about 1,800 million Yuan, accounting for about 45%. In the same year, the percentage of funds for basic research was only 12% (Department of Science &Technology, State Education Commission, PRC, 1995). Comparatively, that of key universities was 11.5%, less than the average. This trend has strengthened in recent years, partly because of the pressure of financial scarcity. Universities and colleges have to quicken their technological transfer in order to exchange their urgently needed survival money at the expense of their advantages on basic research. This transformation urges that the management of universities and colleges reconsider the research orientation and the proper objectives.

Finally, in a knowledge-based society, universities and colleges are looked as incubators for new techniques. Chinese government is worried about the low percentage contributed by science and technology to the national economy, and so initiates new innovation programmes including the establishment of technical innovation centres by enterprises, and the encouragement of opening high-tech companies by universities. To shorten the span of marketization, many Chinese universities are eager to participate in the establishment of high-tech parks generally around campuses. And most universities are opening and operating many companies both on and off campus. In 1994, there were 1,797 enterprises on 781 campuses; averagely one university owned 2.3 enterprises. However, 86 key universities had 730 enterprises (Department of Science &Technology, State Education Commission, PRC, 1995), that is, each nad 8.5 enterprises, about 4 times the average. This shows that key institutions are more willing to earn money by managing companies than to conduct basic research to earn academic reputation. The management for those companies needs manpower and money inputs. Also in 1994, among 400,742 full-time teachers, there were 47,452 full-time and part-time enterprise-related personnel; that is, it accounted for 11.8 per cent. Meanwhile, the money input was about 620 million Yuan, but profits after tax from those affiliated companies only 937 million Yuan, and merely about 277 million Yuan handed in to universities (Department of Science &Technology, State Education Commission, PRC, 1995). It is very apparent that the direct involvement in the establishment and operation of corporations is not effective enough and needs new managerial mechanism. Not every university can adapt to the transfer from academic to economic management. This newly developed function confronts the traditional ones. To be or not to be: a business or industry, or a teaching university? University management has to answer this question.

Intra-Multiplicity and Intra-Obscurity of Public Services

Because of fast technical renovation and the need for knowledgeable staff, various profession-retraining classes for public servants, lay-offs, leaders and demobilized officers are emerging. Because of the rapid development of techniques, technical training

and expert consultations are more urgently required than ever. In the 1990s, more than 4,000 technical transfer contracts (see Table 1) were conducted every year. In 1994, universities in China gained about 720 million Yuan from the technical services (Department of Science &Technology, State Education Commission, PRC, 1995). Because of the increased leisure time, the public asks the university to open its educational facilities, such as the library, IT equipment, physical instruments. The modern university is like a social club for the community! More and more elderly people are would-be special students who need special care. More and more frequently, the public views the university as a culture centre, spiritual model and professional upgrade hub. The university is expected to offer many more services for the public and to widen its doors to public access. The expansion in these roles, both in scale and form, complicate the management of universities, and management must adapt to these new conditions.

Implications: Integration of Functional Goals and Managerial Goals

All the above expansions make the university in China something like the multiversity in the US. As Clark Kerr said in his book, *The Uses of the University,* Chinese universities are surely swelling. It seems that they can do everything right. However, in fact, they must do the right thing(s), and then do the right thing(s) right. Running a university now means orchestrating various organs like conducting symphony troupe. This is the heart of the integration.

Re-Definition of University Mission

The mission statement is a declaration of an organization's "reason for being" (Fred R. David, 1997), an enduring statement of purpose that distinguishes one organization from other similar ones. Mission is a powerful barrier to the sheer power of the undifferentiated market; belief in a distinctive mission can energize an institution to find its constituency (George Dennis O'Brien, 1998). A clear mission statement is essential for effectively establishing objectives and formulating strategies.

Universities in China should be diversified functionally and locally. As part of their transformation, Chinese universities and colleges should be first reoriented towards their unique purposes and reasons for being. We need to be realistic in our expectations and responsibilities for the overall mission of the institution. It is impossible and unrealistic that every institution should be moulded into the first class or research university. Differentiation is the feasible and reasonable choice for Chinese higher education development. Each university should find its own suitable seat in the hierarchy of higher education. Functionally, the dimensions of a certain institution are limited in quantity, quality, and structure (Zhu Guoren, 1999). Research, teaching, and the development of high-tech companies generally have different aims and require different approaches, talents and interests. Realistically, in order for academic units or institutions to accomplish their multiple missions with limited resources, there must be an effective

balance achieved in teaching, research and service that culminates in better performance by the academic units across all components (Ronald R. Sims and Serbrenia J. Sims, 1991).

A university is basically not a universe, in which all disciplines are built and equally emphasized. History and reality tell us that many institutions that do not require research as a component of faculty performance. Specifically, every university has its own disciplinary, traditional advantages, in addition, special clients including social organizations and individuals. A university cannot reach first class in every field, but in relatively focused directions with priorities for resource allocation and criteria for academic and monetary rewards. So, universities should decide the directions of their main goal: teaching-intensive or research-intensive; who is served or centered, undergraduate or graduate, a certain field or all fields, a certain clients or all clients.

Size does not mean excellence. For management, the larger the university, the more difficult it is to manage. It is very important to note that the success of Caltech proves that the biggest is not always the best. Whether from the perspective of management span or from the effective and efficient use of certain resources, size may be closely related to cost-effectiveness. Again it is very important to decide a reasonable, profitable size for the future Chinese universities according to their priorities.

Re-Definition of Management

Management is needed to reach objectives, to maintain balance between conflicting goals, to achieve efficiency and effectiveness. In the years ahead, because of radical macro restructuring, many universities will surely have several campuses. The traditional management pattern of Chinese institutions, which is mainly for teaching and for a single campus, must be redefined to adapt for multiple campuses with diverse purposes: teaching, research, high-tech businesses running public services, and with an ever-increasing size. For this situation, the linear traditional management must be transformed to a new, non-linear one. The following are some suggestions for this transformation.

Firstly, at institutional level, managerial sections should be integrated on the basis of specialization and department. A section should be mainly responsible for strategic planning, leading and supervision. Then the top management can utilize enough time for the study and consideration of the basic objectives, plans and policies of the university conglomerate. For a sizable university, it is imperative to integrate many specialized departments into colleges or schools according to disciplinary classifications.

At the same time, decentralization and delegation of authority and responsibility to the grass-roots are urgent. Effective and imaginative management of resources is required, not only at the institutional level but also especially at the departmental level (Frank H.T. Rhodes, 1997). Colleges or schools and departments should be autonomous about the implementation, organization and staffing of the overall strategy.

Further, some cross-discipline centres, and project-oriented centres or groups, must be organized. Comprehensive research centres will enhance the integration of different knowledge fields, limit repetition and increase the effectiveness of different fields.

Furthermore, institutes may fulfil the research function while departments perform the teaching, and more important, explore new policies for rewarding teaching and research equitably.

Finally, engineering and technique developing centres might be constructed, partly or fully supported, by enterprises with the objective of commercializing research achievement. It may be time to reconsider the direct operation of companies by universities, or to find newly effective operation mechanism for companies. It is strongly recommended that universities should not be operated with the direct involvement of companies—the proper mechanism should be technical involvement, not operational involvement.

Re-Defmition of A dministrators

As the function broadens and the scale enlarges, the university becomes harder and harder to be administered. The management of higher education demands more and more special skills, insight, imagination and farsightedness. The past amateur-type administrators/teachers are no longer suitable for the new multi-mission universities. Institutional management is gradually becoming one kind of career; a new class of administration is forming (Philip G. Altbatch, 1999). Facing the new millennium, the governance of university needs a relatively stable, professional administration, staffed by people who have regular training.

Communication among the faculty and administrative staff, through campus circulars, computer and TV networks, meetings and briefings will be very important. It will also be important to establish various professorate committees and to ensure that they play efficient roles. Finally, it will be most important to build a university council or senate in which professors can propose suggestions and execute their proper rights of administration.

