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Vol. XVIII No. 1 (January 2004)

CONTENTS

Page No

ARTICLES

Education and Development: The Japanese Experience 5
Masafumi Nagao

Grants-in-Aid in Secondary Education: The Case of Maharashtra 21
Sangita Kamdar

Gender Bias in Education Among the Rural Sikhs of Punjab 49
Satinderjit Thind and *Sushma Jaswal*

Fundamental Human Right to Free and Compulsory Elementary Education in India: Origin, Progress and Present Status 57
Sripad S. Bolashetty and *L.L. Girija*

RESEARCH NOTES/COMMUNICATIONS

Development of India as a Knowledge Society: An Approach 83
***K.** Venkatasubramanian*

Demand for Training and Employability Pattern of ITI Graduates: A Profile of the Vocational Education System at Secondary School Level 89
B.S. Prakash

BOOK REVIEWS (See Overleaf) 111

LIST OF IMPORTANT PUBLICATIONS 141

BOOK REVIEWS

Closing the Gap in Education and Technology (David De Ferranti et al) 111
Vimla Upadhyay

Asia-Pacific Journal of Teacher Education and Development (Yin Cheong and J.S. Rajput, ed.) 114
Madhu Kapani

Education in the Market Place: Hong Kong's International Schools and Their Mode of Operation (Yoko Yamato) 118
Tapan R. Mohanty

Standards and Mastery Learning (Ronald Gentilej and James P. Lalley) 121
Suman Karandikar

Civil Society in Asia (David C. Schak and Wayne Hudson) 123
Ratna M. Sudarshan

Tools for Education Policy Analysis (with CD) (Alain Mingat, Jee-Pend Tan et al) 125
T R B Sarma

Foundations of External Quality Assurance in Indian Higher Education (Antony Stelle and A Gnanam) 127
Asha Gupta

Economic Reform and Social Sector Development: A Study of Two Indian States (K Seeta Prabhu) 130
R S Deshpande

The Decline of Guru: The Academic Profession in Developing and Middle-Income Countries (Philip G. Altbach, ed.) 133
J. P. Singh

Education Denied: Costs and Remedies (Katarina Tomasevski) 136
Jandhyala B.G. Tilak

Journal of Educational Planning and Administration
Volume XVIII No. 1, January 2004, pp. 5-20

Education and Development: The Japanese Experience

Masafumi Nagao*

Abstract

This paper outlines Japan's historical experience in educational development and discusses the role it has played in the over-all development of the country. It traces the characteristic features of the experience, in particular its early emphasis on the promotion of universal primary education by means of deliberate government policy. The paper shows that Japan's educational development experience constitutes an instructive case of balancing equity and quality goals in pursuing quantitative expansion in education and of combining 'imported' western ideas of education with the country's traditional values emphasizing social cohesion. The latter is illustrated by an approach to teacher training which consists of government organized systematic in-service training and 'voluntary' group learning by teachers.

1. Introduction

Education has played a key role in the modernization and development of Japan since the late 19th century. It has not only served as an instrument for national integration of a society emerging from a semi-feudal state but also provided a fairly efficient mechanism for creating manpower needed for the subsequent century-long socio-economic development. The national government has had a major part in determining both the pace and pattern of educational development, concerning itself, simultaneously, with its quantity, quality and equity aspects.

This paper provides a brief outline of Japan's experience in education and development and examines its characteristic features, in particular, its early emphasis on the promotion of universal primary education and the subsequent concern with improvement of the quality of education. It also focuses on the role the government's education policy has played, including how the national government has tried to combine its direct control and encouragement of competition by different educational organizations in order to achieve efficiency and equity in education. It concludes by

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discussing the relevance of this experience for developing countries which are grappling with their educational development in the context of Education for All.

2. Brief outline of Japan's experience in education and development

Japan's educational development is usually described in terms of its two major educational reforms.[1] The first took place in the 18th century following the Meiji Restoration (1868), which signified the transition of Japan from a segmented, semi-feudal society to a nation-state ruled by absolute monarchy, and involved replacement of a pre-modern, non-systematic education[2] with a modern Western-type school-based education. By the end of the 19th century, the school education system was fairly well-established with compulsory primary education of 4 years. However, the entrance to secondary and higher education was still quite limited because of the high fees charged, and, as such, the system on the whole remained rather 'elitist'. The second major reform took place following Japan's defeat in World War II and under the rule of the American occupational forces. The key characteristic of this reform based on the American model was democratization and orientation toward mass education.

(1) *Historical profile of the educational development experience*

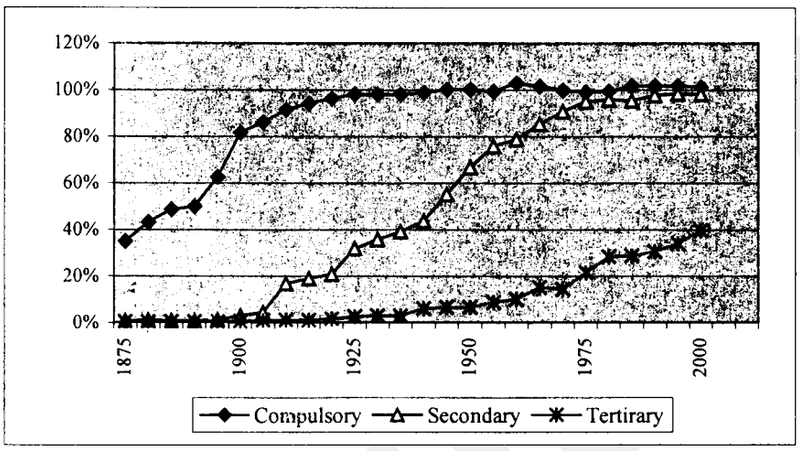
The historical profile of Japan's educational development, shaped by these two reforms and promoted with a strong commitment by the central government throughout the period up to the present, is captured by Figure 1, which shows the changing gross enrollment rates for compulsory, secondary and tertiary education in Japan from 1875 to 1990. The Figure shows that the enrollment in compulsory education, which was initially for 4 years and since 1907 for 6 years of primary education, expanded quite rapidly in the last part of the 19* century, and by 1920s, universal primary education was achieved. The gender disparity, which was significant at the beginning, also disappeared by 1910s (Kaneko 1998, p.6). When the primary enrollment started peaking in the period immediately after the turn of the century, enrollment in the secondary education started rising. Although not shown separately, the enrollment in lower secondary education rose first, reaching universal proportion when compulsory education was extended to 9 years in 1946. Expansion of upper secondary school enrollment followed, though more gradually and reaching 90% around 1975. Today, the enrollment rate at the secondary level, lower and upper combined, is around 98%. Finally, the noticeable increase in enrollment in institutions of higher learning started again when the secondary school enrollment started to peak after 1970. This rate today stands around 40%.

[1] For a general, historical account of Japanese educational development, see Passin (1965), Anderson (1975) and Kuroda (2000).

[2] Pre-modern education consisted of Chinese classic education for elites, constituting 5-6% of population, and literacy training for wider population. It is significant to note that around 40% of male population in mid-19th century Japan was already literate. See Amano (1997, p. 27).

FIGURE 1

Changes in Gross Enrollment Rates for Compulsory, Secondary and Tertiary Education in Japan, 1875-2000



Notes: 1. 5-year moving average
2. Age group: Compulsory (6-11 years old); Secondary (12-16 before 1948; 12-17 since 1948); Tertiary (17-22 before 1920; 17-21 between 1920 and 1947; 18-21 since 1948)

Data Sources: Ministry of Education (various sources) for enrollment. Statistical Bureau, Prime Minister's Office (various sources) for cohort age population.

There was apparently a sequential pattern in the development of different levels of education. Following the establishment of a national education system in 1872, it took more or less 30-35 years for the primary enrollment to reach more than 90-95 %; then another 30-35 years for the lower secondary enrollment to reach similar level; and yet another 30 years or so for the upper secondary enrollment to peak. In other words, roughly speaking, Japan took a 30-35 year period in succession, and in all around 100 years, to achieve near universal enrollment for primary, lower secondary and upper secondary education.

This educational development profile is nothing spectacular by the standards of some of the more rapidly growing developing countries in Asia today. For example, Korea and Singapore achieved universal primary education by 1970, not long after initiation of serious national development efforts, and immediately launched the enrollment drive for secondary education, which resulted in achievement of a universal level for Korea and more than 70% rate for Singapore by 1995. Though less spectacular, Thailand and Indonesia had a primary enrollment rate of 80% already in 1970, and a secondary enrollment greater than 50% by 1995. These are precisely the countries whose development performance was highlighted, along with Japan's, in many studies (e.g.,

World Bank, 1993). As is widely known, the World Bank report emphasized the important part played by high human capital formation, through early educational build-up, for achievement of rapid and equitable economic development in East Asia, including Japan. It should be remembered that Japan took much longer for the primary and secondary education build-up than these countries. In fact, these developing countries are 'telescoping' the sequential process of educational development experienced by Japan.[3]

(2) *Contribution of education to economic development*

How has education contributed to the long-term economic development of Japan? A recently published paper by Godo and Hayami (2002 Table 3) provides a very insightful analysis regarding this question, based on a thorough statistical study of average schooling of the working age population. Principal findings of this study can be seen in Table 1, which contains a comparison of growth rates of economic and educational development indicators between Japan and the United States for the period of 100 years from 1890 to 1990. One should hasten to add that during this century-long period, Japan made a long-term gain in its economic catch-up effort relative to the industrialized West; Japan's GDP per capita as a proportion of United State's GDP per capita increased from 29% in 1890 to 85% in 1990, its average schooling increased similarly from 20 % in 1890 to 85% in 1990, and its capital-labor ratio increased from 6 % to 102%.

The first observation to be drawn from Table 1 is that the growth of average schooling in Japan was much faster than in the United States before WWII (i.e., 2.3% per year as compared to 0.8%) than after WWII (i.e., 1.0% vs. 0.6%). This catch-up pattern was particularly marked during the period before 1910 (i.e., 4.4% vs. 0.9%), which corresponded to the period of rapid build-up in primary education. It is quite important to note that during this 20-year period the growth rate of GDP per capita in the United States was much higher than in Japan (i.e., 1.9% vs. 1.3%).[4] In other words, the expansion in primary education took place even with the widening income gap.

Secondly, the growth rate of average schooling declined over time in a quite noticeable way in Japan. In the period after WWII (i.e., from 1955 to 1990), while GDP per capita increased at the rate of 5.7% per year, average schooling grew only at 1.0%. The corresponding pattern was much less marked for the United States.

[3] This is most clearly illustrated by the early initiation of secondary education build-up relative to the timing of achievement of universal primary education in these countries. Still the build-up of their higher education sector followed that of secondary education, which was not the case with some South Asian and Latin American countries which placed greater priority on investment in higher education. See World Bank (1993:pp. 199-200).

[4] Whereas Japan's GDP per capita was 29% of that of the United States in 1890, this proportion declined to 25% in 1910 (Godo and Hayami, 2002, Table 3).

TABLE 1

Comparison of Growth Rates in Economic and Educational Development Indicators Between Japan and the United States, 1890 - 1990 (Per cent /year)

Period	*Japan*			*United States*		
	GDP Per Capita	*Capital/Labour Ratio"*	*Average Schooling*[b]	*GDP Per Capita*	*Capital/Labour Ratio "*	*Average Schooling*[b]
1890-1990	3.0	4.9	*2.2*	1.9	2.0	0.7
Before the Second World War						
1890-1940	2.1	4.9	2.3	1.5	2.3	0.8
1890-1910	1.3	5.5	4.4	1.9	3.6	0.9
1910-1940	2.7	4.5	2.6	1.2	1.4	0.8
After the Second World War						
1955-1990	5.7	6.8	1.0	2.0	1.6	0.6
1955-1970	8.7	7.5	1.2	2.1	2.1	0.6
1970-1990	3.4	6.3	0.8	2.0	1.3	0.6

a Capital measured at 1990 prices consists of gross stock of machinery, equipment and non-residential structure. Labour is measured by the working-age population,

b Average schooling is average number of years of schooling per person in the working age population

Source: Godo and Hayami (2002, Table 3)

Thirdly, the growth pattern differed between capital labor ratio and average schooling before and after WWII in a much more significant way for Japan than for the United States. Before WWII, Japan's capital-labor ratio and average schooling increased rapidly in tandem (i.e., 4.9% vs. 3.3%). However, after WWII, while, as was seen earlier, the growth rate of average schooling came down to 1.0%, that of capital-labor ratio became even higher (6.8%).

In order to go beyond making these simple observations and explain how changes in human capital (here represented by average schooling) and physical capital (capital-labor ratio) combine to influence changes in the level of income (GDP per capita), one needs to do a growth accounting analysis and identify the changing part of total factor productivity. Godo and Hayami did this analysis and concluded, for the entire period, that "the role of human capital relative to physical capital increases as an economy advances to higher income stages" and also that this transition, characterized by a shift from economic activities combining low-skilled labor and large physical capital with limited total factor productivity contribution to those based on highly educated manpower, sophisticated physical capital and more prominent contribution of total factor productivity, is difficult to achieve "before the accumulation of both human and physical capital reaches a certain threshold level." (Godo and Hayami, 2002, p.974)

For economies at early stages of development, the key implication of the Godo and Hayami study is that early investment in education to build up the basic stock of manpower is an imperative even if they may be hampered by low level of income. Such a build-up, when sustained and combined with increasing investment in physical capital (e.g., plant and equipment), would begin to generate possibilities for significant productivity gains and opportunities for more rapid income growth. This view is also corroborated by a cross-country total factor productivity analysis done by the World Bank (1993, pp.54-58).

3. Some characteristic features of education in Japan

Since the beginning of the 1980s, education in Japan and in some other East Asian countries has received increasing attention of American educators and government administrators. This interest has been fueled by their perception that behind the increasing penetration of the international market by these countries lay the disciplined development of their education and that this posed a challenge, if not a threat, in the longer run to the competitiveness of the American economy. The subsequent research has drawn out discussions of the unique features of education in these countries for international attention.[5] In this section, some of these features that particularly characterize the Japanese educational development are explained, as follows: (1) equity in access and quality of education; (2) group-oriented value-base of basic education; (3) strong concern with social relevance; and (4) comprehensive approach to teacher training.

(1) *Equity in access and quality of education*

In 1886, Japan's first nationally organized system of education was established with four years of compulsory education. For national cohesion purpose, the government promised equality in access and tried to enforce the compulsory rule. However, because the ordinary citizens did not see the value of education, and also because education was not free, the enrollment did not go up immediately. Such a tendency was particularly notable in rural areas where the children were counted upon as a source of farm labor. The government applied diverse measures including both carrots (e.g., incentives for good performance in school) and sticks (e.g., legal sanction against parents not sending their children to school) to realize universal enrollment. As was seen in Figure 1, the policy started having a definite impact on enrollment starting in the 1890s. The urban-rural gap in actual educational access disappeared along the way.

The gender gap in access to basic education was quite significant in the early years of modernization owing to the impact of male-centered feudal traditions and the role the girls had for baby-tending in families with many children. The enrollment process was

[5] For a background on the emergence of this interest, see National Commission on Excellence in Education (1983), and for a review of the discussions, see Cummings and Altbach (1997).

slow especially in the rural areas. The central and local governments combined to take steps to raise girls' enrollment by, for example, offering courses in home economics and tailoring for girls. The girls' enrollment ratio for compulsory education, which was only 42% of the boys' enrollment ratio in 1886, closed to 93% by 1910 (Urabe, 2000, p. 117). Although there still remained some gender gap in contents of education because of subject-wise discrimination (e.g., girls to study home economics and cooking while boys studied woodcraft and metalworking), a vast improvement occurred within this almost quarter century period.

It is important to note that the equality in access also meant generally equality in the quality of education provided regardless of the geographical or social background of the children. The government tried to ensure this by a number of means. Firstly, it stipulated the architectural standards for construction, and organizational guidelines, of schools (e.g., size of building, building layout, class size), and provided school facilities, such as science laboratories and gym equitably to all schools according to the nationally set norms. Secondly, it set national standard curriculum for primary and secondary schools. Thirdly, it provided textbooks to all children (in the post-war period, it screened and certified textbooks produced by private companies). Fourthly, the public school teachers hired by the national government (in the postwar period by the prefectural boards of education) were periodically rotated so that they could not necessarily remain in places of their preference. Thus, they would have to take up teaching posts in remote locations and in disadvantaged localities even against their own wishes. All these combined to ensure that the uniform, or at least similar, quality of education was assured to all children wherever their school was located.

The education system, geared to equality in the quality of education provided, concerned itself more with ensuring that internal loss in terms of repetition and dropouts should be minimized and guaranteeing, at least, certain minimum level of academic achievement for many, if not all, and less with producing academically excellent minority. Yet, the resulting average quality of education at the primary and secondary levels in Japan was of sufficiently high quality and received favourable reaction internationally. Japanese students scored consistently high in international achievement surveys on mathematics and science conducted by the International Association for the Evaluation of Educational Achievement. Educational achievement surveys conducted by the OECD also show similar results.

(2) *Group-oriented value-base of basic education*

A second major characteristic of the Japanese education had to do with the value-base of education, which differed quite significantly from the value-base of education in the West, especially the United States. The book edited by Cummings and Altbach (1997) contains some insightful analyses contrasting educational approaches between Japan and other Eastern Asian countries, such as Taiwan, Korea and Singapore, on the one hand and the West, especially the United States, on the other. Some of the contrasting

characteristics and emphases discussed in the book are represented in a highly abstracted form in Table 2.[6]

TABLE 2
Contrast in Educational Approaches in Basic Education

Educationalldeal	*Eastern Asia*	*American/Western*
	Cooperation/cohesion	*Individualism/independence*
Key to learning	Efforts	Talent
Educational aim	Imparting of standard education to all	Education according to learner needs
Teacher valuation	Curriculum implementation	Curricular innovation
Value education	State directive	Cognitive reasoning
State's role	Significant	Limited

Source: Drawn from various chapters in Cummings and Altbach (1997).

According to the Table, children in Japan and other Eastern Asian countries are taught in their early education to value cooperation and cohesion among themselves whereas their American and other Western counterparts are encouraged to think and act as independent individuals. In teaching them, in Eastern Asia, greater emphasis is placed on efforts as a key to learning whereas in the West more attention would go to identification of individual talents and endowments. The teachers in Eastern Asia regard their primary task as imparting education aimed at standard outcome to all the children according to a given curriculum, while their Western counterparts ideally aim at education according to the needs of each learner, utilizing curricular innovations. In Eastern Asian countries, value education is provided through a directive approach which emphasizes the importance of social value and collective interest, whereas in the West, value education is treated generally through a cognitive reasoning approach leaving much room for individual learners to develop their own. Finally, the State has a more prominent role in orienting the educational process and determining the approaches in Eastern Asia, whereas this role is quite limited in American or Western education given a generally decentralized manner in which education is provided.

In sum, education, especially at the basic level in Japan, is characterized by a group-oriented value-base. Tsuneyoshi (2001, pp.37-39) notes that this value-base is naively accepted on the basis of the assumption of fundamental homogeneity of children (i.e., "children are children and are similar regardless of cultures") and is deliberately promoted by encouragement of "voluntary cooperation". Examples of activities in Japanese schools which take on such value orientation include group cleaning exercise,

[6] It should be emphasized that this Table is a gross simplification of the various views presented in the book presented just to facilitate the discussion to follow, at the risk of offending the writers. For a more precise discussion comparing Japanese and American models of school education based on empirical case studies, see Tsuneyoshi (2001).

in which school children take turns to clean their classrooms, corridors and playgrounds every day after school, and school athletic meets, at which learners are made to compete for group honors. A particularly interesting example is the case of whole class teaching which is often practised in Japan, partly out of necessity to cope with the large size of classes. Typically, a teacher would ask the entire class to read a textbook in unison, which promotes a sense of working together and makes it difficult for students to deviate. Encouragement of group activities of this type should help in instilling sense of discipline, humility and group cohesion in individual students. At the same time, it should help in imparting a minimum level of learning to all learners. Kuroda (2000, p. 10) explains this as the role of education for promoting social cohesion, which may be seen as 'swinging back' from the excessive westernization at the beginning of modern education.

The group-based value orientation of education so described, has strongly characterized the modern Japanese education. It should be noted, however, that in recent years this value orientation has come under question in various ways. For one thing, owing to such circumstances as attendance of an increasing number of foreign children and greater attention paid to children with various physical and other handicaps in Japanese schools, there is increasing doubt cast on sustainability of the 'homogeneity' assumption and also a growing recognition of the positive value of 'diversity'. Secondly, guaranteeing of equal opportunity for education has, in increasing school attendance, also intensified competition among the learners for 'better' education. Japanese children today are put under pressure to compete with their peers to get into better schools. Education of group-based values becomes increasingly difficult as pressure to compete increases at higher levels of education.[7] Thirdly, and lastly, there is certain realization among Japanese educators that the tradition of group-focused education deprived learners of freedom of thinking and behaviour and probably tended to suppress the development of individual expression and creativity. The school curriculum at all levels today has started to emphasize the importance of creative thinking and self-initiated study. All these forces and trends would not take away from the value-based orientation of the Japanese education but would certainly add new dimensions to it.

(3) *Strong concern with social relevance*

A third major characteristic of the Japanese educational experience has been a strong concern with its social relevance, with a central belief that education is not only for

[7] The Japanese children are automatically promoted at the compulsory education levels, including for advancement from primary to lower secondary schools. However, the entrance to upper secondary schools is based on the results of competitive tests, so that the pressure on individual learners would set in sometime during the first or second year of lower secondary education. Many parents try to 'help' their children cope with this pressure by sending them to privately-run 'after-schoo! supplementary classes' called 'juku' (often from Grade 4 or 5 level) to get ahead of their peers or by sending them to private schools with automatic promotion to Grade 12 level.

education of individuals, but also for a social or a real life meaning. This thinking manifested itself in many different ways. As already mentioned, education in the early years of modern Japan was saddled with the task of diffusing the sense of national identity and cohesion in the face of military, political and economic pressures from the Western powers. Ironically, its success in helping unite the country has also rendered support to the militaristic tendencies, which eventually led to a disastrous end of World War II.

Another way in which social relevance of education was sought was its instrumentality for technological and industrial development. When Japan opened itself to the world in the mid-19th century, its leaders were seriously concerned with the gap in science and technology that existed between Japan and the West, and tried to establish modern science education on a priority basis in order to close this gap. The early educators charged with the task of elaborating a curriculum for basic science education identified two distinct approaches: one was to construct it mainly as a study of existing scientific discoveries, laws and inventions, all of which existed as a body of knowledge (which they termed 'science education'), and the other to construct it as a study of the nature and real life situation surrounding the learners utilizing their own observation and experiments (which they termed 'education of subject science'). For implementation, they took the latter approach which they considered was more relevant to the majority of the population. This tradition continues to this day; science education in Japan is still called the study of 'subject science', although in terms of contents it reflects more and more 'science education'.

A related social concern was the question of how to develop vocational and technical education. Early development of skilled manpower was considered essential to bring about a rapid industrial build-up. Owing to the government policy to cope with this problem, school facilities for vocational education were built more rapidly than those for general education. According to Godo and Hayami (2002), the share of vocational education in total schooling years at the secondary and tertiary levels "rose from 3 % in 1900 to 54% in 1940. In the post-war years, when the technological demand from the industries became much higher, the focus of education policy shifted to the technical education at the university level. In the 30 years between 1950 and 1981, the enrollment of students in science departments of universities increased by more than 9 times from 5,902 to 55,033 and that in engineering department by more than 11 times from 29,459 to 334,009 (Toyoda, 1987, Table 13.4).

(4) *Comprehensive approach to teacher training*

Japanese teachers are generally held in high social esteem.[8] They are also generally well paid.[9] Teaching profession naturally is a highly competitive profession. To become a public school teacher in Japan, one has to have a teaching certificate and pass a teacher appointment examination administered by prefectural board of education. Moreover, public school teachers are required to be trained in accordance with the special law for educational personnel. Typically, a teacher undergoes such training in the first year, fifth or sixth year and tenth or eleventh year. Apart from the first year training, which takes place mostly at the schools where the new teachers are posted in the form of mentoring by experienced teachers at their schools, these in-service training activities are usually organized by prefectural teachers' centers. Because of the high proportion of teachers employed by the public schools, [10] this means that most Japanese school teachers are obliged to go through a 'set menu' of in-service training provided by the public education authorities.

What characterizes teacher training in Japan, however, is not this compulsory aspect alone. Rather it is the combination of the compulsory with the voluntary training initiated by the teachers themselves, which usually takes the form of teacher study groups." Japanese teachers frequently, if not regularly, engage in collaborative learning activities among the peers in order to do lesson studies. Typically, they develop a lesson plan together; then it will be actually tried by one of them in a class with the others observing and taking notes about the teacher's delivery and the learners' reaction; and later, all the teachers come together to critique the lesson with the aim of improving the lesson plan. These voluntary group learning activities by teachers are encouraged by the school management as well as the public education authorities. They are allowed to conduct such activities during the school hours and may draw on school budget for material expenses.

The Japanese approach to teacher training may, therefore, be characterized as a comprehensive approach that combines the top-down direction by the education authorities and the teachers' own initiatives from below.[12] Needless to say, underlying all such activities is the group-based values which the teachers themselves promote in the classrooms.

[8] This is so historically. Kuroda (2000) thinks this may be a reflection of the Confucian tradition.

[9] Since the enactment in 1974 of the 'Law Governing Special Measures for Securing of Capable Educational Personnel in Compulsory Education Schools', teachers are paid around 25 % more than the average government officials.

[10] According to the 1999 statistics issued by the Japanese Ministry of Education, more than 99 % of primary school teachers and more than 90 % of lower secondary school teachers work at public schools, including national schools. This proportion is much lower for upper secondary schools (about 75 %).

" Some scholars go even farther to say that teacher study groups constitute "clearly the most prominent feature of in-service training in Japan". See Long and Riegle (2002, p. 110).

[12] For a detailed description of how such a comprehensive professional development of teachers is organized and conducted in Japan, see Shimahara (2002), especially Chapter 4.

4. Preponderant role of the government in education

The characteristic features of the Japanese education discussed above were not the result of spontaneous development. As mentioned earlier, the Japanese educational development experience has been shaped through two major educational reforms - the first, for the transition from pre-modern to modern education in the second half of the 19th century and the second, for democratization of education in the post-World War II period. For both these reforms, the central government had a preponderant role, though in different ways and for different reasons.[13]

Japan in the mid-19th century was an infant state opening up to the world after more than two and a half centuries of national insulation, under threat of colonization from the Western powers. The first reform to introduce modern education was motivated by the absolute monarchy, which took over from the feudal lords, to establish education as a tool of national integration and unity and to initiate a long-term skill development of its subjects 'to catch up with the West'. Establishment of a nationally-controlled school education system constituted one of the most important policy concerns of the central government. The government was committed to fostering national consciousness, sense of participation in nation-building and valuing of collective, rather than individual, interests. The national control of education was indeed quite thorough, not only setting the educational system and national standards for schools and their facilities, but also dictating the standard curriculum for primary and secondary education and educational contents, including textbooks (Amano, 1997, pp.27-28). This preponderant role of the Japanese national government in the educational build-up of the emergent state finds its parallel in the East Asian countries of today, such as China, Korea, Taiwan and Singapore (Tilak, 2001a, p.l 1; also Tilak, 2001b).

Another factor that strengthened the role of the central government especially in the early decades of modernization effort in Japan, was its near monopoly over the imports of foreign knowledge and skills. Being a latecomer to industrialization, Japan needed to learn from the West especially for science education and engineering through hiring of foreign experts and dispatching of students and study missions to the West. Hiring of foreign experts was quite costly, [14] so conscious efforts were made by the Government through inter-ministerial agreement to replace them with the newly trained domestic personnel as soon as possible. Dispatching of students for overseas studies, numbering more than 500 during the 1870-1900 period, was quite structured as the government determined the field of study and the place and duration of overseas stay, making it also obligatory for the students to work for the government upon their return (Watanabe, 1965, pp.267-268).

[13] For a general outline of government education policies and related developments, see Ishizaka (2001).

[14] The Ministry of Engineering, for example, allocated on the average 42 % of its total expenditures to salaries for the foreign experts hired between 1870 and 1885. UNCTAD (1978, p. 20).

The democratization reform, following Japan's defeat in World War II was implemented with strong guidance from the American occupational administration, and it led to considerable relaxation of the Japanese government control of education, including liberalization of curriculum development, establishment of local boards of education and abolishment of national textbooks. However, these 'American' influences were weakened considerably as the central government reasserted its control after the end of the US occupation in 1952, especially in relation to administration of schools (Amano, 1997, p. 32). As far as the contents of education were concerned, the Ministry of Education exerted decisive influence through implementation of a standard national curriculum and the establishment and operation of textbook screening system. The Ministry controlled the national education budget. Backed up by these systems and instruments, it established a hierarchical system of educational administration through which the Ministry provided 'guidance' and 'advice' , which effectively became rather strict directives to prefectural and local boards of education, and eventually to schools. Ideas for policy changes were generated by the Councils whose members were appointed by the Ministry (e.g., Central Council for Education, Curriculum Council, Education Personnel Training Council) and implemented as top-down initiatives. The Ministry also sent its officials to key local educational administration posts to exert influences.

In recent years, however, there is an increasing talk of devolution of educational policy making and administration in the government circle as well as in the wider public. It reflects partly the general decentralization trend of the entire structure of governance of the country. In the late 1980s, Japan achieved an economic 'super power' status and, with it, the long-sought objective of 'catching up with the West'. There is now much less ground for strong and centralized governance by the State. But it also suggests a more fundamental change in the attitude of the public concerning educational choices. Given the economic affluence and the drastic decline in the rate of population increase, and given the achievement of almost universal education up to the end of upper secondary school, the educational market is fast becoming a 'buyers' market'. As a result, there is greater demand for diversity in educational choices. The government, rather than assuming a preponderant role as before, is increasingly finding itself in the position of having to articulate the justification for standardized public education and to be accountable for the quality of education.

5. New focus on schools and community support for public education

One apparent benefit that the standardized public education had in Japan was the low cost of education. Standardization of curriculum, textbooks, school buildings and facilities, teacher training programs, etc. all added up to possibilities for major cost savings. Greater efficiency of the education system meant greater capacity to absorb learners, and the stage was set for rapid diffusion of basic education. The standardization also tended to promote competition between learners, schools and even communities as the method for assessing the result of education also became standardized.

However, the standardization under strong government control also had its drawbacks. First of all, it forced lower education authorities and schools into an 'administering' role, concerned more with following the government directives and guidelines than generating own educational initiatives reflecting the respective local situation. Secondly, the standardization tended to intensify competition between schools and learners. The intensified competition led to excessive attention to paper test scores and other academic performance measures and lessened the relative importance of moral and spiritual development. The communication as well as division of labor in education between the school and the parents over children's education broke down. As the parents invariably tried to send their children to schools with better academic performance, the inter-school disparities/gaps in achievement levels also became accentuated, leading to the creation of a hierarchy of schools. Thirdly, the standardization caused the surrounding community to pay less attention to school affairs.

In 1998, the Education Ministry's Central Council of Education made a recommendation to redefine the role of the school in education and its relation with the surrounding community. As a concrete step, it suggested that the schools should adopt the practice of self-evaluation and share the results with those concerned with the school education, including the parents, local organizations and the community. School evaluation has started to be introduced in schools in an increasing number of prefectures as an expression of a new focus of Japanese education on schools and their relationship with the supporting structures.

6. **Conclusions**

The Japanese educational development experience has been characterized by a combination of the purposeful promotion of education with strong government control and the willing participation of learners, parents and communities. Standardized supply of education was a key in enabling the country to achieve universal education quite rapidly. The comprehensive approach towards teacher training, combining the top-down training model with teachers' voluntary group study practice, has gone a long way in improving the quality of education.

Since the early 1980s the Japanese educational experience has attracted much international attention because of the apparent high quality of the primary and secondary education. More recently, the Japanese Government has itself expressed an intention to enlarge international educational cooperation based on the country's own experience in the field of education. What part of this experience would be relevant for the developing countries of today should be examined carefully. Such an examination should focus on (a) strong role of the government, (b) instrumentality of compulsory legislation, (c) teacher training and motivation, (d) role of the community in education delivery, and (e) standard national curriculum. One thing definite is that just as the 19th century Japan had to invest heavily in education on a sustained basis even when the income level was still quite low, the developing countries would have to do likewise today.

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Grants-in-Aid in Secondary Education: The Case of Maharashtra

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Abstract

Secondary education in Maharashtra is provided mainly by privately managed schools with government financial assistance in the form of grants-in-aid. The policy of grants-in-aid has the human resource development and the human development perspectives. The paper discusses the level, trends and composition of government expenditures on secondary education, and evaluates the grants-in-aid policy of the government in two respects. One, whether the policy in its present form encourages future spread of secondary education and improves the minimum level of education; and secondly, whether the policy has been able to achieve in terms of -outcome' indicators. It highlights that there is scope for more effective targeting of grants-in-aid as indicated by substantial private expenditures on secondary education and that the benefits of the government subsidies generally accrue more to middle and upper income groups

I) Introduction

The state of Maharashtra is one of the high-income states with growth rates of Net State Domestic Product (NSDP) being higher than those recorded by several other major states of the country. With a per capita NSDP at current prices of Rs. 22,179 in 2000-01 (new series), it is the third richest state in India after Punjab and Haryana. Being an industrially advanced state, the manufacturing and tertiary sectors have been its lead sectors in the state in terms of their contribution to the state's NSDP.

Primary education in developing economies and secondary education in later stages of development have been considered to be the threshold levels of education. With globalisation, the need for higher level of education of the labour force has become all the more important. Studies, examining investment in education from the human development perspective, have highlighted the importance of secondary education in reducing poverty and improving income distribution; and secondary education of females in reducing infant mortality (Psacharopoulos and Tilak, 1991; Griffin, 1992).

Secondary education in Maharashtra is provided mainly by privately managed schools which receive government financial assistance in the form of grants-in-aid. The mechanism of grants-in-aid to these non-government secondary schools is used mainly to increase enrolments and the minimum level of education to meet the needs of the

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economy and improve levels of living of the lower classes. It is in this human resource development and human development perspectives that the present exercise attempts to understand the policy of the government towards secondary education, defined as education provided from Standard V to Standard X.

Section-wise, the Grants-in-aid policy of the government policy towards secondary education has been outlined in Section II, while the level and pattern of expenditure on education incurred by private individuals and the government and the financing of secondary schools in Sections III and IV respectively. The period for the analysis of government expenditure is from 1960, i.e., since the formation of the state to the present times with a focus on the 1980s. Grants-in-aid to non-government aided secondary schools, government secondary schools and to secondary schools managed by local bodies have been discussed with reference to the period 1980-2000. The impact of this pattern of financing and management on the actual level of completion of secondary education in the state has been examined in Section V. Summary and conclusions follow.

II) Grants-in-Aid Policy

Secondary education in Maharashtra is provided mainly by privately managed schools with the government financial assistance in the form of grants-in-aid. These privately managed government-aided secondary schools accounted for 82 per cent of the total number of schools in 1981-82. Though the number of non-government aided secondary schools has increased and so has enrollment, the share of these schools declined in total number of secondary schools over the period 1981-82 to 1999-2000. The per cent share of aided secondary schools declined to 66 per cent of total secondary schools in the state in 1999-2000. In terms of enrollment, the share of aided secondary schools declined from 82 per cent in 1981-82 to 75 per cent in 1999-2000. They account for a significant share in the total number of schools and enrollment.

Private unaided secondary schools constituted a smaller but a significant share at 26 per cent in 1999-2000. The share of these schools has increased significantly in terms of the number of institutions and enrollment since the 1980s. The share of private unaided secondary schools increased from 5 to 26 per cent in the period 1960-61 to 1999-2000. Enrollment in non-aided private secondary schools increased significantly from 4 to 15 per cent in the same period (Table 1). This increase in private unaided secondary schools is mainly due to the financing policy of the government whereby new schools are provided grants-in-aid under the revised formula.

With the commencement of the revised Fifth Five Year Plan (1978-83) and through the 1980s (Sixth Plan, 1980-85; Seventh Plan, 1985-90), the government's policy had been that of restricted opening of new secondary schools and absorption of students in existing secondary schools. The policy towards new secondary schools may be summarized as follows:

a) No new government-aided secondary schools except where it was not possible to absorb the additional students in existing schools such as: in tribal, hilly and

educationally backward areas and in places where secondary schools were not available within reasonable distance,

b) Restricted opening of non-government secondary schools on non-aided basis.

Existing schools were allowed to open new divisions to absorb the growing number of students seeking enrolment at the secondary level. Grants were made available for this.

The thrust areas had been universalisation of elementary education, eradication of illiteracy in the age group 15-35 years along with vocationalisation and skill-building at different levels of education. Vocationalisation of secondary education was accorded high priority in the Seventh Plan (1985-90). Facilities for vocationalisation were to be suitably diversified to cover number of fields including agriculture, industry, trade and commerce and services sectors.