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BOOK REVIEWS

The World Bank (2001) ***Adult Literacy Programs in Uganda,*** Africa Region Human Development Series, The International Bank for Reconstruction and Development, Washington, pp.122, ISBN: 0-8213-4882-5.

Commissioned by the government of Uganda in order to compare the resource requirements and the effectiveness of Functional Literacy Programmes (FAL) and Regenerated Freirean Literary through Empowering Community Techniques (REFLECT) while assessing their implementation in order to make policy recommendations on Adult Literacy Education in Uganda, the study was conducted in 19 sub-counties of eight districts of Uganda, i.e., Apac, Arua, Bushenyi, Hoima, Iganga, Mubende, Rukungiri, and Soroti in six of the country's regions, on a random sample of 793 graduates selected for the study.

A variety of quantitative methods were utilized in order to evaluate the performance of the sample learners. The social benefits and the cost on such programmes as well as the future strategies were all presented in the report quite aptly.

The learner's circumstances - their socio-economic background and the literacy environment available to the learners in terms of literacy materials, instructors and their instruction and supervision etc were covered in the evaluation study. The question of retention of numeracy skills, however, could not be assessed. Whereas the attaining of functional knowledge, attitudes and practices in the overall performance of the sample learners appeared to be better compared to the attainments of non-literates, the scores on various items of knowledge, attitude etc provided some variations, but generalization of such attainments was not possible. The results showed that there were three variables which were influential such as location of the schools; grade reached in primary schools; and a third variable of socio-economic background which was reported to be weaker. Length of exposure to literacy classes made no difference to the knowledge score and the attitude score but there was a difference in the practice score. The performance of two NGO's, namely REFLECT and FAL which are located in different geographical areas were also analysed and the performance of learners from REFLECT was found to .be better. One of the interesting findings, which emerged was that the performance and participation of the learners was associated with cultural attitudes as well as the local acceptance of the programme, especially in case of women.

Participation in income-generating activities and the extent they utilized the learning skills in such activities was also analysed. It was found that they did the basic calculations, reading etc. Another interesting revelation was that the advantage accrued by the beneficiaries from the literacy programme was in terms of improvement in the family health, food, security, income, and awareness in educating the children as well as participating in the civic meetings etc. The increase in the self-esteem and self-confidence as well as capacity to communicate in community related activities was

significant. The aspiration for furthering their knowledge through learning was also evident from their responses. There was a considerable decrease in discrimination between the sexes, by the parents in sending the children to the schools. The literate showed interest in the school matters compared to the illiterates. There was an inclination for learning English, while some also showed interest in a variety of vocational and business skills.

An attempt was also made to estimate the programme costs, but generating reliable estimates proved difficult due to several possible dimensions of benefit for the graduates. In the absence of consistent method of collecting information at the sub-county level actual expenditures, assessing unit cost was not possible. About US $ 4.50 per year participation was estimated and it can go up to US $ 13 a year if the commitment of the instructor is increased.

The study highlighted the basic issues concerning the attainment of the learners from various programmes and aptly focused on the basic issues of adult literacy programmes, particularly with reference to Uganda. The findings showed the aspirations generating out of education and interest in taking up better jobs and also a better life style. This also reduced the gender differences and promoted interest in learning and proved that the ability of adults to learn new skills persists well into middle age. One of the major highlights of the study which is very positive is the indication that government can do better in organizing such programmes than the NGOs, and with a possibility of both the agencies (Government and NGOs) together can also do much better. Another basic but important finding was that the adult literacy progammes should be more complementary to other programmes of the schooling so that it can be instrumental in reducing poverty as it can attract poor people. The findings of the study emphasized on the issues of careful implementation, selection of agencies in conducting such programmes, assess and catering to a variety of learners and attending to a variety of capacities of learning of the adults, and methods of providing the literacy programmes on a continuous basis. Introduction of an official language, in addition to their local language, was found useful so that the learner can deal with a wider society.

The study signifies the importance of the adult literacy programmes particularly in the developing countries in order to reduce poverty, remove gender imbalances and provide opportunities to enter into better occupations and enhance the aspiration levels of the people. The criteria selected for the study and the precision in which each and every detail of the two programmes presented needs no specific mention. The findings will be of great use to the planners and administrators particularly those who are dealing with adult literacy programmes.

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Sue E BERRYMAN, (2000) ***Hidden Challenges to Education Systems in Transition Economies,*** The World Bank, Europe and Central Asian Region, Human Development Sector, pp. 133, Price: $22.00, ISBN: 08213-4813-2 (paperback)

The book has a peacock green cover with a foreword by Johannes F. Linn (Vice President, ECA). A section of it has faint impressions of world language scripts to vindicate the title. The audience for this book are policy makers in the Europe and Central Asia (ECA) region, especially ministers of finance and education. A list of acronyms and abbreviations has been provided at the outset for easy reference. The content is supported by suitable Tables pertaining to the years 1989-1997, annexed at the end of the book.

The *'introduction'* marks out the needs of market economies and the reasons why the ECA education systems are unable to fulfil them. The region's education systems have five shared problems each of which has been discussed in a separate chapter. The final chapter brings out the implications of these issues for the Bank's business strategy.

The World Bank has been active- in helping countries design their reforms and implement them. The book is a part of a series of publications, covering 14 different issues. The series was prepared to facilitate discussions at the seminars at the 2000 Annual meetings of the World Bank.

The book addresses problems in the education systems of 27 countries in Eastern Europe and Central Asia stemming out of the changes in their social and economic rules. ECA education systems are not producing graduates able to adapt to the skill demands of interconnected market economies or ignoramus civic societies. It proposes ways to reframe ECA's education systems to fit these new realities according to the severity of the problems in each country and also allows identification of approaches that seem effective in a range of countries. It would thus be worth considering.

The chapter *'Realign Education Systems with Market Economies and Open Societies'* explains at length the economic and civic imperatives of emerging markets and open societies because these changes will dramatically affect the knowledge, skills and values that students need. Hence, changes in the education system have to be in methods, content and training of teaching. The economic shifts put a premium on information processing and problem solving skills. The chapter gives a point-wise summary of what the individuals must acquire (pi4). Educators have to change what they teach and how they teach i.e. the content and the pedagogy are important. The curriculum must be aligned with new objectives. It should develop the cognitive and meta-cognitive thinking skills of the students to acquire foundation and higher order skills. The foundation skills of the students should be developed to enable continuous learning. Motivational exercises should be undertaken.

The chapter on *'Combat Poverty by Increasing Educational Fairness*' focuses on differences in educational opportunities and outcome on *'wages, employment probabilities and poverty'* (p.22). Emphasis is laid upon providing fair learning opportunities as it affects human capital, which is vital in affecting economic growth. An

indicator of increase in inequity in learning opportunities is also given. An effort has been made to discuss the reasons for distorted enrolment rates, as related to the level of family income. Lower enrolment rates for rural population and for marginal minority groups seem related to poverty. The chapter also suggests strategic paths for the governments, which are, firstly, measuring, monitoring and analysing the data about the relevant policies and secondly, designing and implementing preventive and equilibrating strategies.

The chapter *'Finance for Sustainability, Quality and Fairness'* highlights the two glaring realities of the education sectors of many ECA countries, which are: (a) education system is afflicted with serious fiscal constraints; and (b) measures taken further threaten the educational quality and fairness.

The need is to optimize the educational input especially personnel versus didactic materials, energy and maintenance. Last section outlines several promising possibilities for sustainable fair adjustment that maintain educational quality. This discussion is organized into revenue generation, resource distribution and allocation of resources among the elements of education.

Revenue generation in most ECA countries is done centrally. In such a system, the whole country pays for education of all the country's children, with citizens contributing according to their ability to pay. Centrally generated revenues are supplemented with local taxes. The question is how far down the centrally generated revenue should go? In general, the money should go to a jurisdiction that is small enough to be accountable to the students. According to the availability of funds, four kinds of choices must be made: who should be beneficiaries? what should be the product mix? what should be the input mix? and how can efficiency of input use be ensured?

The chapter *'Spend Resources More Efficiently'* points out towards the existing inefficiencies in ECA education system and the need to overcome it. Much of this inefficiency is a legacy of pre-transition economies where planners, not market forces, determine wages, subsidies and prices (p. 58).

Present situation in ECA has been compared with Organization for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD) countries. Education section in ECA has been consuming double the resources employed per basic and secondary student in the West. Strategic paths to be taken by government have been explained at length. The implications are to get better student outcomes for the same resources. The focus is on relationship between the resources consumed and outcomes secured (p 64). Emphasis is also on reviewing the four government policies namely: curriculum, minority language instruction, specialization of programmes, special needs of children

A complete Table, summarizing the main strategies, costs, savings for increasing system efficiency, has been well explained.

The chapter *'Reinvent Governance, Management and Accountability'* evaluates the patterns of governance, management and accountability in the field of education. The

lacunae existing at these levels have been highlighted and discussed at length. Also a summary of suggestions presented in tabular form provides clear and precise information. The word 'Governance' refers to setting goals and monitoring the sector's progress in achieving it; 'Management' refers to the effective implementation of goals; and 'Accountability' refers to the mechanisms that stakeholders can use to assess the sector's performance.

The chapter *The Role of World Bank'* provides a clear outline of the various measures decided on by the World Bank to help ECA governments mitigate the problems in the region. The Bank's business strategy in ECA education is about changing concepts, rules of the game, incentives and capacities. These measures have been discussed in the light of three questions:

a. How will the Bank's education sector set priorities for lending and non-lending services?
b. What should the Bank lend for and not lend for?
c. How will the sector handle lending risk?

In addition to the measures to overcome the problems, this chapter also discusses the need to look forward and ensure quality by the World Bank. A few studies have been recommended at the end to fill the knowledge gaps in the regional sector work. The Annexed Tables give the most useful information regarding ECA.

To conclude, the contribution of education need not be confined to economic growth and income distribution. There are other economic, social and political impacts on education and on the whole fabric of development. India requires both rapid educational and economic development for which it can follow the East Asian model of human resource led development. This book has identified the problems affecting education and has evolved strategies which may be used in various countries. However, one cannot rule out the variables in the social, political and economic context of the country concerned.

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Padma M. SARANGAPANI (2003) ***Constructing School Knowledge: An Ethnography of Learning in an Indian Village,*** Sage, New Delhi (India) ISBN 07619-9672-9, Pages: 308, Price: Rs. 350.

The book under review is an ethnographic account of a government primary boys' school in Kasimpur, a village located at the northern fringes of Delhi. The major concern here is to explore children's school going experience by undertaking a micro level analysis of the modes in which knowledge is constructed through pedagogic practice and discourse. By re-entering the familiar ground of government schools, the author attempts to

reconstruct our common knowledge about the process of schooling, engaging with the techniques of ethnographic inquiry. The book presents a detailed script of everyday life in the school, and attempts to provide a voice to the insiders, to express their involvement in the process of teaching and learning. The views of teachers and children, the insiders of the whole business of schooling, constitute the crux of this study. The opinions, the ideas and the worldviews of the everyday participants of schooling are elaborately presented to help organize the norms, attitudes, scripts and guide the course of activities.

The need of an anthropological approach to unravel the process of schooling is more or less absent in the popular understanding of schools, especially in the case of government primary schools which are perceived as familiar, monotonous and self-explanatory. The apparent ordinariness of the primary schools provides the notion that special efforts are not necessary to understand the discourse of school activities. Thus, a micro-level approach in this regard becomes irrelevant even from researchers' point of view.

Sarangapani's book - *Constructing School Knowledge* - questions this conventional notion. By incorporating anthropological tools of research, she methodologically negates the simplicity of a government primary school and the process of schooling that any lay person can derive upon generalized statements with an immediate overview.

There is no separate chapter in this book for theory and review of literature; instead those dimensions are interwoven with empirical understanding. Appendix has been added for further theoretical and methodological descriptions. Empirical analysis is supported with themes and concepts such as ethos, cultural capital, pedagogic authority and control and framing of curriculum. The author states that issues such as the social and hierarchical structure of the village, caste and gender dynamics in school, questions concerning drop-out and whose knowledge the curriculum represents have not been incorporated in the study.

As far as the school reform approaches are concerned, the orientation is basically for managing, implementing and the dominant discourse is in the form of programmes such as re-orientation, evaluation, motivation, community participation etc. Viewing the curriculum from the child's perspective remains unworthy and attempts to address this issue often get partial relevance.

In order to bring home the point of view of the child, the common school knowledge is constructed or rather reconstructed from two perspectives. First, from the children, the teachers and the parents perspectives - how do their relationships constitute their school experience, what meaning do they give to the various rituals that they actively participate in their everyday practice of schooling, how do they establish and negotiate their activities of learning and teaching and their identities as teachers and learners, what meaning does the curriculum and the encoded knowledge in it have for them and how does it relate to the outside world? For answering these questions a thick description from the field data is presented. On the other hand, the second perspective is from the researcher's point of view to make the institution and the participants' voices intelligible. Drawing up on interpretative framework, the author employs theory and methods

provided by philosophy, cognitive psychology, epistemology and the sociology of education and knowledge.

The second chapter introduces the Kasimpur village, with a focus on constructing the ethos by deploying the anthropological methods. A multi-caste village on the northern fringes of the metropolitan city of Delhi, Kasimpur has a census population of about 10,000 with a literacy rate of 66 per cent. The ethnographic details have been drawn from conversations, interviews and observations. The author has also considered the data made available by Census report and earlier anthroplogical studies undertaken on similar villages on the fringe of Delhi. The objective is not to provide an elaborate anthropological account of the village, it is to reconstruct the ethos in which children grow up. While tracing the trajectory of the social history of the village, it is posited that women attained no formal position of authority and children were expected to be submissive and "deferential" to the elderly people, especially the male. This factor is further elaborated in the subsequent chapters by analysing the dynamics of pedagogic authority and how children submit themselves to the authoritarian structure.

The third chapter discusses the interrelationship between teachers and pupils. Children's voices are foregrounded and interpreted and much space has been allotted for this purpose, a rare enterprise that researchers are reluctant to venture into. The concern which the author has shown for illustrating the whole episodes of conversations, in order to preserve the linkages, acquire significance. But at the same time, the reproduction of the entire conversation makes the whole account a monotonous reiteration. The episodes of conversation reveal that childhood is the phase of preparation for adulthood and adulthood means obtaining a job. The author argues that once children had crossed the hurdle of becoming literate and were assured of passing, the next important motif was learning English. English provides the impression that it is essential for any respectable job, the way to become *bada admi.* This *'bada admi'* image implies a person working in an office, sitting at a desk, looking at files and speaking in English. The popular ideology of the childhood is thus explored through a microscopic vision of classroom interaction expressions of children, in particular.

The ideology of childhood is further expanded in the 4[th] chapter. The conventional notion that childhood is equated with playfulness (which is not creative and against work) is deconstructed in this context. Borrowing from Piaget and Garvay, the author argues that play is often a phase where we 'assimilate' the world into our own framework of understanding. In the following chapter, the author discusses about the interrelationship between the teachers and the pupils to argue that schooling seems to be organized by the intellectual support of cultural stereotypes and everyday beliefs and practices. The way in which pedagogic authority is able to perform the function of maintaining moral order through regulation and control of behaviour is analysed. Specifically, the way in which epistemic function constitutes the epistemic identities of the teachers and the pupils by regulating and controlling knowledge is also discussed.

In order to theorise the authoritarian structure in the pedagogic discourse, the image of the guru as supreme authority is illustrated through examples from folk and ancient

stories. Characters like Ekaiavya, Upamanyu who were perfect examples for their unhesitant devotion and sacrifice and their total submission for the guru made them "ideal students". The guru's actions are located outside the boundaries of rational inquiry and critical questioning by students. Childhood is thus represented by simple obedience and the idea of total submission to the guru, which governs the Indian mind-set, ultimately forms the corner stone of student behaviour.