TABLE 1

Secondary Schools and Enrolment by Type of Management, 1981-82 to 1999-2000

	Institutions					*Enrollment (in Thousands)*				
	1981-82	*1985-86*	*1990-91*	*1995-96*	*1999¬ 2000*	*1981-82*	*1985-86*	*1990-91*	*1995-96*	*1999¬ 2000*
Central Govt.	28 (0.45)	40 (0.49)	58 (0.58)	17 (0.16)	19 (0.17)	24 (0.68)	43 (0.94)	56 (0.97)	5 (0.12)	10 (0.21)
State Govt.	26 (0.42)	80 (0.98)	152 (1.52)	205 (1.97)	302 (2.64)	7 (0.20)	17 (0.37)	37 (0.64)	62 (1.46)	83 (1.70)
Zilla Parishad	603 (9.67)	601 (7.35)	619 (6.21)	498 (4.77)	496 (4.33)	297 (8.43)	365 (7.96)	412 (7.11)	266 (6.28)	272 (5.58)
Municipal	147 (2.36)	161 (1.97)	184 (1.85)	173 (1.66)	166 (1.45)	157 (4.46)	178 (3.88)	202 (3.49)	162 (3.82)	151 (3.10)
Private Aided	5110 (81.93)	5380 (65.79)	6425 (64.43)	6096 (58.44)	7523 (65.72)	2900 (82.34)	3604 (78.60)	4483 (77.37)	3019 (71.25)	3653 (74.90)
Private Unaided	323 (5.18)	1915 (23.42)	2534 (25.41)	3443 (33.0)	2941 (25.69)	137 (3.89)	379 (8.27)	604 (10.42)	723 (17.06)	708 (14.52)
Total	6237 (100)	8177 (100)	9972 (100)	10432 (100)	11447 (100)	3522 (100)	4585 (100)	5794 (100)	4237 (100)	4877 (100)

Note: Figures in parentheses indicate percentages

Source: Directorate of Education', *Education at a Glance,* Government of Maharashtra, Pune, (various issues)

The Seventh Plan commencement coincided with a comprehensive review of education policy. The National Policy on Education was adopted in May 1986. Free education for girls up to Standard X was extended to Standard XII.

In the 1990s, the policy of the government with regard to infrastructure facilities underwent a change. Opening of new non-government secondary schools was allowed. Under the Eighth Plan (1992-97) under the scheme of opening of new non-government

secondary schools, several schools were brought on grant-in-aid basis. Under the Ninth Plan (1997-2002) secondary schools which were permitted up to 1986-87 were entitled to receive 100 per cent grant. Secondary schools which were initially permitted on no grant-in-aid basis up to 1995-96 would receive grant-in-aid as per the following criteria: No grant for the first three years, 25 per cent grant from the fourth year, 50 per cent grant from the fifth year, 75 per cent grant from the sixth year and 100 per cent from the seventh year. However, exceptions were made in the case of schools in tribal areas and girls schools which were eligible to receive 100 per cent grant in aid from the fourth year.

Allocations of grants for the opening of additional divisions were made for the expansion and development of non-government secondary schools to accommodate increasing number of students coming from primary schools. Additional divisions were sanctioned for the development of higher secondary education as well.

Under the Tenth Plan (2002-2006), the formula, on the basis of which grants-in-aid are provided to non-government aided schools, has been revised. No grant for the first four years, 20 per cent in the fifth year, 40 per cent in the sixth year, 60 per cent in the seventh year, 80 per cent in the eighth year and 100 per cent in the ninth year.

Schools run by the central government, state government, municipality and zilla parishad constitute a small share in the number of institutions and enrollment. While the share of secondary schools managed by the state government increased from less than 1 per cent to 3 per cent and enrollment from less than 1 per cent to 2 per cent in the period 1981-82 to 1999-2000, the share of institutions and enrollment therein managed by Zilla Parishad registered a decline (Table 1).

This grant-in-aid policy is skewed in favour of existing schools and it creates a barrier to new entrants. The policy in no way provides incentives to starting of new schools in remote and rural areas. The role of the government in ensuring availability and easy access to secondary schools in these areas becomes all the more important. In other words, the grants-in-aid policy should be turned upside down such that funds be made easily available to new entrants and tapered of for established schools which may be expected to be self supporting. The new entrants may be judged on various criteria such as whether they cater to inaccessible areas, tribals or economically and socially backward groups. The fact that government finances are used to fund existing established secondary schools indicates that there exists a strong lobby which does not want its patronage to be reduced.

The policy also encourages fictitious enrollment to secure funds. This probably also explains the higher drop-out rate in secondary schools as compared to primary level. It has also encouraged the growth of the whole array of coaching classes. Very often schools are opened and enrollment is sought. However, lack of funds results in inadequate and poor quality infrastructure and teachers, forcing parents to send their children to coaching classes. The human development perspective of using the grants-in-aid policy to encourage enrollment and to increase the threshold level of education in the society is not met.

III) Private and Government Expenditures on Secondary Education

Private Expenditures

High private incomes get translated into high private expenditures on education, as there is greater consciousness of the returns to education and the existence of the desire for quality. This results in demand for and utilization of private facilities in education. Private expenditures are particularly important in the case of secondary schools as it is generally accepted that the children from the middle and upper middle classes take advantage of upper levels of education.

Data on private expenditure on education are available from the 42 Round of the **NSSO** (1993) (Table 2). Group-wise income data indicate that per child expenditure on education is an increasing function of monthly per capita consumption expenditure quartile for both males and females in public and private facilities across the secondary level of education in rural and urban areas. What is noteworthy is that even the lowest consumption expenditure quartile incurs substantial expenditure on education in private facilities.

TABLE 2

Total Per Child Expenditure on Secondary Education by Type of School and Monthly Per Capita Consumption Expenditure Quartile, 1986-S7

	Monthly Per Capita Consumption Expenditure									
	Quartile I		*Quartile II*		*Quartile III*		*Quartile IV*		*Total*	
	Male	*Female*	*Male*	*Female*	*Male*	*Female*	*Male*	*Female*	*Male*	*Female*
(1)	*(2)*	*(3)*	*(4)*	*(5)*	*(6)*	*(7)*	*(8)*	*(9)*	*(10)*	*(11)*
Rural										
Public	300.5	233.1	259.3	311.2	351.4	280.3	350.7	301.4	318.4	287.8
Private	320.1	283.6	345.5	295.3	376.0	331.1	439.9	492.8	383.9	381.9
SC/ST	83.3	306.7	297.7	271.1	362.1	278.2	447.9	287.7	357.1	283.8
Urban										
Public	314.2	235.0	359.0	286.1	375.0	524.1	855.6	582.1	428.0	391.6
Private	329.3	313.7	451.6	363.2	623.3	603.2	1172.0	906.4	14.8	617.3
SC/ST	301.8	227.0	388.0	324.8	442.4	488.8	857.3	621.9	424.9	396.2

Source: Acharya (1997)

At the secondary level, education expenditure per child is substantially higher than that at the primary level for males and females and for urban and rural areas. It is interesting to note that all income groups incur substantial amount of expenditure on private facilities. In the rural areas, in the case of expenditure on public facilities in secondary education, there are no definite trends. In the case of expenditure on private secondary facilities in rural areas, the first three quintiles incur more or less similar per child expenditure (though increasing over the expenditure groups). There is noticeable

increase in the case of the last expenditure quintile. This feature is not found in expenditure on secondary education in urban areas across different expenditure groups. Across public and private facilities, one notices a substantial increase in per child expenditure on secondary education across consumption expenditure quintiles. In the case of the highest expenditure quartile in urban areas, there is a quantum jump in the per child secondary education expenditure on private facilities. The steep increase in per capita education expenditure (private) is noticed both for males and females but more so for males.

The question which arises is that despite subsidies provided by the government to non-government secondary schools which helps reduce costs of secondary education, private expenditure on secondary education is substantial in rural and urban areas and across income groups. Private expenditure on secondary education is particularly high in urban areas and in the upper income groups. This is probably due to lack of access to non-government aided secondary schools or poor quality of these schools resulting in parents sending children to private non-aided secondary schools. It is also an indication that there is the ability and willingness to pay for education which needs to be tapped.

Government Expenditures

The highly industrialized nature of the economy had implications for the education sector. The manpower required to meet the needs of the economy meant high and consistent investment in the education sector. Since the formation of the state in the 1960s, the state government has looked upon investment in education as being necessary for industrialization. The Plan documents of the government highlight the industrialized and urbanized nature of the economy and the need to provide the required manpower.

Plan Allocation to Social Sectors

Plan allocation of government expenditure to social sectors may be taken as an indicator of political commitment to these sectors. Two important features of the allocations for social sectors in Maharashtra have been - one, that the allocations range between 15 to 20 per cent since the Third to the Eighth Plan, which, on an average, have been consistent over the period under consideration; and second, the allocations are equal to that of the other two sectors namely, power and irrigation, reflecting the high priority given to human resource development by the government. Allocations to social sectors reached an all-time high in the Ninth Plan, accounting for about 23 per cent of total plan outlay.

Revenue Expenditure on Education

Taking into consideration education expenditures on the revenue account[1] by the education department and other departments as a percentage of the state budget and the

[1] Government expenditures on the revenue account meet recurrent costs while those on the capital account indicate the expenditure on fixed assets or infrastructure.

state domestic product (SDP) indicates the relative weightage given to education in the overall expenditures and state income. The figures show that as a percentage of the state budget, allocations have increased from about 19 per cent in 1960-61 to about 24 per cent in 1998-99. As a percentage of SDP, since the 1980s, more than 3 per cent of the SDP has been allocated to education. However, this still falls short of the required 5 to 6 per cent allocation of public resources to be allocated to education.

Allocations to Secondary Education

Elementary education accounted for 55 per cent of total revenue expenditure of the government while secondary education accounted for 23 per cent of the total revenue expenditure of the government in 1960-61. In 1998-99, the share of elementary education had fallen to 45 per cent while the share of secondary education had increased to 40 per cent (Table 3).

Through the 1960s, elementary education was accorded the highest priority with about 50 per cent of the revenue expenditure of the government being devoted to this sector.

Though elementary education still remained important with allocations ranging from 43 to 51 per cent in the 1960s, the secondary sector's allocations increased substantially from about 18 per cent in 1965-66 to 34 per cent in 1970-71. This trend continued till the early 1980s which coincided with the Sixth Plan (1980-81 to 1984-85). The share of the primary sector was 45 per cent and that of the secondary sector remained at 34 percent. In early 1980s higher education was accorded the highest priority. The share of higher education increased from 6 per cent in 1975-76 to 13 per cent in 1980-81 to 1984-85.
The Seventh Plan commencement coincided with a comprehensive review of education policy. The National Policy on Education was adopted in May 1986 which aimed at universalisation of primary education. This period (1985-1990) saw a gradual decline in the allocations to higher education. Allocations to elementary education were maintained at around 45 per cent while allocations to secondary education increased to 34 to 38 per cent of the revenue expenditure of the government.

The first two years of the 1990s were the years of adjustment. The trends observed in the late 1980s were continued in the early 1990s. The Eighth Plan (1992-97) accorded importance to primary and secondary over higher education. The share of elementary education remained between 44 to 46 per cent while that of secondary education increased further to 38 to 40 percent. The share of higher education declined further from 10.28 per cent in 1992-93 to 9.67 in 1996-97.

Data were available for the years 1997-98 to 1999-2000 (the first two years of the Ninth Plan). Allocations to primary education increased to 45 percent, secondary to 39 per cent while higher education was allocated 9 per cent of total revenue expenditure on education.

TABLE 3

Intra-sectoral Allocations for Maharashtra, 1960-2000
(As a Percentage of Total Revenue Expenditure on Education)

Year	*Elementary Education*	*Secondary Education*	*Adult Education*	*Technical Education*	*Uni./Higher Education*	*Other*	*Total Revenue*
0)	*(2)*	*(V*	*(4)*	*(5)*	*(6)*	*(7)*	*(8)*
1960-61	54.75	23.31	7.70		7.29	6.95	100.00
1965-66	49.17	17.93	5.46	4.90	5.62	16.91	100.00
1970-71	47.50	33.54	3.36	4.31	6.59	4.70	100.00
1975-76	51.30	33.54	0.08	3.23	5.81	6.04	100.00
1980-81	46.36	33.01	0.40	3.39	13.34	3.51	100.00
1981-82	44.05	34.11	0.42	3.26	14.53	3.62	100.00
1982-83	44.56	34.36	0.42	3.52	13.72	3.42	100.00
1983-84	43.96	35.42	0.42	3.42	13.42	3.36	100.00
1984-85	44.24	34.93	0.44	3.55	13.44	3.39	100.00
1985-86	44.82	38.29	0.58	3.66	9.96	2.69	100.00
1986-87	49.27	33.99	0.58	3.48	10.05	2.63	100.00
1987-88	45.83	38.16	0.74	3.29	9.82	2.16	100.00
1988-89	44.19	38.51	0.75	3.89	9.97	2.68	100.00
1989-90	44.78	37.67	0.81	4.47	10.10	2.18	100.00
1990-91	40.44	39.80	0.77	4.24	12.58	2.16	100.00
1991-92	43.16	39.48	0.77	3.83	10.43	2.32	100.00
1992-93	44.01	39.32	0.54	4.12	10.28	2.28	100.00
1993-94	44.37	38.52	0.35	4.22	10.11	2.26	100.00
1994-95	42.07	39.32	0.47	4.93	10.18	-	100.00
1995-96	44.71	39.77	0.32	4.26	9.16	-	100.00
1996-97(RE)	45.78	38.36	0.24	3.75	9.69	-	100.00
1997-98	46.22	40.05	0.18	4.35	7.27	1.93	100.00
1998-99(RE)	45.29	39.45	0.23	4.84	8.60	1.60	100.00
1999-00(BE)	45.61	39.38	0.20	3.79	9.63	1.29	100.00

Source: Government of India (1995, 1996, 1997,1998,1999,2001)

Revenue Expenditure on Secondary Education

Revenue expenditure on secondary education increased from Rs. 541.23 lakhs in 1960-61 to Rs. 203 crores in 1998-99. When expressed as a percentage of State Domestic Product (SDP), allocations to secondary education increased from 0.34 per cent to 1.6 per cent over the period 1960-61 to 1998-99 (Table 4). As a per cent of SDP, allocations to secondary education have shown a steady increase over this period. Since the mid-1980s

more than 1 per cent of SDP has been allocated to secondary education. This period coincides with the inception of the Seventh Plan (1985-90) when the National Policy on Education (NPE) was adopted (1986) (Table 4).

TABLE 4

Revenue Expenditure on Secondary Education as a Per cent of SDP, Total Revenue Expenditure and Total Education Expenditure in Maharashtra, 1960-2000

Period	*Revenue Expenditure on Secondary Education (Rs. Lakhs)*	*Revenue Expenditure on Secondary Education as a Per cent of*		
		SDP	*Total Revenue Expenditure*	*Total Revenue Expenditure on Education*
1960-61	**541.23**	**0.34**	**4.54**	**23.31**
1965-66	**728.22**	**0.31**	**3.02**	**17.93**
1970-71	**3290.62**	**0.85**	**7.15**	**33.54**
1975-76	**6485.78**	**0.84**	**7.08**	**33.54**
1980-81	**12743.14**	**0.84**	**6.65**	**33.01**
1981-82	**14427.51**	**0.85**	**6.45**	**34.11**
1982-83	**17082.28**	**0.93**	**6.50**	**34.36**
1983-84	**20318.81**	**0.96**	**6.39**	**35.42**
1984-85	**24093.93**	**1.05**	**6.21**	**34.93**
1985-86	**30586.6**	**1.16**	**6.81**	**38.29**
1986-87	**32291.76**	**1.14**	**5.87**	**33.99**
1987-88	**40020.26**	**1.19**	**7.27**	**38.16**
1988-89	**47167.17**	**1.17**	**7.21**	**38.51**
1989-90	**57832.88**	**1.15**	**7.37**	**37.67**
1990-91	**67906.3**	**1.17**	**7.76**	**39.80**
1991-92	**81120.75**	**1.23**	**8.07**	**39.48**
1992-93	**90229.77**	**1.10**	**7.81**	**39.32**
1993-94	**101006.63**	**0.99**	**7.71**	**38.52**
1994-95	**117858.75**	**1.01**	**7.96**	**39.32**
1995-96	**141527.03**	**1.01**	**8.24**	**39.77**
1996-97(RE)	**161225.62**	**1.04**	**7.66**	**38.36**
1997-98	**186001.59**	**1.09**	**8.12**	**40.05**
1998-99(RE)	**203045.49**	**1.58**	**8.16**	**39.45**
1999-2000 (BE)	**234049.70**	**1.10**	**7.27**	**39.38**

Source: Government of India (1996, 1997, 1998, 1999, 2001)

These trends get reflected in expenditure on secondary education when expressed as a per cent of total expenditure. Between 1960-61 to 1967-68, approximately 3-5 per cent of the total state expenditure was allocated to secondary education. Since then allocations have increased to 6-7 per cent between 1968-69 to 1989-90 and to 8 per cent in the 1990s (Table 4).

The relative share of secondary education in the total expenditure on education ranged around 20 per cent in the 1960s and has increased by a hundred times to reach about 40 per cent at the end of the century (Table 4).

Revenue Expenditure on Secondary Education in Nominal, Real and Per Capita Terms Revenue expenditure on secondary education per student in nominal terms increased from Rs. 514 in 1980-81 to Rs. 4,276 in 1998-99. Taking 5-year averages to represent approximately the plan periods, per student expenditure in nominal terms in the Sixth Plan (1980-85) was Rs. 638 (four-year average). This expenditure increased by 88 per cent in the Seventh Plan (1985-90) to Rs. 1,197 and a further increase to Rs. 2,942 in the Eighth Plan (1992-97). The Ninth Plan (1997-2000) (three years average) expenditure is Rs. 4,377 per student enrolled in secondary school.

TABLE 5

Revenue Expenditure on Secondary Education in Nominal and Real Terms, 1980-2000

Period	*Revenue Expenditure on Secondary Education (Rs. Lakhs)*	*Secondary Education Expenditure per Student (Rs.)*	*Real Expenditure on Secondary Education (Rs.)*	*Real Expenditure per Student (Rs.)*
1980-81	12743.14	513.63	356.86	14.38
1981-82	14427.51	549.20	374.52	14.26
1982-83	17082.28	NA	429.55	-
1983-84	20318.81	693.95	473.32	16.17
1984-85	24093.93	794.65	529.27	17.46
1985-86	30586.6	959.43	625.64	19.62
1986-87	32291.76	963.07	623.42	18.59
1987-88	40020.26	1161.35	700.32	20.32
1988-89	47167.17	1314.21	757.09	21.09
1989-90	57832.88	1584.90	865.54	23.72
1990-91	67906.3	1823.97	917.55	24.64
1991-92	81120.75	2135.88	967.70	25.48
1992-93	90229.77	2304.72	994.04	25.39
1993-94	101006.63	2501.40	1010.07	25.01
1994-95	117858.75	2848.21	1049.47	25.36
1995-96	141527.03	3340.27	1158.40	27.34
1996-97(RE)	161225.62	3717.45	1246.01	28.73
1997-98	186001.59	4055.86	1356.39	29.58
1998-99(RE)	203045.49	4276.44	1390.53	29.29
1999-2000 BE)	234049.70	4799.05	1561.61	32.02

Sources: Government of India (1996,1997,1998,1999,2001)
Directorate of Education, Education at a Glance, Government of Maharashtra, (various issues)
Data for the deflator was provided by the Directorate of Education, Government of Maharashtra, Mumbai

Using SDP at 1993-94 prices as a deflator, real expenditure on secondary education increased from Rs. 357 in 1980-81 to Rs. 1,562 in 1999-2000 (Table 5). What is noteworthy is that real expenditure on secondary education did not register a decline during the years of adjustment 1990-91 and 1991-92.

Taking 5-year averages to represent approximately the plan periods, real revenue expenditure on secondary education increased from Rs. 432.7 in 1980-81 to 1984-85 (Sixth Plan) to Rs. 714.40 in 1985-86 to 1989-90 (Seventh Plan). During the Seventh Plan when the NPE was adopted, expenditures in real terms increased by 65 percent. During the adjustment years of 1990-91 and 1991-92, real revenue expenditure on secondary education did not decline and, in fact, increased to Rs. 918 and Rs. 968 respectively. In the Eighth Plan (1992-97), real expenditure on secondary education increased by 13 per cent to Rs. 1,092 and further by 32 per cent to Rs. 1,436 in the Ninth Plan (1997-98 to 1999-2000).

Expenditure on secondary education in real terms per student too registered an increase for the period 1980-81 to 1999-2000. Using SDP at 1993-94 prices as a deflator, real revenue expenditure on secondary education per student increased from Rs. 14 in 1980-81 to Rs. 20 in 1985-86 to Rs. 25 in 1990-91 to Rs. 30 in 1997-98 (Table 5). On an average, real per student expenditure on secondary education increased from Rs. 16 in the Sixth Plan (1980-85) (four-year average) to Rs. 21 in the Seventh Plan (1985-90) to Rs. 26 in the Eighth Plan (1992-97). Real per student expenditure on secondary education did not witness a decline during the years of adjustment of 1990-91 and 1991-92 when, in fact, it increased from Rs. 21 in the late 1980s to Rs. 25.

IV) Financing of Secondary Schools

The detailed budgeted revenue expenditure of the Government of Mahrashtra on secondary education points out that the bulk of government spending is incurred on giving grants to aided secondary schools (Table 6). The break-up of the revenue expenditure on secondary education has been considered for several time points to analyze the trends in resource allocation across various types of secondary schools and to examine the importance of these in terms of total expenditure.

Grants-in-aid to non-government secondary schools constitute the bulk of expenditure. They account for 80 to 90 per cent of the revenue expenditure on secondary education. In percentage terms, the share of grants-in-aid increased in the period 1980-81 to 2000-2001. Assistance to local bodies for secondary education accounts for a smaller per cent of revenue expenditure on secondary education. The share of this head has declined from 13 per cent to 6 per cent during the period under consideration. The other heads are Direction and Administration, Inspection, Government Secondary Schools, Teachers Training, Scholarships which individually account for less than 1 per cent of the total revenue expenditure (Table 6).

a) Non-Government Secondary Schools

Trends in Share of Grants-ln-Aid: Secondary education being privately managed, grants-in-aid to non-government secondary schools constitute an important instrument to encourage enrollments and increase the threshold level of education.

Three points emerge from the detailed budget allocation on secondary education (Table 6). One, grants-in-aid constitute the bulk of expenditure on secondary education. Second, grants to non-government aided secondary schools have, in fact, increased from 84 to 93 per cent of the total revenue expenditure on secondary education in the period 1980-81 to 2000-2001. Third, the share of grants-in-aid did not decline during the years of adjustment. The trend has been that of a consistent increase (Table 6).

TABLE 6

Detailed Budgeted Revenue Expenditure of the Government on Secondary Education

(Thousand Rupees;

	Head	*1980-81*	*1985-86*	*1990-91*	*1995-96*	*1999-2000*	*2000-2001(RE)*
1	Direction & Administration	378 (0.03)	718 (0.02)	1897 (0.03)	3727 (0.03)	8952 (0.02)	7210 (0.02)
2	Inspection	11775 (0.92)	23803 (0.78)	42023 (0.62)	81905 (0.58)	189686 (0.49)	127813 (0.39)
3	Government Secondary Schools	7665 (0.60)	14178 (0.46)	20158 (0.30)	28518 (0.20)	133966 (0.34)	54903 (0.17)
4	Assistance to Non-Government Sec. Schools	1065842 (83.64)	2645047 (86.48)	6067683 (89.56)	12826714 (91.38)	37420036 (95.70)	30704913 (92.90)
5	Assistance to Local Bodies	166924 (13.10)	340449 (11.13)	570999 (8.43)	1081236 (7.70)	1330692 (3.40)	2134872 (6.46)
6	Scholarships	2676 (0.21)	5495 (0.18)	6569 (0.10)	8629 (0.06)	6939 (0.02)	15931 (0.05)
7	Teachers' Training	18586 (1.46)	28122 (0.92)	62410 (0.92)	-	-	-
8	Others	468 (0.04)	848 (0.03)	3199 (0.05)	5328 (0.04)	11320 (0.03)	6747 (0.02)
Tota		1274314 (100)	3058660 (100)	6774938 (100)	14036057 (100)	39101591 (100)	33052389 (100)

Note: Figures in brackets are percentages to total.
RE. are Revised Estimates.
Source: Various budget documents (School Education Department- Demand No. E-2)

Grants to non-government aided secondary schools increased from Rs. 12 crores in 1981-82 to Rs. 374 crores in 1999-2000. The increase has been 117 per cent in 1981-82 to 1985-86, 129 percent in 1985-86 to 1990-91, 111 percent in 1990-91 to 1995-96 and 192 per cent in 1995-96 to 1999-2000 (Table 7).

Per School, Per Student and Real Per Student Expenditure: Further analysis of the grants-in-aid provided by the government to non-government aided schools on the basis of per non-government aided secondary school, per student enrolled in aided secondary school and real expenditure per student enrolled in aided secondary school highlighted the extent of the role of subsidies in secondary education in the state. It indicated the importance given to secondary education by the government.

TABLE 7

Per School, Per Student and Real Per Student Government Expenditure on Non-Government Aided Secondary Schools

Year	*Grants-ln-Aid (Rs. W0)*	*Expenditure Per School (Rs. W0)*	*Expenditure Per Student in Aided Schools (Rs.)*	*Real Expenditure Per Student in Aided Schools (Rs.)*
1980-81	1065842	NA	NA	NA
1981-82	1221306	239	421.14	10.93
1982-83	1460864	NA	NA	NA
1983-84	1740635	332.82	538.90	12.55
1984-85	NA	NA	NA	NA
1985-86	2645047	491.64	733.92	15.01
1986-87	3145322	578.82	835.19	16.12
1987-88	3491198	638.71	892.89	15.62
1988-89	4141757	751.95	1022.91	16.42
1989-90	5188494	859.02	1217.10	18.21
1990-91	6067683	944.39	1353.49	18.29
1991-92	7257738	1065.43	1538.63	18.35
1992-93	8074624	1122.10	1628.93	17.95
1993-94	8989324	1611.57	3093.37	30.93
1994-95	10633641	1843.88	3625.52	32.28
1995-96	12826714	2104.12	4248.66	34.78
1996-97	14978157	NA	NA	NA
1997-98	17014710	2508.06	5079.02	37.04
1998-99	19008768	2689.41	5445.08	37.29
1999-2000	37420036	4974.08	10243.65	68.35

Source: Various budget documents (School Education Department- Demand No. E-2);
Directorate of Education, *Education at a Glance,* Government of Maharashtra, Pune. (various issues)

The analysis has been restricted to two decades of the 1980s and the 1990s due to constraints imposed by the availability of data (Table 7).

Per secondary aided school, the expenditure increased from Rs. 2 lakhs in 1981-82 to Rs. 50 lakhs in 1999-2000. The increase has been 106 per cent in 1981-82 to 1985-86, 92 per cent in 1985-86 to 1990-91, 123 per cent in 1990-91 to 1995-96 and 136 per cent in 1995-96 to 1999-2000 (Table 7).

On an average, expenditure per school during the Sixth Plan (1980-85) was Rs. 3 lakhs (two year average), Rs. 7 lakhs during the Seventh Plan (1985-90) (five year average), Rs. 9 lakhs and Rs. 11 lakhs in 1990-91 and 1991-92, the years of adjustment, Rs. 17 lakhs during the Eighth Plan (1992-97) (four year average) and Rs. 34 lakh during the Ninth Plan (1997-2002) (three year average) (Table 7).

Per school grants-in-aid did not decline during the period of financial stringency imposed by economic reforms. The expenditure by way of grants to non-government aided schools more than doubled in the Seventh Plan which coincided with the adoption of the NPE in 1986 and in the Eighth and the Ninth Plan (Table 7).

Grants-in-aid in terms of per student enrolled in non-government aided secondary schools increased from Rs. 421 in 1981-82 to Rs. 10,244 in 1999-2000. The increase has been by 74 per cent in the period 1981-82 to 1985-86, 84 per cent in the period 1985-86 to 1990-91, 214 per cent over 1990-91 to 1995-96 and by 141 per cent in the period 1995-96 to 1999-2000 (Table 7).

On an average, expenditure per student during the Sixth Plan (1980-85) was Rs. 480 (two year average), Rs. 940 during the Seventh Plan (1985-90) (five year average), Rs. 1,353 and Rs. 1,539 in 1990-91 and 1991-92, the years of adjustment, Rs. 3,149 during the Eighth Plan (1992-97) (four year average) and Rs. 6,923 during the Ninth Plan (1997¬2002) (three year average). Per student grants doubled in the Seventh, Eighth and Ninth Plans.

Grants-in-aid per student enrolled in non-government aided schools in real terms were estimated using SDP at 1993-94 prices as a deflator. Real expenditure per student in non-government secondary schools increased from Rs. 11 in 1981-82 to Rs. 68 in 1999¬2000. The increase has been by 37 percent in the period 1981-82 to 1985-86, 22 per cent in the period 1985-86 to 1990-91, 90 per cent over 1990-91 to 1995-96 and by 97 per cent in the period 1995-96 to 1999-2000 (Table 7).

On an average, expenditure per student during the Sixth Plan (1980-85) was Rs. 12 (two year average), Rs. 16 during the Seventh Plan (1985-90) (five year average), Rs. 18 in 1990-91 and 1991-92, the years of adjustment, Rs. 29 during the Eighth Plan (1992¬97) (four year average) and Rs. 48 during the Ninth Plan (1997-2002) (three year average).

b) Government Secondary Schools

Trends in Allocation of Grants: Expenditure on government secondary schools is less than that on aided schools. Total expenditure on government secondary schools increased from Rs. 77 lakhs in 1980-81 to Rs. 1,340 lakhs in 1999-2000 (Table 8). The increase has

been 67 per cent in the period 1981 -82 to 1985-86, 42 per cent in 1985-86 to 1990-91,41 per cent in 1990-91 to 1995-96 and 370 per cent in 1995-96 to 1999-2000.

Per School, Per Student and Real Per Student Expenditure: The number of schools managed by the government has also increased in the period 1980-81 to 1999-2000. However, there emerges no trend in per school expenditure (Table 8). Enrollment in secondary schools increased from 7,000 in 1981-82 to 83,000 in 1999-2000. Per student expenditure varied between Rs. 441 and Rs. 1,614 in this period. However, no trends emerge from the estimates of per student expenditure on government secondary schools (Table 8).

TABLE 8

Per School, Per Student and Real Per Student Government Expenditure in Government Secondary Schools

Year	*Expenditure (Rs. '000)*	*Expenditure Per School (Rs. W0)*	*Expenditure Per Student in Government Schools (Rs.)*	*Real Expenditure Per Student in Government Schools (Rs.)*
1980-81	7665	NA	NA	NA
1981-82	8491	326.58	1213	31.49
1982-83	9520	NA	NA	NA
1983-84	10456	158.42	697.07	16.24
1984-85	NA	NA	NA	NA
1985-86	14178	177.23	834	17.06
1986-87	15859	188.80	834.68	16.11
1987-88	16763	201.96	931.28	16.30
1988-89	20070	171.54	771.92	12.39
1989-90	22674	164.30	666.88	9.98
1990-91	20158	132.62	544.81	7.36
1991-92	21675	136.32	528.66	6.31
1992-93	20273	118.56	440.72	4.86
1993-94	26288	151.08	584.18	5.84
1994-95	29017	151.13	527.58	4.70
1995-96	28518	139.11	459.97	3.76
1996-97	32500	NA	NA	NA
1997-98	39747	184.01	602.23	4.39
1998-99	45893	160.47	588.37	4.03
1999-2000	133966	443.6	1614.05	10.77

Source: Various budget documents (School Education Department- Demand No. E-2); Directorate of Education, *Education at a Glance,* Government of Maharashtra, Pune, various issues

Real per student expenditure (using SDP at 1993-94 prices as a deflator) is less than real per student expenditure in non-government aided secondary schools except in the year 1981-82. Real per student expenditure on government schools declined from Rs. 31

in 1981-82 to Rs. 4 in 1998-99 and Rs. 11 in 1999-2000 (Table 8). This trend of a decline in per student expenditure in real terms in government managed secondary schools needs to be contrasted with the increase in per student expenditure in real terms in non-government aided secondary schools.

c) Local Bodies

Trends in Share of Grants-in-Aid: Assistance to schools managed by local bodies (Zilla Parishads) include grants to aided and ex-government schools. Taking into consideration the period 1981-82 to 1999-2000, the share of grants allocated to schools managed by local bodies declined from 13 per cent in 1980-81 to 3.4 per cent in 1999-2000 and 6 per cent in 2000-2001 (Table 6). However, actual expenditures to these schools increased. The expenditure on these schools increased particularly in the 1990s. The expenditure increased by 657 per cent over a period of two decades 1981-82 to 1999-2000 (Table 9).

Per School Per Student and Real Per Student Expenditure: Analysis of the grants provided by the government to secondary schools managed by local bodies on the basis of per school, per student enrolled and real expenditure per student enrolled highlighted the extent of assistance provided.

Per secondary school managed by Zilla Parishads, the expenditure increased from Rs. 3 lakhs in 1981-82 to Rs. 27 lakhs in 1999-2000. The increase has been by 94 per cent in the period 1981-82 to 1985-86, 68 per cent in the period 1985-86 to 1990-91, 89 per cent over 1990-91 to 1995-96 and by 23 per cent in the period 1995-96 to 1999-2000 (Table 9).

On an average, expenditure per school during the Sixth Plan (1980-85) was Rs. 3 lakhs (two year average), Rs. 7 lakhs during the Seventh Plan (1985-90) (four year average), Rs. 9 lakhs and Rs. 12 lakhs in 1990-91 and 1991-92, the years of adjustment, Rs. 18 lakhs during the Eighth Plan (1992-97) (four year average) and Rs. 28 lakhs during the Ninth Plan (1997-2002) (three year average). The expenditure by way of assistance given to schools managed by Zilla Parishads more than doubled in the Seventh Plan which coincided with the adoption of the NPE in 1986 and in the Ninth Plan (Table 9).

In terms of per student enrolled in these secondary schools, expenditure increased from Rs. 592 in 1981-82 to Rs. 4,892 in 1999-2000. The increase has been by 58 per cent in the period 1981-82 to 1985-86, 49 per cent in the period 1985-86 to 1990-91, 193 per cent over 1990-91 to 1995-96 and by 20 per cent in the period 1995-96 to 1999-2000 (Table 9).

On an average, expenditure per student during the Sixth Plan (1980-85) was Rs. 632(two year average), Rs. 1,136 during the Seventh Plan (1985-90) (four year average), Rs. 1,386 and Rs. 1,714 in 1990-91 and 1991-92, the years of adjustment, Rs. 3,301 during the Eighth Plan (1992-97) (four year average) and Rs. 5,075 during the Ninth Plan (1997-2002) (three year average). Per student grants doubled in the Seventh and the Eighth Plan.

Grants per student enrolled in Zilla Parishad schools in real terms were estimated using SDP at 1993-94 prices as a deflator. Real expenditure per student in these secondary schools increased from Rs. 16 in 1981-82 to Rs. 33 in 1999-2000. The increase has been by 27 per cent in the period 1981-82 to 1985-86, declined by 1.8 per cent in the period 1985-86 to 1990-91, increased by 74 per cent over 1990-91 to 1995-96 and declined by 1.9 per cent in the period 1995-96 to 1999-2000 (Table 9).

On an average, expenditure per student in real terms during the Sixth Plan (1980-85) was Rs. 16 (two year average), Rs. 19 during the Seventh Plan (1985-90) (four year average), Rs. 19 and Rs. 20 in 1990-91 and 1991-92, the years of adjustment, Rs. 31 during the Eighth Plan (1992-97) (four year average) and Rs. 35 during the Ninth Plan (1997-2002) (three year average).

TABLE 9

Per School, Per Student and Real Per Student Government Expenditure to Secondary Schools Managed by Local Bodies

Year	*Expenditure (Local Bodies) (Rs. '000)*	*Expenditure Per Zilla Parishad (At^ed + ex-govt.) School (Rs. W0)*	*Expenditure Per Student in Zilla Parishad (Aided + ex-govt.) School (Rs.)*	*Real Expenditure Per Student in Zilla Parishad (Aided + ex-govt.) School (Rs.)*
1981-82	175699	291.37	591.58	15.36
1982-83	189551	NA	NA	NA
1983-84	224083	374.10	672.92	15.67
1984-85	NA	NA	NA	NA
1985-86	340449	566.47	932.74	19.08
1986-87	NA	NA	NA	NA
1987-88	420942	691.20	1076.58	18.84
1988-89	467277	767.29	1162.38	18.66
1989-90	551891	895.93	1372.86	20.55
1990-91	570999	922.45	1385.92	18.73
1991-92	711479	1145.70	1714.41	20.45
1992-93	791704	1281.07	2024.82	22.31
1993-94	917980	1803.50	3438.13	34.38
1994-95	959280	1888.35	3675.40	32.73
1995-96	1081236	2171.17	4064.80	33.27
1996-97	1430088	NA	NA	NA
1997-98	1365888	2726.32	5077.65	37.03
1998-99	1476790	2935.96	5255.48	35.99
1999-2000	1330692	2682.85	4892.25	32.64

Source: Various budget documents (School Education Department- Demand No. E-2); Directorate of Education, *Education at a Glance,* Government of Maharashtra, Pune, (various issues)

It is observed that grants accorded to secondary schools managed by Zilla Parishads are less in terms of actual expenditure or percentage share in the revenue expenditure on secondary schools as compared to non-government aided secondary schools. However, in terms of per school grants, per student grants and real expenditure per student enrolled in secondary schools managed by local bodies, it is observed that the expenditure, is in fact, higher than that on non-government aided secondary schools. These trends are observed for the Sixth, Seventh and the Eighth Plan. It is only in 1997-2000 (the first three years of the Ninth Plan) that per school, per student and real per student expenditure was higher for non-government aided secondary schools than those managed by local bodies.

Summing Up

Secondary education being privately managed, grants-in-aid to non-government aided secondary schools increased in terms of share in total expenditure on secondary education, per school, per student and in real terms per student over the period 1980-81 to 2000. Plan-wise analysis indicated that allocations increased in every subsequent Plan. Financial stringency imposed by the introduction of economic reforms did not act as a constraint on allocations to secondary education. If this allocation pattern is viewed in the context of the government policy for setting up of secondary schools, it may be inferred that the policy and pattern of financing favour the existing schools and deter the new entrants.

Grants accorded to secondary schools managed by Zilla Parishads are less in terms of actual expenditure or percentage share in the revenue expenditure on secondary schools as compared to non-government aided secondary schools. However, in terms of per school grants, per student grants and real expenditure per student enrolled in secondary schools managed by local bodies, the expenditure is, in fact, higher than that on non-government aided secondary schools. These trends were observed for the Sixth, Seventh and the Eighth Plans. It is only in 1997-2000 (the first three years of the Ninth Plan) that per school, per student and real per student expenditure was higher for non-government aided secondary schools than those managed by local bodies.

V) Secondary Education in Maharashtra

The impact of this strategy of financing secondary education in the state of Maharashtra may be evaluated on the basis of the 'outcomes'. Some of the outcome indicators for which data are available are enrollment, institutions, teachers and access to schools. These reflect the expansion or growth of secondary education in physical terms in the state. Quality of education indicators may include the acquired ability of students for which data are not available or the teacher-student ratio. Who actually benefits from these government subsidies is also an issue that merits attention.

a) Enrollment

Since the formation of the state in 1960-61 to 1999-2000, enrollment in secondary schools had increased by 468 per cent, from 9 lakhs students to 49 lakhs. The 1960s recorded the highest increase in enrollment. Part of the increase may be due to change in the organization of the stages of education which took place in early 1960s. Enrollment has been increasing rapidly, the 1980s saw a 50 per cent rise in enrollment.

The enrollment of girls increased by 865 per cent over the period 1960-61 to 1999¬ 2000, from 2 lakh students in 1960-61 to 22 lakh students in 1999-2000. There has been nearly 50 per cent increase in the enrollment of girls in every decade. The 1980s registered 69 per cent increase in enrollment.

Stage-wise Enrollment: Stage-wise enrollment ratio in the corresponding age group, as defined by the Government of India, in Standard VI-VIII was high at 89.7 in the year 1999-2000. The corresponding ratio for boys was 92.8 and for girls it was lower at 86.5 in the year 1999-2000. The enrollment ratio was lower for all these categories in the Standards IX - X. The overall enrollment ratio for Standards IX - X was 72.8, while it was 71.2 for boys and only 66.2 for girls in the year 1999-2000. The above figures indicate that enrollment fell at higher levels of schooling. This was particularly true in the case of girls (Government of Maharashtra, 2002).

Enrollment ratio in the corresponding age group for Standards VI-VIII was 118.3 for scheduled castes and 71.7 for scheduled tribes in 1999-2000. The ratio fell to 91.9 for scheduled castes and 49.2 for scheduled tribes for Standards IX-X, 1999-2000 (ibid).

b) Institutions

Increased access to secondary education is indicated by the increased number of secondary schools by 363.82 per cent in the period 1960-61 to 1999-2000 from 2,468 schools in 1960-61 to 11,447 schools in 1999-2000. Part of the increase in the 1960s may be due to organizational changes in the education system. There was negligible growth in the number of institutions in the decade 1970-71 to 1980-81. In the 1980s, the number of schools offering secondary level of education increased by more than 50 per cent while in the decade 1990-91 to 1999-2000, they rose by 40 percent.

There has been asymmetrical growth in the number of institutions and enrollment. While enrollment increased by about 131 per cent in the 1960s, institutions increased by 115 percent. In the period 1970-71 to 1980-8, while enrollment increased by 25 percent, the availability of institutions increased by less than 1 percent. These trends reversed in the 1980s and 1990s. In 1980-81 to 1990-91 and 1990-91 to 1999-2000 enrollment increased by 50 and 31 per cent respectively while the increase in the availability of institutions was slightly higher at 53 and 40 per cent for the two decades respectively.

This asymmetry in the growth of enrollment and the availability of institutions has had adverse effects on the quality of education as indicated by the number of institutions per student. Availability of institutions per 1000 students deteriorated from 2.88 in 1960¬ 61 to 2.35 in 1999-2000. The ratio of availability of institutions per 1000 students

deteriorated sharply in the period 1980-81 to 1990-91. In the 1990s, there was a slight improvement in the ratio of the availability of institutions per 1000 students. However the ratio remained below the level observed up to the mid-1970s (Table 10).

c) Teachers

The number of teachers increased from 35,000 in 1960-61 to 1,44,000 in 1999-2000 registering an increase of 311 per cent. The increase in the number of teachers has been the maximum in the 1960s at 114 per cent, probably due to organizational changes in the educational system. The increase in the number of teachers in the later decades was 16 per cent in the 1970s, 39 per cent in the 1980s and 19 per cent in the 1990s.

The availability of teachers increased at a smaller rate than enrollment through the period 1960 to 2000 as indicated by the growing student-teacher ratio (Table 10). The student-teacher ratio increased from 25 in 1960-61 to 34 in 1999-2000 (Table 10). The student-teacher ratio recorded the maximum increase of 13 per cent in the period 1975 to 1980 and of 8 per cent in the period 1995-2000.

The asymmetry between enrollment of student and the availability of teachers had implications for the teacher-student ratio. The teachers per 100 students deteriorated from 4.08 in 1960-61 to 2.95 in 1999-2000.

TABLE 10

Availability of Institutions per 1000 Students, Student-Teacher Ratio and Teachers per 100 Students, 1960-61 to 1999-2000

Period	*Institutions per 1000 Students*	*Student-Teacher Ratio*	*Teachers Per 100 Students*
1960-61	2.88	24.51	4.08
1965-66	2.69	26.32	3.80
1970-71	2.68	26.47	3.78
1975-76	3.11	25.15	3.98
1980-81	2.16	28.52	3.51
1985-86	2.18	30.95	3.23
1990-91	2.20	30.77	3.25
1995-96	2.46	31.39	3.19
1999-2000	2.35	33.87	2.95

Source: Government of Maharashtra (2002)

d) Access to Schools

Despite rapid increase in the number of schools, there exist several villages without access to secondary schools. In 1999, over 96 per cent of rural residents living in villages had access to primary school. However, only 67.7 and 41.2 per cent of rural residents living in villages had access to middle and secondary schools respectively (HPS, 2002, **p.36).**

The Sixth All-India Educational Survey (NCERT, 1998) indicated that in September 1993, as many as 3,534 villages did not have a school at the primary stage which works out to be 8.72 per cent of villages, while 22,895 villages i.e. 56.51 per cent of villages did not have a school at the upper primary stage. 83.16 per cent, that is, to 33695 villages did not have a school at the secondary stage (NCERT, 1998).

e) Attainment of Secondary Level of Education

Literates below primary level accounted for 21.3 per cent of the literates in 1991. At middle level of education, the performance of Maharashtra was poor as indicated by the percentage of literates who were primary educated but below middle and below matriculation. In 1991, 26.8 per cent of literates were educated up to the primary level but were below middle level and 25.5 per cent middle but below matriculation. This implies that only 26 per cent of literates completed secondary education (matric educated) (Table 11).

TABLE 11
Levels of Education in Maharashtra

		Per cent of Literates who are				
		Below Primary	*Primary but below middle*	*Middle but below Matric*	*Matric but below Graduate*	*Graduate and above*
1	Total	21.3	26.8	25.5	20.6	5.8
2	Rural	26.5	31.4	25.8	13.9	2.3
3	Urban	15.7	21.9	25.2	27.7	9.6

Source: Based on 1991 Census data

The Table highlights the rural urban differences at the middle and higher levels of education. The number of literates below primary are lower in urban than rural. This improves the level of schooling in urban than rural areas as seen in the above Table. The number of literates who complete primary but do not complete secondary school is 10 percentage points higher in rural than urban areas. A higher percentage of literates finish secondary school in urban areas than in rural areas as indicated by the 'Matric but below graduate' level.

Estimates by NSSO (2000) present a more clear picture. Per 1000 persons aged 15 and above, 206 are middle school educated while only 127 are secondary school educated. These levels of education need to examined in the context of completion of other levels of education. Per 1000 persons aged 15 and above, 332 are illiterate, 7 are literate without formal schooling, 60 are below primary, 151 primary school educated, 57 higher secondary and 58 with a diploma, graduate or post-graduate degree.

A more recent study of attainment by levels of education for 1999 has been provided by the International Institute for Population Sciences (2002). Improvement in educational attainment over time is indicated by examining the differences in educational levels

attained by age. The proportion of population educated till at least middle school was 16.2 in the age group 50 and above while it is higher at 64.6 in the age group 15-19 in the year 1999. However, what is disturbing is that even in the age group 20-29, the proportion to have completed at least middle school was as low as 55.1 percent, leaving almost 50 per cent of the population not even middle school complete (Table 12).

TABLE 12

Educational Levels of Household Population Age 6 and Above, 1999

(Percent)

Age	*Educational Level*						
	Illiterate	*Literate but less than primary school complete*	*Primary school complete*	*Middle school complete*	*High school complete*	*Higher secondary complete and above*	*Total*
6-9	21.5	77.8	0.7	0.0	0.0	0.0	100
10-14	7.8	29.7	48.6	13.8	0.1	0.0	100
15-19	13.6	5.7	16.0	36.3	20.4	7.9	100
20-29	21.1	7.6	16.1	17.2	14.8	23.1	100
30-39	33.5	10.1	17.2	12.8	12.2	14.2	100
40-49	35.0	11.8	16.3	9.9	15.3	11.8	100
50+	55.5	16.8	11.4	3.0	7.7	5.5	100
Total	27.7	19.9	18.4	13.4	10.4	10.2	100

Note: Based on de-facto population

'Primary school complete' means 5-7 completed years of education, 'Middle school complete' means 8-9 completed years of education, 'High school complete' means 10-11 completed years of education and 'Higher secondary complete and above' means 12 or more completed years of education.

Source: HPS (2002)

There exist gender disparities in the completion of secondary education. In 1999, the proportion of males to have completed at least middle school is 42.1 per cent while the proportion of females to have completed at least middle school is 25.6. There are rural urban disparities in educational attainment by levels of education. The proportion of population to have completed at least middle school in urban areas is higher at 45.9 per cent than in rural areas where the figure is 25.1 per cent (HPS, 2002).

f) Income-wise Attainment of Secondary Education

Completion of different levels of education across income groups highlights the relationship between education and economic status. The inequalities in education are, in fact, a reflection of inequalities of economic and social powers of different groups in India (Sen, 1997). It also shows whether public expenditure benefits the lower income groups.

Based on the 1993-94 NSS data on school enrollment and the National Family Health Survey data, 1992-93, Filmer and Pritchett (1998) as cited in World Bank (1998), have used the experience of a cohort of 15 to 19 year olds at the time of the survey, most of whom had largely completed their schooling to draw a profile of attainment according to location and economic status. In Maharashtra, 83 per cent of the 15 to 19 year olds completed grade one, 75 per cent completed grade 5 and only 58 per cent completed grade 8, indicating a high drop-out rate in higher levels of schooling.

Not only is the drop-out rate high but there also exist income group disparities in the completion of schooling. Simulated flow of 100 children by economic group shows that in Maharashtra, 98 per cent of 15 to 19 year olds from rich households completed grade 1 but only 59 per cent of those from poorer households did so.[2] 83 per cent of the children from rich households finished grade 8 as opposed to only 28 per cent of the poorer households (World Bank, 1998). In other words, seven out of 10 left at the lower level of secondary schooling in the bottom 40 per cent. It may be inferred that not only is enrolment low in poorer households, they are also likely to leave before completing either primary or lower levels of secondary school education. To the extent, students from poorer families do not enroll or drop out without completing basic education, they lose the opportunities in terms of the subsidies offered by the government (Table 13).

TABLE 13

Simulated Flow of 100 Children Through Grade 1 to Grade 8, by Economic Group

		Cohort	*Finished Grade 1*	*Finished Grade 5*	*Finished Grade 8*
1	All	100	83	75	58
2	Bottom 40 per cent	100	59	47	28
3	Top 20 per cent	100	98	96	83

Source: World Bank (1998)

g) Gender-wise Attainment in Secondary Education

There also exists gender gap in completing lower level of secondary schooling. The proportion of 15 to 19 year olds who have completed grade 8 is 67 per cent for boys and only 49 per cent for girls indicating a gender gap of 18.3 per cent. The gender gap in completing lower secondary is wider for the poor than for the rich (Table 14).

The proportion of 15 to 19 year olds who completed grade 8 is 42.1 for boys and 13.8 for girls in the lower 40 per cent of households. This difference between girls and boys in the completion of grade 8 vanishes in the top 20 per cent bracket with 87 per cent of boys and 79.9 per cent of girls completing grade 8. While between rich and poor boys the average gap in the group who complete grade 8 in Maharashtra is 45 percentage points,

[2] In Kerala, one observes that almost all students who enroll are likely to finish grade 1 irrespective of their economic class.

the gap between rich and poor girls in Maharashtra is 66 percentage points and that between rich and poor boys 45 percentage points.[3]

TABLE 14

Gender Gaps in the Proportion of 15 to 19 Year Olds Who Completed Grade VIII by Economic Group

(Per cent)

		Male	*Female*	*Gender Gap*
0)	*(2)*	*0)*	*(4)*	*(5)*
1	All Quintiles	67.2	49	18.3
2	Lower 40 per cent	42.1	13.8	28.3
3	Top 20 per cent	87	79.9	7.1

Source: World Bank (1998)

h) Drop-out Rate

Drop-out and non-enrollment are two phenomena in the education sector that indicate non-utilization and under-utilization of education facilities. The extent to which the cycle of education remains incomplete due to students having dropped out or due to non-enrollment is an indicator of wastage of government expenditures as it implies non-utilization of the subsidies offered by the government by the economically disadvantaged classes.

The drop-out rate is the highest for the middle level and secondary level of education in Maharashtra (NSSO, 2000). Per 1000 of drop-outs in the age group 5-24, 217 dropped out at the middle level and 402 at the secondary level. At all other levels, the drop-out rate was lower than those recorded at the middle and secondary levels. In fact, at higher levels of education the drop-out rate falls. The drop-out rate was 114 per 1000 at the higher secondary level and 50 per 1000 at above higher secondary level.[4]

i) Who benefits from subsidized secondary education?

Using the benefit incidence method for examining government expenditures on different levels of education for the various fractile groups for the year 1986-87 (NSSO 1993) indicated

a) Per-pupil expenditure in Maharashtra is lower on elementary education; higher on secondary and the highest on higher education - Rs. 408 at the elementary level, Rs. 1103.07 at the secondary level and Rs. 2233.80 at higher education level.

[3] In Kerala, there is reverse discrimination in favour of girls.

[4] The drop-out rate was 189 per 1000 dropouts at the primary level (NSSO, 2000).

b) Direct government expenditure benefits the middle and upper middle classes (40 - 60 and 60 - 80 fractile groups).

VI) Conclusions

The policy of the government of Maharashtra has been to invest in education for human resource development so as to provide resources required by the secondary and tertiary sectors of the economy. With economic development, the threshold level of the education needs to increase. Education also provides a mechanism by which incomes get redistributed to lower classes. Hence, grants-in-aid to secondary schools have been examined from the human resource development as well as the human development perspectives.

Allocations to secondary education have increased consistently since the 1960s. The commencement of the Seventh Plan since 1985 coincided with a review of education policy. The National Policy on Education was adopted in 1986 which aimed at universalisation of primary education. The period 1985-1990 witnessed a gradual decline in the share of funds allocated to higher education, maintenance of allocations to elementary education and the growth of the share of secondary education in the total expenditure on education.

Secondary education in Maharashtra is provided mainly by privately managed schools with government financial assistance in the form of grants-in-aid. Private unaided schools constitute a smaller but a significant share which has increased since the 1980s. A small percentage of schools are run by local bodies.

The detailed budgeted revenue expenditure of the government on secondary education indicated that the bulk of public spending is incurred on granting grants to non-government aided secondary schools. Grants-in-aid to non-government aided secondary schools increased in terms of share in total expenditure on secondary education per school, per student and in real terms per student over the period 1980-81 to 2000. Plan-wise analysis indicated that allocations increased in every subsequent Plan. Financial stringency imposed by the introduction of economic reforms did not act as a constraint on allocations to secondary education.

Grants accorded to secondary schools managed by Zilla Parishads are less in terms of actual expenditure or percentage share in the revenue expenditure on secondary schools as compared to non-government aided secondary schools. However, in terms of per school grants, per student grants and real expenditure per student enrolled in secondary schools managed by local bodies, the expenditure is, in fact, higher than that on non-government aided secondary schools. These trends were observed for the Sixth, Seventh and the Eighth Plan. It is only in 1997-2000 (the first three years of the Ninth Plan) that per school, per student and real per student expenditure was higher for non-government aided secondary schools than those managed by local bodies.

There emerge three questions. One, the government allocates more than 1 per cent of the SDP to secondary education, the bulk of which takes the form of grants-in-aid to secondary schools. Has this expenditure improved the threshold level of education?

Second, what is the quality of education that is provided? Third, who benefits from this spending?

Secondary education has progressed in terms of enrolment, availability of institutions and teachers. However, the general level of education in terms of completion of secondary education is low and is a function of income. The drop-out rate is the highest for the middle and secondary level of education. There also exist sharp gender disparities in attainment of secondary education.

The asymmetry in the growth of enrollment and the availability of institutions has had adverse effects on the quality of education as indicated by the number of institutions per 1000 students, teachers per 100 students and the student-teacher ratio. Several villages still have no access to secondary schools.

The government policy in the 1980s of not allowing the opening of new secondary schools implied that the growing number of students had to be accommodated in the existing schools by increasing the number of students in each class and through the creation of additional divisions. This meant that the teacher-students ratio deteriorated and classrooms began to become cramped. Creation of additional classrooms meant diversion of open or free space to the building of classrooms. In effect, quality of education suffered.

This grants-in-aid policy is skewed in favour of existing schools and creates a barrier to new entrants. The policy does not provide incentives to the establishment of new schools in remote and rural areas. Government finances are used to fund the existing established secondary schools and caters to a strong lobby which does not want its patronage to be reduced. The policy also encourages fictitious enrollment to secure funds. It has also encouraged the growth of the whole array of coaching classes. The human development perspective of using the grants-in-aid policy to encourage enrollment and to increase the threshold level of education in the society is not met. This is corroborated with the analysis of data available for 1986-87 which indicated that government expenditure benefits the middle and upper middle classes (40 - 60 and 60 - 80 fractile groups).

Despite subsidies provided by the government to non-government secondary schools which helps reduce costs of secondary education, private expenditure on secondary education is substantial in rural and urban areas and across income groups. Private expenditure on secondary education is particularly high in urban areas and in the upper income groups. These private expenditures have been explained as probably arising due to lack of access to private aided secondary schools or poor quality of non-government aided secondary schools resulting in parents' sending children to private non-aided secondary schools. There also exist substantial other expenses besides fees which are incurred on secondary education. There thus appears the existence of willingness and the ability to pay for higher education which is generally availed by the middle and upper classes.

It appears that there is potential for effective targeting of grants-in-aid to secondary education. However, equity considerations need to be given due importance so that the real incomes of the lower classes, availing of these benefits, are not adversely affected.

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CONTENTS

ARTICLES

Social Security Arrangements in Sri Lanka: An Assessment
— *Wasana Karunaralhne*

Rural Female Labour Force Participation Rate in Sindh: An Interdistrict
— *Mohammad Pervez Wasim*

Water Scarcity and Food Security: Some Policy Issues
— *Dr. Falendra K. Sudan*

Education in India Across Households by Income Groups
— *P. Geetha Rani*

Planning and Management of Canal Based Rural Drinking Water Supply Schemes-A Study of Bathinda District, Punjab State
— *P. Sivaram*

Determinants of Rural Fertility in West Bengal: A Micro-level Evidence
— *R.N. Bhattacharya*
Sushil Kumar Haldar

Child Nutrition and Primary Education: A Comparative Study of Mid-day Meal Programme in Orissa and Tamil Nadu
— *Surendra Nath Misra*
Manaranjan Behera

Child Work, Child Labour and Educational Deprivation: The Study of Socio-economic Context and Factors in a Bengal Village
— *Sudip Chakraborty*

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Gender Bias in Education Among the Rural Sikhs of Punjab

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Sushma Jaswal*

Abstract

Women on the whole are a 'depressed class' in terms of literacy. Regional imbalances in women's education are persisting since independence. Superstitions and false beliefs inhibit literacy and, in a way, superstitious false beliefs are result of illiteracy and backwardness - the vicious circle goes on. The study, designed in this context, was conducted among three cultural zones of rural Punjab to assess variations in attitudes of rural parents with respect to female education. It aimed at ascertaining various reasons for discontinuation of female education. Ethnographic technique was used to collect qualitative data regarding these aspects. The results revealed that learning and performing of household chores were considered important for girls rather than going to school. The most frequent reasons cited by adolescent girls for dropping out of school in childhood were - personal, socio-cultura! economic and situational.

Introduction

In the last few decades, developing countries have attached a lot of significance to the role of education in the development process. Education, both formal and non-formal, plays a crucial role in development programmes, if they are to be meaningful. Women are seen as a definite target group for the simple reason that all over the world, literacy rates among women are lower than men. If women are indispensable to the development process, literacy among women must increase. The seven countries of the South Asian Association for Regional Cooperation (SAARC) had observed 1990 as the 'year of the girl child'. The decade 1991¬ 2000 was declared as the 'decade of the girl child'. Sundaram (1996) reported that more than 60 million girls in the SAARC countries do not get primary education and the majority does not complete their schooling. Patriarchal norms, early age at marriage and women's work participation have been held responsible for sex discriminatory practices (Gupta, 1995). Sharma (1987) indicated that in rural areas of India about 47 per cent of the agricultural work was done by women. The girls under 15 years of age constitute 20 per cent of the country's population and also share 20 per cent of the family burdens.

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Lack of education, exposure and opportunities do not allow women to exercise the right kind of choice. Low level of literacy among women and girls is one of the basic elements of gender backwardness. Even in areas where substantial progress is witnessed with high educational status, female literacy rates especially in rural areas trail behind male literacy rates. In India, female literacy is 39.29 per cent and male literacy is 64.6 per cent and half of the enrolled girls drop out from the schools. In Punjab, male literacy rate is 75.63 per cent and female literacy rate is 63.55 per cent (Census 2001). In Punjab, the district Nawanshahar has the highest female literacy ratio i.e. 75.56 per cent and district Mansa has the lowest literacy rate i.e. 45.07 per cent (Census 2001). The following Table shows the trends in decadal literacy in Punjab state for years 1951-2001:

TABLE 1
Male and Female Literacy Ratio

	1951	*1961*	*1971*	*1981*	*1991*	*2001*
Male	210	407	404	472	657	756
Female	85	207	259	337	504	636

Evidently, though literacy rate in case of females is less in comparison to males, yet there is continuous increase in the number of females being enrolled for education. This may be attributed to the favourable government policies for the needy and bright students and ever-increasing appreciation for girls' education.

Though the percentage of literacy among women has increased from what it was few years ago, the disparity between girl's education and boy's education is very wide. The question arises; whether the girls have the same educational facilities as are being provided for the boys? So, education and gender equality are at the center-stage of contemporary discourse on development and education but disparities in the education of men and women are continuing.

The government and planners in several developing countries have made efforts to enhance literacy rates and educational levels among women, both as a welfare measure and a developmental necessity. However, spreading literacy among females seems to be complex, difficult and a time consuming task in the tradition-bound society like India. Therefore, the study was conducted to have a broader view regarding education in cultural zones of rural Punjab with the following objectives:

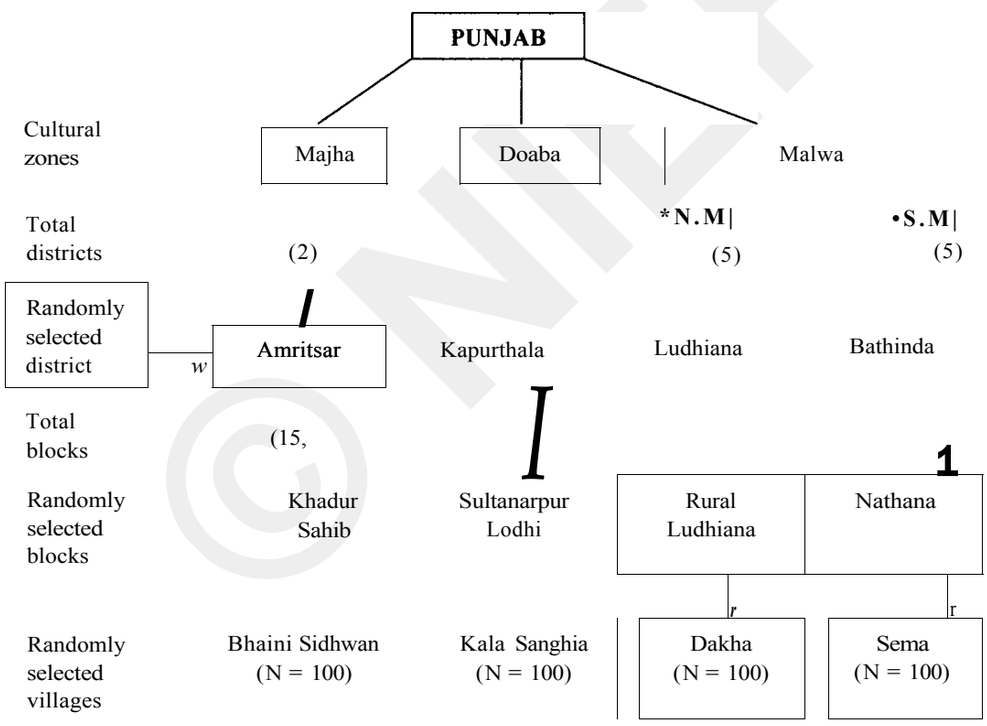
1. To study the attitudes of rural parents with respect to female education, belonging to three cultural zones of rural Punjab.
2. To assess the causes leading to female illiteracy in rural areas of Punjab.
3. To identify parental and adolescent's reasons for discontinuation of studies in different cultural zones of rural Punjab.

Methodology

Sample Selection: The Punjab state for the purpose of study has been divided into three cultural zones i.e. *Majha, Malwa* and *Doaba.* Each cultural zone is equipped with its own

cultural tradition in relation to customs, values and ways of life but, at the same time, there is so much similarity and overlapping of the values that sometimes it becomes difficult to differentiate. Data for the present study was collected from rural areas selected randomly from three cultural zones. The *Malwa* zone, being a big region (having ten districts) and intra-zonal variations in cultural traits being high, two districts were selected from this region. The criteria for inclusion of the sample is that the family must belong to Sikh religion, it should have marginal land or no land and each family should have children of both genders in the adolescent age. Only 100 sikh families who met the inclusion criteria were randomly selected from each of the four randomly selected villages. Thus, the sample comprised of 400 rural sikh families. The plan for sample selection is shown in Figure 1

FIGURE 1
Sample Selection



*** N.M. = Northern Malwa; S.M. = Southern Malwa**
Total sample size: 400 families

Technique of Data Collection

For data collection, ethnographic technique was used for a multifaceied interaction between the researcher and the participants, thereby making the data rich and dynamic. This approach

helped to understand the culture of the distinct social group through participant (interactive) and non-participant (non-interactive) observations by making extensive field notes and trying to capture the culture's unique values and social processes. Through interactive ethnographic technique, effort was made to talk to all female members in the family for the required information. The observations were also noted on the required issues through non-interactive ethnographic technique by attending social and religious functions. A checklist was also prepared covering all issues intended for discussion.

Results and Discussion

With the impact of western influences, the concept of female education began to change gradually. The introduction and encouragement of missionary schools for both the sexes encouraged girls for going to school on a formal basis. Though, the number of girls was very small, yet it was a landmark in the development of women's education as the girls started leaving the confinement of home and started attending formal classes on the same footings as boys. But, the study in cultural zones of rural Punjab reported wide gender disparity in literacy rate irrespective of socio-economic status.

After partition, Punjab witnessed a radical social change on account of various factors. Several proactive programs were launched for the upliftment of lower cast people. The government's policy of affirmative action strengthened the practices of Sikhism which consider all human beings equal. Then, with the occurance of green revolution, industrialization and urbanization, there is a growing hetrogenity of socio- economic status and life-styles within the caste. The co-existence of caste and class curbs the clear-cut manifestation of caste and class differentiation. People from all castes and classes enjoy friendly social environment.

Among the castes included in the Sikh fold in Punjab, the Jat Sikh is at the top of the hierarchy. The higher land income and greater urban contacts have changed considerably the life-styles, as these are increasingly approximating the urban standards. This section of community enjoys the element of dominance because of being economically well off. They usually send their children to good schools to nearby cities and even at the good residential schools at far away places.

The Government has certain policies for lower caste children such as reservation of seats in technical and professional courses, free education, books and scholarships for them. Parents belonging to lower caste encourage children to ignore their family profession and take up education enthusiastically, along with variety of skilled occupations. They are benefited most from the constitution and have become aware to send their children to schools. Keeping in view the reservation practices and awareness for education, the present study was planned in Punjab state.

The analysis of the data on the attitude of rural parents with regard to education of their daughters, among three cultural zones of Punjab, revealed that families belonging to southern Malwa were least interested in the education of their female children. Parents were of the view that education for girls is wastage of time and money and it is not required for one's life. They were of the opinion that girls should be trained only in household chores/agricultural activities. They reported that instead of wasting money on education of children, the family should accumulate more land/immovable property, as agriculture was the only rewarding

occupation for the rural community. It was believed that status of the family was judged by the area of land a family possesses and not by the level of education of members of the family. Children studying at college level were doing so because of their personal efforts and not due to any willingness or motivation on the part of families. Moreover, parents were not happy to send their children in hostels at far away places, particularly the daughters. Sending children to hostels at far away places is inviting problem for children, particularly girls and family members. They felt that education at village school level is sufficient for carrying on day-to-day activities.

It was further observed that among all cultural zones, only a very small proportion of the girls had ventured outside the village for attaining higher education. This is attributed to the fact that females were not permitted to go outside the village and due to the limited facilities in the village school i.e. upto primary/middle/high or 10+2 levels, most of the girls were seen dropping out in between, either to extend a helping hand in the household work, or in the fields. The parents remain apprehensive for finding a suitable marriage partner for their daughters if girls attain higher education. They were also not in favour of granting them freedom to interact with the members of the opposite sex, whereas no such criteria was fixed for boys to go outside the village for higher education. Sex discrimination still prevails in the community for granting permission to daughters to go for higher education. Surprisingly, girls had also internalized this belief so deeply that they never assert for more education. Punjab ranks 15 as far as the female literacy rate in India is concerned. The gap is wider in rural areas. The rural literacy rate is 65.16 per cent in comparison to 79.13 per cent urban literacy rate (Census, 2001).

An attempt was also made to find out the level of education, parents intend to impart to their daughters and sons. The matriculation or higher secondary levels are generally considered to be high enough for girls and/or whatever is available in the village in the name of education, be it a stitching class. But no such level had been prescribed for boys, they can even go to schools/colleges outside the village. Parents feel the problem of physical security for the girls if they had to travel on their own to places outside the village. They believed that it was not customary to provide higher education to girls in rural areas. Some of the parents preferred to educate daughters upto high school level but learning of household chores such as cooking, stitching and care of animals were considered more important than formal education. The ultimate aim of rural parents was to acquaint the daughters with the household work. Imparting education to daughters was necessary only to make them able to read and write letters, manage their household work/property and become aware of the different happenings in the society. No respondent was seen interested to get their daughters in good jobs in the formal sector but education was most sought for sons so as to help them become economically sound which would in turn enhance the status of family. Similar results have been reported by Joshi (1999) in her study.

It was observed that the primary cause of low priority for female education was the continuation of traditions and out-dated rigid ideas. Women are still treated as unequal to men. They themselves hold traditional notions about their positions. Interestingly, where woman herself was interested to get her daughter educated, resistance came from other members of family, mainly husband and mother-in-law. The resistance was stronger where the husband 'the decision maker' himself was illiterate. This could be an important reason for

continued perpetuation of illiteracy among women. The resistance was very much based on the out-dated beliefs that a woman's place was inside the house and education was of no use to her. According to Rana (1995), the low literacy among females is attributed to the prevalence of discrimination against women. This means that status of women cannot be elevated till there is disparity between the two sexes at the educational level.

Household responsibilities were considered another most significant reason which kept the girl child away from school. Young girls were expected to do household chores and were left with no time and energy to do anything else. Again, based on the traditional beliefs/practices, the household work was the sole responsibility of women, hence, mothers trained their daughters on that aspect from early age. The sensitization of girls that they shall be appreciated most by the members of the family and the community for learning household tasks well kills their motivation for studies. Such a situation makes girls to accept psychologically the discrimination favouring boys.

Due to socio-cultural, economic and infrastructural constraints the rural girl child is being neglected and denied opportunities of educational advancement. A rural girl child spent a significant amount of her time in the collection of fuel, in fetching water, in caring for the siblings and in attending to household chores. She was also engaged in family-based economic activity. Girls were, thus, introduced much earlier to the world of work, first, in the household and later, outside, which was one of the most important reasons for her withdrawal from schools. Thus, education, which could have been a major instrument of women's equality, change and empowerment, is unable to play its due role in this regard.

Involvement of women in a variety of on-farm and off-farm activities from early morning till late in the evening hardly leaves any scope for rural women folk to look after the education of their children and for their own leisure time. Their contributions to farm and off-farm activities were not adequately recognised. Women working on their own farm allege that they work without wages and were scolded and beaten by husbands and other family members. Majority of women led miserable life and were victims of prevailing socio-cultural, economic, demographic and political constraints which came in the way of improving their productivity (Malik *et al* 2001)

Farm work, therefore, was identified as a major factor hindering girls to continue education. Girls from low-socio economic status families had to help their mothers in the fields as full-time or part-time workers, along with the household work. Besides cooking and washing, girls also lend their supporting hand to mothers in baby sitting when their mothers were away to the fields.

Further, the parents indicated the following reasons for not educating/ discontinuing education of their daughters.

- No use in investing money on higher education of daughters.
- Household work and care of younger siblings suffer if girls go to school.
- Girls had to work in fields or as maid servants.
- Financial constraints.
- Negative attitude of the family.
- Not appreciated by society.
- Education makes marriage difficult.

- Education makes girls authoritative leading to marital mal-adjustment.
- Lack of interest and motivation among girls for education. .
- No school facilities nearby.
- Absence of female teacher in the school.

Most of the aforementioned reasons are not in favour of girls. They form an integral part of the rural belief system, designed to deny equal rights to both the sexes in matter of education.

Sex discrimination became more obvious when adolescent boys and girls mentioned different reasons for discontinuation/no education to them. The reasons given by them were put into four categories such as personal, socio-cultural, economic and situational. The following were the different reasons stated by adolescent boys and girls.

Reasons	*Girls*		*Boys*	
	Drop-outs	*No-schooling*	*Drop-outs*	*No-schooling*
Personal				
Harsh discipline		-	V	-
Fear of examination		-	V	-
Dislike of teachers		-		-
Lack of interest		-	V	-
Bad health		-		-
Stress of domestic work	V		-	
Helping parents in fields		V		
Socio-Cultural				
Family not valuing education			-	-
Negative criticism by neighbourers		V	-	-
Economic				
Poverty		V		
Situational				
Lack of school facilities in nearby area			-	~
Absence of female teacher			-	-

Socio-cultural and situational reasons were very specific to southern Malwa zone of rural Punjab.

Majority of the adolescent girls and boys mentioned personal reasons. But interestingly, no boy mentioned socio-cultural and situational reasons for discontinuation of studies. As reported in Tribune (2001), girls in Udhampur region of Jammu and Kashmir (India) were determined to study and establish an identity of their own, despite hilly terrains, vast distances, lack of infrastructure and above all, terrorist activities. Because of the constant possibility of coming under attacks on their way to the institution, girls always travelled in groups. Statistics revealed a drastic fall in the number of girl students when they move from lower grades to the higher. It was 28,475 in the middle school and 10,979 in the high school. The reasons stated by government for a swift decrease at high school level was that there are only 12 higher secondary schools, 39 middle schools and 353 primary schools for females. Primary schools can be found in remote villages, while for higher studies the girls have to be sent to far-off places. The area being hilly, parents were reluctant to send their daughters anywhere far away from home. As such, the girls have to abandon their studies after the

primary level. This shows that girls, whether residing in plain area or hilly area, share the same kind of social and situational factors.