The nature of authority and discipline in the school complex, especially in the Indian context, attains a different dimension when the author tries to locate the interconnectedness of the phenomena with the dominant Hindu tradition. To discuss this dimension, the author identifies the notion of personal hygiene, cleanliness and purity and related rituals and customs which are compared with the general Hindu way of interpretation. These interlinkages between the dominant ideology and the authoritarian structure in pedagogic practice seem to be contemporary to the Indian scenario and the analytical potential which bring significance to the present study. However, the limitation of understanding the social and hierarchical structure of the village, caste and gender dynamics within the school community restricts the possibilities of exploring the issue from a wider perspective.

Chapter 7 contains the conceptualization of memorization and its relationship to learning, understanding and intelligence. Among the epistemic communities, the process of memorization attains a superior position compared to other factors in the discourse of acquiring knowledge. The author notes that the child's projected self-image was, that a good student could memorize any text of any length. The method either to increase knowledge or to prepare for examination is memorization "memorization helped one become independent of the teacher and the text (P. 169)" Yet memorization should not reach a place where knowledge itself becomes "a physical object and a burden to be borne".

Chapters 8 and 9 deal with children's epistemology and its various dimensions. The author observes that children rarely volunteer knowledge from their personal experience; on the other hand, the dominant given knowledge through books and elderly sayings constitutes their epistemic basis. The book rediscovers the problems of representation in the construction of the school knowledge, that the curriculum detaches itself from the everyday local knowledge of the children. The locally owned ideas and skills are excluded from the so-called scientific inquiry which can be applied only in the curriculum contents. This false notion is inherent in children's thought pattern and it implicitly governs their approach in understanding different ideas and themes, both curricular and non-curricular.

The school and its activities have been integrated and functionalised by teachers and children and other school community members. These activities are not simply the outcome of coercive practices, rather they are acquired through popular folk and indigenous culture. The school cannot be considered as a totalitarian institution and cannot be directly recognized as harmful or evil. This framework of thought directs the

pedagogic practice including the authoritarian structure, strict discipline and memorization of the contents at the cost of understanding them.

The concluding section makes a remark on the activities in a government primary school which seem to be routine, mindless ritual practice and their complexity and interconnectedness towards the local ethos and socio-cultural realm of the actors - the teachers, the pupils and the community. This situation further complicates the attempts of theorising in education, formulation and implementation of programmes and policy making. The absence of elaborated textual analysis while understanding the construction of school knowledge restricts the possibilities of broadening this work to a multi-dimensional perspective. The major emphasis falls on everyday interaction among teachers and pupils which constitutes the core of the study, empirically established and demonstrated with a worm's eye view. But, at the same time, issues in textual representation such as social and political dimensions of the text and their analytical scope are identified with a soft focus. It could be argued that despite the methodological elegance and comprehensive presentation of the field data, the purpose of drawing larger conclusions is partially served. However, the itinerary gathers a sharp and concave vision into the commonly existing and deliberate myopic observations towards the process of learning and constructing knowledge in local village primary schools.

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Robert A. LEVINE, (2003) ***Childhood Socialization: Comparative Studies of Parenting, Learning and Education Change,*** CERC, Faculty of Education, The University of Hong Kong, Pokfulam Road, Hong Kong, China, pp.299, Price: Not mentioned

The book presents 12 chapters, by Robert A LeVine, packaged in five parts with meaningful sub-titles, already printed in various professional journals over a period of about forty years. The publication stands introduced by two forewords - one written by the Series Editor, Mark Bray, and the other by Thomas Weisner. The importance of the publication lies in the reader being introduced to the way 'socialization as a concept' has undergone transformation. Time was when sociology, anthropology and psychology found tremendous convergence of interest in the subject referring to social learning in childhood, also called socialization of the child. After 1970's or so, diverse trends in academic disciplines diminished interest in the area and researchers rejected some key assumptions of earlier socialization research and went on distancing themselves from it. Nevertheless socialization research continues to 'demonstrate how children acquire communicative competence, social dispositions and intellectual skills through guided participation in the activities of diverse early environments throughout the world.'

Educational processes seen from the anthropological perspectives reveal several aspects of education, which, though known generally, refuse to reveal the secret of the

process they really adopt. In his researches, the author has examined five processes: (a) parental investment; (b) enculturation; (c) educational mobilization; (d) school experience; and (e) classroom interaction. On the first type, the comment of the author is revealing. Parenting, he says, is a "goal-oriente'd activity, with cultural conceptions of desirable development setting the goals and prescribing the means." We all know parents invest resources, including their time and money, in their children's health, development and learning according to conventional formulae derived from cultural models prevalent in their communities. Contrasting cultures reveal more about how children learn than all the theories explaining the phenomenon. For instance, the author discovered in a population with high fertility rates but low survival that "parental practices were organized around protection, feeding and conserving infants' energy rather than language and social development". In sharp contrast to it, the middle-class mothers in the USA were engaged in activities and interactions explicitly designed to stimulate the development of language, cognition and social development. These activities easily qualified to be called pedagogical.

The most interesting finding of the author concerns the meaning and explanation of. the term precociousness. In certain cultures, parents expect their children to turn out to be prodigies, showing signs of valued behaviour at a very young age. During the course of a study, the researcher found that while Gusii children were precociously compliant toddlers, the American middle-class children were precociously talkative and the German children showed precocious self-reliance. Therefore, precocity is definable as "a culturally sponsored development" in which the developmental priorities of the parents get translated into a well-designed action plan.

Similarly, the researcher found the Western school with a set of particular features such as age-graded classrooms, professionally trained teachers, standard curriculum and formal examination aimed at national development. With a highly select goal in view, they have organized their schools like all other social systems such as hospitals, post offices and other bureaucratic structures on the models of military organization. It was logical, therefore, to have pressed into service armies of school teachers and school administrators and allocated a large part of their budget too for education. Mass schooling is a relatively new concept and practice as opposed to the earlier concept where education was both hierarchical and elite. It is the masses that have come to represent the present day nation state and not a few select families. This major transformation in the goal of education reflects the current thinking and management of education.

Le Vine's analysis of education in Japan is a highly revealing study. Without realizing that cultures determine successes and failures of the systems of education, we Indians continue to talk out of context about the achievements of Japan and China implying thereby that it is within their means and competence to achieve the targets these nations have set themselves and realized. Anyone reading the chapter on the education in Japan would soon realize that success was written into the Japanese system by their history and culture. One has to relate one's culture with education and discover the slow unfolding of the former process capturing and overpowering the later.

It is a real treat going through the papers contained in the book. It could be taken to offer a model for some more studies and this time on India.

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Prema CLARKE (2001) ***Teaching Learning: The Culture of Pedagogy,*** Sage Publications New-Delhi ISBN 81-782999-000-6 (India-HB) pp. 224, Price: Rs. 250 (Paperback)

The books to be reviewed can be classified in many ways. Some books may be confirming while some others challenging your views. Some may change your direction of thought or add to your knowledge. Books are significant even if they perform one of these functions. However, when you come across a book which serves you on more than one count, naturally you will classify that book as an important one.

Prema Clarke's book under review is such a book that can serve the reader on more than one counts and it is an important addition to the Educators' understanding of why higher level thinking, on par friendly relation among teacher and students and the relevance of the subjects taught are difficult propositions and one feels that they are only to be said rather than practised. The discussion in the book, based on the inter-disciplinary research in the Indian classrooms, provides the clue as to why the age old characteristics of openness in learning, appreciated in ancient India, were lost to the educational system in India and why we are a prey to the disease of REPEAT TILL IT IS LEARNT BY HEART. This static nature of knowledge, authoritarian relationship in the classrooms and lack of freedom to the learner to create his or her interpretation and have tentative hypotheses for testing, or, in other words, the lack of freedom of creating knowledge, implying thereby the freedom of making mistakes in learning, and opportunities for rectifying the same and then internalizing it, is the sum and substance of the basic inadequacies in the educational system at large in India.The result is the potential of creative enterprising leadership ready for systematic search and solutions that the huge population of India has is almost untapped by the system of Education.

The book provides research based reflection and also the implications for policy makers, training and educational system in general.

The book is a systematically presented documentation based on the writer's doctoral dissertation. In all, there are seven chapters preceded by Acknowledgements and Introduction, and succeeded by references and select bibliography, Author index, Subject Index. A note about the author too is provided. These are all essential for a research piece. The photograph of a classroom on the front page depicts in a subtle way all the characteristics of the authoritarian mode of communication and the subservient role the students play, and the textbook commentator's role that the teacher plays. This sums up

the characteristics of teaching learning in the Indian classrooms which is the central theme of the book.

The introduction makes it clear that the book is going to present the perceptions of teachers and the mechanics of teaching along with the exploration of and understanding of the IDEA of teaching within the Indian cultural context. The book wants to throw light on how various aspects of the Indian Educational system are rooted in a native pedagogical philosophy and which have survived the British education. The actual classroom teaching is observed and analysed and understood. The book discusses the focus of teaching and learning on lower order thinking as referred to above in a subtle way of teacher's using textbook and making students master it through the processes of repetition and memorization.

Chapter One helps the reader in understanding the author's perceptions regarding the following concepts and thoughts and prepares the cognitive background for the discussion to follow in subsequent chapters. They are:

- The Role of Culture in Teacher Thinking Research;
- Teacher Thinking as a Cultural Model (Its three properties are described); and
- Explicit and Implicit Models.

Chapter Two gives the overview of Teaching and Learning in India. The intention is to have the background of the models that emerged in the study. The discussion is divided into three main sections: i) Prior to 18th century; ii) The Colonial period; and iii) After 1947. It is pointed out that the practices of critical thinking valued as pedagogical method of instruction during the Vedic period were replaced by repetition and memory.

Chapter Three presents explicit models in mathematics. Chapter Four presents the explicit models in social studies. They give the teachers' instructional goals, communication of knowledge and teacher student interaction. Chapter Five - Cultural Models - begins with a discussion of implicit models of mathematics and social studies based on the author's interpretation of the data of explicit models. The teachers' openness to and acceptance of regulation by authorities, their perception of textbooks as the exclusive representation of valid knowledge, teachers' relation to knowledge as static and divorced from reality, their taking teaching as duty, their hierarchical relation with students and assumed understanding of quality of students affecting their response to students' response are the different models of implicit nature.

The Sixth Chapter gives the implications of research to different groups of people. The implications for policy makers for teacher training institutes are given in detail. For teacher training institutes, the following areas of reforms are suggested. It has pointed out the need to stress the consistency of thought and practice, the presence of sharedness and individual variation in teacher thinking and the fostering of reflective practice. A very important comparison of INDIGENIZATION AND CONTEXTUALIZATION given on page 172 is an excellent reminder to the policy makers as to what needs to be stressed in various aspects of reform in teacher education and education at large. Curriculum and

examination reforms are critical for improvements in teaching and learning as teachers teach as per the expectations in the board examination. For this, change towards the importance to be given to Meaning, Interpretation and Creativity, the Teacher Education has to change. It has to focus on reflection, consistency between thought and action, their cultural models, the cultural meaning system in which they live.

Chapter Seven describes the research design followed by the author. This Postscript is very important as it provides the way the Intellectual Journey was carried out and helps the reader to connect the theory and the processes involved in data collection, data analysis and the issues in qualitative research .As such we know that in the Indian setting qualitative research is not handled as much as the quantitative one. The qualitative research demands the clarity of assumptions and frameworks the researcher is using in interpreting the qualitative data. In other words, the prejudices of the researcher need to be restricted. Their explicit presentation adds to the validity of the analysis. The qualitative research is facilitated if the researcher shares the cultural background of the respondents as that helps one to know as an insider why and how a particular thing is experienced by the respondents and how they deal with the issues in hand.

This book also is an illustration to the researcher of how one can take up the qualitative research. From the research methodology point of view, this concrete illustration is going to help the students of educational research in a big way. In brief, this book is of a different kind. It makes one think about why we fail in our educational reforms and what needs to be done for institutionalizing the processes of reform.

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R.P. JOSHI and G.S. NARWANI (2002) ***'Panchayat Raj in India: Emerging Trends Across the States',*** New Delhi, Rawat Publications, pp. 290, Price: Rs. 525.

The local self government has been a slogan in the country right from independence. Eminent leaders, who actively participated in the freedom movement and shouldered the responsibility of managing the country after independence, have all emphasized on decentralized planning and management in various sectors of economy including education. Various Committees have been set up from time to time by the Government of India as well as by some state governments to deliberate upon and recommend the process and procedure of decentralization under the Panchayati Raj system in India. In this regard, perhaps the latest is the 73rd and 74th Constitution Amendment Act passed in Parliament in 1993, by which the Panchayat Raj System has not only been constitutionalized but also given a status which clears hurdles for creating a three-tier system of governance at the district, block and village levels in the country.

The book under review discusses in detail the experience of these Panchayati Raj Institutions (PRIs) in various states of the country during the post-independence period. Explaining the philosophy of Panchayati Raj, the authors quote Mahatma Gandhi whose vision was that democracy through people's participation could be ensured only by way of -Gram Swarajya'. The father of the nation wanted Gram Swarajya in villages where there will be village republics and all the village affairs would be managed by the people themselves. They would elect their president and common decisions would be taken unanimously by Gram Sabha of the village. According to Gandhiji's Gram Swarajya, '•every village should be a democracy in which they will not depend even on neighbours for major needs:"

Panchayati Raj, according to the authors, is a system which ensures peoples' participation at the lowest levels. It is democracy at the base level. PRIs become a training ground for developing leadership at the primary stage because they become well versed with local problems and ways to deal with such problems. Thus, PRIs can ensure grossroot level democracy in true spirit, provided that all the powers and functions regarding rural development, along with proper resources and staff, are vested in them. This would undoubtedly pave way for Gram Swarajya in India.

As a result of recommendations of various Committees and the tempo generated, the Central Government decided to give a Constitutional status to the PRIs and passed the 73rd Constitution Amendment Act in 1993 to provide uniformity to the Panchayati Raj system throughout India. Though most of the states have amended their Panchayati Raj Acts during 1993 and 1994, yet things have mostly remained on paper. Political Will is still lacking. Powers, staff and resources to the PRIs have hardly been transferred. The PRIs still remain more an agency of development rather than institutions of self-government.

Though Constitutional laws are enacted, which were perhaps a must for creating vibrant PRIs in the country, yet, somehow or the other, there are still doubts in the mind of people about the applicability and implementation of these laws on the ground. As of now, there seems to be debates that focus on questions like: (a) Can the Constitutional provision by itself be an adequate substitute for political will? (b) Would these statutes be implemented in letter and spirit or would they remain laws on paper only? (c) Is implementing decentralization below the state level desirable through the constitutional amendment? (d) Whether thrusting a uniform prescription on the states with disparities in administrative culture, historical background and democratic size would be advisable? Authors discuss various flaws and deficiencies in the present laws regarding PRIs and also give valuable suggestions to remove these deficiencies and make PRIs the real institutions of local self government.

One of the common anomalies found in the devolution of powers and functions, according to authors, is that there is always a gap between the powers given and the powers exercised and between the functions as enlisted in the schedules and as they are carried out. This is more noticeable at the Gram Panchayat level. In most of the State Panchayat Acts, the Gram panchayats have been entrusted with about 30-35 functions,

but in practice they are hardly carried out. However, one positive feature with regard to devolution has been that the state governments have initiated efforts to demarcate functions between the panchayats by adding or deleting certain activities, programmes and schemes to schedules so as to streamline the allocation of functions. But the state governments have retained many regulatory, supervisory and controlling powers, which make for a centralized process under a professed system of decentralized governance.

While studying the functioning of the panchayats in various states of the country, the authors found both the positive and negative trends. Panchayats, by and large, have been found able to maintain the periodicity while calling their general body standing committee meetings. However, this is somewhat better at the Zila Panchayat and Taluka Panchayat levels, rather than at Gram panchayat level. Lack of awareness, knowledge and experience have become obstacles to their effective functioning. The elected representatives faced various kinds of opposition, obstruction and functional difficulty such as gender, caste and family basis. Further, despite the fact that the provision for decisions by majority exists in the Acts, it is observed that the influential group in the village dominates the decision making process.