Conclusion

Though the conditions for the girls' education is not very satisfactory in all cultural zones of rural Punjab, the area of southern Malwa was observed to be behind other zones of rural Punjab. The people belonging to southern Malwa were more interested in display of social ceremonies, irrespective of the occasion. They attach greater importance to dowry in terms of giving expensive cars, heavy jewellery, rich clothes, lavish entertainment programme and free-flowing drinks at the time of marriage of their daughters. They seemed to be firm believers of traditional norms and practices. Their aim of life is to accumulate agricultural land and merry-making - be it a birth of a son or winning panchayat elections, but they are least interested in education of girl child. The remaining other areas such as northern Malwa, Majha and Doaba depicted similar trends as far as education of the girl child is concerned.

Recommendations

Prevalent social constraints, belief system, superstitions and social practices deny equal right to both the sexes. Poverty, unemployment and illiteracy threaten female survival. For removal of inequalities, based on sex discriminating practices against education of girls, attention has to be shifted to the values of society and culture instead of depending entirely on economic growth of the country or academic inputs alone. The eradication of gender discrimination cannot succeed in isolation unless it is accompanied by structural changes such as removal of cultural barriers against women's access to education, employment and equal involvement in family decision-making. Education system needs restructuring so that learning of life skills could take place. For that, shift has to be made from the purely academics to practice. Necessary infrastructure should be developed in rural/remote areas to smoothen the journey to education

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Fundamental Human Right to Free and Compulsory Elementary Education in India Origin, Progress and Present Status

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Abstract

The description of origin, growth and present status of fundamental human right to elementary education in India, in this paper, presents a mixed picture of success as well as failure. The million-dollar question before us is why not has much success been achieved in Universalization of elementary education, despite excellent intentions? A critical evaluation of the reasons as answer to the above question, concerning our backlog in UEE, yields many a point to ponder.

Background

The historical evolution and progress of fundamental human right to free and compulsory primary education in India can be seen in the following major phases namely,

- Indigenous primary education
- Initiatives during British rule for compulsory primary education
- National movement for compulsory primary education
- Historical background of fundamental right to primary education
- Constituent Assembly debates concerning primary education
- Constitutional provisions for primary education
- Five Year Plans and Universalisation of Elementary Education (UEE)
- National Policy on Education- 1986/ Programme of Action- 1992 and UEE
- Schemes and Programmes Launched for UEE
- Recommendations of Committees and Commissions for UEE
- Legislations enacted by the State Governments for UEE
- United Nations Declarations and UEE
- Child Labour and UEE
- Non-Governmental Organizations' views on UEE

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- Judgement of the Supreme Court in Unnikrishnan J.P. Vs. State of Andhra Pradesh and others case
- National Commission for Review of Working of Constitution and UEE and
- Parliamentary Legislation (93rd Amendment to the Constitution) on Fundamental Right to Elementary Education

A brief description of each of the above historical phases of evolution and progress of fundamental human right to free and compulsory education in India is as presented below:

I. Indigenous Education

Before the establishment of British rule in India, there was a widespread system of indigenous (oriental) education consisting of primary and higher institutions. These educational institutions had been in existence from time immemorial and were woven in the texture of the social and cultural life of the people of India. India has had a long tradition of organized education. As a historian puts it, *"There is no other country where the love of learning had so early an origin or has exercised so lasting and powerful an influence."* The current educational system in the country operates in an altogether different context from the classical past. The country's commitment to the provision of Education for All and its endeavour to achieve this goal in a speedy fashion has to be seen in this complex milieu, within which the educational system is currently functioning.

II. Initiatives during British Rule for Compulsory Primary Education

The movement for mass education began in the early part of the 19th century and slowly gained weight. The British Empire debated the Compulsory Primary Education Act for masses in England in the year 1870. The developments prior to and after 1870 in England influenced the development of primary education in India. The initiatives for compulsory primary education under British Rule are briefly described below:

a. *Role of the East India Company:* To begin with, education remained a neglected affair in the early days of the East India Company. It was in the Charter Act of 1813 that an education clause was inserted. The East India Company decided to spend one lakh of rupees per year on education. However, no initiatives were undertaken to spend this amount for the next ten years. In 1824, annual grant on education was raised to ten lakhs, but even then, no attention was paid to primary education. However, in 1831, financial help was given to nine 'Vernacular Schools' in the rural area of Saugar, and this may be considered as the first step taken by the East India Company towards primary education.

b. *Macaulay's Minute of 1835:* Macaulay's Minute of 1835 gave a deathblow to indigenous (oriental) system of education in the country. English was adopted as medium of instruction, because of which vernacular schools suffered. In 1844, a few

vernacular schools were established in Bengal province but by 1852, only 30 such schools survived. The Bombay Native Education Society did commendable work in the promotion of Primary Education. The Society opened 15 primary schools aiming at imparting 'western knowledge' through the medium of the mother tongue. In 1840, the Bombay Native Education Society was replaced by the Bombay Board of Education, which functioned upto 1855. In 1854, the Board was managing 213 Primary Schools.

In Madras province, some 70 primary schools were opened through the efforts of Sir Thomas Munro, the then Governor of Madras, in 1830. The Directors of the East India Company directed the Government of Madras to divert its attention to the spread of 'English Education' rather than to concentrate on the education of the masses. This gave a great set-back to the cause of Primary Education in Madras.

c. *Wood's Despatch of 1854:* For the first time in the history of primary education in the country, during the British period, a clear-cut policy was declared by Wood's Despatch of 1854. The policy adopted was to:

- improve the existing indigenous schools;
- open new Government schools according to some set plan;
- encourage private enterprise through grant-in-aid system; and
- adopt vernacular languages as the medium of instruction.

In spite of these valuable suggestions, the then Government did not do much in the field of primary education. The grant-in-aid rules benefited the institutions of higher education more than the primary schools. So, the progress of primary education remained very slow.

d. *Lord Stanley's Despatch of1859:* Lord Stanley, the first Secretary of State for India, felt that grant-in-aid system did not suit the promotion of primary education in India. So, he advised that the Government alone should provide primary education. For this purpose, he suggested the levy of "local rate (tax)" on land revenue in the rural area and on houses in the urban area in all the provinces. With this income, primary education received a great incentive in India.

e. *Indian Education Commission of 1882:* The Commission headed by Hunter devoted its main attention to elementary education and made recommendations regarding policy, administration, encouragement of indigenous schools, training of teachers and finance. The Commission suggested that:

i. Primary education should be entrusted to the newly created Municipal and District Boards.
ii. Definite fund for primary education should be set aside by the local bodies.
iii. Government should help the local bodies financially to the extent of one half or at least one third of their total expenditure on primary education.

iv. The possibility of private enterprise in the field of primary education cannot be precluded, though entire responsibility should be mainly of the state or the local bodies.

v. Primary education should be given through Vernaculars.

The Government gave a serious consideration to the recommendations of the Hunter Commission. The result was a remarkable progress in the spread of primary education.

f. *Government of India Resolution of 1904:* Lord Curzon took keen interest in the spread of education in India. He declared through the Resolution of 1904 that the 'extension of primary education is the duty of the State'. He allocated Rs. 35 lakhs for the spread of primary education. This led to qualitative improvement as well as quantitative expansion in primary education. Consequently, there was a remarkable betterment of school buildings, equipment, instruction and textbooks.

III. National Movement in India for Compulsory Primary Education

India's contact with the West brought in the modern Indian renaissance and led to great changes in social, religious, political, cultural and economic life of the country. Accordingly, the leaders of India began considering the development of education as a national need. The major national movements for compulsory primary education are:

a. *Dadabhai Naoroji's Attempt:* It was in September 1882 that Dadabhai Naoroji demanded, before the First Indian Education Commission, that primary education should be made free and compulsory in India as soon as possible. He asked: *What is this un-British policy of the British in India?* Though his demand was unheeded, yet it overtly expressed that Indians were awakening towards the need and importance of free and compulsory education.

b. *Attempts in Bombay:* In Bombay, Sir Ibrahim Rahimtoola and Sir Chiman Lai Setalwad attempted to introduce compulsory education. As a consequence thereto, the Government of Bombay appointed a Committee, in 1906, to examine the possibility of introducing compulsory education in the city of Bombay. However, unfortunately the Committee came to the conclusion that *"the time was not ripe for compulsory education".*

c. *Attempts in Baroda State:* His Highness, the Maharaja of Baroda achieved what the British Government could not do. He introduced compulsory education in the entire state in 1906. The Maharaja enacted a free and compulsory education regulation in 1905-1906 for Baroda.

d. *Attempts in Mysore State:* After a careful study of Baroda model, the Mysore Legislative Council passed the Mysore Elementary Education Regulation (MEER) in 1913, which received assent of His Highness the Maharaja of Mysore and became a law in 1913-14. This Regulation prohibited employment of children in the age of 7 to

11 years. A Special Officer for compulsory primary education was appointed in 1917.

e. *Gopal Krishna Gokhale's Efforts:* In 1910, Sri Gopal Krishna Gokhale, a Member of the Imperial Legislative Council, moved a Resolution (Bill) in the Council urging the Government to make primary education free and compulsory for boys between the age group of 6 and 10, throughout the country. This was the first and definite demand on the part of an Indian. The Bill was debated in the Council for two days, on March 18 and 19, 1912. Gokhale's historic speech on the subject made in the Council in 1911 is an eloquent commentary on the sad state of affairs existing at that time. In winding up the debate on his Bill he said, *"My Lord, I know that my Bill will be thrown out before the day closes. I make no complaint. I shall not even feel depressed. . . . . / have always felt and have often said that we of the present generation in India can only hope to serve our country by our failures. The men and women who will be privileged to serve her by their successes will come later. . . . . But, my lord, whatever, fate awakes our labour, one thing is clear. We shall be entitled to feel that we have done our duty, and, where the call of duty is clear, it is better even to labour and fail than not to labour at all".* In spite of the support of eminent persons like Madan Mohan Malviya and Mohammad Ali Jinnah, the Bill was defeated by 38 votes to 13, which was expected. No doubt, Gokhale failed in his mission, but the seeds sown by him became too obvious. Again Gokhle took the proposal vide a Bill in 1912 which also did not achieve its objective.

f. *Compulsory Education Laws between 1918 to 1947:* After the First World War, some of the Provincial Governments passed Compulsory Primary Education Acts, in their respective provinces. Even then, the poverty of the masses and inadequacy of educational budget could not bring forth the desired results. Many provinces passed laws to make primary education compulsory, as a consequence of national movement. The major Acts passed during this period are:

- Bombay Municipal Committee's Primary Education Act - 1918
- Bengal Primary Education Act - 1919
- U.P Primary Education Act -1919
- Punjab Primary Education Act - 1919

g. *Mahatma Gandhi's Resolution of 1937:* Mahatma Gandhi was a strong advocate of relevant and inexpensive compulsory education for the masses of India. In October 1931, he made a forceful plea for the establishment of inexpensive and traditional schools both for boys and girls in every village. Decrying the existence of expensive schools patterned after the European model, he stated: "*I defy anybody to fulfil a programme of compulsory primary education of these masses inside of* ***a*** *country. This very poor country of mine is ill able to sustain such an expensive model of education. Our State would revive the old village schoolmaster and dot every village with a school both for boys and girls. "* He put his new ideas into practice on the

'Tolstory Farm', which he established in South Africa, where children were educated. Gandhiji's system of New Education (Nai Talim) was tested by him for thirty long years in practice, and he found it to be intrinsically good. He was against purely literary education, which was introduced by the British in India. Mahatma Gandhi played a significant role in pleading the cause of compulsory and free primary education. In 1937, Mahatma Gandhi moved the Resolution of Basic Education at Wardha, which provided the foundation for 'National Policy of Free and Compulsory Primary Education for all the children between 6 and 14 years of age'.

h. *Primary Education under Provincial Autonomy:* In 1937, Provincial autonomy was granted. Popular Congress Ministries came into power in six major Provinces of India. Basic Education of Gandhiji was given a fair trial in these provinces. But provincial autonomy had hardly been in operation for nearly two years when Second World War broke and shattered all plans. The Congress Ministries were constrained to resign and struggle for independence, started with a great zeal and enthusiasm. As a result, primary education got a severe set-back.

i. *Primary Education under Sargent Plan:* In 1937, Central Advisory Board of Education (CABE) submitted a *'Postwar Plan of Educational Development in India',* known as 'Sargent Plan'. It recommended universal, free and compulsory education for all boys and girls between 6 to 14 years of age on basic education lines over a period of 40 years (1944 to 1984). The nationalist opinion did not accept this long period. The Linlithgow Commission disapproved the compulsion for primary education after review of the Sargent report. In addition, Sir Philip Hartog warned against immediate compulsion in the following words "Whatever laws may be passed, there must be educational mass conversion before mass compulsion can become effective". When Sargent plan was still under consideration, came the 'Partition of India' and Indian Independence Act of 1947.

j. *B. G Kher Committee-1944:* The B. G. Kher Committee proposed that the Education For All (EFA) goal could and should be achieved in a period of 16 years (1944 to 1960). It was this recommendation that was eventually incorporated, in the Constitution of India, as a Directive Principle of State Policy (Article 45).

IV. Historical Background of Fundamental Right to Education

Since primary education is considered as a right, there is a need for understanding its legal evolution and progress. Some basic rights like personal freedom, protection of life etc, were derived from the British principles of jurisprudence. These rights as well as some others like non-discrimination in jobs on the basis of religion, place of birth, etc. had been given statutory power in the Government of India (GOI) Act of 1935. These safeguards could be abrogated by Legislative Authority in India or by the British Parliament and were not justiciable. Even after the transfer of power, the position regarding these rights had not significantly changed. Sir Benegal Narasimha (B.N) Rau, a great legal expert, had stated in December 1947 in his 'Report on Human Rights' that,

"With a few exceptions, human rights in India today (31 December 1947) are not guaranteed by the Constitution but embodied in the ordinary law of the land."

The inclusion of a set of Fundamental Rights in the Constitution in India had its genesis in the forces that operated in the national struggle during British rule. As more people plunged into the freedom struggle after the First World War, there were demands for a constitutional guarantee of Fundamental Rights. In order to ensure that these rights were properly enforced, there was a demand that these rights would not be open to repeal and would be justiciable; in other words, these could be challenged in a court of law, in case there was any breach in their implementation.

After the publication of the Montagu-Chelmsford Report in 1918, the Indian National Congress (INC) demanded that the new Government of India (GOI) Act should include a 'Declaration of Rights of People of India', which would include, among other things, *equality before law, protection in respect of liberty, life and property, freedom of speech etc. There was also a demand by eminent persons that education should also be included as a Fundamental Right of Indians.* The list of the Fundamental Rights in the Constitution of the Irish Free State in 1921 also influenced the demand of fundamental rights for Indians. The Commonwealth of India Bill, finalized by the National Convention in 1925, emphasized the following declaration of Rights, which were almost identical to those enshrined in the Irish Constitution, viz.,

- Liberty of Person and Security of his Property,
- Freedom of Conscience,
- Free Expression of Opinion and Right of Assembly,
- Free Elementary Education,
- Equality of Law,
- Equality by Gender, etc.

The All-Party Conference of 1928 also adopted the provision of free elementary education to all citizens as one of the fundamental rights. It was stressed that care should have to be taken that the fundamental rights are guaranteed in such a manner as would not permit their withdrawal under any circumstances.

The Congress session held in Karachi, in March 1931, adopted the Resolution on Fundamental Rights and Economic Programme as well as stressed that this would have a vital bearing in shaping independent India's Constitution. It also enlisted various Fundamental Rights and Duties. On education, the Karachi Resolution explicitly stated:

"The State shall provide for free and compulsory education. "

Mention may also be made of the fact that the division of rights to be incorporated in our Constitution between justiciable and non-justiciable rights was made for the first time by the Sapru Committee Report of 1944-45. Sir Benegal Narasimha Rau also wanted such a distinction to be maintained. In Sir Benegal Narasimha Rau's words:

> *"There are certain rights, which require positive action by the State, and which can be guaranteed only so far as such action is practicable, while others merely require that the State shall abstain from prejudicial action. Typical of the former is the right to work which cannot be guaranteed further than by requiring that the State direct its policy towards securing that the citizens may, through their occupations, find the men of making reasonable provision for their domestic needs; typical of the latter is the right which requires that, 'the State shall not deprive any citizen of his liberty without due process of law.' It is obvious that the Rights of the first type are not normally suitable for enforcement by legal action while those of the second type may be so enforced".*

The Cabinet Mission's Statement of 16 May 1946 had laid down that an Advisory Committee should be constituted to determine the Fundamental Rights of citizens. Accordingly, an Advisory Committee was set up in January 1947 to finalize fundamental rights so that they could be placed for consideration of the Constituent Assembly. This Advisory Committee set up a 'Sub-Committee,' before which K.M. Munshi submitted a Note and Draft Articles on 17 March 1947. Among the Draft Articles, K. M. Munshi submitted, the following Article-VIII is on Right to Education:

> *"Every Citizen is entitled to have free primary education and it shall be legally incumbent upon every unit of the Union to introduce free and compulsory primary education upto age 14 and in case of adults upto the standard of literacy. The duration, limits, and method of primary education shall be fixed by law".*

Some Members of the Sub-Committee initially opposed the idea of non-justiciable rights in the Constitution. They saw little use if these noble ideals or precepts were not enforceable. K. M. Munshi expressed his opposition to this idea in no uncertain terms: *"General precepts which might be considered less than necessary by an advanced thinker on socialist lines would not be looked at, much less understood or applied in some parts of the country, where feudal notions were deeply engrained..."*

On 27 March 1947, the Sub-Committee discussed various proposals submitted by its Members. There was discussion on the above clauses of the proposal submitted by K. M. Munshi and some Members felt that the right to primary education could not be a justiciable fundamental right. However, the majority opinion was that it should be included among justiciable rights with the understanding that the State shall provide free education to all children within a period of ten years.

Accordingly, clauses (1) and (2) of the Article VIII, were finalized as follows:

> *"Every Citizen is entitled as of right to free primary education and it shall be incumbent on every unit of the Union to provide within a period of ten years from*

the commencement of this Constitution for free and compulsory primary education for all children until they complete the age of 14 years".

Ultimately, on 16 April 1947, the Sub-Committee on Fundamental Rights appointed by the Advisory Committee submitted its final report, wherein the right to education was given in Clause 23, which stated:

"Every Citizen is entitled as of right to free primary education and it shall be the duty of the State to provide within a period of ten years from the commencement of this Constitution for free and compulsory primary education for all children until they complete the age of 14years".

It is interesting to go through the proceedings of the meeting of the' Advisory Committee held on 21 April 1947. Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel chaired the meeting with Govind Ballabh Pant, Alladi Krishnaswami Ayyar, and M. Ruthnaswami as Members who participated in the debate. The proceedings of the meeting are given below:

The Secretary read out the text of Clause 23.

M. Ruthnaswami. Is this a justiciable right? Supposing the government has no money?

Alladi Krishnaswami Ayyar. I want the deletion of this clause.

Govind Ballabh Pant. I suggest that this clause be transferred to Part 2. It cannot be justiciable. No court can possibly adjudicate.

The Chairman **Vallabhbhai Patel** agreed and passed on to the next clause.

The proceedings were brief. Had collective wisdom and foresight prevailed upon Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel, and Members of the Advisory Committee to make this a Fundamental Right, the condition and status of education could have been significantly different in India today. These proceedings led to inclusion of Article 45, under Directive Principles of the State Policy (Non-Justiciable fundamental rights) in Indian Constitution.

IV. Constituent Assembly Debates

The Constituent Assembly was constituted to frame the Constitution of India. The Constituent Assembly, which had been elected for undivided India, worked as the Sovereign Constituent Assembly for India. The consideration of the Draft Constitution was completed with a few sessions and in its final form, it contained 395 Articles and 9 Schedules. It was submitted to the President of the Assembly on November 3, 1949 and was adopted on 26th November 1949. The Constituent Assembly took two years, 11 months and 18 days to complete its task of drawing up free India's first Constitution. The Constituent Assembly debates are summarized below which provide philosophico-legal foundations for free and compulsory primary education.

a. *Debates on Article 45 of the Constitution of India:* The debates on this Article reveal that Article 45 as it was originally conceived was a *'directive principle combined with fundamental right'*. This hidden truth was, with clarity of thought, understood by Hon'ble Supreme Court of India, in 1993, when it combined Article 45 a Directive Principle of State Policy with Article 21, a Fundamental Right. Article-45 was intended to give free primary education in the mother tongue of any race that has a language and a script of its own. It is evident from the debates that the contemplation of the Constituent Assembly was not to make every Province (State) with all the people of one language. It is also clear from the debates that the compulsory and free education period was upto 14 years starting from the birth of the child.

b. *Debates on Article 40 of the Constitution of India:* The debates on Article 40 are related to the implementation aspect of Directive Principles of State Policy by the 'State', even though no Court of Law can enforce these ideals. The portions of the debates made by Prof. K.T. Shah and Prof. S.L. Saksena, related to education, are excerpted below;

"Many things look impracticable until they are tried, and become practicable if they are tried. Nothing in practice is practicable until it is tried. Take even the elementary right to education, which every civilized Government is now undertaking to provide for the children of the nation. Even this right to compulsory primary education has been provided for in such a clumsy, half-hearted and hesitating manner that one wonders whether the framers of this draft were at all anxious that the curse of ignorance that has rested upon us all these years should be removed at all. The provision made here just permits the State, even within the period of ten years, only to 'endeavour' to give effect to this aspiration. Even there it is not compulsory, even such an elementary right as the right to primary education for every child in the nation is not mandatory. As such unless some change is made, unless these pre-emptory obligations are made mandatory duties of the State, the State or the constituent parts of it may not at all attend to these duties of the State".

"The late Gopal Krishna Gokhale, first brought forward the Bill for compulsory primary education, the then officials of the then Government of India gave all sorts of reasons why such a step was simply impracticable. One of the arguments was that *an expenditure of three crores spread over ten years,* that is, rupees thirty lakhs per annum, was too heavy a burden for the Government of India's finances at that time to bear. But within four years of that, however, they were wasting not three crores but more than thirty crores over the war in which we had no concern and about which we were not consulted".

According to Prof. Shibban Lai Saksena, this chapter should have some sort of binding force and he gave notice of an amendment, which says, "After a period of ten years, these Directive Principles of State Policy shall become the Fundamental Rights of the People and shall be enforceable by any Court". After a very careful consideration of the various Articles in this Chapter, Prof. Shibban Lai Saksena felt that it would not be proper to lay down such a tall order. In fact, the Drafting

Committee has itself laid down a period often years for Compulsory Education upto 14 years of age and three years for separation of Executive from Judiciary and some such other things. So something has been done in this direction. What Prof. Shibban Lai Saksena really wanted was that these Directive Principles in this chapter should not merely remain a pious wish. Prof. K.T. Shah also wanted that these fundamental principles should guide the state in their legislation. The responsibility of implementation of these principles was entrusted to the collective wisdom of the Union and State Legislatures.

c. *Debates on Article 41:* It is clear from Constituent Assembly Debates that even though Right to Education is specifically mentioned in Article 41, no emphasis was supplied on right to education.

d. *Debates on Article 21:* The learned debates made by the Members of the Constituent Assembly reveal sharp and pointed arguments advanced concerning Article 21. Through the instrumentality of this Article 21, which is, the most fundamental of the fundamental rights without which all other rights will be meaningless, the Constitution of India has guaranteed to individual *inalienable rights* in such a way that the political parties that come into power cannot extend their jurisdiction in curtailing and invading the Fundamental Rights. The wishes of the founding fathers of the Constitution were that the Courts of Law might be authorized to go into the question of the substantive law as well as procedural law. When a Statute is enacted, the courts will have the right to go into the question whether a particular law enacted by Parliament is just or not, is good or not, it protects the liberties of the people or not. If the Supreme Court comes to the conclusion and holds that the statute (law) is unconstitutional then that law will not have any further effect.

This Article 21 was considered as a bedrock of our liberties and a *Magna Carta.* It was the faith of the Makers of the Constitution that, the courts are the ultimate refuge (Palladium of Justice) of the citizens for the vindication of their rights and liberties. The people were made secure under the protecting wings of the Courts, if the Legislature is carried away by party spirit, panicky and the tyranny of the Executive. This Article 21 guarantees a procedure, which should be in accordance with law and should be *just and appealable to the civilized conscience of the community.* It is hoped that, in the interpretation of this Article, our Supreme Court will mould the interpretation to suit the conditions of India and the progress and well-being of India. It was hoped that the judges move with the time, and will recognize the limits of individual liberty as well as the necessities of the 'State' and interpret it in such a way as to ensure individual liberty of man.

This Article 21 is a challenge to the two wings of Government viz., the Judiciary and the Legislature to act with wisdom in consonance with the principle of Checks and Balances. The challenge is whether to trust the Legislature, which is the conscious and collective will of the public and the Judiciary, which is made up of five or six gentlemen jurists sitting as Court. Both the Legislature and the Judiciary are likelv to err. The Legislature is likely to err by passion and party prejudice in legislating,

while the Judiciary is likely to err by dint of judges' own individual conscience or bias or prejudices in judging the law as good or bad.

The Parliament (Legislature) and the Court (Judiciary) both are human institutions and are not infallible. In Indian open and democratic society, all public institutions including the Parliament and the Judiciary are subject to fair, impartial and robust criticism. This constitutes a democratic check in the public interest on legal institutions, which exercise public power. However, one should be careful since Courts have contempt power. Democracy is nothing but a rule of law. When the Parliament and Courts cannot function properly, the rule of law will die. Therefore, this Article 21 is inserted in the Constitution to uphold the rule of law by the Courts, the ultimate guardian of the fundamental rights.

VI. Constitutional Provisions for Free and Compulsory Primary Education

Our Constitution is a product of rigorous thought and reflection by some of the finest minds of the time, who laid down the basic philosophical and legal principles, governing the public life of the independent India. On January 26, 1950, *We the People of India'* gave to ourselves a fine historical document called the Indian Constitution and found a civic constitutional order

The Constitution is a body of fundamental rules, which determine how a nation would be governed. These rules provide the framework to which ordinary laws of the country must conform. The absence of a Constitution will leave governance to the whims and fancies of the rulers. Constitutional law is the rule, which regulates the structure of the principal organs of the Government and their relationship to each other, and determines their functions. The major Constitutional provisions now concerning primary education are Articles 21, 23, 41, 45, and 51.

VII. Five Year Plans and Universalization of Elementary Education (UEE)

It is clear from the excerpts on UEE of Nine Five Year Plans of India, that the country has used the great art of planning for achievement of total elementary education. Justice V.R. Krishna Iyer, former Judge of Hon'ble Supreme Court of India, after judicious study, made the following observation, which critically interprets the progress of primary education under five year plans:

"The most precious developmental asset of any nation is its human resource, not its raw materials, nor its technology minus man. If the quality of the human being is the measure of progress, education must be the focus. The dialectic of educational India, however, tells that the number of illiterates and consequently, the number of the uneducated is increasing year by year. How, then, shall we conquer this menace of mental and moral darkness spreading across the nations? The answer obviously is a planned attack on the expanding empire of illiteracy and educational backwardness. A planned effort to meet the challenges of development has been made during several decades now but we have not made much headway. Inevitably, the issue arises as to

whether we should not do a social audit of our planning experience in education, draw conclusions therefrom and redesign our policy of engineering the nation towards complete educational justice to the country as a whole. We have not learned from the shortcomings experienced in planning in the past.

The Planning Commission in its Five Year Plan Reports has been repeating the same slogans and never learning from the failures, which have overpowered the country in its adventure towards total primary education. If you take any Five Year Plan report you will find the same ideas, even the same phrases. Words, words, words, but no deeds, which upgrade educational status of the masses. The usual apologies for shortfalls in enrolment at the school age, the same grievance that the girls have not come into the school range as expected and the humiliation that the largest number of illiterates in the world are still in India. This sorry state of things must change. We cannot drift but have a plan, a policy, projects and periodic monitoring by sensitive official and non-official catalysts.

The conditions, which disable the young to come and continue at school are poverty, ill health, child-labour and tendency for drop-out. Nearly five crores of children labour to make a living. Several lakhs of juveniles are destitutes or delinquents. What is happening is that the common masses are marginalized and glittering schemes, elitist in their soul, are sold. Novadaya schools or Doon schools, one in each district? What we need is Antyodaya School, one in each village. Currently villages without schools, schools without teachers, buildings without roofs, classrooms without blackboards, hungry child-labour making for drop-outs at a high rate, these and other unhappy rural realities are the syndrome of educational untouchability.

Another fatal error relates to the private sector. Privatization of education is writ large in the Approach Paper. Everyone knows that it is beyond the means of middle class to secure admission in the Nursery/Primary schools run by various agencies. Instead of tackling these challenges to democratic access to education posed by private agencies in the field, we indulge in platitudes, homilies and starry statements. The state retreats from its obligation to offer free and compulsory education and runs away from controlling the black marketing features of education with the result that the ghastly spectacle of capitation, exploitation and student frustration, not the golden vistas of socialist hope and secular culture, are what we see all around. *Verbal abundance about what needs to be done is obviously available. But by your actions you are judged, be your words what may be.*

The best critique of our poverty of performance is the fact that the priority assigned to education in the percentage of allotment in the annual budget is going steadily downward. With all these flaws, it is heartening that education is receiving national noises, even high-level attention, with educationists producing alternatives.

The country, as a whole, has used the great art of planning for achievement of total elementary education. However, it is very clear that, after implementation of nine five-year plans, the country has some 42 million children who do not attend school. A substantial number of them form the child labour force by 2010. The ongoing population

explosion will significantly add to their numbers. There is a clear need for changing the contents and methodology of planning to ensure UEE by a fixed time frame. "

The above observation of Justice Iyer is corroborated by the review of India's development performance during the years 1950 to 1990, following the IMF's Structural Adjustment Policy based New Economic Policy of 1991. Review after review has noted that one of the factors responsible for India's poor performance in development, as compared to Asian Tigers, has been the low priority accorded to primary education (cf Jugadish Bhagavati, India in Transition, 1993).

The views of justice Iyer and Bhagavati clearly expose the half-hearted, non-serious, targeting elusive goals without charting a workable strategy to achieve them, non-allocation of required resources etc., for UEE. However, in 1990s, micro planning has taken precedence over macro policy and planning in achieving UEE. In the late 1980s through planned decentralization, attempts were made for shifting focus from educationally backward states to educationally backward districts, and the government emphasized participative planning.

The factors such as the lack of political will, popular programmes aimed at elections, yielding to vested interests, arbitrary implementation strategies, high non-plan expenditures, the belief that things would straighten out by themselves, etc. are responsible for cumulative backlog in UEE.

VIII. Schemes and Programmes Launched for UEE

No major scheme or programme for UEE was launched during the constitutionally mandated period of 26* January 1950 to 25th January 1960. The conceptualization of schemes and programmes is a later phenomenon starting from 80s of the 20th century. It may also be noted that no systematic and comprehensive nationwide surveys for universalization of elementary education and survey based financial estimates for UEE were made. Schemes and programmes were launched without a clear time-frame for achievement of the targets set. The schemes and programmes were more focused on the periphery of the school system rather than the nucleus. No scheme has its main focus to make school as a magnetic (attractive) force to child and creating of joy in learning. Majority of the schemes are aimed at the quantitative/infrastructural expansion rather than qualitative learning improvement. Now, a very ambitious *Sarva Shiksha Abhiyan* (Education For All Movement) has been launched for achieving UEE by 2010.

IX. National Policy on Education (NPE), 1986/1992

Through the adoption of the NPE-1986, the Parliament of India seized historical moments to give direction to an age-old process of education. NPE-1986 conceived a National System of Education, which implied, upto a given level, all students, irrespective of caste, creed, location or sex, have access to education of a comparable quality. The NPE-1986 and the Programme of Action (POA)-1992 advocated a dual track approach that aimed at simultaneous promotion of adult literacy and primary education.

NPE-1986 stated that *"By 1995 all children will be provided free and compulsory education upto 14 years of age. The main task is to strengthen the base of the pyramid, which might come close to a billion people at the turn of the century"*. Dreze abd Sen (1995) faulted the NPE-1986/ POA-1992 for targeting elusive goals without charting a workable strategy to achieve them or not allocating the necessary resources. These policies are devised without thinking too much about their practical implementation. The NPE-1986, in its history of 17 years, was only once reviewed. Now, there is a necessity to review the NPE-1986 by a Joint Parliamentary Committee (JPC) with widest possible consultation.

X. Recommendations of Committees and Commissions for U E E

The Government of India appointed from time to time various Commissions and Committees on Education to probe into the aspects of various levels and aspects of education system and make recommendations. The UEE in India has remained an immobile colossus. As maladies of primary education have been investigated by an almost unending chain of Commissions, Committees, Working Groups and Task Forces, which have produced a series of weighty reports embodying their recipes for reforms and their panaceas for progress. It is clear from the recommendations, policies frame and programme of action for UEE that huge quantum of wisdom was invested for framing action points for UEE. Majority of the recommendations were implemented through Annual or Five Year Plans in the form of schemes and programmes. However, certain, corner-stone recommendations for UEE were not implemented. They are:

a. Provision of adequate and timely funds to Education for All (EFA).
b. Making Fundamental Right to Education.
c. Provision of Compulsory Early Childhood Care and Education (ECCE) to children in the age group of birth to 6 years.

XI. Legislations (Acts) Enacted by the State Governments for U E E

Although Article 45 is not justiciable, various State Governments have enacted state laws making primary education compulsory. It may be noted that when our Constitution was adopted, education was a State subject. It was only in 1976 that the subject was transferred to the Concurrent List. The Central Government has not enacted a Law (Act) governing primary education from 1976 to till date (December 12, 2002). In case the State laws differed from the central laws, latter will prevail. In all, 16 Acts were enacted for enforcement of primary education by different State Governments, which are listed in Table 1.

TABLE 1

Primary Education Acts Enacted by the State Governments in India

S.No	*State/Union Territory*	*Act*	*Year*
1	Bihar	Primary Education Act	1919
2	Tamilnadu	i. Elementary Education Act	1920
		ii. Compulsory Primary Education Act	1969
3	West Bengal	i. Rural Primary Education Act	1930
		ii. Urban Primary Education Act	1963
		iii. Primary Education Act	1973
4	Maharashtra	Primary Education Act	1947
5	Gujarat	Primary Education Act	1947
6	Orissa	Basic Education Act	1951
7	Andhra Pradesh	Compulsory Primary Education Act	1952
8	Uttar Pradesh	Primary Education Act	1956
9	Rajasthan	Primary Education Act	1960
10	Karnataka	Compulsory Primary Education Act	1969
11	Arunachal Pradesh	Elementary Education Act	1974
12	Kerala	Primary Education Act	1976
13	Daman and Diu	School Education Act	1987

It is clear from the Table that out of sixteen (16) Acts, five (5) Acts were enacted before 1950, four (4) Acts during the constitutionally mandated period of 1950 to 1960 and the remaining seven (7) Acts after 1960. The enactment of 16 Acts shows that enough effort was done in creating legal system for regulation of primary education.

It is notable that in some states, parents/guardians were made accountable to ensure the provision of educational opportunities. It was noted that between 1951 and 1971 under the State Compulsory Education Acts in force, around 17 lakhs parents were prosecuted/ harassed by local officialdom. However, there is also an argument that state control and regulation of children or parents in any form is an antithesis to democracy. Hence, the state has no power to compel parents' behaviour.

XII. International/United Nations Declarations and U E E

According to Universal Declaration of Human Rights (UDHR) 1948, Section 26 (1), the *'Right to education is the universal human right' India* is duty bound to ensure the right to education, since Government of India has Constitutionally validated the Universal Declaration of Human Rights (UDHR). The Universal Declaration of Human Rights (UDHR) and Convention on the Rights of Children, International Covenants on Economic, Social, Cultural, Civil and Political Rights, which are ratified by the Government of India have created fundamental human right to free and compulsory education. Now it is upto the 'State' to ensure this human right. The violation of right to education invokes judicial action from the National Human Rights Commission (NHRC) under National Human Rights Act 1993, which is enacted by the Parliament of India and

notified for enforcement by the Government of India. In addition, in respect of children's rights, right number xi, reads as *"the right to education with states making primary education compulsory and free".* All other rights are supplementary and complementary to right to education, in general, and compulsory and free education, in particular. These rights are legally enforceable in India.

These International declarations are instrumental in drawing the international attention and resources for UEE. As a sequel to these declarations, UNO, World Bank, UNESCO, UNICEF, UNDP, ADB, Ford Foundation etc. are active in the field of elementary education. Comparative studies concerning the scenario of primary education in different countries of the world, were taken up. The research studies have noted that many countries of the world such as China, Sri Lanka, Japan, South Korea and Indonesia, which had a similar education record as India had in 1950, have achieved UEE. The studies also came out with practicable tips to be emulated by India for UEE. The annual exercise of publication of Human Development Index (HDI) based Human Development Report (HDR) of UNDP indicates the educational level of all the countries of the world as well as relative standing in the comity of nations. As a sequel to HDR of UNDP, Planning Commission of India as well as several state governments have published sub-national and sub-state reports on human development.

XIII. Child Labour and UEE

Child labour includes performing work that is 'harmful to the physical and/or mental health, safety, growth and development of the child upto a minimum of 14 years of age. The Government of India and the State Governments are making efforts to curb the menace of child labour, which is a direct threat to UEE. All the three wings of the 'State' namely the Legislature, the Executive, and the Judiciary have acted for eradication of child labour. The major steps taken by the three wings of the 'State' are:

a. *Legislature:* The Parliament of India enacted the Child Labour (Prohibition and Regulation) Act, 1986 and has approved National Policy on Child Labour. The main objectives of the policy are: legislative, educational and health services to child labour and awareness among the people. Parliament has also ratified the International Labour Organizations (ILO) Conventions.
b. *Judiciary:* The Supreme Court of India delivered a Judgement on 10th December 1986 in Writ Petition (Civil) No. 465/1986 giving directions to the Government for time-bound action against child labour.
c. *Executive:* The Bureaucracy has initiated steps for survey of working children and implementation of the decisions of both the Parliament and Supreme Court of India.