While presenting on decentralized planning, it is noted that a cursory look at the grassroot planning process in various states can help identify the approach and issues in the much discussed and debated issue of decentralized planning. Although progress in this realm has been far from satisfactory, yet some states like Kerala have really been the models of new approach and their illustrations can be a great help in ensuring further success in this arena. Suggestions have been put forward in the book for making District Planning Committees more effective so as to make the democratic decentralization process really successful.

A look at the district governance through PRIs reveal that when in 1959 Panchayat Raj was started, it was only in Maharashtra and Gujarat where the district-level Zila Parishad was given powers so as to enable it to shape itself as some kind of 'District Government' with the District Collector as the chairman of the District Development Council. The Government of India also created DRDA in every district in 1978 and transferred all the funds for poverty alleviation and rural development to it. The PRIs remained only as agencies of development to execute programmes and the DRDA continued as a superior body to monitor the PRIs. Authors suggest that there is an imperative need to meet the people's aspirations at the district level by. sharing the increased load of multifarious welfare functions of the State government. It will not only deliver the goods at the local level and remove grievances of the people, but, at the same time, ensure efficiency, speed and general welfare of the people at large.

In order to achieve social justice through Panchayati Raj, the authors note that we have to face many challenges. This is particularly important for elected representatives of the marginalized sections. Some such challenges faced by these sections are - the ambiguity in the powers and functions given to the panchayats, as they have not been clearly defined in the State Panchayat Acts. The second is related to the caste and gender prejudices which keep the women/SCs/STs away from functioning effectively as

members or chairpersons of these bodies. The third challenge relates to inadequate information about and exposure to their rights, roles and responsibilities and the attitude of the apartheid in local bureaucracy towards these representatives. Economic disability constitutes the fourth challenge before the marginalized sections

The Panchayati Raj Institutions are involved in rural development through involvement in planning and execution at the village level. Efforts are being made by various states to empower the Gram Sabha to involve all the people in decentralized planning. Even though funds and sanctioning power may still be at different levels, but when the question for execution of programmes comes, there is no alternative but to involve PRIs at the village level. True democracy really means that the power to plan and execute the village development plans has ultimately to be exercised by the people at the grassroot level.

The study reveals that in spite of the best efforts, neither the object of decentralized planning has been achieved nor the weaker sections of the society have been involved, nor democracy has developed at the base level nor socio-economic upliftment of masses could come to the expected levels. There has been no visible change even in the mental attitude of the bureaucrats. Coordination in governance has almost been far from field reality. The PRIs have been, at the most, an agency for implementation of the rural development programmes.

The Panchayat Raj continues to be officially oriented rather than people's programme. It is hardly "development of people, by the people and for the people". There is a lack of political education to the elected representatives. People's participation has decreased day by day, treating all the development programmes as government programmes. Shramdan or people's contribution, which came in the initial years, is also missing except in a few glaring instances. Except voting, common people have not shown interest and enthusiasm in Panchayati Raj.

Observing the role of political parties in the affairs of PRIs, in general, and in their elections, in particular, the authors feel that since 1993 amendment, the activities of different political parties have increased in rural areas along with giving constitutional status to the PRIs. In spite of old rural traditions and insistence of Gandhiji to keep the villages and panchayats away from politics, the interest of all political parties has increased in the PRIs, specially due to reservation of one-third seats for women. In most of the states, even reservation of seats has been done for the OBCs. Politics is working behind reserved seats. Such seats will be allotted by lottery, by rotation in every election so that in three elections, all women and OBCs get training in the PRIs and gain experience. It will be their capacity building programme also through on-the-job training. It will also enable political parties to multiply their workers in rural areas which were without their representation till now.

Dealing with the aspect of personnel administration under PRIs, it is highlighted that one of the handicaps of Panchayati Raj working at the village level has been the lack of permanent staff at the panchayat level and whatever staff has been there is not under the administrative control of the Sarpanch/panchayat. There should be at least one Secretary

for each panchayat, of course, along with a few other village level functionaries, to make it a viable unit. The Panchayat Secretary must remain an employee of the Panchayat to really deliver goods at the village level. The Administrative Reforms Commission as well as some other committees have suggested the establishment of 'Village Secretariat' also. The Secretary should be competent and knowledgeable enough to discharge the required functions effectively.

Initiatives taken at various levels towards decentralization and development have resulted in considerable devolution of authority and powers at the lower levels of governance and launching of development programmes for ameliorating the living conditions of millions of people. The success of the moves, however, has been constrained on account of lack of a clear-cut vision about the shape and powers of the PRIs, which alone are capable of mobilizing people and ensuring good governance from the administrative machinery. Undoubtedly, this calls for genuine decentralization, which should be accompanied by sincere and vigorous efforts of awareness creation through education and enlightenment as well as greater participation of the people devoid of conflicts of caste, religion and factions and aimed at consensual approach.

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Rohit DHANKAR and Brigid SMITH (2002) ***Seeking Quality Education for ALL - Experiences from District Primary Education Programmes,*** New Delhi, The European Commission Education Programme Office, Pages: 50 (Paperbak)

This is a collection of two Occasional Papers by the authors written separately. The first by Rohit Dhankar entitled: Seeking Quality Education in the Arena of Fun and Rhetroric runs over 29 pages including a two page appendix on a practical experience of a training session of school teachers in which a teacher stating that the child is a wet clay is rebuked by the trainer, and another calling the child a plant to be nurtured is appreciated. The answers were picked up from a training mannual. The underlying message is that such training programmes cannot produce the desired results.

The paper points out how a child in school remains a passive listener. The present system of education does not enable him to think independently. Improvement in the the quality of primary education is the core of DPEP but the notion of quality remains debatable. The concept of Minimum Levels of Learning (MLLs) is seen as important enough to be mentioned in defining the quality mandate. The child centred MLL oriented (CMO) notion of quality education is discussed in detail. The DPEP's approach has been critically examined and alternatives suggested.

The author has offered a few ideas which may contribute to sustained attempts at quality improvement: (i) The Block and Cluster Resource Centres (BRCs and CRCs) need to gain depth and rigour and the DIETs (District Institutes of Education and

Training) be developed to keep abreast with the educational thought and research the world over; (ii) Only the availability of authentic reading material in accessible form can break the spell of workshop mode of producing knowledge and help generate and deepen, more informed discourse on education coupled with a whole culture of educational magazines and journals that need to be developed; (iii) Well qualified teachers and better pre-service professional courses will be needed for sustained quality improvement and the practice of ill-paid, part-time para teachers need to be contained; (iv) Teacher-child ratio must be brought down to 1:30 for pedagogical improvement; and (v) Unless the primary schools are provided with buildings and materials, the talk of quality improvement does not make much sense to them. The implementation of the DPEP programme also needs to be improved (pp. 26-27).

The second paper by Dr. Brigid Smith is captioned: Reflections on the Progress of DPEP with particular reference to Uttar Pradesh. On the basis of this practical experience of the working of schools under DPEP, the author feels that the development of quality in primary education can really take place only when basic conditions for learning and teaching are in place. An indication of the need for quality improvement in a district like Meerut in UP is that over 51 per cent of children are enrolled in private schools, many of them unrecognised.

Smith's paper focuses on issues related to capacity building for teachers, education of girls, community involvement in education and Alternative Schooling (AS) that is being developed for minority communities.

The worldwide reforms of primary education have been provoked by a growing realisation that learning the *content* of a curriculum cannot meet the demands of the modern world where *learning how to learn* is more important than just learning facts to regurgitate. The author finds that a reform programme at the state level in UP has produced good result. The delegation of management of schools to Panchayati Raj Institutions in 1999 has served to devolve accountability at the local level, making the community responsible for over-seeing the education of all children in the community.

The recent hike in teachers' salaries in UP is viewed as a good reform measure by the author. He says, "This gives all teachers a good basic wage and in return demands from them improved attendance, improved efforts in teaching and accountability to both the government and the local community. It would seem that this is a basic condition for improving educational standards. It has wide implications and experiences in other countries have shown that reform in teaching standards is difficult where teachers still require additional income to support their families" (p. 33).

The author calls the efforts of the Government of UP to link DPEP educational inputs and reforms to the work of State and district administration as most encouraging.

The role of schemes like Early Childhood Care and Education (ECCE) has been appreciated. The role of the primary school teacher is also said to be of great significance. Alternative Schooling (AS) for minorities and marginalised groups has been well received and is found to be very encouraging. The strength of the AS is in its local relevance - with the teacher a local person usually able to speak the language or dialect

of the children and the community involved in providing the teacher and in supporting the school by providing land or space for it to operate in. "In many ways AS schooling seems to present an ideal solution to an intractable demographic problem" (p. 45).

In brief, the author finds that DPEP has strengthened the involvement of the community in education in India as is not the case in many other countries where community involvement is not so strong.

On the whole, this small publication of the European Commission contains lively interaction on big issues of primary education. In general, while the first paper laments on several weaknesses in primary education and DPEP implementation, and, therefore, offers remedial measures, the second one commends the major reforms and strengths and lays stress on capitalising on them further.

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Steve BARTLETT and Diana BURTON (eds.) (2003). ***Education Studies: Essential Issues,*** London/Thousand Oiks/New Delhi: Sage Publications, ISBN 0-7619-4050-2, Pages: ix + 275, Price: £ 18.99 (Paperback)

•Education' has now emerged as an area of specialist study whose significance, both theoretical (academic) and practical (policy), can hardly be exaggerated. Students pursuing this area of study need not only explore the various facets of education but also comprehend the bearing of education on the individual, society and polity at different levels - macro, meso and micro. In the instant textbook, the editors seek to develop an approach to the study of education "that is broad and explores theoretical links whilst still looking at particular areas in depth" (p. 6).

Besides the editorial introduction, there are ten essays by scholars/practitioners of education having specialist interest/experience in specific aspects of education. These essays focus on some of the most popular topics - the 'hot spots' - in 'education studies' programmes. While each of these essays is self-contained as for the key theme and arguments, overall the book appears to have a thematic unity. To what extent the contributing authors share the editors' perspective, Bartlett and Burton concede, is debatable. After all, 'Constructing education studies ... is a controversial process' (p. 7).

The editorial introduction ('The Study of Education') traces the development of 'education' as a specialist area of study. From what happens in a classroom in a small rural school, to the formation of national policies, to the internationalisation of education, political decisions are made at different levels. Those concerned with or involved in education - politicians, teachers, parents, employers and students - have varying degrees of influence over the process. Obviously, the scope of 'education studies' is vast and varied. Thus, apparently simple as the rubric 'education studies' is, it eludes any precise

definition. The editors discuss the key theoretical issues arising in this area and specify the important topics for investigation under it.

Helen Moylett ('Early Years of Education and Care') considers early childhood (from birth to 5 years old) education. After outlining its recent history in England and explaining what is happening there now, she explores the cultural attitudes to children which brief current provisions there. She highlights the tensions between competing ideas of curriculum and differing concepts of childhood and learning. Such tensions inform or deform everyday practice of care and education of children. She finds 'reluctance on the part of adults to rethink their ideas about children and childhood' (p. 35) to be a major difficulty.

The next three essays - 'Differentiation of Schooling and Pedagogy' by Burton; 'Special Educational Needs and Inclusive Education: Origins and Current Issues' by Peter Clough and Philip Garner; and 'Education for Citizenship' by Dean Garratt - deal with issues relevant to all sectors of education. Focusing on the developments in the United Kingdom (UK), Burton examines the structural and pedagogical manifestations of differentiation. She shows how, while division of students within education systems is as old as education itself, differentiation developed as a new educational construct in pedagogical terms during the 1990s. She highlights the conflict between viewing differentiation as a strategy for fostering equality through addressing the individual needs of each student and as a means of preparing the students for their place in a stratified society.

In their essay, Clough and Garner clarify the concept of special educational needs and delineate its contemporary features with reference to the UK. Specifically, they deal with learning, physical, emotional and behavioural difficulties. Highlighting the sharp differences between practice and experience and the ideologies and interests which impact upon them, they argue that the discourse 'needs to shift more honestly to an empowerment model, based on individual needs and expectations' (p. 91).

Garratt's essay explores the nature of education for citizenship. This is timely considering the **UK** government's resolve to making it a compulsory part of the National Curriculum. 'Education for Citizenship' is a complex social construct, and Garratt delineates its four different conceptions - the liberal, the libertarian, the republican, and the communitarian. Since the concept of citizenship can be interpreted differently and put to different uses, he cautions against any simplistic prescription of education for citizenship. The real problem lies 'in the extent to which young people are encouraged to wrestle with the tensions that characterise citizenship's contested terrain' (p.l 16).

In the backdrop of increasing centralisation of the curriculum, the development of markets in education and the corresponding development of managerial forms of control, Bartlett and Burton, in their essay ('The Management of Teachers as Professionals'), analyse the changing nature of teacher professionalism in the **UK.** James Avis ('Post-Compulsory Education: Issues for 16-18-Year-Olds') examines the key issues surrounding post-compulsory education and training in that country. Ann-Marie Bathmaker ('The Expansion of Higher Education: A Consideration of Control, Funding

and Quality') discusses the changing socio-economic context in which higher education in the UK has expanded and undergone a transformation from an elite to a mass system. She examines how this expansion, since the Robbins Report of 1963 has raised issues of control, quality and funding.

Bartlett ('Education for Lifelong Learning') examines the ideology of 'lifelong learning'. He questions 'whether the process of lifelong learning is really about the self-fulfilment of the individual or if it is a part of the continuing adaptation and development of education as a form of social control' (p. 190). He notes that the policies of lifelong learning influenced by global pressures have implications not only for industrial and post-industrial societies but also for the 'developing' countries.

Moving away from the general focus on educational developments in England, the last two essays discuss issues which have wider ramifications. In his illuminative essay ('Education for Development), Tim Wright exposes the ideology of development, debunking its claim to be a movement for the good of humankind. He convincingly argues that the 'exporting' of education from the 'developed' countries to the 'developing' ones leads to domination of particular forms of knowledge and ideology. Thus, education and knowledge become the instruments by which colonial powers maintain their hold over their former colonies or newly independent states.

Advancing Wright's arguments further, John Robinson ('Contemporary Globalization and Education') examines the impact of globalization upon education by focusing on such issues as knowledge production and curriculum change, the internationalisation of education, the role of the Internet in creating online communities, and feminism. He juxtaposes 'the negative impacts of contemporary globalization' with 'the rhetorical nature of the Utopian claims for contemporary globalization' (p. 239).

The volume is conceived as a textbook for students pursuing programmes in 'educational studies' in the UK. The essays are thematically well organised and lucidly presented. Each essay is followed by a listing of 'Student Tasks' and 'Suggested Further Readings', besides the regular notes and references. In terms of its design, contents, and presentation, this is undoubtedly an excellent textbook. However, since it is primarily addressed to students in the UK, apparently it is of little substantive use to students elsewhere. Nevertheless, considering that its recurrent themes - such as 'the significance of market forces, equal opportunities and individual choice, the role of the state in controlling and monitoring education, a preoccupation with cost effectiveness and standards, and increasing global movements which operate beyond the scope of individual state boundaries' (p.8) - have universal relevance and import, the book can be read with benefit by students outside the UK, too.

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Bill ROGRES (2000)/! ***Whole-school Approach - Behaviour Management,*** New Delhi: Sage Publications, pp. 247, ISBN 0-7619-6929-2, Price: £ 17.99 (Paperback)

The title of the book "Behaviour Management" is not only very attractive but also purposeful. Its contribution on developing a-whole-school approach to behaviour management is a good venture. Common issues pertaining to staff discussion, staff meeting, parent-teacher between management have been well addressed in this book. When addressing behaviour management across any educational institution, much of the hassle and pain can be minimized by the kinds of questions, teachers and administrators ask, and the focus they develop from theses question. Throughout this book, key questions have been referred to frequently, be it addressing classroom discipline, corridor supervision or playground management. The writings focus on fundamental facts of behaviour management that need to be balanced to ensure a comprehensive approach to solve human problems in educational institutions. It further emphasizes that management and discipline procedures seek to develop in students an acceptance of responsibility for their own behaviour, especially as it creates an impact on others' rights.