XIV. Non Governmental Organizations Views on U E E

The National Alliance for Fundamental Right to Education (NAFRE) is a federation of more than 2,400 NGO's in India. The NAFRE has opined that the creation of political will for UEE is in the hands of voters. Hence, the voters (citizens) must compel the political parties to include UEE for children within the age range of 3 to 18 years, in their *•Election Manifestoes'.* It is clear from the views of NAFRE that privatization of schools, making parents accountable for the schooling of their children and alternative schooling is not the effective means for UEE. The creation of political will for UEE is in the hands of voters, which brings a bureaucratic drive. Adequate budgetary allocation covering the age range birth to 18 is a necessary condition for UEE.

XV. Judgement of the Supreme Court in Unnikrishnnan, J.P. Vs. State of Andhra Pradesh and others Case

It is clear from the excerpts of the descriptive and operative part of the Hon'ble Supreme Court of India's judgement in this case, that the Hon'ble Supreme Court using its *'public power'* under Article 32 of the Constitution of India and its jurisprudential wisdom, had harmoniously combined interpretation of the Preamble, Fundamental Rights and Directive Principles of State Policy of the Constitution of India. The Supreme Court has held that the Fundamental Rights are the means to the end of Directive Principles of State Policy.

The pious wishes of the founding fathers of the Constitution, which are hidden in Article 41, 45, and 21 in the form of potential (static) energy are made a kinetic (dynamic) energy by the Hon'ble Supreme Court by its judicial wisdom and interpretation. The Hon'ble Supreme Court after making a Himalayan effort has constructed the Fundamental Right to Education within the ambit of Article 21. The Supreme Court has rendered its operative judgement in the following clear words and has decreed the right to education:

> *"The citizens of this country have a fundamental right to education. The said right flows from Article 21. This right is, however, not an absolute right. Its content and parameters have to be determined in the light of Articles 45 and 41. In other words, every child/citizen of this country has a right to free education until he completes the age of fourteen years. Therefore his right to education is subject to the limits of economic capacity and development of the state ". In fact, with this order, the Supreme Court of India declared that primary education is a fundamental right, which is justiciable".*

XVI. National Commission for Review of Working of Constitution (NCRWC) and UEE

The Government of India vide a Gazette Notification on 23rd February 2000 constituted the NCRWC with former Chief Justice of the Supreme Court M.N. Venkatachaliah as its

chairman. The NCRWC was constituted to review the Constitution of India, in the light of more than 50 years of its working. The NCRWC has traced the historical background of the challenge of Education For All (EFA) in India and opined that in setting high targets, the Constituent Assembly and Parliament reiterated their commitments to the *Ideal* of EFA and expressed their *firm belief that* education is a basic right which cannot be denied to any. The NCRWC has pointed out that if the goals are unrealistic and unachievable, they do not lead to required quantum of motivation and resource mobilization. The right approach, therefore, is to set realistic targets - realistic not to be defined as easily achievable, but as achievable, with conceivable maximum input of meticulous planning and resources - financial as well as human. The NCRWC has also pointed out that the current educational system in India operates in an altogether different context from the classic past.

XVII. Parliamentary Legislation on Fundamental Right to Elementary Education (93rd Amendment of the Constitution)

The Government of India after the Supreme Court judgments in the Cases of Unnikrishnan, J.P.(1993) and Anand, S.P. (1998), etc., has taken several actions such as; (i) Constitution of Muhi Ram Saikia Committee (1997), (ii) Introduction of 83rd Constitution Amendment Bill, (iii) Reference of 83rd Amendment Bill by the Parliamentary Standing Committee, (iv) Constitution of Professor Tapas Majumdar Committee (1999), (v) Reference of the Bill by the Law Commission (vi) Examination of the Bill by other Ministries of Government of India and (vii) Introduction of the 93rd Constitution amendment Bill. The Lok-Sabha and Rajya Sabha have now passed the Bill and the Bill has received the, assent of the President of India and awaits Notification by the Government of India. The 93rd amendment to the Constitution *inter-alia* requires promulgation of Law (Act) to determine the manner for free and compulsory education for all children of the age of 6 to 14 years. The citizenry has an active role of putting positive pressure on the 'State' to determine the manner, quality and effectiveness of free and compulsory elementary education which is based on high norms and standards and appealable to the civilized conscience of the community.

The 93rd Amendment to the Constitution of India, which splits Article 45 and makes, Article 21 (A) under Fundamental Rights, modified Article 45 under Directive Principles of State Policy and adds Article 51 (A)(K) to the Fundamental Duties. The complete structure of 93rd amendment to Constitution is as follows:

a. *Article 45:* "The state shall endeavour to provide early childhood care and education for all children until they complete the age of six years".
b. *Article 21 (A):* "The state shall provide free and compulsory education for all children of the age of 6 to 14 years in such manner as the state may, by law, determine".
c. *Article 51 (A)(K):* "Parent/ guardian to provide opportunities for education to his child or ward between the age of 6 and 14 years".

The 93rd amendment to Constitution is a clear case of establishing Sovereignty of the Parliament over Supremacy of the Supreme Court. It is very clear from 93rd Amendment to the Constitution, that the education of the child from his/ her birth to six years is a Directive Principle of the State Policy and education of the child from 6 to 14 years is the joint responsibility of the Government and the Parent/ Guardian. As it stands now, the 93rd Amendment to the Constitution amounts to withdrawal of the existing rights to education made available to children by the Hon'ble Supreme Court. By excluding the 'upto six years age group', the amendment annuls the commitment made by the original Article 45. It also backtracks on the Supreme Court's 1993 Unnikrishnan Judgement. The amendment may not provide for ensuring equitable education for all strata of children. Instead, it says education will be provided 'in such a manner as the state shall, by law, determine'. The Government may thus set up through law, parallel and cheaper schooling options to fulfil its Constitutional obligations. Hence, it may be safely said that this is a flaw in the law. The Government of India is now required to enact a law to determine the manner of providing free and compulsory elementary education.

i. *The snatchers of the right to education:* Education is like Aladin's Lamp to human beings. Education is a facility based on scarce resources. Throughout the human history, until the 18th century, some people have succeeded in taking more benefits from the educational facilities than others. Some thrive by snatching the rights and privileges of others. It was a story of class education rather than mass education. Glaring differences exist between individuals, groups, societies and countries due to education. Some people have monopolized education and others are deprived of it. The consent for mass education has been an 18th century onwards development as a consequence to scientific and technological advancements, renaissance, revolutions, market economy, human rights movements, rule of law, international civic order, democracy, and decentralization of power. It is sometimes noticed as a tendency of the deprived, as Paulo Friere in Pedagogy of the Oppressed pointed out, to "adopt an attitude of 'adherents' to the oppressor". That is actually a tendency of the educated elite to join the league of the oppressors. Just as it is important to let no one snatch the right of education, it is equally important that these 'oppressors' do not indulge, consciously or unconsciously, in subverting this crucial right to humanization.

ii. *Incomplete Schools and Costs of Education:* The findings of the Public Report on Basic Education (PROBE) brought out in 1999 by the Delhi School of Economics and the Indian Social Institute based on the survey of Schooling facilities and costs in 188 villages of Bihar, Madhya Pradesh, Rajasthan and Uttar Pradesh (BIMARU) states reveal that:

a. Fifty years into independence, still 6.3 crore India's children are out of school.
b. If present trend of UEE continues, India is 50 years away from reaching the goal.

c. Despite claims, primary education is not free. To begin with, education is expensive. The parents spend about Rs. 366 per annum (see Table02) to send a child to a Government Primary School.

TABLE 2
What it Costs to Educate a Child?

S.No.	*Items of expenditure*	*Rupees per Annum*
1.	Fees	020
2.	Text Book and Stationery	112
3.	Uniforms/ Clothing	175
4.	Private Tuitions	033
5.	Other expenses	026
Total		366

This is a burden for millions of poor families with several children of school going age. For an average agricultural labour, sending two children to primary school, would mean 30 to 40 day's wage.

d. The mean period of schooling (period spent in the school) in India is about 2.2 years, the Chinese spend five years, the Sri Lankans over 7 years and the South Koreans nine years.
e. In 1991, the illiterate population was 49.18 crore, the number of illiterates in India is larger than the total population of the country 40 years ago. The progress achieved has been neutralized by population growth.
f. The physical infrastructure is woefully inadequate. If all children were in school, buildings would burst at the seams. In addition, the school building is abused for non-education purposes. Few classrooms, furnitures and leaking roofs make it difficult to hold classes, especially during the rains.
g. The total amount of teacher time per child is on an average just around one hour per month. The active teaching time is very less and distribution of teachers among schools is highly uneven. Another problem is the single teacher school. Even two or multi-teacher schools work as single teacher schools, due to the leave/ absence of other teachers. Schools are glorified child detention centres.
h. Many children were unable to read and write even after several years of schooling. The reasons were: late arrival and early departure of teachers, undeclared holidays due to French leaves, maximum spending of time in controlling children rather than teaching, non-availability and use of teaching aids, more than teaching beating children, drop-out due to frightening away from school by violent teachers, and humiliation of the promising children.

These findings explain sufficiently, the impediments to UEE. In addition, parents either do not send or withdraw their children from schools because of the actual and

opportunity costs of schooling. To supplement the household expenses, children have entered juvenile labour force. Conservative estimates suggest that about 14 million children are engaged in paid employment.

HI. *Corruption in Extending the Benefits of Education:* The major hurdle in the success of education is the corruption, perpetuated by both the white-collar and blue-collar people. The educational resources, right from in small purchases to big purchases have been misused. The oppressed people cannot even raise their voice against these opaque deals. Because of their corruption, the quantity and quality of elementary education has gone down in India. Corruption has resulted in ill-equipped and ill-managed schools, which are more a bane than boon to the children. Corruption has been eating into the vitals of education system in India, where so much less is spent on education with distorted priorities.

iv. *Access Verses Success in Education:* One of the first hurdles in making education available is the issue of access to educational institutions. Access involves two key concepts - physical and socio-linguistic access. The location of a school, its sociological climate and the language of the school influence accessibility. In many areas there are no approach roads connecting the home to the school. The less privileged children have to walk down the difficult terrains to reach the school, which definitely causes fatigue and affect their regularity, punctuality and achievement.

The social accessibility also affects the success of primary education. The norms and processes of schools, the dress code of the school do not normally match the social norms and processes of the less privileged children. These less-privileged children feel out of place in schools and suffer physical and mental agonies. They cannot concentrate, and hence, poverty denies them their human right to education. Some privileged children do not find any difference between the behavioural and linguistic norms between their family and school. Their total energy and concentration is devoted to learning activities. Hence, there is a difference between the quality of learning between the privileged and the less privileged.

The unequal quality of education will give birth to unequal competition and, as a consequence, inequality in society. Only when education of equal quality is extended, there can be real competition and equal distribution of facilities and privileges. Those who have learnt in good schools and by competent teachers will naturally be better educated and so become successful. On the contrary, those who attend poor schools fail to acquire proper education and so they lag behind. Those who are declared successful in schools go for higher education and in turn become eligible for all socio-economic privileges and benefits. In addition, the quality of higher education depends on the quality of the school education. Higher education cannot do miracles if the school education is ordinary/mediocre.

After a discussion of the causes for failure in achieving UEE, concrete recommendations in favour of UEE, based on insights, are presented below:

Recommendations for full-scale realization of fundamental right to free and compulsory elementary education: The Himalayan task of providing free and compulsory elementary education to all children of India from their date of birth to fourteen years as a matter of fundamental human right can be achieved through sincere, committed, honest and whole-hearted endeavour of the 'State' and the non-governmental sector. Today, elementary Education for All is considered as a Minimum Needs Programme (MNR) and Universal Basic Service (UBS) and has been almost constitutionally given the status of a fundamental right.

In the light of the present macro-level detailed study on the issue of fundamental human right to free and compulsory elementary education the following recommendations may prove to be viable.

A. Recommendation to the Government of India

i. The Government of India should firmly resolve to implement the Constitutional directives contained in Article 21 and 45. The Government should bring amendment to the Constitution to provide fundamental right to education to every child in India, from the date of birth till he/she attains the age of fourteen, without any deviations and dilutions.

ii. The Government of India through its instrumentalities of National Development Council (NDC), National Planning Commission, Central Advisory Board of Education (CABE) and National Finance Commission should make honest and whole-hearted efforts to make a fool-proof, comprehensive and time-bound plan for UEE and outlay 8 per cent of the Gross Domestic Product (GDP) to education without fail.

B. Recommendations to the State Governments

i. The State Governments should enact Free and Compulsory Primary Education Acts after threadbare and serious discussion on the issue of UEE inside and outside the legislatures, based on the socio-economic realities of parents of the children in the age range of birth to fourteen years.

ii. The State Government through their instrumentalities of State Planning Boards, Local Self Governments such as Zilla/ Taluka/ Grama Panchayats and Urban Local Bodies like Corporations, Municipal Council and Town Panchayats should make scientific and strategic plans for time-bound realization of total primary education and reserve 8 per cent of state budget outlay for education without fail.

C. Recommendations to the Citizens/NGO's

i. The State's commitment to outlay the required amount of financial resources is not a question of availability but of allocation. The will of a few patriotic, active and honest people certainly creates a 'political will', a 'bureaucratic drive' and an •economic support' to UEE. Active citizens and organizations should come together

with the common goal of UEE and establish NGO's like the National Alliance for Fundamental Right to Education (NAFRE). These citizens / NGO's should approach the Supreme Court, the High Courts in states and concerned Judicial/ Quasi-Judicial bodies in District/ Taluka places and ideally have a court order for every city/ town/ village to build up public pressure on the 'State' to realize the noble national goal of UEE.

ii. In many cases, it is the experienced and time-tested truth in India that the Government will not act firmly unless there is no diktat or public pressure. Sometimes the Government advances the logic and comes up with tactics to annul the wisdomful court orders. The court order implementation also needs court orders (contempt of court proceedings) and unless there is legal pressure from higher Judiciary, things move very slowly. So, the citizenry must act with utmost vigilance and knock the doors of courts, so that courts direct the Legislature/ Executive to exercise public power.

iii. The citizens/ NGO's should extend all possible facilities and services and partake in UEE along with the state. It is very clear that if the required energy had gone into implementation of Supreme Court decision in Unnikrishnan J.P. Vs. State of A.P. and others case, India would have had a primary education system, which could be a model for the world. The role of active citizenry/ NGO's is still vital in our democracy to compel the Government to implement the Supreme Court order in letter and spirit, without any deviation.

iv. The citizens/ NGO's should endeavour to create knowledge, awareness and healthy practices among parents and the community at large about quality primary education.

Concluding Observations

The Universal Declaration of Human Rights (UDHR), Convention on the Rights of Children and the International Covenant on Economic, Social, Cultural, Civil and Political Rights, as ratified by the Government of India, have created fundamental human right to free and compulsory education in India. Now it is upto the 'State' to ensure this human right. The NCRWC has pointed out that if the goals are unrealistic and unachievable, they do not lead to required quantum of motivation and resource mobilization. Hence, there is a need for setting of realistic achievable targets, with conceivable maximum input of meticulous planning and resources - financial as well as human.

The Education of the children during their tender and formative years is considered as a basic necessity and the 'cost' of education at this stage should be borne by the 'State' in order to make elementary education 'free of cost' for children and parents. This commitment to elementary education was accepted in principle, but full-scale financial requirements are never allocated. It is said that 'education is the beggar at the time of normalcy and is the first victim at the time of emergency'. So education has never come to the 'centre stage', while making budgetary allocations.

Prof. Shiban Lai Saksena, while debating in the Constituent Assembly revealed that the late Gopal Krishna Gokhale's Bill for free and compulsory primary education, was considered as impracticable by the then Government. Since it required Rupees 30 lakhs per year i.e., 3 crores spread over ten years, this amount was considered as too heavy a burden for the Government's treasury at that time. The interesting fact revealed by Prof. S.L. Saksena was that within four years of considering Gokhale's Bill as impracticable, the then Government of India wasted not 3 crores but more than 30 crores over the war in which India had no concern.

Prof. Muruli Manohar Joshi, Hon'ble Union Minister for Human Resource Development in an interview on 8th January 2002, revealed that an amount of Rupees 89 crores is required for providing compulsory free primary education. The Government of India has backtracked from providing Fundamental Right to Education for the children below the age of 6 through the instrumentality of Parliament of India. The reasons, which are being advanced by the Governments, are mainly related to 'money'. Professor Tapas Majumdar Committee (1998) probed into the money matters of universalizing free primary education.

The PROBE survey (1996) revealed that for educating a child for a year in a Government School requires Rs. 336 'private cost', which means primary education is not 'free of private cost' in India. India has many private schools. Educating in these schools means investing an extra 'private cost'. The Government of Delhi's Education Ministers statement that "payment imbues value to education" needs to be debated in this country, which has more number of poor, hungry and illiterate populations.

Hence, now is a moment in history, when a new direction has to be given to an age-old process of UEE. The 'State' must bear the 'full cost' of primary education and make it totally free of private cost. The quality and content of free primary education should be of world class and enable all children to achieve meaningfully essential and maximum levels of learning.

Presently, the Government of India's Department of Elementary Education and Literacy has assessed that Rs. 60,000 crore will be required from the budget of Central and State Government's from 2000 to 2010. The Central Budget for 2002-03 had announced that Rs. 4,900 crores would be allocated to elementary education and literacy. This shows that again there is a requisite deficit of about 1,100 crores.

If India is to stand as a completely educated nation in the comity of nations, it has to meaningfully translate the Fundamental Right to Education into a reality, without making it an empty shibboleth. The 'Indian State' as a whole must invest the required amount of resources for meaningful and full-scale realization of universal free elementary education by at least 2010 A.D. The day when we achieve total primary education brings peace to the noble souls of great Indians like K.M. Munshi, Dada Bhai Navroji, Mahatma Gandhi, Maharaja of Baroda, K.T. Shah, Shiban Lai Saksena, Gopal Krishna Gokhale etc, who have struggled for UEE. Achievement of universal free primary education is the real tribute, India can pay to these noble souls. The complete realization of the fundamental right to education is a concrete action towards building of a developed India through

child development. The authors' hope that their motherland India will achieve complete elementary education for all at last by 2010.

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RESEARCH NOTES/COMMUNICATIONS

Development of India as a Knowledge Society An Approach"

K. Venkatasubramanian*

The Prime Minister of India has recently unveiled a five-point agenda for India's Development as a Super Knowledge Society, which is as follows:

- Education for developing a learning society
- Global networking
- Vibrant Government-Industry-Academia interaction in policy making and implementation
- Leveraging of existing competencies in IT, Telecom, Bio-technology, Drug Design, Financial Services, and Enterprise-wide Management
- Economic and business strategic alliances built on capabilities and opportunities

In his inaugural address to delegates attending the ASSOCHAM summit recently held on "India in the Knowledge Millennium" the Prime Minister stated "a knowledge based society will enable us to leap-frog in finding new and innovative ways to meet the challenges of building a just and equitable social order and seek urgent solutions"

One can rightly feel that such an agenda only will help leveraging of the existing competencies in Information technology, telecom, bio-technology, drug design, financial services and enterprise-wide management to make India a knowledge super power. Experts had predicted a few years ago that this millennium will belong to two big super powers in this region of Asia and India is one. We should ensure this primacy.

There is a lot of international awareness on the concept of a knowledge society. A knowledge society is a "work-in-progress" requiring significant investment in harnessing skills, technology and learning. Knowledge society is a society where creating, sharing and using knowledge are key factors in the prosperity and well-being of its people.

* This is an edited version of the first Hon'ble Prof. Murli Manohar Joshi's 70th Birthday Commemoration Endowment Lecture delivered on 17th January, 2003 (Anand Institute of Technology, Chennai) and the 21st convocation address delivered at Dayalbagh Educational Institute, Dayalbagh, Agra.

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Some principal features of the knowledge society include:

- Knowledge and information as major sources of creating value
- Rapid changes in technology
- Greater investment in research and development
- Greater use of communication and information technology
- Growth of knowledge-intensive business
- Increased networking and working together
- Rising skill requirements

This contrasts to earlier societies such as the agricultural society (when agriculture was the key to survival) and industrial society (when mass production of goods generated most of the wealth).

Knowledge the Key

In the emerging knowledge society, as much as, more than land, labour and capital, knowledge alone is the key factor to creating wealth and improving the quality of life.

The idea of the knowledge society has been spreading rapidly around the world, so much so, it has been described as a "Knowledge Revolution"

What are some of the key factors driving this revolution?

- Globalisation of the world's economies has fuelled competition and spurred the gathering of knowledge to get ahead.
- The technologies for gaining, sharing and applying knowledge are changing rapidly - for example, the rise of computers and the internet.
- The growing role of research, science and technology in creating knowledge to solve business, social and environmental problems.
- Knowledge tends to grow at exponential rate. Whereas the resources of the industrial society, for example, fossil fuels tended only to be used once, however, existing knowledge can be used to create new knowledge. This speeds up the rate at which knowledge is created and grows.

The Knowledge Concepts

- *Knowledge* - a useful definition is - familiarity gained by research and experience. It can include 'know what' (knowledge about fact), 'know why' (scientific knowledge of the principles and laws of nature), 'know-how' (skills or the capability to do something), 'know-who' (information about who knows what and how to do what).

- *Knowledge Economy* - the economy at the core of a knowledge society, i.e. an economy, which revolves around creating, sharing and using knowledge and information to create wealth and improve the quality of life.
- *Knowledge Worker* - a person who provides value by generating, sharing or applying ideas. It can equally apply to an eminent scientist, the skilled craftsman or to a receptionist with an expert knowledge of who's who in the organization and where all the useful information is.
- *Knowledge Management* - as knowledge becomes more valuable, there is a growing need to manage it effectively to capture its full benefit. Hence, the rise of this important sub-category of general management.

The nation is on the brink of a period of profound change. All that we do, all that we make and all that we earn will be altered by new knowledge and technological change. Knowledge differs from other resources - each new discovery provides a platform for further discoveries.

There is an urgent need for a time bound project focusing on exploiting knowledge for our future prosperity and well-being, and our development as a knowledge society. Rather than projecting into the future with assumptions about how today works, the project should involve constructing a vision of a most desirable future, and then identifying strategies to reach there.

The project should provide a framework for thinking about the sort of future India wants, and define the context for the Government's research, science and technology investments to make India a super power in the new millennium and a super knowledge society. Government of India invests substantially in research, science and technology to generate new innovative, economic, environmental and social capacity. In this way, the Government underpins innovation throughout all sectors. However, it cannot work in isolation, and innovation must be focused on the needs of end-users whose lives, environment and enterprises will be affected by new knowledge and technological change.

The Government needs to be infused with confidence that its research, science and technology investments will be rapidly and effectively exploited to make India a knowledge society. This is more likely where sectors demonstrate their strategic thinking about the future, through bold and dynamic innovation strategies and Government is ready to be a partner in such bold and innovative strategies.

The Union Planning Commission has constituted a High Level Task Force for implementing the Prime Minister's Five Point Agenda. The broad areas of relevance cover Information Technology, Telecom, Bio-Technology, Drug Design, Financial Services and Enterprise-wide Management, Global Networking, Education requirements for developing a learning society, Vibrant partnership between Government, Industry and Institutions, Economic and business strategic alliance built on capabilities and opportunities and setting up of an Education Development Finance Corporation for meeting the needs of deserving students.

The concept of knowledge-centered society has been aptly portrayed by R.A. Mashelkar, in his presidential address delivered at the 87th Indian Science Congress. According to him, knowledge revolution is leading to knowledge-centered trade and industry. There is a dramatic change in international trade, which was once dominated by primary products such as iron ore etc and is now dominated by knowledge intensive goods. He rightly points out that when we buy one Kilogram of steel, 90% of it is material while if we buy a copy of Windows 98 from Microsoft, more than 95% of it is knowledge.

Direction Setting

The Government's Science and Technology (S&T) Departments can think of 'science envelope goals' covering Innovation, Economics, Environment and Social Science, which are all inter-related for making India a Knowledge Society.

This is necessary because of the long-term nature of many S&T activities. The goals may include planning a strategy to:

- Provide a uniform set of directions across the science envelope, enabling elements of work carried out under different sources of funding to be combined in coherent research portfolios; and
- Act as an anchor point for the performance expectations designed to assess the efficacy of investments in S&T.

The goal statements

There are four science envelope goals. All the goals statements have a similar structure. They identify the role to be played by S&T in moving towards a knowledge society. The innovation goal refers to the importance of innovation per se, but also underpins the social, environmental and economic goals.

a) *Innovation Goal: Accelerate knowledge creation and the development of human capital, social capital, learning systems and networks in order to enhance India's capacity to innovate.*

The first goal recognises the importance of building a culture of innovation in India to underpin all other economic, environmental and social outcomes. Science and Technology should generate new knowledge, help develop human and network capacities, and stimulate an entrepreneurial culture so that India can be a full participant in the global knowledge age.

This goal links directly to the Government's aspirations to cerate an enterprise economy and to value innovation. It reinforces the Government's strategic priority on expanding the country's knowledge-base and technological capabilities.

b) *Economic Goal: Increase the contribution knowledge makes to the creation and value of new and improved products, processes, systems and services in order to enhance the competitiveness of Indian enterprises.*

This second goal stresses the importance of new knowledge and technological change as a driver for value-creation, innovation and productivity gains across the economy.

This goal identifies the contribution that knowledge makes to economic competitiveness. It provides a context for Government investment in key areas consistent with the policy that investment should generate widespread net benefits over time, without displacing or otherwise creating dis-incentives for investment by others.

c) *Environmental Goal: Increase knowledge of the environment and of the biological, physical, social, economic and cultural factors that affect it, in order to establish and maintain a healthy environment that sustains nature and people.*

The third goal emphasises how knowledge of environment and processes underpins our ability to improve environmental quality and integrity. It picks up ideas related to India's environmental concern expressed in Government's strategic priority on biodiversity.

d) *Social Goal: Increased knowledge of the social, biological, environmental, cultural, economic and physical determinants of well-being, in order to build a society in which we Indians can enjoy health and independence and have a sense of belonging, identity and partnership.*

This is perhaps the most important goal as knowledge explosion should try to take the poor majority to decent living levels and ultimately, we must work towards an abolition of the poverty line. This should lead to uplift of the poor and to alleviation of poverty.

These four goals strongly influence investment decisions and also provide a context for departmental research including long-term, cross-portfolio and applied social science research.

Frame-work: Dr. A.P.J. Abdul Kalam's SWOT Analysis

In order to make India a "Knowledge-Centred Society", there is a need for a detailed framework, which will consist lot of sub-sets and focus on areas of strategies, resource generation, economic indicators etc. Such a framework for a nationwide network knowledge management has been developed by H.E. Dr. A.P.J. Abdul Kalam, President of India.

According to him, nation's long-term economic and security objectives evolved through SWOT (Strength, Weakness, Opportunity and Threat) analysis provided the

basis for this framework and help to identify different knowledge areas and priorities for knowledge creation and exploitation.

A knowledge society must be inclusive, and for that, inclusion to be a reality, everyone must have access to participation in the decision-making process. The information and communication infrastructure provides the means for inclusivity because it allows for timely, inexpensive and broad dissemination of information from a multiplicity of sources, to the majority of people. It also allows for immediate assessment and internationalization of the information that is provided, because of its built-in capacity for interactivity. At the moment, that capacity for interactivity, i.e. the ability to access and exchange information is not universal. For the principle of universality of access to be applied in a way that moves us towards a "knowledge society and economy", the concept of access must be expanded to include "interactive and inclusive participation".

This article mainly emphasises on the issues involved in making India a Knowledge Society, which is the need of the hour.

India heads the developing world in Knowledge database and even developed nations like the USA are looking towards us for their software requirements. Bill Clinton, Erstwhile President of the United States of America went on record in India that if he had any urgent software needs, he will first approach India.

We have thus everything to make India a knowledge super power. We should only act at once.

As stated already, India was a knowledge force in the ancient days. Let us restore again this status to Bharat today. Towards this end, the implementation of the Five Point Agenda of the Prime Minster is very essential.

As Dr. A.P.J Abdul Kalam stated in his *Vision 2020,* "A developed India by 2020, or even earlier, is not a dream. It need not even be a mere vision in the minds of many Indians. It is a mission we can all take up - and succeed."

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Research Notes/Communications

Demand for Training and Employability Pattern of ITI Graduates: A Profile of the Vocational Education System at Secondary School Level

B.S. Prakash/

Abstract

With the rapidly changing skill standards of the modern industrial scenario, the challenges of the system to cope with the requirement of updating/balancing the curriculum of the courses have assumed critical relevance. Based on an institutional survey of Industrial Training Institutes (ITIs) in Delhi, the paper first presents a demand profile for ITI courses by trade. Drawing on corroborative findings of an establishment and follow-up survey of its out-turns (graduates) in 1998, it then identifies trades for which the employability levels are relatively higher. Examining the occupational categories, both among the existing as well as the emerging areas of employment, the paper presents the direction in which expansion of education/training facilities needs to be enhanced/'established. Finally, enumerating some qualitative factors deserving to be reviewed and strictly implemented, the paper sums up by presenting a perspective for the reorientation of this major system of vocational education in order to improve their utilisation/absorption levels.

1. Genesis

With an annual out-turn of nearly seven lakh graduates[1], the training at the Industrial Training Institutes (ITIs) happens to be a leading vocational education system in the country. Catering to the skilled manpower needs of the industry at the semi-skilled/ skilled workers at entry level and supplementing the apprenticeship system of training, it constitutes more than 60 per cent of the total capacity under the vocational education system in the country. With the rapidly changing skill standards of the modern industrial scenario, the challenges of the system to cope with the requirement of updating/balancing the curriculum (from the point of view of theoretical/practical contents) of the courses

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[1] The terms graduates and out-turns, synonymous in their connotation, are used interchangeably in the paper.

have assumed critical relevance. It is in this background that the paper underscores the need for strengthening the training imparted at the ITIs and presents a perspective for the much-needed reorientation of this important vocational education system in the country.

The paper draws on a survey of the ITIs and industrial establishments carried out during 1998-99 in the National Capital Territory of Delhi. Supported by the findings of a follow-up survey of 824 ITI graduates, the paper presents a profile of their demand and absorption pattern in the context of the recent (late nineteen nineties) labour market situation in the country. More specifically, it brings out the courses in demand from the point of view of admission seekers and the trends in their subsequent absorption pattern as revealed by their employability levels, time-utilisation pattern of the unemployed out-turns, and qualitative factors needed to be addressed in the educational/training system under focus.

The paper is divided into six parts. The section following the present introductory part (Section II) deals with the popularity indicators of trades/courses. Section III deals with a profile of the wage/self-employment attempts pursued vis-a-vis the time-disposition pattern of employed/unemployed graduates. Section IV identifies areas in which expansion of educational facilities needs to be established under this system of training. Section V focusses on an enumeration and a brief description of the qualitative factors needing to be addressed in the direction of improving the curriculum levels and overall standards of training. Section VI sums up by presenting a perspective for the reorientation of the training system so as to improve overall employability/utilisation levels of the ITI graduates.

II. Popularity of Trades/Courses

The popularity of trades/courses is looked at from the points of view of: (i) demand for admission, (ii) campus recruitment, (iii) response to centralised placement service, and (iv) pass/drop-out rates. While these are indicators drawn from the institutional survey data, the popularity of the trades have been corroborated later by the industry's response to the establishment/follow-up surveys.

(i) Demand for Admission

An initial indicator of the popularity of a trade is perceived to reflect from the demand for admissions, revealed by the number of applications submitted for individual trades. This factor presupposes that the applicants are well guided (either by their parents/guardians or by their own knowledge) on the prospects offered by the choice of a trade. It does not account for the submission of multiple applications to more than one trade so as to afford a choice at the time of actual admission. Nevertheless, this factor could still provide an initial indicator of the popularity of a trade, subject to allowance for the above reasons. Tables 1 and 2 present data in respect of the number of applications received, vis-a-vis the number of actual admissions in engineering and non-engineering streams respectively. While these two Tables take a composite look, without any gender break-up, Table

3 presents corresponding data exclusively for females. Sub-Tables 1(a), 2(a) and 3(a), derived from the above three, present the top few trades, which are in the forefront, and in this sense, more sought after by the applicants. A broad picture emerging from these is as follows.

TABLE 1

Demand* for Admission in Engineering Trades and in Government ITIs: 1995-97

S. No	*Trade*	*Year/Session*		
		1995	*1996*	*1997*
1.	Tool & Die Maker	10.8	-	17.0
2.	D/Man (Civil)	8.0	11.2	9.0
3.	D/Man (Mech.)	7.6	8.5	12.1
4.	Ref. & A/c Mechanic	15.7	16.4	20.3
5.	Electronic Mechanic	10.0	9.9	11.1
6.	Instrument Mechanic	4.3	4.7	7.7
7.	Surveyor	2.4	3.9	7.8
8.	Electrician	17.5	23.6	26.2
9.	Wireman	14.8	13.7	15.6
10.	Radio & T. V.	9.5	6.7	12.8
11.	Business Machine Repair (BMR)	-	7.0	-
12.	Fitter	11.7	15.4	18.3
13.	Machinist	8.3	9.8	13.1
14.	Turner	5.1	8.7	7.7
15.	Machinist Grinder	2.4	6.3	4.0
16.	Pattern Worker	4.8	2.5	-
17.	Motor Mech.	15.6	17.4	24.8
IS.	Painter	5.6	15.2	8.0
19.	Sheet Metal Worker	5.4	2.8	3.4
20.	Forger & Heat Treater	2.3	-	-
21.	Plastic Processing Operator	10.8	9.8	20.0
22.	Welder	7.8	8.3	10.5
23.	Moulder	-	-	-
24.	Carpenter	10.5	2.7	4.0
25.	Tractor Mechanic	2.1	2.1	5.9
26.	Steel Fabricator	6.4	6.9	5.7
27.	Plumber	4.1	3.6	5.4
28.	Diesel Mechanic	17.0	15.3	25.6
29.	Scooter & Auto Cycle Mechanic	4.2	6.0	7.1
30.	Auto Electrician	8.0	6.7	10.5
31.	Dent Beating & Spray Painting	5.3	3.6	5.4
32.	Mason	-	-	-
33.	a) Data Processing & Computer Software (DP & CS)	18.7	9.1	10.9
	b) Computer Operator/ Programming Asstt. (CO/ PA)	26.9	26.4	16.9
34.	Hand Compositor	3.5	-	-
35.	Letter Press Machine Minder. (LPMM)	4.0	-	-
36.	D.P.S.W.	5.3	6.7	-

Note. • Demand is worked out as the ratio of total number of applications received to actual admissions made. A dash (-) against a trade indicates that the data is deficient for computing the demand, as above. It accounts for variability in the data furnished.

Source: Institutional Questionnaire for the Survey.

Tables 1 and 1(a) present the demand for admission in engineering trades with Table 1(a) listing out trades in which the number of applications received is more than 10 times the maximum intake capacity. While these trades vary among the three years for which the data is presented, the trades which have consistently been in this demand bracket for all the three years are: (i) computer operator/programming assistant (CO/PA), (ii) refrigeration and air-conditioning mechanic [Ref. & A/C (Mech.)], (iii) electrician, (iv) diesel mechanic, (v) motor mechanic, (vi) wireman, (vii) fitter, and (viii) electronics mechanic. Thus, eight of the twelve trades have attracted consistent demand from the students seeking admission to the ITIs. The trend reveals that the trades of electrician, Ref. & A/C (Mech.) and motor mechanic have improved their ranking from one year to the next. The trade of CO/PA was at the top of the demand ranking for the first two years although relegated to a lower ranking in the third year. Other trades which have found a place in this respect are: (i) Tool and die maker, (ii) Plastic Processer, (iii) Carpenter, (iv) Painter, (v) Draftsman (Civil), (vi) Radio and T.V. mechanic, and (vii) Machinist.

TABLE 1(a)

Trades in Government ITIs Where Admission Demand is Ten Times More than the Number Admitted (Engineering Trades): 1995-97

Ranking	*1995*	*1996*	*1997*
I.	CO/PA	CO/PA	Electrician
II.	DP&CS	Electrician	Diesel Mechanic
111.	Electrician	Motor Mechanic	Motor Mechanic
IV.	Diesel Mechanic	Ref. & A/c Mechanic	Ref. & A/c Mechanic
V.	Ref. & A/c (Mech.)	Fitter	Plastic Processing Operator
VI.	Motor Mechanic	Diesel Mechanic	Fitter
VII.	Wireman	Painter	Tool & Die Maker
VIII.	Fitter	Wireman	CO/PA
IX.	Tool & Die Maker	D/Man (Civil)	Wireman
X.	Plastic Processing Operator	Electronic Mechanic	Machinist
XI.	Carpenter	-	Ratio & T.V. Mechanic
XII.	Electronic Mechanic	-	Electronic Mechanic

Source: Table **1.**

Among the non-engineering trades, the trades of: (i) Secretarial practice, (ii) English and Hindi Stenography and (iii) Cutting & Tailoring have been in demand for all the three years [Tables 2 and 2(a)]. Other trades which have figured in this respect in two of the three years are: (i) Dress Designing, (ii) Beautician and Hair Dressing, and (iii) Textile Designing. The demand for females [Tables 3 and 3 (a)] is consistent for all the three years for the computer course viz. data processing and computer software (DP & CS). A second course in this area on computer operator/programming assistant (CO/PA), started more recently, is also popular among females. Among the non-engineering trades

Hindi/English stenography and cutting & tailoring were found to be preferred by females in all the three years. Other trades in the non-engineering stream which have revealed demand in this respect are: (i) Textile Designing, (ii) Beautician & Hair Dressing, and (iii) Commercial Art - all of which have shown constant demand by females for two years in succession.

TABLE 2
Demand for Admission in Non-Engineering Trades in Government ITIs by Trades: 1995-97

S. No	*Trade*	*1995*	*1996*	*1997*
1.	Steno (English)	8.3 (III)	19.3 (II)	5.6
2.	Secretarial Practice	20.0 (I)	17.4 (III)	17.9 (I)
3.	Steno (Hindi)	13.9 (II)	9.3 (V)	11.2 (III)
4.	Knitting	-	-	-
5.	Beautician & Hair Dressing	-	10.8 (IV)	8.2 (V)
6.	Textile Design	-	20.7 (I)	15.7 (II)
7.	Commercial Art	-	4.2	4.5
8.	Dress Designing	4.1 (V)	6.3	5.5
9.	Cutting & Tailoring	7.1 (IV)	8.3	8.6 (IV)
10.	Embroidery	1.6	3.9	3.0

Notes: i) Descriptions for * and ' - ' are as in Table 1.
ii) Roman numbers within brackets denote top five ranking trades in respect of demand for that year.

(ii) Campus Selection

Selection by campus interviews by important industrial establishments is an index of popularity[2]. Of the 14 Government ITIs, 5 have been approached for campus selection. Of the 33 engineering trades, campus selections are made in twenty-five trades. On the non-engineering trade stream, the trades of stenography (both English and Hindi) and cutting & tailoring have attracted selection at source. Among the affiliated ITIs, 5 engineering trades, viz. draftsman (civil), machinist, turner, machinist grinder and DP&CS have figured in campus selection.

[2] A **very small proportion of trainees (top rankers) would succeed in getting placement by this method. In spite of this, its existence itself is indicative of the demand for the products of a training system.**

TABLE 2(a)

Trades in Government ITIs Where Admission Demand is Five Times More than the Number Admitted (Non-engineering Trades): 1995-97

Ranking	*1995*	*1996*	*1997*
I.	Secretarial Practice	Textile Designing	Secretarial Practice
II.	Steno (Hindi)	Steno (English)	Textile Designing
III.	Steno (English)	Secretarial Practice	Steno (Hindi)
IV.	C & T	B & H D	C & T
V.	-	Steno (Hindi)	B & H D
VI.	-	C & T	Steno (English)
VII.	-	Dress Designing	Dress Designing

Source. Table 2.

(iii) Centralised Placement Cell

A Centralised Placement Cell (CPC) is functioning at the nodal office of the Department of Training and Technical Education (DT&TE). The number of establishments approaching the CPC for furnishing references of out-turns has been on the decline. The reasons, therefor, need to be studied separately. Also, the data on the total number of vacancies are not available trade-wise; only the number of establishments seeking sponsorship of out-turns are available trade-wise. Further, after the selection of candidates, the establishments are not reporting back to the placement cell on the number of candidates recruited. In the absence of information on these aspects, it has not been possible to assess any detailed trade-wise demand/absorption aspect of ITI graduates. However, a comparison of the trades in respect of which the establishments have approached either the ITIs or the placement cell at the directorate reveal more or less a similar picture insofar as the trades from which requirements were felt by the establishments. Some of the trades which stand out in respect of the approach by the establishments to the placement cell are that of: i) painter (general) ii) moulder, iii) carpenter, iv) steel fabricator v) plumber, and vi) auto electrician among engineering trades; and i) textile designer, ii) dress designer and iii) embroidery and needle worker, among a few others on the non-engineering side.

(iv) Pass Rate

The pass percentage across trades is taken as another pointer for indicating the popularity of the trades. As they would indicate only the supply to the labour market, they would not strictly convey any other sentiment either from the market (industry) or from the trainees. But the residual of the pass rate would cover for factors like drop out, lack of teaching/training facility etc.[3] These, therefore, reflect factors requiring attention in order

[3] **There were reported instances of candidates in the** 3 **year 'Tool & Die Making course' leaving mid-term on account of job opportunities received as also from DP&CS for lack of training quality.**

to improve upon popularity of the courses. Among engineering trades, courses relating to: (i) tractor mechanic, (ii) diesel mechanic and (iii) carpenter have recorded relatively low pass percentages. On the non-engineering side, the two stenography courses (English as well as Hindi) have registered low pass percentages. The reasons therefore need to be examined separately.

TABLE 3

Demand for Admission by Females in Engineering/Non-engineering Trades in Government/ Affdiated ITIs: 1995-97

S. No.	*Trades*	*1995*	*1996*	*1997*
A. Govt. ITIs				
a) Engineering Trades				
1.	D/Man (Civil)	1.6	11.7	2.4
2.	Electronics (Mechanic)	4.0	4.6	2.6
3.	Radio & T.V. Mechanic	-	-	-
4.	Painter	9.4 (II)	-	-
5.	a) Data Processing & Computer Software	17.7 (I)	11.0 (I)	22.2 (I)
	b) Computer Operator	-	-	6.7 (II)
Non-engineering Trades				
1.	Steno (English)	4.9 (III)	6.2 (VI)	6.8 (V)
2.	Steno (Hindi)	21.0 (I)	8.1 (V)	10.9 (II)
3.	Knitting	-	-	-
4.	Beautician & HD	-	10.8 (II)	8.2 (III)
5.	Textile Designing	-	20.7 (I)	15.7 (I)
6.	Commercial Art	-	8.4 (IV)	5.9 (VI)
7.	Dress Designing	1.5	2.9	3.4
8.	Cutting & Tailoring	6.5 (II)	8.8 (III)	7.3 (IV)
9.	Embroidery	1.6	3.2	2.9
Affiliated ITIs				
igineering Trades				
1.	D/Man (Civil)	-	-	-
2.	General Electronics Mechanic	-	-	-
3.'	Data Processing & Computer Software	1.3	2.0	1.7

Notes: As in Tables 1 and 2.
Source: Institutional Questionnaire for the Survey.

TABLE 3(a)

Trades in Government ITIs where Admission Demand by Females is Ten Times more than the Number Admitted (Engineering/Non-engineering Trades): 1995-97

Ranking	*1995*	*1996*	*1997*
a)	Engineering Trades		
I	DP&CS	D/Man (Civil)	DP&CS
II	Painter	DP&CS	CO/PA
b)	Non-engineering Trades		
I	Steno (Hindi)	Textile Design	Textile Design
II	Cutting & Tailoring	B & H D	Steno (Hindi)
III	Steno (English)	Cutting & Tailoring	B & H D
IV	-	Commercial Art	Cutting & Tailoring
V	-	Steno (Hindi)	Steno (English)
VI	-	Steno (English)	Commercial Art

Source: Table 3.

III. Emplo>ability/Absorption Profile

This section presents an employment profile in terms of the activity status of respondents to a survey in 1998. The respondents are classified into three groups, viz. employed, sometime employed and never employed, the latter two constituting the segment of presently unemployed respondents. The respondent group consists of 824 ITI graduates of 1995 batch from the different ITIs in Delhi, and followed up in 1998, giving them, thus, a three year start to get settled in the employment market. The cohort chosen is, therefore, suggestive of the labour market features of the later part of nineteen-nineties or when the process of liberalisation was roughly close to a decade of implementation.

Table 4 presents the activity status of respondents by trade. Overall, the proportion of 'unemployed' (never employed) is seen to be about 60 per cent. However, the unemployment proportions need to be interpreted with due allowance provided for 'the nature of respondents which is dominated by the un- under-employed categories[4]. The proportion of unemployed excludes a significant 26 per cent of respondents who were reportedly employed for some time since passing the ITI courses in 1995. As is well known, the employment scenario of the nineties is characterised by factors such as: (a) dominance of private sector in its overall employment share; (b) purposeful down-sizing in government establishments to pave the way for greater private participation in many sectors/fields; (c) unwillingness on the part of the ITI trainees to opt for employment in the private sector owing to their preference for government sector jobs; (d) increase in contractual jobs and the resulting insecurity due to changes in market conditions adding

[4] **The implicit meaning here is that for a follow-up survey of any group the more likely segments to respond are the un/under employed who are likely to be motivated by some kind of benefit expected by responding. Putting this in another way, this means that those who are well-settled may not have that much reason to respond.**

to the psychological barrier towards private sector employment; (e) relatively low wage rates in the private sector jobs vis-a-vis government sector ones; and (f) lack of effective services to secure jobs of one's taste (particularly for the setting up of some self-employment ventures) with the support required to the extent from institutions like employment exchanges etc. These factors have no less been complemented by the fast changing standards in skill levels due to the role played by technological developments on training methods and practices.

TABLE 4

Activity Status of Respondents by Trade

(Per cent)

S. *No.*	*Trade*	***Employment***	*Unemployment*			*Total*
			Sometime Employed	*Never Employed*	*Total*	
A. Engineering						
1.	D/M Civil	31.3	25.0	43.7	68.7	100.0(32)
2.	D/M Mech.	83.3	-	16.7	16.7	100.0(32)
3.	Ref. & A/C	28.1	21.9	50.0	71.9	100.0(32)
4.	Electronic Mech.	25.6	27.9	46.5	74.4	100.0(43)
5.	Instrument Mech.	12.5	12.5	75.0	87.5	100.0(16)
6.	Electrician	21.6	27.0	51.4	78.4	100.0(37)
7.	Wireman	20.0	35.0	45.0	80.0	100.0(20)
8.	Electronics	6.4	58.1	35.5	93.6	100.0(31)
9.	Fitter	2.3	46.5	51.2	97.7	100.0(86)
10.	Machinist	9.1	31.8	59.1	90.9	100.0(22)
11.	Turner	13.9	36.1	50.0	86.1	100.0(36)
12.	Motor Mech.	-	20.0	80.0	100.0	100.0(25)
13.	Painter (G)	13.6	22.7	63.7	86.4	100.0(22)
14.	Welder	22.2	33.3	44.5	77.8	100.0(18)
15.	Carpenter	7.7	7.7	84.6	92.3	100.0(13)
16.	Tractor Mech.	-	45.5	54.5	100.0	100.0(11)
17.	Plumber	-	40.0	60.0	100.0	100.0(20)
18.	Computer/P.A.	28.0	44.0	28.0	72.0	100.0(25)
19.	Hand Compositor	-	16.7	83.3	100.0	100.0(12)
20.	L.P.M.M.	-	18.2	81.8	100.0	100.0(11)
21.	Others	10.5	15.8	73.7	89.5	100.0(57)
Sub Total (A)		*14.8*	*30.6*	*54.6*	*85.2*	*100.0(581)*

Contd..

S. No.	Trade	Employment	Unemployment			Total
			Sometime Employed	Never Employed	Total	
B. Non-engineering						
1.	Steno - Eng.	55.6	-	44.4	44.4	100.0(9)
2.	Steno - Hindi	10.5	21.1	68.4	89.5	100.0(19)
3.	Beautician & H.D.	4.5	31.8	63.7	95.5	100.0(22)
4.	Textile Design.	-	40.0	60.0	100.0	100.0(10)
5.	Commercial Art	12.5	37.5	50.0	87.5	100.0(16)
6.	Dress Design	-	20.0	80.0	100.0	100.0(10)
7.	Cutting & Tailoring	5.7	6.4	87.9	94.3	100.0(140)
8.	Cooking & Home Mgt.	20.0	-	80.0	80.0	100.0(5)
9.	Book Binding	-	50.0	50.0	100.0	100.0(6)
10.	Others	-	-	100.0	100.0	100.0(6)
Sub-Total (B)		*7.8*	*14.4*	*77.8*	*92.2*	*100.0(243)*
Total (A+B)		12.7 (105)	25.9 (213)	61.4 (506)	87.3 (719)	100.0 (824)

Source: **Response to follow-up questionnaire for the survey.**
Note: **Figures within brackets indicate number of respondents.**

The factors contributing to a declining share of wage employment explains the presence of a sizeable proportion of the 'sometime employed'[s] segment, which is about 26 per cent of the aggregate. Corresponding data by trade/gender shows that, overall, the sometime employed category is higher among males (29%) than females (19%). By broad trade groups, the proportion of males is higher among non-engineering trades and that of females (37%) in the engineering trades (46%). The factors contributing to the shift in the activity status of respondents from the employed and sometime employed status to the currently unemployed status appear to fall both under voluntary as well as involuntary factors due to conditions/choices related to work. These may, therefore, be indirectly contributing to motivate the undertaking of self-employment ventures as the proportions of time/skill-utilisation patterns of currently unemployed suggest (Table 5).

- The particulars on the activity status of respondents were asked for at two points of time viz. first employment and current employment. The 'sometime employed' category refers to those who reported the particulars for the former time point but not the latter giving the clue that they were employed for sometime after passing the course, but are not currently employed. These jobs may be part-time in nature or job-specific. They may also indicate partial engagement in some self-employment activity while at the same time j.earching for a wage employment.

TABLE 5

Time/Skill Utilisation Pattern of Unemployed by Trade

(Per cent)

S. No.	*Trade*	*Activity Pattern*			
		Household Work	*Work Related to ITI Training*	*Work not Related to ITI Training*	*Total*
A. Engineering					
1.	D/M Civil	54.5	40.9	4.6	100.0(22)
2.	Ref. & A/C	52.2	26.1	21.7	100.0(23)
3.	Electronic Mech.	18.7	46.9	34.4	100.0(32)
4.	Electrician	34.5	48.3	17.2	100.0(29)
5.	Electronics	27.6	48.3	24.1	100.0(29)
6.	Fitter	25.0	36.9	38.1	100.0(84)
7.	Machinist	25.0	45.0	30.0	100.0(20)
8.	Turner	22.6	41.9	35.5	100.0(31)
9.	Motor Mech.	44.0	36.0	20.0	100.0(25)
10.	Painter (G)	36.8	57.9	5.3	100.0(19)
11.	Plumber	10.0	50.0	40.0	100.0(20)
12.	Computer/P.A.	50.0	38.9	11.1	100.0(18)
13.	Others	30.1	43.4	26.5	100.0(143)
Sub-Total (A)		*30.9*	*42.4*	*26.7*	*100.0(495)*
B. Non-engineering					
1.	Steno-Hindi	17.6	35.3	47.1	100.0(17)
2.	Beautician & H.D	33.3	47.6	19.1	100.0(21)
3.	Textile Design	50.0	30.0	20.0	100.0(10)
4.	Commercial Art	35.	750.0	14.3	100.0(14)
5.	Dress Design	50.0	40.0	10.0	100.0(10)
6.	C & T	39.4	52.3	8.3	100.0(132)
7.	Others	55.0	25.0	20.0	100.0(20)
Sub-Total (B)		*39.3*	*46.4*	*14.3*	*100.0(224)*
Sub-Total (A+B)		33.5	43.7	22.8	100.0(719)

Source: As indicated in Table 4.

Note: Figures within brackets indicate number of respondents.

Table 6 presents the estimated employability levels (covering both wage/self-employment pursuits) by trade/sex. The data therein, therefore, presents a comprehensive picture of employability of ITI graduates. In view of the fact that the estimated proportion of the wage employed needs to be given some allowance [as campus recruitees (about 5% of out-turns) and those employed better have less reason to respond to surveys (as stated above], it is considered appropriate to regard trades with employability ratings of above 70 per cent [in Table 5] as 'good' and those between 50 to 70 per cent as 'moderately good'. Identification of trades with employability potential of this benchmark would be helpful in evolving appropriate policies aimed at their promotion.

Among engineering trades for males, the trades of D/man Civil, D/Man Mech., Electronics Mech., Electrician, Painter (G), and Computer related courses emerge as the ones with better employment potential. Other trades with moderate employability ratings among engineering trades for males are: Ref. & A/C, Instrument Mech., Wireman, Electronics, Machinist, Turner and Welder. It is also relevant to note that the trades of Painter (G), Electronics and Plumber stand out for their relatively higher ratings for self-employment potential (above 50%) for males.

TABLE 6

Estimated Employability by Trade/Sex

(Per cent)

5. *No.*	*Trade*	*Male*			*Female*		
		W.E.	*S.E®*	*Total*	*W.E.*	*S.E.'v*	*Total*
A.	Engineering						
1.	D/M Civil	45.5	43.6	89.1	23.8	31.2	55.0
2.	D/M Mech.	83.3	-	83.3	-	-	-
3.	Ref. & A/C	28.1	26.1	54.2	-	-	-
4.	Electronics Mechanic	27.0	43.6*	70.6	16.7	29.3*	46.0
5.	Instrument Mechanic	12.5	43.6*	56.1	-	-	-
6.	Electrician	21.6	48.3	69.9	-	-	-
7.	Wireman	20.0	43.6*	63.6	-	-	-
8.	Electronics	4.8	55.0	59.8	10.0	33.3	43.3
9.	Machinist	9.1	45.0	54.1	-	-	-
10.	Turner	13.9	41.9	55.8	-	-	-
11.	Painter (G)	13.6	57.9	71.5	-	-	-
12.	Welder	22.2	43.6*	65.8	-	-	-
13.	Plumber	-	50.0	50.0	-	-	-
14.	Computer/P.A.	41.7	43.6*	85.3	15.4	18.2	33.6
15.	Others	10.5	45.5	56.0	-	-	-
Sub-Total (A)		*14.5*	*43.6*	*58.1*	*18.0*	*29.3*	*47.3*
B.	Non-Engineering						
1.	Steno.-Eng.	-	-	-	55.6	-	55.6
2.	Steno.-Hindi	-	-	-	6.7	28.6	35.3
3.	B & H.D.	-	-	-	4.5	47.6	52.1
4.	Textile Designing	-	-	-	-	30.0	30.0
5.	Commercial Art	-	-	-	12.5	50.0	62.5
6.	Cutting & Tailoring	-	16.7	16.7	6.0	54.0	60.0
7.	Dress Designing	-	-	-	-	40.0	40.0
8.	Others	14.3	50.0	64.3	-	-	-
Sub Total (B)		*5.3*	*38.9*	*44.2*	*8.0*	*47.1*	*55.1*
Total (A+B)		14.2	43.4	57.6	9.0	44.1	54.0

W.E. = Wage Employment; S.E. = Self Employment

* = Proportion used is of average for all engineering trades.

® " Refers to proportions of unemployed engaged in work related to ITI training.

Source: As indicated in Table 4.

The non-engineering trades, on the other hand, appear to be more popular among females, although their suitability for females is not as high as the engineering trades for males were seen to be (all the trades which are evidently suitable for females are at best seen to be of moderate level). Among the engineering trades, the only trade which is seen to fall above the benchmark level of 50 per cent for females is D/M Civil. On the non-engineering side, the trades of stenography (English), beautician and hair dressing, commercial art and cutting and tailoring have the potential to offer moderate levels of employability for females. Other trades, with some potential to offer employability (below 50% benchmark) for females are: Electronics and Computer related courses among engineering trades and stenography (Hindi) and Textile/Dress Designing among non-engineering trades.

IV. Areas Requiring Expansion of Educational Facilities

Taking both the demand for admission (data on which was separately analysed under Institutional Survey for the study) and employability, as perceived from the follow-up survey for the study, the following Trades emerge as the ones with higher ratings of their demand/employability levels:

i) Computers ii) Refrigeration & A/C (Mech.), iii) Electrician, iv) Wireman, v) Electronics Mechanic, vi) D/Man (Civil), vii) D/Man (Mech.), and viii) Machinist among Engineering Trades; and

i) English (stenography), ii) Commercial art, iii) B & H D , and iv) Cutting & Tailoring among non-engineering trades.

Trades with indications of employability, albeit of a lower order include:

i) Instruments mechanic, ii) Electronics, iii) Painter (G), iv) Turner, v) Welder, and vi) Plumber on the engineering side; and

i) Hindi (stenography), ii) Dress Designing, and iii) Textile Designing on the non-engineering side.

Macro Indicators on Specific Areas of Manpower Demand

Electronics Hardware Sector

A macro level estimate worked out by the Department of Electronics in the Electronic Hardware Sector[6] estimates an additional demand to the tune of 80,000, indicating a total requirement of 3.44 lakh by the year 2001-02 from the existing facility for training of 2.64 lakhs. The estimated additional demand is of the type of ITI equivalent, including on-the-job training and short-term courses. The source further estimates the total likely demand of similar type as 4.56 lakh (i.e., 1.12 lakh additional trained persons) by the year

[6] Background Paper on Human Resource Requirements and Development, HRD Division, DoE, GoI, September, 1998, pp. 5-6.

2008. The estimated demand for indirect employment (ancillaries, repairs/maintenance etc.) is further placed at more than 10 lakh persons by 2001-02. The source, however, is rather vague with no description provided for the basis of the estimates worked out.

Further, the source points to the rapid technological developments taking place in the industry as the main reason for the demand. It also points out that the training programmes at the ITI levels are comparatively less sensitive to technological changes than those at higher levels (diploma and above) and that a large percentage of employees at these levels get trained on-the-job, a fact corroborated by the practices followed by the establishments as observed in the Establishment Survey Report. It follows, therefore, that Electronics Hardware is an area which is going to witness considerable demand with improved and higher developments anticipated in the area.

Leather Products

Pointing out the vast demand for trained manpower in the leather goods area, the 1998-99 World Employment Report states: "India has the advantage of cheap labour endowed with traditional skills in the manufacture of leather products, but a majority of the people in the informal sector are uneducated and it is not easy to upgrade their skills beyond a certain point. In the modern sector, efforts to increase productivity have been mainly in the form of short-term training provided to the workers by foreign buyers. The sector faces an acute-shortage of trained manpower and especially lacks trained managers, supervisors and design operators. The stigma attached to the leather trade, lack of modern teaching infrastructure and outdated courses have all contributed to skill shortages in this sector."

Emerging Areas

Some of the technologies which have been identified to be dominating the next millenium are: i) CNC, ii) laser applications, iii) water jets, iv) micro machining/band machining/high speed machining, v) metal cutting technologies, vi) advanced machine tools, vii) advanced welding technique, viii) advanced casting/forging, ix) advanced foundry, x) mechatronics, xi) CAD/CAM/robotics, xii) fluidised bed boilers etc. In view of the fact that these are new areas, designing of curriculum appropriate to the craftsmen level needs to be developed in a phased and time bound manner.

V. Qualitative Factors Relevant to Improvement of ITI Training

The methodology adopted for the survey on the findings of which this paper is based comprised two stages: (i) eliciting quantitative details by questionnaires and (ii) holding of discussions with the teaching community and industrial professionals. The response to the item on the identification of factors that goes to improve the system of training imparted at the ITIs have mainly come forth from the discussions part. These are mainly qualitative factors requiring functional restructuring and policy initiatives. This section lists out these aspects for possible address over an appropriate time frame. Their

non-address would leave the training system largely deficient and they are in that sense crucial to be reviewed carefully.

(i) Curriculum Modification

Curriculum modification/updating is presently being made rather at a too long time interval[7]. There is no representation of trade teachers from ITIs in these committees. This has led to inadequate thrust on essentials, as their knowledge is considered untapped in respect of curriculum needs/essentials. Representation of trade teachers on curriculum modification committees must be made in order to draw from their experience of ground requirements. Also, suggestions called for by all ITIs in this regard must be considered by the committee diligently. The Curriculum Modification Committees should, therefore, be not only improved in its representation by including trade teachers but they should also meet more frequently and at regular intervals.

(ii) Increased Thrust on Practical Training

Any amount of theoretical knowledge imparted, with practical training limited to ITI workshops alone, would not adequately equip the trainees to the practical needs of the industries of the time. The training imparted at the ITIs must be backed up with compulsory apDrenticeship training in the industry. This must be supplemented by demonstration visits to establishments adopting modern technological practices, with facilities for teaching faculty/industrial experts interaction at different forums/levels. This would ensure training on state-of-the-art technological practices as it would be very difficult to upgrade the practical training facilities at the ITIs with the fast changing technological standards of the industry. The conventional training practices with emphasis on classroom teaching and manual (non-computerised) practical training methods may continue as these, though not in use at the level of modern methods and practices, might still be in use in many establishments. They are also considered vital from the point of view of foundation learning which is irreplaceable whatever the changes in the industrial scene besides being relevant in imparting the actual feel of trade skills. The adaptability to CNC machines after such a training at the ITIs is considered to be fast with the foundation acquired serving as a knowledge buffer.

(iii) Involvement of Industry

The involvement of industry in the training of industrial workers needs to be boosted on all fronts. The Apprentice Act of 1961, so far carried the stipulation that establishments employing more than 500 workers (and having posts/vacancies of at least 12 in one or more of similar trades requiring common basic training) must have their own basic training centres and engage apprentices in the prescribed ratio. With a view to involving

[7] The Curriculum Modification Committees are expected to meet atleast once every 3 years, whereas its ctual meeting is gathered to be quite outside this time limit.

the industry to a greater degree, the Act has been recently amended (1997) to reduce trhe ceiling on employment in the establishments to 250. Thus, although there is once agaiin no binding on the part of establishments to recruit the products of ITIs as apprentices, strict implementation of the above amendment would increase the prospects of ITI graduates getting into establishments as apprentices. What is, therefore, required is a coordination of efforts between the ITIs and the office of the Apprenticeship Adviser to achieve maximum enrolment of ITI out-turns as apprenticeship trainees. Such an arrangement, coinciding with the conclusion of ITI examinations would enhance trhe efficiency of ITI trainings, with the simultaneous ensuring of industrial exposure to tlhe trainees. This would also fructify the objectives of the centralised placement cell wiith those of the office of the Apprenticeship Adviser.

Another area in which the involvement of industry can be of significant benefit is in respect of training of trade teachers. At present, the trade teachers are sent for their periodical training to centres at other cities. Also, the thrust of the training imparted is on theoretical aspects. It would be far more beneficial if such training is imparted in industries of the same city employing modern technology. This, while removing the associated hardships in going to an altogether different location for training, would help the trade teachers in getting familiarised with the industrial environment of their local areas where the products of their ITIs are more likely to get employment after the completion of their courses. It would also make it possible for the teachers to impart the theoretical knowledge relating to current systems of application, with field visits arranged for the trainees for demonstrations in those establishments.

(iv) Scientific Purchasing of Machinery

Costly machinery and equipment are not put to proper use due to reasons like (i) non-issuing of instruction manuals; (ii) absence of maintenance services; (iii) non-linking of other essentials required including fixtures for supplies like regular water and electricity etc. Purchasing is a highly specialised area which merits to be entrusted to professionals qualified to discharge the responsibilities associated with the procurement tasks in a scientific manner. A radical restructuring of the purchasing (and maintenance) operations from its present centralised state is, therefore, imperative.

(v) Training of Trainers

Associated with the purchase of any modern machinery and its related teaching requirements is the need for regular retraining of trade teaching staff. This may also be required at frequent intervals, adding to its unaffordability. This is particularly so in the case of IT related applications where the developments are rapid. Involvement of industry in providing refresher training to the trade teachers assumes significance in this regard. Also, insofar as computer related courses are concerned, it is perceived rational to run courses of Computer Operation/Data Entry Operation at the ITIs leaving the running of software development courses to centres better equipped to run the same. The

infrastructure can be utilised for providing computer awareness to trainees of other trades.

(vi) Catering to Local Industrial Needs

Of the 42 engineering trades identified for imparting training at the ITIs, the facility for training (in Delhi) exists in about 33 trades. The industrial surveys conducted by the office of the Apprenticeship Adviser identifies a much larger number of trades which are already in application in the local industries. Table 7 presents a profile of occupational categories which are already existing but have no training facility at the ITIs. It is important to expand the training facilities to cover a large number of uncovered trades/areas. The involvement of the industry in imparting training to trade teachers at the ITIs will also be useful in identifying new areas for coverage at the ITIs.

(vii) Specifications for Standard Tools/Equipments

No laid down specifications for tools and equipment used in ITI workshops exist as of now. This has led to the deployment of tools and equipment not in conformity with those of standard usage. Establishment of standards in training practices being one of the recognised goals for national/international achievement, specifications for standard tools must be formulated for uniform observance in all the ITIs. This, however, needs periodical review to cater to changes in technological practices and methods. It would also help in achieving standardisation in the hands-on experience acquired by the trainees at the ITIs.

(viii) Workshops/Seminars

Holding of periodical workshops/seminars, and affording interactions with representatives from industrial establishments, provides a forum in which exchange of ideas on imparting quality training vis-a-vis the needs of the industry can be deliberated. This will also help equip the trade teachers in contributing towards the updating of curriculum.

(ix) Career Planning

Any amount of resource spent on acquiring modern training equipments and machinery would go waste or under-utilised if the initiatives of the trade teachers to learn and teach is not sustained adequately by appropriate motivational measures. A policy of career progression coupled with relevant training/workshop/seminar programmes and active industry involvement with periodical review of course curriculum are thus important factors contributing to enhancement of the relevance of industrial training imparted at the ITIs.

TABLE 7

Vocations Not Available in Delhi Under Craftsman Training Scheme

1.	Motor Vehicle
2.	Aircraft Electrician
3.	Winder (Armature)
4.	Cable Jointer
5.	Furniture & Cabinet maker
6.	Mill wright maintenance mechanic
7.	Sports goods maker (wood)
8.	Maintenance Mechanic (Chemical Plant)
9.	Dairy Maintenance Mechanic
10.	Sewing Machine Mechanic
11.	Instrument Mechanic (Aircraft)
12.	Driver cum fitter
13.	Steam Turbine Operator
14.	Switch Board attendant
15.	Engraver
16.	Plate Maker (Lithographic)
17.	Litho offset (Machine minder)
18.	Knitter Hosiery (Garment Design)
19.	Printing (Textile)
20.	Rigger (Engg. & Chemical Industry)
21.	Attendant Operator (Chemical Plant)
22.	Mechanic (Agricultural Machinery)
23.	Horticulture Asstt.
24.	Stockman (Dairy)
25.	Attendant Operator (Dairy)
26.	Pump Mechanic
27.	Sports goods Maker (Leather)
28.	Leather goods maker
29.	Foot wear maker
30.	Finished leather maker
31.	Unfinished Leather maker
32.	Maintenance Mechanic for leather machinery
33.	Pipe fitter
34.	Rigger
35.	Gas Cutter
36.	Radio & Radar (Aircraft) Mechanic
37.	Millwright (Rolling Mills)
38.	Crane Operator (overhead)
39.	Glass Blower/Blowing Machine Operator
40.	Enamel Glazer
41.	Optical worker
42.	Cable Jointer
43.	Fibre reinforced plastic processor
44.	Desk top publishing operator
45.	Video Grapher
46.	Broad casting Mechanic
47.	Telecommunication Mechanic
48.	Food processor & canner

Source: Employment Officer (Labour Market Information), Employment Exchange for ITI Graduates, PUSA. New Delhi

VI. Summing Up: A Perspective for Reorientation

The paper has attempted to address the need for a review of the system of training of craftsmen at ITI level, the demand therefor vis-a-vis their employment trends, and areas where there is scope for expanding the training facilities at the craftsmen level. It has spelt out the needs for catering to the fast changing developments in the industry. This calls for integrating the institutional training with compulsory exposure to the industrial culture through the Apprenticeship System. A greater interaction of the training institutions with the industry (e.g. for teacher's training etc.) needs to be established. Simultaneously, courses on new trades fitting into the emerging areas identified also need to be developed/introduced. These areas require new instructional and infrastructural facilities.

The curriculum modification should also give attention to introducing topics on self-employment promotion schemes like PMRY[8] and the institutions in place to extend training and credit facilities (e.g. National Small Scale Industries Centre, Small Industries Development Bank of India etc.). Application formats and other procedural needs of PMRY scheme as also of other credit institutions require to be introduced. The various documents needed to be enclosed, including the requirements of a feasible project proposal, should also be taught towards the end of their institutional training. The faculty of Small Industries Services Institutes (SISIs) (as also other institutions set up for the promotion of self-employment ventures) should visit the ITIs to impart knowledge on courses and programmes helpful in this regard. These measures will equip the trainees to be aware of the self-employment possibilities well in advance so that in the event of their being unable to secure wage-employment of their liking/choice, they have the knowledge to plan for a self-employment venture. Yet another relevant step in this direction is the promotion of the idea of setting up co-operatives by the trainees at the ITIs who will work towards supplying the orders procured by the institutions (ITIs) on behalf of the cooperatives. Such a scheme is already functioning effectively in Maharashtra and Karnataka. This will also be helpful in getting the exposure required by them for meeting the industrial needs. In other words, it would serve as a form of practical training for self-employment with incidental exposure gained to related organisational aspects.

The apprenticeship training system also needs to be given a suitable reorientation. First, it should be made a logical extension of the institutional training so that the exposure to the industrial environment/culture could be used to gain awareness on the requirements of becoming vendors of small components through the self-employment route. The culture of partnership venture through joint financing appears to be a healthy one worth promoting as it helps in dealing with the risk perception of freshers through responsibility sharing. A bigger impediment could be the place of operation of the unit for which governmental assistance, feasibility of collaboration with the major units etc. should be evolved/explored. While all these might appear to be tall goals, additional

[8] An earlier evaluation study of PMRY scheme carried out by 1AMR (for the years 1993 to 1995) showed the percentage of ITI trained beneficiaries as just about 5 per cent.

efforts should be made at the beginning so that slowly and gradually the integration of different systems, to usher in a new culture can be promoted/developed.

The qualitative factors identified, whose address would contribute to the improvement of the training system at the ITIs, need some functional restructuring and policy initiatives. Some of the points indicated fall on the HRD side e.g., training of trainers, workshops/seminars, career planning and involvement of industry. Some others require course restructuring e.g., curriculum modification. Certain others require functional restructuring and establishment of standard setting/specification e.g., scientific purchasing of machinery and specification of standard tools/equipment. These are some of the well recognised areas which are identified in the management of men and material, wherever they are under deployment. They require a dedicated approach towards their tackling as attitudinal reluctance can kill many of the even easily attainable standards in performance. A time phased and positive approach would achieve most of it leading to an overall enhancement in the achievement of the broad objectives for which such vast institutional infrastructure is established.

Ensuring qualitative standards of the different aspects involved in curriculum updating, training of trainers, identification of emerging areas, upgradation/maintenance of training infrastructure, etc. as an exercise in continuity are not merely a one time effort. The most important or the central requirement in this respect is the forging of an effective industry-institution interaction. One of the points made by ASSOCHAM to the Working Group on Skill Development and Training (set up to provide input to the Tenth Plan Preparation; PC, 2001) on the issue of establishing better industry-institution interaction is that: "the onus is on the government to make the industry feel that the training under the Apprenticeship Act is not a burden on the industry but help since the industry needs good, confident and trained manpower". The first part of this submission indicates the need for a reassurance while the second part reflects the self-interest and therefore, the implicit motivation for contributing towards improvement in the quality of training. Experience of other countries reveals that such a partnership is forged with much flexibility, incentives and support extended by the government, and it constitutes the key for strengthening the vocational training system (WB/ILO, ibid, pp. 22-35).

The suggestions and sought-out concessions/incentives for encouraging the industry to play an active and meaningful role are: (i) introduction of flexibility in allocating apprentices to industry depending on local/regional requirements; (ii) enhancement of stipend to trainees/apprentices and 50 per cent of the same to be borne by the government; (iii) suggesting to a group of industries to support one institution in an area; and (iv) giving incentives to the private sector to set up training institutions, such as providing free or highly concessional land, 50 per cent of capital cost as grant, 200 per cent tax benefit on the amount spent on setting up and running of the institution, autonomy in respect of fee structure to be followed etc. Although the issue of closer partnership with the industry in making the training system more attuned to the industry needs has received concerted attention, its roots are still not sufficiently established. In fact, as the approach paper to the Tenth Plan records, "an assertion of the dignity of

labour and vocationalisation of curricula are essential to ensure that a disjunction does not take place between the educational system and the work place" (PC, 2001). In this connection, noting that the industry-institution interaction continues to be weak, the Report of the Second National Commission on Labour (NCL, 2002) also observes that so far inputs from the industry were merely of advisory nature which were not very effective. The report adds that it is necessary to shift the advisory inputs from the industry into managerial inputs. Further, reviewing comprehensively the lacunae in the present system of skill development, the Commission recommends its reorientation to evolve: (a) a modular approach to vocational training enabling multi-skilling; (b) a competency based training system linked to the world of work; and (c) a competency-based certification system (NCL, Vol. II, p-1120).

In the present context of globalisation and economic reforms, funding of educational/training institutions is also expected to be gradually shifted outside the purview of public funding. There is a proposal to levy a training cess, to be borne by establishments proportionate to the total employment in the establishment. A review of policies pursued by other countries reveals (WB/ILO, ibid, p-20) that financing is done through sources like: (i) Allocation from workers' union funds; (ii) Funding from public revenue by State; (iii) Per capita payment from employers to union education fund; and (iv) International donor agencies. Proposal for the Tenth Plan, in this respect, includes the setting up of a Skill Development Fund (SDF) on the lines adopted by many countries. Mandatory contributions from the employers depending upon the number of employees, annual turnover, profit and the technology level of the operations are expected to constitute a significant part of the proposed SDF.