In every school or educational institution, developing a needs analysis regarding behaviour management can give staff an opportunity to clarify their values and benefits. Enough review has been made on these aspects in this book, including also an analysis on positive behaviour management. Fundamental rights need to be balanced by responsibilities. Teachers need to teach both, and manage, within a context that emphasizes both. Teachers have to clarify the common rights, rules and responsibilities at the classroom level so as to enable them to minimize unnecessary contribution and use positive corrective practices whenever possible. Apart from dealing with this conceptual framework, exclusive attention has also been given, among others, to issues like encouragement, primary behaviour, mutual respect, certainty, positive behaviour, time management, professional development, emotional balance, global access, personality development, humour, communication skills, values, manners, group behaviour, discipline, problem solving behaviour etc., in various context at school environment.

No doubt that teachers should make every effort to plan for smooth day-to-day running of the class, but still corrective management is necessary and this book has provided strategies for such corrective management. Strategies are given on difficult areas such as giving directions, reminders, making statements, using appropriate questions and dealing with argumentative students. The book deserves appreciation for its influential writings on global set such as tone of voice, bearing and general body posture, gestural cues, proximity, eye contact, phrasing, facilitation, safety, relationship building, scanning, modeling, reprimanding etc., In all these matters, behavioural consequences can emerge at any moment. Behaviournal consequences are the link between rights and rules, on the one hand, and the corrective discipline when students have affected others' rights, on the other. Traditionally, schools used punishments and rewards to deal with rule breaking and disruptive behaviour. When a teacher has to apply a consequence to a student, the behaviour issue often emotionally affects both the parties. Sometimes

emotions become very strained. This book addresses all these minute human behaviour consequences with appropriate examples.

Author's modeling on various issues has many applications. To mention a few: his idea of addressing behaviour rather than attacking the person is an applied message, yet another claim is that of disruptive behaviour by its effect on mutual rights, safety, fair treatment of others and on learning. Most teachers can tolerate a student having a bad day. It is the frequency and intensity of disruptive behaviour that is emotionally wearing and gives rise to the reactive anger redolent in the profession. To minimize, the author suggests that teachers need to set out a basic framework of consequences so that students realize the consequences of affecting others' rights.

Under the title "Language of Discipline", the author has evolved a comprehensive model of corrective discipline in a school environment. The model addresses all tactics, of least to most infusive related to discipline. The logical steps include indirect/direct questions, conditional directions, simple choices, distractions, diversions, directing students aside, non-verbal message, redirecting, repeating, refocusing, avoiding arguments, clarifying consequences and establishing consequence. Developing a positive language of discipline does not come naturally to some teachers. Practice can help build a more positive language of discipline and management.

There are many tips in the book for the behaviour management of students. A behaviour management plan is contractual arrangement designed to support a student's positive behaviour. It should be simple, clear, achievable, be planned to increase the likelihood of success, and written in a style appropriate to the student's age and development. A chapter, out of nine, deals with managing playground behaviour. Playing in assigned areas, playing in a way that does not harm others, playing ball games at the right time and in the right place, finishing food before going to play on equipments and using play equipments only in fine weather are given as playing safety means.

Much is presented in this book on solutions to various problems related to workable plans in school administration. Solutions fall into several categories including managerial, structural, educational, social and procedural solutions. In a playground environment, in order to achieve better management practice, one can think on language of management, degree of intrusiveness, strategies to address low-level issues such as silly and inappropriate play, littering students' pushing others over, sand throwing and aggressive play.

Quite interesting aspects of the book are its several case studies covering a wide variety of issues related to whole school approach, change in staff attitudes, student behaviour management, positive discipline, behavioural consequences, language of discipline, traditional problems in managing student behaviour, managing playground behaviour, supporting colleagues and developing a behaviour management policy, in that it is a wonderful work on behaviour management. It has attempted to give figurative representations, with enough additional scope available for more such representations. This book is for an in-depth study to be made by teachers, school administration and students. It is not at all for a cursory reading. An in-depth study of this book would have a

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strong impact in the field of educational management. The author has done an excellent job of identifying, interpreting, substantiating and modeling various principles, concepts and practices of behaviour management.

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David Alexander CLARK (2002) ***Visions of Development: A Study of Human Values*** Edward Elgar Publishing Inc., Cheltenham, UK, and Northampton, MA, USA, pp. 282 Price: £ 59.95 (Hardbound)

Of late, quite a few researchers have been using the concepts of human capital, human resources, human development, human capabilities, human resource development, and even human resource management without making much distinction between them, and in the process attaching no sanctity to any of these terms. In this context, one finds the serious philosophical discussion of the various abstract and non-abstract concepts of development, attempted by David Alexander Clark in *Visions of Development,* particularly valuable. Drawing heavily from the human development approach *(a la* Amartya Sen and Mahbub ul Haq) and more from the human capability approach, (pioneered by Amartya Sen and Martha Nussbaum), David Clark provides in the volume under review a very useful discussion on the concepts and perceptions of human development.

The book is borne out of the doctoral research project of the author at the University of Cambridge. Starting with a brief discussion on some of the familiar concepts of development, used in Economics, such as economic growth, technological change, capital accumulation, domestic demand, international demand, international trade, demographic transition, urbanisation, agricultural transformation, poverty, social development, etc., the author makes an attempt at outlining in a page and half in chapter 1, the 50 years of conceptualising the concept of development, from Arthur Lewis' *Theory of Economic Growth* to the current perception of development by the World Bank. The concepts covered here include economic, and social, political and human development, which the author regards as 'abstract concepts', but many of which are not necessarily abstract.

Discussion on Sen's concept of 'capability' is the core substance of Chapter 2. Drawing from a few examples in South Africa, the author highlights the distinction between commodities and their characteristics, on the one hand, and their functioning and utility, on the other. Chapter 3, entitled 'Towards a Theory of Good Life', is a further empirical elaboration of Sen's analytical framework. In the process he elaborates the Nussbaum's 'theory of good' and makes a long list of 'goods' or the ones that contribute to and/or constitute good life.

The author presents in great detail empirical perceptions of development of the people in a rural village, drawing from the filed work conducted in South Africa, which included personal interviews of **1**57 persons (Chapter 4). One cannot expect any startling results. According to the survey results, the top five activities of good life, as perceived by the respondents, include jobs, housing, education, income and family in the same order. Voluminous details are provided on the results of the survey in more than 75 pages of tables in the Annex. While the attempt to squeeze as much as possible from the survey can be commended, that no attempt has been made to present an aggregate or a summary view of the people's perception of good life or weJl-being, if not a composite index, remains starkingly clear.

For no explicit reason, the scope of discussion of many concepts in the book is quite restricted. In the context of discussion on concepts of development, claimed to have been attempted from an inter-disciplinary perspective, one might also expect a discussion on concepts such as basic needs and human rights. Further, there is, in fact, no serious discussion on 'human values,' as understood by many social scientists that include universal human values like truthfulness, peace, non-violence, righteousness, love, democracy, freedom, civil rights, ethics, etc. So one may wonder the appropriateness of the sub-title of the book. Moreover, the discussion on many concepts (e.g., 'abstract concepts of development' in Chapter **1)** is too brief to give any idea of the concept to the beginner or any critique to an expert in the field. Even though nearly two-thirds of the book is full of the survey details and the results, the main contribution of the book lies in the descriptive-cum-analytical discussion on the concepts of capability and human development in Chapters **2** and of good life in Chapter **3,** which should be of interest to graduate students in development studies.

On the whole, a refreshing attempt has been made by David Clark to provide a conceptual discussion on development along with empirical testing and it highlights the fact that much more needs to be done in this direction.

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