The vast segment of the unorganised sector workers, who require skill development training, credit and other institutional support to facilitate their integration with the mainstream industrial activities, has been especially mentioned in all government documents (beginning notably with the Ninth Plan Document) for appropriate address. A beginning, in this direction, has since been made with the operation of additional shifts at the ITIs. It would, however, require motivation by relevant canvassing through the media on the benefits of enrolling in such programmes. In view of the policy thrust by the government to promote self-employment pursuits in small/tiny enterprises, on the one hand, and catering to the skill development needs of the unorganised sector, on the other, concerted efforts in the direction envisaged, would facilitate the process of restructuring and reorienting so vitally needed in the changing environment.

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BOOK REVIEWS

David De FERRANTI, Guillermo E. PERRY, Indermit GILL, J. Luis GUASH, William F MALONEY, Caroline SANCHE, Paramo SCHADY, Norbort SCHADY (2003) ***Closing the Gap in Education and Technology.*** The World Bank 1818, H. Street, NW, Washington, DC 20433. ISBNO-8213-5172-9, pp. 216. Price: $ 25.00, (Paperback).

In the current age and day of globalization, emerging economies have to contend with improving their growth principles and processes in order to close in on the rat race. The entire garnet of factors, including but not restricted to: Formal education knowledge, training/skills-base, technological innovations in the LAC, has been studied in depth, analyzed with quantitative data, the results of which emerge as this World Bank report aspiring to implement the Latin American Carribean countries to pace with the international developments/markets.

The World Bank Collective report "Closing the Gap in Education and Technology" is an insightful treatise on the economics of Latin America and the Carribeans, the gaps/bottlenecks that need to be filled in order to elevate productivity and finances and guidelines to policy formulation which would bridge the Education-Technology Skills gap. The report is well-conceived and organized into seven chapters, with charts, diagrams, graphs, tables and statistics providing credibility and precision to the text.

The report highlights the comparative economics of the LAC (Latin & Carribean) with growth-oriented Aisan, Scandinavian first world countries, concluding that the insubstantial increase in GDP in LAC can be ascribed more to the lack of knowledge, learning, national innovative capacity than the resources endowment. 'The report offers the mechanisms and modalities of learning, skills up-grading, buffeted by creative government policies. The key ingredients in the success of these countries are first, that they early recognized the need for an explicit, efficient and sustained policy to move the private sectors to the technological frontier, and second, that they engaged in one of the most rapid and dramatic build-ups of national human capital in human history. The report emphasizes that human capital in concordance with foreign direct investment (FDI) knowledge transfer and liberalized trade would enhance productivity and hence, finances. The so-called information and communications technology (ICT) revolution has also directly affected per capita, which, in turn, influences and determines total factor productivity growth (TFP). Government policy backing this growth in skills level, technology transfer, financial and productivity level, to a large extent, is vital to providing a conducive environment through trade reforms, ease in accessing education and hence, skills acquirement.

A simple National Innovation System (NIS), illustrated to pursue Global Knowledge Economy, Sectoral national and international "Innovation networks" combined with informational asymmetries (i.e. Processes of Knowledge creation, diffusion, and absorption) and better incentives, would serve as an effective growth potential.

Chapter 2 of the Report presents empirical evidence supporting the findings that technological change has been complementary with skill levels in the last two decades, in sync with the more developed countries. This phenomenon has resulted in further demand for skilled workers i.e. with tertiary education, thus shooting up their wages (a la the developed countries 'model').

Chapter on "The Gaps That Matter Most" incorporates quantitative estimates of gaps within the LAC framework, gaps being "relative to the level of development (comparative figures are for Asian "tiger" countries within similar bounds of development i.e. Hong Kong, China, Korea, Malyasia, etc.) while also natural resources abundant countries viz Canada, Australia, New Zealand, Scandinavian countries.

Chapter 3 titled "How Technology and Skills Interact" presents that the evidence for Latin America and the Carribean utilizes macro-economic firm-level, and household-level data in the region to show that technology and skills interact in important ways in Latin America. The salient points made are: evidence of technology wave complementary with skill; rising demand for skilled workers and their wages, despite the increased supply of tertiary educated skilled employees; strong evidence of demand side changes favouring workers with tertiary education. The rationale behind these shifting trends could be attributed to anyone of the number of economic reforms although labour market reforms do not explain the patterns observed in Latin America. Trade reforms could explain many of the patterns, most specifically the patterns of skill upgrading mostly in industries being consistent with skill-biased technological change or capital-skill complementarity with skills upgrading patterns at the literary level similar across different LA countries. These upward curves in trends denote stepping-stones for patterns of integration into the global economy. The chapter emphasizes the relationship between technology and skills and the patterns it generates while highlighting the important implications of these patterns on the formation review, revision and implementation the education policy.

Chapter 4 "Closing the Skills Gap: Education Policies" is an important expedient for filling of gaps facilitating LAC to be competitive in the global market place. "There is a direct link between this relationship of education and wages at the 'individual' level and the relationship of education and aggregate income at the country level (Kruegar & Lindahl 2001, as quoted in the report). Mathematical models of educational transition modules, in the form of pyramids, anvils and diamonds illustrate various comparisons with different countries in E. Asia and Europe. While the other countries e.g. E. Asian & Finland show a fast, bottom-up upgrading, the saga of most of the LAC denotes slow, top-down educational upgrading. This may be ascribed to maintain terms of transition, with inadequacy of established goals, objectives, guidelines and pathway while the Education spending on a fraction of the GDRI into LAC is not low, no clear correlation between Education Quality and Quantity is observed. The demand appears to escalate in terms of on-the-job skill - the ability to perform complex tasks entailing reasoning cognitive work and managerial skills as opposed to specialized "scientific" and/or theoretical/scholarly knowledge.

In Chapter 5 in defining the customized skills development base through on-the-job training, vocational education and training systems around the world including the Japanese, American, French, German and the Latin American have been underscored. The LA system ensures as a hybrid of the French and German systems, which in simple terms, channels students from the academic to the labor markets and/or secondary to tertiary education through the creation of bridge program. The training under tripartite employer, labor union, and government auspices is funded by an earmarked tax on enterprises. The chapter incorporates various elements and factors correlated with training i.e. the firm and its attitude to training. The authors rightfully point out that the policies to promote training should consider the three components of an effective training program - increase in education training level of workers and the rate of adoption of new technology. Reforms to and the defining of levy growth scheme would be an incentive for firms to train Government investments in firm-sponsored training (especially in house training) has large payoffs but a very small percentage offers structured formal training. Establishing coordinated and proactive small and medium-size enterprise policies and seeking proacti e measures to identify and deliver a package of integrated services would imply training and hence, a productivity curve.

Chapter 6 "Technological Transitions and Elements of Technology Policy" focuses on the promise accepted by most countries worldwide, validated by theory and empiricism (with technological innovation being key to economic, income and employment growth. The crucial roles of the government, not merely as policy makers but as providing a wealth of leadership, correlation, commitment, and incentives in order to induce these innovations at the desired velocity, are highlighted. Innovation, as the authors state, is a process that cannot be mandated by the government. In this context, the government should aid in evolving the market with a highly synergetic coordinating role of various elements that come into play; technological capabilities should be developed through tapping into the Global knowledge stock - efficiency and reconnaissance, catching up with and consolidating innovative infrastructure, and providing incentives to emerging technological leaders who have invested in specialized training and R&D. The transitional phase to be undergone in this growth/developmental process is defined, with clear focus of R&D "as an innovation" as well as a learning platform. Intellectual Property Rights (IPR) as inherent to growth have been discussed.

Chapter 7 "Networks and National Innovation Systems" draws from the previous chapters dealing with the stocks of factors essential to the innovation process and policies to enhance them, focusing on the modalities of interactions of these stock factors with the net-works of public, private and international actors, and institutions that form the "National Innovation System". Benchmarks, indicators, ideal settings, efficiency of use of resources and collaboration, university/research centers/firms inter-linkages have been detailed in the conclusive context, while comparisons with international models have been naturally drawn.

The report has succeeded in achieving the goals, the World Bank aspired to. The textual and graphic contents enhance the coherence and credibility of the report. The

segment with abbreviations is a 'must' for readers and implementers who may not be familiar with some/most of them. An exhaustive bibliography at the end of the book is strongly indicative of the range and depth of studies undertaken, while "end notes" following every chapter explicate further certain points raised in the text.

With full awareness and global experience of the gaps between policies and practices (i.e. Growth implementation), findings of the report should be utilized on the ground by local and international experts, preventing this creative scientific piece of work from being shelved to archives as a 'read-only' theoretical treatise.

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Yin Cheong CHENG (Chief Editor) and J.S. RAJPUT (Guest Editor): 'Symposium on Teacher Education in India' special issue of ***Asia-Pacific Journal of Teacher Education and Development,*** 2003, Centre for Research and International Collaboration, Hongkong, Hongkong Institute of Education, pp.124, ISBN: 1029-0699 (Paperback).

The special issue of the *ASIA-PACIFIC Journal of Teacher Education and Development,* (Vol.6, No.1, June 2003) is a compendium of relevant information on teacher education and development, presenting a broad picture of the Teacher Education system in India. The papers presented in the symposium have a unique contribution. Read together they present a mosaic which characterizes teacher education into four significant aspects: (a) profile of teacher educators, (b) professionalism of teachers, (c) reforms and restructuring in-service teacher education and (d) teacher education through distance learning.

The first paper on profile of Teacher Educators in India by Kiran Walia is based on a survey study conducted to enhance a better understanding of Indian teacher educators and quality in teacher education both in pre-service and in-service education. The creation of multiplier effects by teacher-educators has been presented as a need for teaching, recruiting and upgrading the skills of teacher educators. A need has been felt for the formulation of practical and effective educational reform which will help the teacher educators play a pivotal role in the profession, stressing on the following issues - academic and professional qualifications, gender and marital status, publishing research papers, articles and books, induction, competency and performance of teacher educators, problem of student teachers and steps taken for quality improvement. This has a very important message for nodal agencies like NCERT, NIEPA and NOS, which should equip elementary level teacher education institutions with adequate supply of suitable learning materials.

The second paper on Perspectives in Teacher Professionalism in India by J.S.Rajput refers to professionalism as an internalized code of ethics and commitment among teachers at collective level. This paper presents the teacher as a spiritual one, equated with mother and father, and all the three revered as gods, with its genesis in the Sanskrit

verse 'Gurur Brahma, Gurur Vishnu, Gurur Devo Maheshwarah Gurur Sakshaath Parabramha, Tasmai, Sri Guruve Namah' and with emphasis on the concept of service and civility in classroom rather than economic returns. This endeavour made in India is unique in various ways as it empowers teachers to gravitate towards decentralization from the old legacy of British (alien) system of education. The classical image of the professional teacher, derived from the functional perspective of sociology of the profession and traditional characteristics of the professional teacher, was brought forth as being positively disposed to student welfare. But the new professionalism of teachers today, in the context of modernisation, information technology and knowledge explosion, building a knowledge society etc., calls for committing the teachers to the path of lifelong learning by themselves and inspiring their students in the same way. Following the thought as reflected in the National Policy on Education (NPE) to provide continual in-service training to teachers, a few institutions like the DIET, Panchayatiraj Institutions, DPEP etc. were formulated. In 2001, the Government of India launched a national mission for ensuring free and compulsory education for all children upto 14 years. This also called for orientation of teachers as a critical input throughout all levels of education. New structures and approaches are being tried out or tested under highly visible educational programmes. It is for the national level professional organizations to change themselves into learning organizations and also to inspire and support the field level organizations to equally become learning organizations to promote the building of knowledge-based society. Teaching remains dynamic, lively and absorbing as long as the teacher is committed to lifelong continuous learning and teacher development becomes an on-going process. In-service teacher education and training plays a crucial role in teacher development. It is no cliche but a reality that *those who teach should never cease to learn.* In-service courses are offered to teachers to upgrade knowledge and pedagogical skills. They are organized to provide them with training and to acquaint them with emerging trends and new policy issues.

The paper by O.S. Dewal identifies some significant milestones in in-service teacher education starting from a film unit in the Ministry of Education in 1940s to the creation of Gyan Vani, an audio channel dedicated to education and development in 2001, making it clear that INSET is an important component of teacher development. It has live relations with pre-service education as well as field realities. INSET has also a delicate task of character building of students, and, therefore, should be conducted to train teachers in developing affection, love, understanding, care and respect for students. A teacher must develop within himself the capacity to innovate. This aspect of developing skills and attitude needs to be reinforced through INSET. The paper also highlights various aspects of in-service teacher education relating to target group, locale, content, transactional strategy and discusses main models namely face to face, cascade and distant mode by giving relevant examples. With the emergence of globalization, fast tele-communications and interdependence, teachers have obligation to develop "praxis of heart" (Hicks, 2000), to mould the mind and character of the new generation and to suit the present day setting and develop a catholicity of outlook. The moral domain also plays

a vital role to enhance the building of a better knowledge-based society. Implementing value-based education might lead to the blossoming of human excellence for which teacher training institutions will have to play an important role and make value education a compulsory subject both for pre-service and in-service teacher education programme.

Discussing the nature of modularization and course development strategies of Distance Learning, Santosh Panda gives an overview of history of Indian teacher education through distance learning. Apart from being a personal contact component, it also emphasizes on four major areas, namely understanding elementary school child, facilitating growth and development, guiding children's learning and guiding socio-emotional development of a child. Indian distance teacher education has been in operation since 1962, and has played a uniquely important role in the provision of education to students and teachers. Distance Teacher Training varies considerably across distance training institutions in the country while the most commonly employed tactics include using self-learning material giving students assignments, making personal contact programme, arranging teaching practice and giving term-end examination. To enhance the quality of Distance Teacher Education programme in India, various teacher education programmes, post-diploma in higher education, masters in Distance Education, certificate in primary education have been made by IGNOU. Looking to the satisfactory quality of in-service training by university level correspondence courses, IGNOU has initiated a two-year distance education B.Ed, programme including the use of credit system, modularization, enhancement of openness, flexibility and effective programme delivery. The reviewer also supports the view that more collaborative projects between NCERT and IGNOU have to be planned for the success of quality distance teaching programme.

The nature of the commonsense conception of language and some pedagogical implications, introduction of a more realistic account of the way the language works generally, in teaching and learning contexts in Malaysia, is discussed in the paper by Peter F. Cullip. Language is conceptualized as a conduit for transference of independent meaning. This view remains widespread in education, official and community discourses in Malaysia. Malaysian education, in general, and teacher education, in particular, are heavily top-down in curricular matters. The curriculum remains traditionalist in orientation and is sustained by a common-sense view of language and learning. Language is seen as a means of transmitting content, knowledge, ideas, information, feelings and values that exist independently of language. Language serves as a means to an end. The traditional curriculum has its roots in discipline, conformity, obedience and morality. Learning is a life-long affair and one grapples with the construction of new and varied meaning in new and varied contexts. Young children learn very easily, here language is functional, so a child is simultaneously learning language through language and learning about language. To learn, thus, is to expand our meaning potential in interaction with others. In conclusion, Peter Cullip argues that common-sense folk view of language and learning dominates the thinking of most Malaysian educators and proposes an uncommon-sense functional model of language and

learning and to outline the powerful possibilities created by it. On the whole, education in Malaysia has been at crossroads for sometime. It would seem that the direction of change may now be clear since policy-makers have been planning to introduce technology-enabled in schools since 1996.

It must be acknowledged that deeply held beliefs are notoriously difficult to change, particularly when they are deeply embedded in top-down prescriptive curriculum. Nevertheless, educators are responsible for keeping abreast of contributing to and disseminating educational research for keeping one foot firmly in the classroom, for keeping one hand extended to teachers and for informing policy-makers through whatever means they can. Creativity has become a hot topic in the Hong Kong school education with the given curriculum policy endorsement. Very little empirical research has been conducted to evaluate effectiveness of the teaching and learning of creativity in the Hong Kong context. Ming Fai HUI reviews some fundamental problems and issues which can be categorized, basing on their nature and essence - disciplinary, theoretical, cultural and managerial - and presents knowledge-based suggestions and theory-driven solutions, as well as research, professional and policy implications. To face the challenges of a new era, teachers should possess and strengthen the qualities of flexibility and creativity of the mind. Many teacher educators and researchers opt to make reference to the literature on creativity and borrow what can be adopted from the theories and models of creativity. Creativity is more than a psychological construct. Two important implications can be identified in the current literature of Hong Kong education. The first implication is that one cannot teach creativity out of context and the substance of creativity is not going to help make the learners creative. The second implication is that even when a creativity enhanced curriculum is in place, sufficient time must be allocated to teaching and the promotion of creativity in application.

Only with the legitimate and mandatory requirements can teachers be compelled to think about creativity and its incorporation in their teaching. All in all, it is right for teachers to make efforts to create for their students an environment that both supports student's creativity potential and develops personal characteristics that are indispensable to achieving creativity. By doing this, researchers can generate an empirical basis for Hong Kong schools to ask more critically important questions on creativity and to redesign the curriculum to advocate the joy and excitement of being a creative teacher. However, it is difficult to draw a line between a creative teacher and an 'ordinary' teacher. Creativity does not license the misuse of a teacher's professionalism. For a richer and more rounded view in the future, Hong Kong needs improvements in education and so it has to enhance teaching and learning of creativity to produce meaningful connections, build momentum in teacher learning and transcend traditional disciplinary boundaries of the school curriculum. The four papers on teacher education furnish a basis for readers to appreciate the complexity and ramifications of teacher education reforms in India.

Given the excellent academic credentials of the contributors, each paper is of high quality with something to offer by way of analytical incisiveness. Being thought-provoking, they offer fresh insights and motivate the readers to think and reconsider

many of their perspectives on Indian teacher education and development, language and learning in Malaysia, and learning of creativity in Hong Kong schools. This compilation of systematic work in the form of a special issue offers foundations for future research, that at the same time would help the policy makers and planners in arriving at solutions to the growing need of quality development in teacher education.

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Yoko YAMATO (2003): ***Education in the Market Place: Hong Kong's International Schools and Their Mode of Operation.*** Comparative Education Research Centre, Monograph Series No. 1.Hong Kong, Pp.xiv+117, Price: HK$100/US$16.

The emergence of 'knowledge society' in the aftermath of 'information revolution' and 'globalization of capital' has changed the context and contour of education. It is true that both capitalists and socialist policy makers have focused on education in order to indoctrinate their respective values but the way modern educational system is being shaped is simply unparallel. The growing realization that knowledge is key to survival in a global and competitive market has played a dominant role in enhancing the demand for education. As a result, education is fast emerging as a truly global industry (Tooley: 2000). This situation can be better explained in the backdrop of globalization. Globalization refers not merely to integration of markets but also to diffusion of culture. The domination of American culture in the present unipolar world order is not merely reflected in 'Coca-colonization' and 'Mac Donaldization' of society but is equally pervasive in making English as the global lingua franca. These subtle and systematic shifts have brought concomitant change in the pedagogy and curriculum of education. Today standards in education are not measured in terms of access or retention but on the basis of quality. This is particularly so in the context of major international trade centers and Cosmopolitan lifestyles. Growth and development of international schools and their growing importance in various megapolises is an interesting and unexplored area of research in the field of comparative education. The book under review attempts to capture the logics and logistics of such a system, its limits and liabilities.

Since the book is a product of an empirical research, based on extensive fieldwork and also covers an important theoretical work in comparative education particularly in the areas of primary and secondary education, it will be pertinent to focus on these areas while reviewing, hence, the issues involved, the methodology adopted and the inferences drawn thereupon besides the loopholes and lasting contributions. The areas of research being very new with larger significance, particularly in the aftermath of globalization and in an era of open competition, the seminal issue is what is the clientele for international schools and secondly, what is the cost involved. Based on these two fundamental questions, Yamato has set the pace for her research. From the perspective of sociology of

education, the study has enormous significance as it seeks to underline key sociological topic like race, gender, equity, state intervention, community consciousness and cultural confluence. Here, the school becomes the center of activity, a microcosm of cultural universe and major social trends and turmoil are reflected and contextualized. It is to the. credit of the researcher and to the scope of discipline that such issues are identified and analyzed.

The shining features of a social science research are its methods and techniques. This study bears the testimony of such nuances of social sciences. In this study the researcher has used the method of participant observation as well as fieldwork using techniques like questionnaire and interview. On the one hand, personal experiences are used to the hilt to collect information and compare them with ideal situation and all the formal techniques are used to elicit information from other parts of the research universe, on the other. However, this method has two glaring lacunae, namely the possibility of individual idiosyncrasies and personal biases affecting the final outcome of research and secondly, being a client herself might have affected the process of information elicitation itself particularly the type of information supplied and courtesies extended.

Coming to the theoretical issues again, it would be important to note that cosmopolitan lifestyle and monetization of economy has led to commercialization of education. It would be foolish to remain in the barricades of ideological atavism and ignore the changes occurring in education system under the impact of market. New economic order under the aegis of open economy has ensured fast exchange of information, individuals and commodities. As a result, consumers and their demands have changed rather drastically over the years. One of such areas is education, where changes are not just limited to curriculum restructuring and capacity building of teachers but also involves soliciting of clientele and upgrading facilities to cater to the needs of the select communities. Emergence and expansion of international schools represent this very trend and the book under review has been able to capture and express this phenomenon, in a particular setting.

Delving in the dynamics of international schools, their structure, clientele and costs, the author has vividly described emerging patterns and points of dissonance. International schools were once associated primarily with serving the foreign nationals and children of repatriate catering to needs of migrant communities has changed the track. Today, not only native elites but also people with intention to give their children a test are increasingly interested to put their children in. Even schools have placed their demand accordingly. Education in the marketplace essentially explains the trend of marketizing education and structuring the system according the need and demands of the market, in general, and clientele, in particular. In the context of school education in Hong Kong the author perceived the origin, growth and development of international schools. Though the schools, created to cater to the needs of a particular section, had expanded their base in response to changing times, the demand of the new local elites, the status of English language in international market and socio-political climate in Hong Kong was responsible for growth and decline of international schools (IS). The government did play

a role in framing general policies, contributing fund to various categories of schools and in return many IS reciprocated by teaching local language along with international ones. There were also internal competitions among the schools and schools have to sustain themselves through innovation, rational fee structure and attracting the clientele and even reserving seats for foreign students at the cost of native students. Among the international schools, there are also significant variations in terms of student intake, cultural profile of staff, religious orientation and so on. In fact, researches have found trends like 'Asianization' and 'Localization' (Pp. 69) describing the ethnic pattern prevalent in schools.

Introduction of local language in international schools, based on the educational policy of Hong Kong government, was viewed differently by different sections of educational academia. Some supported it on the ground that it will bring students closer to their native culture while others opposed it and levelled charges of localization of education, and contended that it will affect the employment opportunities of students in a globally competitive market. Interestingly, problems of curriculum modernization, availability of space, lack of extra-curricular activities were also found in International schools. However, the study of international schools does provide us with enormous opportunity to look at education from a comparative perspective. Hong Kong, as an international metropolis with its variegated population, changing political context and racial diversity, does provide an ideal universe. Though small in size, Hong Kong has tremendous internal diversity to put to the study in international perspective.

Be that as it may, the study suffers from certain glaring syntactic shortcomings and printing errors. The study also fails in exactly defining international schools and thereby creating huge definitional error in the conceptual framework. Although the author admits the problem, she has done very little to get away from it. In fact, she should have taken recourse to a pragmatic operational definition of the main concept rather than letting to suffer from interpretational problems. The setting is ideal, so the concept, but with little bit of methodological rigour and inputs from the globalization perspective as a theoretical underpinning, the study would have been richer.

To conclude, despite minor aberrations, the study has opened up new vistas in the study of cross-cultural analysis. It has tremendous methodological significance in the area of comparative education. It has substantially reiterated the idea that in a 'knowledge economy', education and educational structure are the best parameters to gauge the socio-cultural context of a country and to measure the depth and dimension of social change.

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Gentilej RONALD and James P. LALLEY (2003) ***Standards and Mastery Learning*** Corwin Press, INC. A Sage Publications Company Thousand Oaks, California, ISBN 7619-46614-4(c) pp. 192, Price: $29.95

Standards and Mastery Learning is a book which would help the teachers and teacher educators in getting answers to some of the frequently required decision-making professional hints useful to them in planning, implementing and evaluating their task of transacting the given curriculum. This is said so, because a conscientious worker in any field is always worried about his quality of work. This is all the more true in case of teachers, for, the learners' performance and the curriculum transaction are always under criticism. And teachers keep on searching for something, which would help them establish the explicit relation among such multidimensional aspects involved in curriculum transaction and related matters, affecting their work. Their anxiety about quality and standards of education at times is related to establishing the proper relation among curricular objectives, instruction and assessment so that the performance of the learners becomes the transparent indicator of the standards achieved by them. Teacher educators are in need of providing such clarity to the teachers in the field. Administrators, such as head teachers or educational officers, too, require conceptual tools for having a dialogue with teachers.

This book under review serves all these categories of people by providing practical and usable ideas about mastery learning, and explaining ways and means for implementing the same in the context of a theoretical perspective.

There are five chapters and a detailed Appendix giving the insights and details from the related literature. Like all good books, it has a Glossary, References, Author index and Subject index, along with a Note on authors and a Preface.

The first chapter discusses the five foundations for Mastery learning: (a) the learning\memory base; (b) the measurement base; (c) the theoretical bases; (d) the brain base; and (e) the empirical base. It also discusses the criticism against the mastery learning. The authors have created the background for understanding the rationale of action for mastery learning which they have provided in the following chapters.

Chapter two examines the standards developed by national professional organizations of the four major disciplines involved in school curriculum, namely Mathematics, Science, Social Studies, and English language arts. The term *Standard* means (as per the glossary) "consensus goals that students should achieve in an academic domain, along with criteria for judging whether they have been achieved. In criterion-referenced assessment or behavioral objectives, standards are the level or quality of achievement required to be judged competent." The way the authors have examined the standards in each of the discipline has these processes: (a) summarizing the goals and scope of standards; (b) analyzing the same for identifying the overlap of the philosophy and intent of mastery learning; and (c) then, the suggestions for improvement. Here the authors have added two more concepts related to mastery learning, one is mastery as beginning and the second one is beyond mastery. For teacher educators, a very important additional

information is available about the Marzano Taxonomy (2001). This reference helps update the conceptual repertoire in the field of educational evaluation. The conclusions reached are: (a) Set of standards are well thought out, and (b) Each recognized the importance of all students learning and of learning being extended beyond rote memorization. Though the examples of how the activities in the classrooms can be organized were provided, the authors observe that the activities to assess the prior knowledge were not provided. Also activities for high level thinking too were not of the right sort. The suggestions to improve the same are given. It was felt while reading these observations that the lack of stress on prior knowledge and on higher level thinking are areas inadequately addressed almost universally. At least in our schools, we are lacking in these aspects is a reminder given by the discussion in this chapter.

Chapter three deals with the issue related to Planning Standard-Based Lessons Using Mastery Learning. It also focuses its attention on Enrichment and Remediation. The authors have also stressed the significance of the peer tutoring.The point made in stressing the peer tutoring is related to help it gives in over-learning and also in being aware of the way they learn. The attention to the process of meta-cognition while discussing peer tutoring is a point that demands a special mention. The discussion in the chapter provides the reader with the six elements of mastery learning that are essential for planning lessons. They are: (i) Contextualization of lessons in a spiral curriculum; (ii) Activation of previous knowledge and diagnosis of misconceptions; (iii) Using variety of methods for basic and higher level objectives; (iv) Providing a written statement of crucial objectives in mastery to students; (v) Developing a variety of assessments for mastery objectives as well as for enrichment activities; and (vi) Plan for remediating students failing to achieve the required standards of mastery.

Chapter four is Implementing Standards and Mastery Learning in the classroom. The opening statement of the chapter deserves all attention from the administrators who are confused as to when and how to switch over to mastery learning. The authors are very specific in stating that implementation can be adopted unit-wise and it is not necessary to take up the entire curriculum at one go. The authors have given thirteen steps helpful in successful implementation of Standards and Mastery Learning. They are actually decisions that the implementers have to take. These thirteen explicitly stated steps make this book a different one by offering the specific action points. Dividing the course in meaningful units, deciding the information and skills essential for all along with the optional units and enrichment activities for the same, organizing the essential information and skills in a logical sequence and writing unit objectives for providing the same to students are the first three steps. Identifying prerequisite knowledge and assessment of students along with the preparation for re-teaching the same comes next in sequence. Writing parallel forms of question sets of the same difficulty level is another preparatory action. Establishing a passing standard and the corresponding grades to be assigned along with a statement of consequences of not passing need to be drafted. Creating enrichment projects to take children beyond the basic mastery and raise their grades, teaching to the objectives, using one of the parallel test forms as practice exercise

(optional activity), administering the initial mastery test at the scheduled time, scheduling make-up test for non-achievers and enrichment activities for achievers, and moving to the next unit and devising a way for providing a composite grade for all mastery units are the steps involved in implementing mastery learning. All children learn only when such a systematic effort at every class for every unit is made. This is what the teacher educators and teachers have to note.

Chapter five points out on what the staff development programmes related to implementation of mastery learning need to assure the teachers. It is clearly pointed out that the staff development programmes for helping teachers to undertake mastery learning require to cover the following: (i) Teachers must understand that new material can be learnt to a high level; (ii) Teachers have to learn both "how to do it" and the principles on which those are based; (iii) Teachers must see the exemplary models along with practice and feedback; (iv) Teachers need to practise the ways and means for over-learning multiple ways of over-coming the problems; and (v) Teachers must reflect on the ideas and work in collaboration with others involved in teaching spiral curriculum.

Appendix contains very valuable information based on research and adds to the conceptual clarity related to additional issues in mastery learning by providing the overview and executive summary of the empirical evidence related to mastery learning and related matters. The reference section provides references in the year 2003 too.

As a teacher educator involved in the implementation of the competency based curriculum, one has to grasp fully the criticism levelled against the mastery learning and related expectations. The book under review provides a wider setting to this professional urge. It makes one think why, what and how to proceed for planning implementing and evaluating the curriculum transaction, based on the competency consideration.

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David C. SCHAK and Wayne HUDSON (2003) ***Civil Society in Asia,*** Law, Ethics and Governance Series, Burlington, VA: Ashgate Publishing Company, ISBN 0 7546 22754 pp. 229, Price: £45 (Hardbound),

'Civil Society' is a much used term and one with positive connotations of democratic and decentralized operation. In consequence, both government and foreign donors have been willing and anxious to speed up the construction of this civil society in the developing world, with the expectation that this will naturally lead to a series of desirable outcomes. This book is a useful account of the manner in which civil society has developed in the recent past in different parts of Asia, and the fact that this is still 'a project in progress'. While many observers tend to use the term with the same connotations that it has in western countries - of autonomous and non-state voluntary organizations - a closer look will reveal, on the one hand, that there is no single conception of what 'civil society' is in

western discourse, and, on the other, that civil society in Asia has some rather different characteristics. The purpose of this book is to highlight how some of these differences can be explained by the history and the political culture of each country.

Some specific cautions that emerge from the analyses presented here include the greater role that religion and kinship play in Asian 'civil society', and the difficulty of too quick an assumption that civil society is necessarily always 'modern'. In addition, the role of government in the creation of civil society has been substantial, thus, in many cases, weakening the autonomy of the latter. The message of 'state-civil society partnership' has been flagged all over Asia. The tendency to see civil society organizations as a 'junior partner to the state', existing in order to reach services to the most needy and the most difficult to reach, is far more acceptable than the idea of civil society as an 'alternative site' that could challenge, question or resist government intervention. Thus, civil society in Singapore is seen as being essentially non-transformative, the space it has depending on the government. Or in Malaysia, it is observed that civil society organizations have tended to foster 'middle class concern for the personal and ethnic' rather than for the 'collective and national'. In other words, this has become a vehicle for 'family expansion, career advancement and material purchase'.

Is the growth of civil society a political liberalization from below? What are the factors that impede and the factors that aid such a development? Traditional factors that act as inhibitors in Thailand have been identified to include authoritarianism, which has resulted in a passive people; religious beliefs that further strengthen such passivity (karma as the determinant of present status); a strong and centralized bureaucracy. But these are countered to some extent by the strength of family and kinship networks, and a Active kinship system; village communities that typically center on a temple; the collectivity embedded in 'sanuk' (being fun loving) related activities. While the strength of traditional associations may be weakening, nonetheless, Thai culture and institutions lend their flavour to Thai CSOs... 'while many in the West reject kinship relationships as a possible basis of a CSO, Thais do not'. The rapid growth of civil society organizations in the Philippines has been often noted and these are noted in many spheres; the paper here suggests that the outcomes of these efforts at a macro level are still relatively small. Local political history explains how there is 'a largely reformist civil sector in Taiwan, a corporatist one in the People's Republic of China and a circumscribed one in Hong Kong which largely avoids major political questions'. Interestingly, in Japan, the favoured term is 'non-profit' (with the sense of social sacrifice for the common good) rather than 'non-government' (which carries the possible connotation of being anti-government).

The essays included in this book thus provide a perspective on civil society in South East Asian countries, and many of the characteristics noted are echoed in the CSOs of South Asian countries too. Perhaps the most important policy implication of these papers is the strong underlying statement that civil society is still in the process of construction all over Asia, in many cases with the active intervention of the state. In so far as CSOs are a natural, organic development, they are embedded in cultural and political history,

and reflect a national consciousness. There may not always be an immediate basis for •brotherhood/sisterhood' with CSOs in the West, even where the issues and concerns are similar. One aspect of CSO development, that is not covered in this book, is the extension of global civil society to Asia. The characteristics of local partners-of-global agencies tend to be different from the wholly indigenous CSOs. We look to CSOs to develop alternative paradigms to strengthen democracy and to encourage decentralized and local action: how far this is or can be achieved in any specific context will be shaped and influenced by the institutions and culture of that country.

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Alain MINGAT, Jee-Peng TAN with Shobhana SOSALE (2003): ***Tools for Education Policy Analysis*** (with CD), World Bank, Washington DC, 2003, pp303. Price: Not listed ISBN: 0-8213-5183-4 (Paperback).

Policy makers in education are responsible for developing a vision and strategy for educational development to any country. For more than 40 years, the World Bank has partnered with other donors to support educational development throughout the developing world. Still, so many children are not getting chance to go to school and become as permanent literates. To overcome this problem in 2000, the member states of the United Nations unanimously adopted the Millennium Declaration and agreed to operationalize it by defining eight goals known collectively as the Millennium Development Goals (MDGs). Completing a full course of primary schooling of all children by 2015, eliminating gender disparities in primary and secondary education, reducing child mortality, improving maternal health, controlling effectively the infectious diseases and improving management of the environment are the important goals identified by UN in its Millennium Declaration for improving education standards, especially in developing countries.

The rich and poor countries should act together for achieving the MDGs goals effectively. Especially, the schooling outcomes vary enormously for given levels of spending across countries point to the need for better analysis of the sources of differences in performance and the potential direction of more effective policies. In this context, this book "Tools for Education Policy Analysis" is being published to solve the problems relevant to student flow patterns, unit costs, cost effectiveness of school inputs, teacher recruitment policies, disparities in educational access and performance, educational technology and comparative policy analysis in education, especially at the primary and secondary levels in low income countries.

In the second chapter, this document studied the two main types of problems in formulating policies in education by the policy makers, i.e., setting priorities in the placement of intervention and choosing the right instruments for intervention. Chapter 3

examines the analysis of the recurrent cost of schooling finance by Government; it does not deal with issues relating to capital costs, opportunity costs and direct private costs. Chapter 4 illustrates the evaluation of costs and their impact through cost-effectiveness analysis. The module discussed in this chapter is intended to enhance learner's skills in: (a) appreciating the policy context for cost effectiveness; (b) understanding the steps involved in the analysis, including the specification of education production functions and cost analysis; (c) drawing policy conclusions from the result of cost-effectiveness analysis; and (d) applying the concepts of cost-effectiveness in policy or project design. The module discussed in chapter 5 is on policy choices, allocations within each level of education that affect the operational arrangements in schools and classrooms, taking as a given the macro-economic pattern of resource allocation across levels of education. This module focuses on the major two types of problems i.e., efficiency in the deployment of teachers across schools or classrooms and efficiency in teacher's management of the pedagogical process within the classroom. Chapter six illustrates the principles, concepts and methodology and techniques to accomplish the analysis including: (a) estimating the impact of teacher education and training on student outcomes; (b) estimating the costs associated with changes in inputs; (c) analyzing cost-effectiveness; and (d) assessing the economics of teacher payments.

The module,* given in chapter seven, offers some methods for analyzing equity in education on four broad approaches: (a) Comparison of differences in access to a specific level or type of education across population groups; (b) comparison of benefits from education received by various population groups; (c) comparison of who pays for and who benefits from education distributional implications of financing arrangements in education; and (d) comparison of differences in achievement or learning across students. Chapter eight offers some methods for reaching a more rational perspective on girls' schooling. It focuses on three specific analytical issues: (a) diagnosis of the problem, including its locus in the education system; (b) assessment of potential options to address it; and (c) translation of the analysis into a well-justified and locally appropriate implementation strategy. Chapter nine concentrates on educational technology that allows for more focused learning through educational radio or television broadcasts and computer software, which opens the way for students to receive lessons from off-site expert teachers. The module given in this chapter mainly studied two applications of new educational technology i.e., computer assisted instructions in primary and secondary education and distance learning in higher education. Chapter ten is designed to commence with simple comparisons of education indications, moving on to adjust the comparisons for differences in economic context across comparators; to incorporate structural aspects of education in the comparisons; and to consider the use of comparative analysis in assessing this relationship between education resources and outcomes. Finally, the modules discussed in this document have been applied in the analytical work currently being done in African region and, to some extent, in other regions of the institution. So, definitely, this publication will significantly contribute to enhance the

partnership between rich and poor countries in achieving the goals of Millennium Declaration of United Nations.

It would be useful to academicians, students, researchers as well as practitioners.

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Antony STELLA and A. GNANAM ***Foundations of External Quality Assurance in Indian tiigher Education,*** Concept Publishing House, New Delhi-110 059, first published 2001, second revised edition, 2003, pp. 230, Price: Rs.400/-

The revised edition of the *Foundations of External Quality Assurance in Indian Higher Education* by Antony Stella and A. Gnanam is a welcome addition to recent publications on higher education in India. It lays the foundation of research on external quality assurance, in general, and India, in particular. The book focuses on the need to achieve the very best by higher education institutions in India. Over the years, there has been substantial increase in the number of universities and colleges providing higher education in India but the quality has deteriorated. It is shocking to know that sixty per cent of the higher education institutions do not meet even the minimum educational standards, as per Prof. V. N. Radhashekhran Pillai, Director, NAAC. India has the credit of running the second largest education system in the world. It has over 300 universities, 14,000 colleges, 10 million students and 0.5 million teachers. So far, only one-third of the autonomous colleges have undergone assessment and accreditation. Only 1.44 per cent of affiliated colleges have undergone this exercise. It is heartening to know that the UGC has made it mandatory for all the universities and colleges to get themselves assessed and accredited by a specific date.

The book under review gives an excellent overview of the entire process of assessment and accreditation in India. The authors have taken pain to explain the system functioning prior to the establishment of the National Assessment and Accreditation Council in 1994 towards quality control in higher education institutions. The object of external bodies engaged in quality assurance is not to indulge into quality control *per se* but to help the higher education institutions achieve their very best in a highly ameliorative environment. Quality, to the authors, is a multi-dimensional concept that includes all aspects of higher education such as the infrastructure, libraries, laboratories, services to the community and academic ambience. Mere internal self-evaluation and external controls are not sufficient to assure quality in higher education institutions. It is imperative to involve all the stakeholders in the evaluation process to be able to make a correct and reliable assessment.

The object of the two authors seems to make these institutions strive not only for the minimum standards but also for excellence. India has great potential in the form of human resource, both in terms of quantity and quality. Indians are very much in demand

in the era of knowledge-based economies. The focus on External Quality Assurance (EQA) is but natural in the rapidly changing world scenario. More than 100 countries have adopted some form of external check on quality in higher education. India is no exception to this silent revolution sweeping the developed and the developing world alike. Marketing of education under GATS and WTO has further enhanced the need for quality assurance to pave the way for free movement of students and faculty across the border. The entry of international, transnational, corporate and private sectors into the domain of higher education has also made it imperative to evolve certain parameters, which could help in assessing and assuring the quality of education and degrees provided.

The book under review unfolds various dimensions pertaining to national assessment and accreditation of higher education in India during the past one decade. The book is divided into three parts. Part one deals with the emergence, quality concern and relevance of assessment and accreditation, in general. Part two deals with various issues at stake, such as units of assessment for accreditation, implications for institutional grades, linking of funding with assessment outcome and collaborative assessment with other professional bodies. Part three deals with institutional response to external quality control, objectivity in assessment, performance indicators, factors contributing to excellence, mutual recognition, international trends in external quality assurance, etc.

The book has flown from the pens of two erudite scholars in higher education who also happen to be among the top managers of the National Assessment and Accreditation Council of India. They have not only provided an insight into the growth and functioning of NAAC, but have also discussed at length various issues pertaining to external quality assurance. While going through the book, one feels like entering into dialogue with the two managers, jealously guarding their own viewpoints and providing upto date information on the subject concerned. Whereas the two authors have come out with relevant answers to most of the commonly held queries, at times, they appear to be providing a cover to their own viewpoints and strategies. They seem to promote their own *modus operendi* by suggesting not to change the methodology in the years to come. At times, they have gone to the extent of being repetitive.

Though the authors have admitted the mushroom growth of private colleges, especially in the southern states of Andhra Pradesh, Tamil Nadu, Karnataka and Maharashtra under the guise of self-financing institutions, they have not suggested any ways and means to assess and assure quality education by these institutions. Similarly, they have not come out with any suggestions to control the quality of education and degrees provided by foreign institutions working from Indian soil. These institutions are sometimes able to dupe perspective students and their families through big advertisements in national dailies. They charge exorbitant fees and sometimes even their own countries do not recognize the degrees awarded by them. They cater to the needs of the burgeoning middle class in India, which is willing to spend on quality higher education. Most of these institutions fall outside the purview of existing legislation and assessment bodies on higher education.

Nevertheless, the authors have done a creditable job by covering a wide range of issues pertaining to external quality assurance, a theme yet in offing in a country like India. They have made sincere efforts to persuade the academia and educational administrators that it is in their own interests to get their institutions assessed and accredited by external bodies. It is bound to provide them with the necessary tips towards self-improvement, on the one hand, and enhancement of their creditability and acceptability at the societal level nationally and internationally, on the other. They have emphasized again and again that the idea behind external quality assurance is not to promote external control by penalizing under-performance or bad performance but to help the higher education institutions achieve excellence in their chosen fields. The idea is to strike a balance between autonomy and accountability.

The authors, being themselves involved with developing the parameters for quality assurance at the NAAC, know it very well that quality assessment can never be quantified. Nor can quality assessment be truly objective. As members of the NAAC, their approach has been 'learning while doing'. They have also been conscious of the specific needs of India, it being a country with vast diversities in terms of language, religion and culture. Therefore, they have not suggested any model, either British or American, as the most suitable model for India. India has to evolve its own ways and means to assess and assure quality in higher education. They are against 'external quality control' knowing it fully well that it will not be accepted by the general academia. They have only emphasized upon 'external quality assurance' in collaboration with other national, international and non-governmental bodies.

Although, the authors have mentioned about other bodies engaged in quality assurance in India, such as UGC, NCTE, AICTE, MCI, NBA, Bar Council of India, they have primarily focussed upon the NAAC. It would have been better had they given the title 'Foundations of External Quality Assurance: Lessons from the NAAC in India'. The authors are right in saying that due attention should be paid to specific institutional, national and regional contexts to be able to take into consideration prevailing diversity and avoid uniformity. They have recommended case-by-case approach.

The book has a rich bibliography on external quality assurance, besides an extensive glossary. The appendices on criteria and other aspects should prove useful for educational administrators, policy makers and researchers alike. The presentation of the book makes an interesting reading on an otherwise dry subject. However, in the absence of quality culture, in general, much cannot be achieved in the domain of higher education. In a country like India, where regulation has not succeeded so far in bringing the desired results, economic incentives might work.

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K Seeta PRABHU (2001), ***Economic Reform and Social Sector Development. A Study of Two Indian States,*** Sage Publications, New Delhi, ISBN 0-7619-9541-2, pp. 370, Price: Rs. 550 (Hardbound)

It is argued by a strong group of academicians that the current reforms necessitated by structural adjustment, liberalisation and privatisation have depressed the focus on social sectors, alienated the poor and allowed poverty to perpetuate. This position has far reaching consequences. There are differing stands about the impact of policy changes during nineties on poverty and changes in social sector allocation. The arguments derive help from two distinct theoretical perspectives of economic growth, viz., (i) the growth-centred distribution; and (ii) the target group specific poverty reduction programmes help development in the long run. This was emphasised in early seventies and there was more or less unanimity among the academics as well as policy makers about the failure of trickling down and thus the expenditure on Poverty Alleviation Programmes as well as other social development programmes increased significantly over the plan periods. This had a telling effect on the poverty trends and one can easily visualise the decline in poverty in late seventies and early nineties.

During mid-eighties, the argument about growth-centered development process became stronger. This argument originated because of four important factors. First, it was publicly accepted by the then Prime Minister that out of every rupee spent on the poor, only a few paisas reach the destination. Second, it was felt that this process had intensified corruption. Third, the schemes were ill-designed and, therefore, created unwarranted structures. Last, that the model incentivised the middlemen and proliferated political interference in administration.

Almost at the same time, India had faced precarious situation in its balance of payment and that had impacted other macro economic parameters and the structural adjustment programme came into being. One of the important issues that featured in the debate after the introduction of structural adjustment programme was by-passing of the development policy of earlier three decades. One of the looming fears was that poverty will increase and social sector may get neglected in the process. Similarly, it was also argued that the social sector might get lower priority in this pure growth-centered approach. The book under review is an attempt to review the changes in social sector in the post-reform period. The author has taken two states viz., Tamil Nadu and Maharashtra to base her study. The book runs through nine chapters with a very bulky Appendix.

Economic reforms, as perceived by economists and the organisations supporting it, involve significant changes in the economic policies focussed to bring about corrections in the imbalances caused in the macro-economic parameters. The World Bank's structural adjustment programme involved resource mobilisation, employment, efficiency of resource use. liberalisation of trade, institutional reforms and social policy reforms. Economists and other social scientists have varied opinions about the implications and operation of such reform packages in a developing economy and especially in India. The

author takes note of such divergent views. The social sectors included by the author in her book cover education, health, employment and other poverty-related schemes. The book covers the period from 1989-90 to 1996-97 and thus includes partially the reform period, therefore, the highlights of changes in the social sector could not be totally attributed to the process of reform. The study has covered Maharashtra and Tamil Nadu as these states happen to be at the average of Human Development Index ranks, having 5th and 6th ranks. Apart from that, these two states also have the historical background in social sector development. Maharashtra represented the income-led security route, whereas Tamil Nadu had the infamous interventionist approach. The fiscal policies as well as development of the social sector in the two states also has been quite different and, therefore, the study confronted significant challenges, while analysing these two models.

The author reviews the social development pattern in Maharashtra in fairly good detail. Maharashtra has been a socially vibrant and politically active State right from pre-independence onwards. The independence movement itself had taken deep root in the State, up to villages. Apart from that, the traditional awareness about social sector development in Maharashtra has been age-old. It is well known that development of the State is concentrated more in Mumbai, Pune and Nasik belt and, therefore, regional imbalance in the social sector development was quite an obvious outcome. Apart from that, the process of politicisation in Maharashtra itself is guided by social sector movements like Rayat Shikshana Samstha, Peasants movements and the like and, therefore, the conditions in the State were quite conducive, both from private as well as public initiatives for social sector. In the recent past, Maharashtra has seen mushrooming of educational institutions and their network has spread up to the taluka and hobli levels. These private initiatives fall out of the scope of analysis of the author and, therefore, she has chosen very simplistically to review the Maharashtra situation in public sector only. It is quite known that a large part of the expenditure is incurred from the sources which are non-accessible to the data books of the Indian planners and, therefore, a lot of which has been written about Maharashtra, has to be understood as indicative rather than reality. In the chapter on Micro Performance on Social Policies, the author touches a number of issues but most of them, in a mere fragmentary nature. For example, the table on the sector-wise SDP growth provides ample information, however a lot of it remained unused. In the economic and fiscal indicators, Maharashtra seems to be under heavy fiscal stress owing to the uncontrolled non-plan expenditure and politicisation of such expenditure, but that eludes the author's analysis. Apart from that, Maharashtra government has not been handling the fiscal situation as carefully as the fiscal managers of Tamil Nadu. In gist, Maharashtra seems to be scoring lower, compared to the other states, if we take into consideration rural Maharashtra. However, the heavyweight of Mumbai, Pune and other metropolitan cities in Maharashtra make the State's score higher on Human Development Rank, creating an illusion for the author and the readers.

Tamil Nadu has emerged as one of the oldest homogeneous states more or less matching the Madras Presidency and, therefore, also had better historical roots in social

sector development. It was more a unified state and also equally active state on social movements. Movements like DMK and Periyar led institutional awakening began in Tamil Nadu and education as well as social sector was the top priority of the successive governments in the State. The state of Tamil Nadu, however, followed the interventionist route rather than private initiative route like Maharashtra. The Mid-day Meal Scheme of Tamil Nadu has been highlighted by the study as one of the important factors contributing for social sector development in the State. The feminisation and casualisation of rural labour in Tamil Nadu is one of the important highlights of the employment sector. Tamil Nadu scores low on the social priority scale, even though it had better delivery system in social sector. During the pre-reform period, Tamil Nadu had better distribution of social sector schemes and that continued even during and after the reforms. This certainly is an achievement. In most of the distributional counts across regions Tamil Nadu scores far ahead of Maharashtra.

The book is spread into four parts. Part one deals with the setting of social sector in the two states, highlighting the measurement of the impacts of the reforms. The macro-economic dimensions of the economic reforms in the two states are covered under macro-performance. Fiscal situation, expenditure on social sector and regional distribution of social sector schemes are analysed in part two. Part three is an in-depth study at village level of the selected villages in the two states and is unfortunately quite sketchy as compared to the earlier parts of the study. The author also provides a substantial section on policy implications. The book provides a good reading about the impact of reform process on social sector.

In totality, it seems that the social sector has served as a powerful signal of political commitment for the two state governments. However, public expenditure on the sector has not been keeping pace with the requirement of the sector in both the states. There is an imperative need to substantially increase the level of spending on social sector, if the policy makers would like to work on the ill-distribution caused by the reforms, if any. On the fiscal count, both the states do not show great leverage for spending on the social sector. Therefore, even though the performance of Maharashtra and Tamil Nadu has been good in the post-independence period, may not remain the same if one looks at the public sector spending. Albeit one must consider the private initiative in the social sector especially in education, creation of employment and social awareness programmes through non-governmental agencies. If success has to be achieved in the social sector development, it is essential that state must play its role only as an initiator and stop directing the whole process of development.

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Philip G ALTBACH (Ed.) (2000) ***The Decline of Guru: The Academic Profession in Developing and Middle-Income Countries.*** Boston and New York: Boston College, Centre for International Higher Education and Palgrave Publishers, Pages: 437. (Paperback).

The book primarily focuses on changes and challenges experienced by the academic profession in major developing and middle-income countries. It also acquaints us with the coming crisis in the profession in those countries. It is a collection of 13 case studies relating to 14 countries representing major regions of the South American, African and Asian continents, but the state of affairs elsewhere or in similarly situated countries may not be substantially different. Although all the contributions are quite useful and relevant, contributions made by the editor himself and N. Jayaram draw a special attention here. The editor's contribution forms the core of the book, while Jayaram's contribution on India has drawn special attention for the reason that the reviewer has greater familiarity with the Indian situation than with the alien academic profession. On the whole, the book provides a thematic overview of countries that have diverse academic models and a wide range of reform experiences over a reasonably long span of time.

A perusal of the book reveals that there are major variations among developing countries. Variations in academic systems have also existed within the countries themselves for obvious reasons. Different case studies differ so much among themselves with respect to infrastructure and standard of educational systems that it has been difficult for the editor to offer generalised views. Despite this, the editor has made certain useful generalizations. He has observed that the higher educational system has weakened everywhere resulting from massification, privatization and marketization. Mass higher education has deteriorated the quality of education, while privitization has placed pressure on academics to generate income for themselves and for the universities through consultancy and non-teaching activities. Marketization has forced academics to go for job-oriented courses. According to the editor, the current realities are, however, not necessarily detrimental for either the profession or higher education. But in the case of an individual country, like India, such a trend may prove disadvantageous in the long run.

Editor's observation that the professoriate in developing countries is a profession on the periphery is largely true. Research undertaken at major universities of industrialised countries sets the patterns of academic activities in most developing countries. The academic world is hierarchical and the research universities in developed countries are at the centre of an international knowledge system in modern times. However, the editor's view that the academic systems of the developing countries are imported from the industrialised West is not wholly true in case of all the countries and all the disciplines. The editor should have qualified this grand generalization. What may be true in case of knowledge relating to science and technology may not necessarily be true in case of arts, literature, music, philosophy, theology and other liberal disciplines. The Indian scholarship has always been taken in high esteem in all these areas of human knowledge through the ages. In fact, in many areas, Indian scholars, thinkers, saints and artists have

been the world leaders in their own way. In addition, the contemporary Indian social scientists have also questioned or even rejected the viewpoints of Western scholarship on numerous issues relating to their country or other countries of the South. Learning has been one of the most noteworthy heritages of Indian society. Here a serious student of Indian history may modestly like to jog the memory of Altbach about a well-known historical fact that once India had been the seat of three great universities in ancient times (at Nalanda, Taksasila and Vikramsila), when the formally organised academic institution worth the name did not come into being anywhere.

It is true that in most developing countries, the European model was imposed by the colonial powers, but in a country where this model was not imposed, European models prevailed over the existing indigenous academic traditions. Time and again, the scholars in developing countries tend to criticise the colonial system of education, but following independence, when developing countries had the chance to change the system of higher education, none chose to do so. In many cases, even the language of colonial power has been retained for teaching and research purposes. In lot of universities, local languages are also used for teaching and local publications, but they have little international relevance for scientific research. As universities of North are richer and so also more resourceful than their counterparts in the South, they are bound to maintain leadership in all aspects of academic work. Under the situation, the Third World academics have to be dependent on the main centres of knowledge and the world scientific networks. The vast inequality in wealth, size and access to resources and institutional infrastructure obviously contribute to dependency of universities of the South. The policies and practices of the academic systems in the North also play a role in the power imbalance. For example, scholarly journals prefer or encourage research papers based on their own priorities or interests as well as the methodological norms that prevail in the North, which often places Third World researchers at a disadvantage in getting their work published and recognised internationally. The fact that academics in developing countries have to function in a world of peripherality and dependency is central to understanding the nature of academic work and the role of universities. Nevertheless, it is not wholly correct to observe that universities of developing countries are importers of knowledge from the West and have got little to offer in return. It is a biased and Western-centric view. Human knowledge has not been the sole creation of the West. In fact, there was a time in human history when Asians were the real pioneers of human knowledge in almost all walks of life. Except for Greece and Italy, no Western country was conspicuous in the intellectual world for centuries during the entire ancient and the early phase of medieval times. It should be recognised that the modern knowledge is based on the edifice of that oriental knowledge. Despite continuing disadvantages now, the Third world scholars are not way behind their Western peers. It is altogether a different matter that they are not recognised globally because of poor resources for conducting a high level of research, lesser control over global media network and the continuing hegemony of the North.

It is true that, but for a few institutions, the vast majority of Indian universities, colleges and other academic institutions fall far below the level of the average post-

secondary institutions in the Western world. The editor has rightly observed, "While accurate figures do not exist, it is probably the case that 95 per cent of Indian academic work in an environment that is well below international levels" (p. 14). This is but natural because the countries of South are much poorer and confronted with serious problems of rapid rise in population. The academic institutions of South are not able to keep pace with or meet the standard of universities of North because of certain vicious problems of under-development. There is yet another allied problem of despicable politicking on the university campus. There are two kinds of politics in developing countries that has affected the higher education substantially: academic politics within university and societal politics. Universities often tend to play a direct political role as a forum for student political activism, dissent perspectives, and even mobilization of opposition activities.

In addition to the above, in most developing countries, teaching load appears to be quite high by international standards and the academic staff spend more time in the classroom than do their peers in the North. Little time remains for research, course preparation or other academic activities. They have to publish in foreign language for international recognition. Another significant problem is that academics of South are paid much less for their work than their counterparts in the North. Academics earn less than people with similar qualifications elsewhere in the labour force even within the same country. Yet they are expected to meet the international standard in matters of scholarship. Still many are as good as or even superior to their Western peers. It is, however, recognised that by and large the academic profession in the Third World is in crisis.

Let us come to a more specific contribution on India by N. Jayaram. Some of the important arguments of the author are not built around any hard data; rather, the work appears to be impressionistic and largely based on such secondary sources as the National Commission on Teachers, the National Policy on Education, the UGC report on new pay scales and the local newspaper coverage. Being a university teacher, he seems to be worried more about teachers' service conditions, amount of salary and other pecuniary benefits, retirement age, teaching load and in-service training of teachers. Although his paper essentially deals with the problem of fall of gurus, he has failed to address the issue of fall in the excellence of guru, if any. I really wonder whether the standard of gurus of present day India has really fallen compared to that of pre-independence days. I also wonder whether the standard of teaching and research in Indian colleges and universities has dwindled over the years compared to that of academic institutions of the North. If it were really the case, one would also be anxious to learn whether such a decline in the standard or quality is typical of Indian academics alone or of other professions alike.

Explaining the reasons for decline in the academic profession in India, Jayaram has observed, "Thanks to the policy of protective discrimination, during the last three decades, persons belonging to the scheduled castes, scheduled tribes, and other backward classes...have entered the academic profession... . The new entrants into the profession, many of them being the first generation in their caste and community groups too have

acquired post-graduate qualifications, have hardly any exposure to the cultural moorings of the profession and are confused about the ethos of a profession in decline" (214-215). Let alone, there is a factual error with respect to the timing of implementation of protective discrimination in India, one may get confused here as to why he has thanked the state policy of protective discrimination when he is evidently in favour of the perpetuation of age-old hegemony of upper castes in Indian academics. The practice of protective discrimination in favour of the SCs and STs came into effect with the promulgation of Indian Constitution in 1950 and in favour of the OBCs after 1990. Owing to the continuing hegemony of upper caste intelligentsia in universities, teachers or researchers belonging to SCs, STs, and OBCs continue to be in a microscopic minority even now despite a massive rise in higher education among them. Though they together comprise over 70 per cent of India's total population, more than 90 per cent of the positions in colleges and universities continue to be grabbed by upper castes. The upper caste intelligentsia in universities has formed such a strong clique and caucus that it is virtually impossible for SCs, STs and OBCs to secure teaching or research positions in any reputed Indian university on one or other pretexts. Besides all pervasive casteism, regionalism, sectarianism and various kinds of corrupt practices in matters of appointment and promotion of college and university teachers, too, are liable for the decline in standard of academic profession in the country. Under the situation the state-sponsored protective policy in matters of employment hardly accounts for the possible decline in the standard of gurus.

All the papers orchestrate serious concern over academic problems of major low and middle income countries, looming larger with the lapse of time. As a piece of research, it is a theoretically ambitious work which seeks to recapitulate the entire gamut of academic tribulations of so many countries with diverse social, economic and political circumstances. On the whole, the book offers a discerning sociological scrutiny of higher education. The bringing out of a collection of papers of this kind is immensely useful, particularly for all those who are concerned with policy planning, to cope with the multifaceted problems upsetting the academic world of their country.

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Katarina TOMASEVSKI, ***Education Denied: Costs and Remedies.*** London and New York: Zed Books; Dhaka, University Press, Bangkok, White Lotus Co., Cape Town, David Phillip, 2003, pp. 206, ISBN: 1-84277-251-1 (Paperback).

In *Education Denied,* Tomasevski, Professor of International Law and International Relations at Lund University, and a Special Rapporteur on the right to education of the United National Commission on Human Rights, makes a powerful and passionate plea to fulfilling the right to education to all. Tracing from the 1948 United Nations Declaration

of Human Rights, the author describes the importance *offree* and *compulsory* education to be provided as a right to the people without any discrimination, and not just to improve the human capital. Mere human capital approach may conflict with rights approach to education; 'reductionism frustrates the very foundation for human rights education' (p.34). Hence the need to look at education beyond the human capital framework. Though few human capital economists have argued for altogether ignoring other aspects, the importance of looking at education beyond the human capital framework has to be stressed. The market-oriented approaches championed particularly by the World Bank have caused serious damages to the human rights approach to education. Under the rights to education approach, governments are obliged to make education *available, accessible, acceptable* and *adaptable* (p.51). In contrast to the United Nations' Declarations and the Conventions of the International Labour Office, the entry of World Bank into the education arena, changed the parametres of the debate and created ruptures in the global consensus on education (in chapter 5). The most important parametre that created problems is introduction of fees in primary schools (starting with what can be described as the famous trial and error approaches in Malawi). Economic dimensions began to occupy the centre stage, and the impoverishment of public education began with the plunge in public finances in developing countries. Tomasevski unravels how "unwilling, unable and unlike-minded" have been the so-called creators of the global education strategy in the name of Education For All. The economically powerful World Bank, and the Unesco, a lead international agency in education but going through a deep crisis and several other international United Nations agencies with different kinds of mandates, and non-UN based multilateral and bilateral organisations with their own national and regional interests have been the main actors. The consensus reached in Jomtien and other international forums, according to Tomasevski, was a 'consensus as a recipe for inaction'.

As a direct consequence, despite several pledges by the international community, the foreign aid - multi-lateral as well as bi-lateral - for education, and for basic education, in particular, declined over the years! Further and more importantly, with fuzzy vocabulary, some of the basic tenets of the rights approach to education disappeared. For example, as Tomasevski notes, "the difference between having the right to education and purchasing education was eradicated through the term *access to education"* (p. 99). Language of rights was transposed into that of commercial transactions, using the term rights for shareholders or creditors (or stakeholders). Right to continuing education has no meaning, as it is interpreted in a market framework, to be had in the market at one's own expenses. *Partnership* meant relationship between creditors and debtors, and between governments and non-government organisations. 'In public-private partnership, there is no partnership, but rather a business deal, which ... questions the boundaries between educating and advertising' (p. 119). With vouchers and other methods, 'free public service' is converted into a 'freely traded service.' International trade in education services has obliterated the boundary between aid and trade; brain-drain is now viewed as 'brain-gain'; and so on.

Distribution of public funds is seen as a zero-sum-game, putting one level of education against another (pp. 111-12). Increased allocations to primary education are believed to be possible only if allocations to higher education are reduced; and financing of subsidised higher education is seen as a deprivation of primary education to millions of young children. All this resulted in fragmented look at education and fragmented approaches to education development, treating one sector of education as a merit good and the other as a non-merit good; one as a public good and the other as a private good. Tomasevski condemns such an approach, and rightly reminds everyone that "international human rights law requires progressive realization of the right to education where primary education ought to be made free of charge, and *this should gradually extend to post-primary and, ultimately, university education"* (p. 112; emphasis added). Unfortunately, this is completely forgotten by many, and even those, who advance strong arguments in favour of free primary education, argue for market-oriented strategies in university education, and as a result we are ending with 'transfigured' universities.

Tomasevski describes the wrong notions some of the governments have about education, the faulty assumptions made about education, and the ill-chosen models adopted All these resulted in denial of education as a human right to millions of children in the developing world. The safeguards provided in the United Nations and other declarations are not sufficient to prevent the denial of education to many in developing countries. Governments hold notions such as education of girls is "culturally controversial" (for example in Pakistan, p. 13); they blame poverty for the education deprivation of the poor rather than blaming the policy choices (pp. 27-28); and adopt ill-chosen models (for example foreign funded programmes in Sierra Leone that legitimised polygamy, pp. 30-31). The author exposes the fallaciousness of these notions, and the distortions they created in public policy and governmental approaches. The declining trends in public expenditures on education in many developing countries exhibit a race towards the bottom line! The resultant impoverished education systems cannot obviously help in reduction in poverty. With innumerable specific examples, the author exposes how governments violate the right to education to millions of children, and how international community has been inactive, and even counter productive in some cases with the promotion of neo-liberal philosophy that emphasises consumer choice, competition market ideology and economic liberalization. With her vast experience, the author could relate several developments in education to global economic, social and political events, including the end of the cold war and political turmoil in several countries, whether it is Tiananmen Square in China, battles between gown and gun in Nigeria, or censorship of school textbooks in Japan, or what is taught in schools in Europe about the defeat of socialism. She also, of course, refers to some of the positive events such as, for example, the *yatras* in India, and similar campaigns in many other developed and developing countries, and how such events not only oppose exclusion, but also expose it.

Tomasevski pleads with international community for grants for education and not loans. She argues with governments for 'inclusive' non-discriminatory education systems

rather than segregated ones. In order to put human rights back on world agenda on education, Tomasevski highlights the importance of: (a) pinpointing the obligations of the government, (b) exposing the extent and intensity of education exclusion, (c) rupturing global inaction by stressing the need for international action, (d) rescuing education from debt bondage though various methods of debt cancellation, (e) mobilising against colonialism, racism and segregated schooling systems, and (f) showing rights based education as a (if not the only) pathway to progress, including gender equality.

The author has the policy makers and planners in the governments, non-governmental organisations and international aid community as the main audience. But researchers in the area, and, in fact, anyone interested in human deprivation, also find it a very rewarding reading. Rich with select statistics - historical as well as current, illustrations, and valuable experiences from micro and macro levels in several countries - including the author's own personal experiences in several meetings and discussions, *Education Denied,* written in a simple and lucid style, with pictures and authentic picturesque descriptions, provides a valuable stimulating and a fascinating reading on an issue that is hotly discussed both at national and international forums.

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CONTENTS

The Finance Ministry of the Nineties
A K Bhattacharya

The Asia-Pacific Region and the War in Iraq
Kripa Sridharan

Optimal Management of India's Forex Reserves
S Shivakumar

Narratives of War: A Story Half Told
Sevanti Ninan
Indo-Pak Trade: More Butter, Fewer Guns
Rajesh Chadha & Devender Pratap

Rain Precipitation, its Spread, and Agriculture
Devendra Kumar Pant and K A Siddiqui

Energy: The Cure for Many Inefficiencies
P **Ramanuja** Chari

Vat: Is it the End of the Road?
Sunil K Sinha

Health and Unhappiness of Children
Saswata Ghosh & Subrato K Mondal

Evaluation of the Improved Chulha
RK Shukla, M K Arora & Asha Vjrrnani_

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Volume XVII1 No. 1, January 2004

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CONTENTS

Joint Forest Management in Andhra Pradesh: Integrating Community Development with Forest Management	**A.K.Bhattacharya, Bijendra Basnyat, Rekha Sharma Shikha Kalra, Samir Stephen Kujur and San jay Bala**
Development Programmes, Environment and Rural Poverty in India	**S.S.P.Sharma**
Forestry and Disaster Mitigation	**Satendra**
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Agriculture Efficiency of Orissa: Problems and Prospects	**Rudra Prakash Pradhan**
Members' Participation in the Activities of a Production Credit Group in Southern Thailand	**K.Partarnarakha**
Strategy for the Growth and Survival of Small Scale Sector in Orissa: A Case Study of Sambalpuri Bastralaya Hand loom Cooperative Society Ltd. (SBHCS Ltd.), Bargarh	**Ashok K. Mohanty and S.C.Acharya**

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Volume XVIII No. 1, January 2004

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CONTENTS VOLUME 39 NUMBER 1 JULY 2003

ARTICLES
Leadership Behaviour and Its Effectiveness: Members'Perception
Mirza S. Saiyadain
Role Effectiveness: A Study of Male and Female Newspaper Reporters
Sanjay Kumar Singh and Paramjeet Kaur Dhillon
VRS and Its Effect on Productivity and Profitability of a Finn
Kaustav Dey and Prabanesh Ray
Industrial Disputes in Punjab: Emerging Trends
Jyoti and AS. Siihu

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V. *Mariappan*
Indian Trade Unions: Today and Beyond Tomorrow
Ernesto Noronha

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IshroorDoyal
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The Handbook of Human Resource Management Policies and Practices in Asia - Pacific Economies, Vol. II (Editor: Michael Zanko and Matt Ngui)
DM S. Saini
Indian Economy Under Globalisation Process (K.S. Bhat)
BadarMamlqbal

INDEX OF ARTICLES
Index of Articles (Based on SRC Library)

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Journal of Educational Planning and Administration
Volume XVII] No. 1, January 2004

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(Organ of the Indian Society of Agricultural Economics)

Vol. 58 **JULY-SEPTEMBER 2003** **No. 3**

CONTENTS

LIBERALISATION, DOMESTIC PRICE POUCY AND AGRICULTURAL GROWTH

Trade Liberalisation and Agricultural Price Policy in India Since Reforms	***B. Bhallacharyya***
Domestic Price Policies in the Context of Trade Liberalisation	***V. Ratna Reddy* and *P. Prudhvikar Reddy***
Impact of Liberalisation on Domestic Agricultural Prices and Farm Income: An Analysis Across States and Crops	***ShrikanlS-Kalamkarmi A. Narayanamoonhy***
Food Safety Measures: Implications for Fisheries Sector in India	***Anjani Kumar* and *Praduman Kumar***
Liberalisation and Agricultural Prices: Some Disconcerting Trends	***Brajesh Jha* and *B. B. Mohapalra***
Summaries	

POLICIES FOR SUSTAINABLE USE OF WATER

Enhancing Sustainable Management of Water Resource in Agriculture Sector: The Role of Institutions	***Dinesh K. Marolhia***
Averting Water Crisis by Drip Method of Irrigation: A Study of Two Water-Intensive Crops	***A. Narayanamoonhy***
Suslainability and Equity Implications of Ground-water Depletion in Hard Rock Areas of Kamataka: An Economic Analysis	***N. Nagaraj. H. Chandrashekar mi H. S. Yatheesh***
Water Resources in India: Need for Holistic Development and Cautious Exploitation	***Ranjil Kumar. N.P Singh* and *RP. Singh***
Politics of Water Management and Sustainable Water Use	***Vishwa Ballabh***
Summaries	

EMERGING TRENDS DM AGRO-PROCESSING SECTOR

Small Scale Agro-Industry in India: Low Productivity is Its Achilles' Heel	***G. K. Chadha* and *P. P. Sahu***
Rice Processing Industry in Punjab: Problems and their Remedies	***M.K Sekhon. PS. Hangi* and *Manjeet Kaur***
Feed Processing Industry in India: Silent but Robust Propositions	***N.P. Singh. R.P. Sngh* and *Ranjit Kumar***
Role and Constraints of Contract Farming in Agro-Processing Industry	***SR. Asokan* and *Gurdev Singh***
Role of Rural Women in Small Scale Agro-Processing Sector - An Economic Analysis of Samndhi Manila Processing Co-operative Society in Himachal Pradesh	***K.D. SharmaMS. "athania* and *CD. Vashist***
Summaries	

RAPPORTEURS' REPORTS

Rapporteur's Report on Liberalisation, Domestic Price Policy and Agricultural Growth	***RS. Deshpande***
Rapporteur's Report on Policies for Sustainable Use of Water	***K. Palanisami***
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July-December 2003 **Vol 4:2**

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MUHAMAD JANTAN, AIZZATMOHD. NASURDINAND NUR FITR1AHAHMED FADZIL

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KISHORE KULKARNIAND SWETA SAXENA

EMPLOYING QUALITY OF MANPOWER TO LEVERAGE EMERGENT STRATEGY: THE CASE OF INDIAN SOFTWARE FIRMS
PARTHASARA TH1BANERJEE

STRATEGIC MANAGEMENT OF BIO-PI IARMACEUTICAL KNOWLEDGE FOR IMPROVED R&D PRODUCTIVITY
MOHAN R K NIMMAGADDA AND BVLS PRASAD

EXPORT INSTABILITY AND ECONOMIC GROWTH IN PAKISTAN
MOHAMMAD PERVEZ WAS1M

PARADIGM SHIFT AND DIMENSIONS OF WORK CULTURE: IMPLICATIONS FOR ORGANIZATIONS
BHUPEN SRIVASTA VA AND MAMTA PA DA

DEVELOPING OVERSEAS STRATEGIES: RARELY FULLY TRANSFERABLE MAGIC-FORMULAS
DR ROBERT J MOCKLER

QUALITY OF LIFE (QOL) AND FOREIGN INVESTMENT (Fl): PUBLIC OPINION INVESTIGATION IN INDIA

S PRASAD KANTAMNENI AND A UDHESH K PASWAN

Book Reviews

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Volume XVIII No. 1, January 2004

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Volume 2 **No. 2** **December 2003**

CONTENTS

Bridging the Digital Divide-Tlie Need of the Hour in India
a Narayana N. R. Murthy

Market Failure and Economics of Charity
is ***Hrishikesh D. Vinod***

On The Effects of Exchange Rate Uncertainty on Domestic Production: A Dynamic Panel Approach
s** ***Mohsen BahmaniOskooee, Mr Miteza

Investment in Information Technology Capital and Income Inequality in the United States: An Empirical Analysis
***** ***N.R Vasudeva Murthy, Ravi Nath***

Motivation for and Cost of HACCP in Indian Food Processing Industry
is. ***Satish Y. Deodhar***

Cultivators Response of Maize in NWFP—Pakistan: An Econometric Analysis
is ***Mohammad Pervez Wasim***

Human Capital and Total Factor Productivity
is. ***Benjamin K. Agbenyegah Minsoo Lee, Ross Cullen***

Towards a Better Understanding of E-Commerce: Exploring the Effects of Touch and Digitization
is ***Avinash Arya, Ganesh D. Bhatt***

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is ***Vasant Raval***

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T.R. Shanmugam, K. Vijayalakshmy, S. Venkatesa Palanichamy

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Vol. 36 No. 1 Oct.-Dec. 2003

Contents

Who is Afraid of Free Trade?
Sunil Jain

Falling Interest Rates: Who Gains, Who Loses?
Abheek Barua

Wheat Farming in Pakistan and India
Mohammad Pervez Wasim

Roles of Centre and States in Disinvestment
Simrit Kaur

Financial Sector's Multipliers in Mumbai
Sanjib Pohit

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